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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.



THE WORKS OF  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WHISTON'S TRANSLATION,

REVISED BY THE

REV. A. R. SHILLETTO, M.A.

*Sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge,  
Translator of Plutarch's Morals, Ethical Essays.*

WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY

SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.M.G.

VOL. I.

LIFE OF JOSEPHUS.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, BOOKS I-VI.

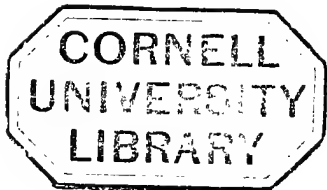
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## P R E F A C E .

THESE three volumes, comprising the "Life" and "Antiquities," form the first instalment of a revision of Whiston's well-known translation of Josephus, which first saw the light in 1736, and has since that time retained the field, not so much from its intrinsic merit, as from the fact that the magnitude of the work, and the want of a good critical edition of Josephus' Greek Text, has deterred scholars from the Atlantean labour of a new translation.

In my revision there is, indeed, not much of Whiston left, though I have retained him where practicable. In revising him, I have amended his baldness, pruned and curtailed his archaisms, corrected his misspelling of names and mistranslations, and generally speaking been throughout close to the text where he has been turgid and paraphrastic. There are also frequently short omissions in Whiston's translation. These I have restored.

With regard to Whiston's Notes, some I have retained, some curtailed, some erased. Those I have omitted have been omitted on the following grounds. Many of them are puerile, many irrelevant, some based upon a less pure Greek text, some obtruding Whiston's very strange and erratic notions on religion, some absolutely incorrect. I have added a *W* to all the Notes of Whiston which I have retained. The few critical Notes are my own.

Sir C. W. Wilson, one of the heroes of Khartoum, and well known earlier as one of the pioneers of Palestine Exploration, is responsible for the Geographical and Topographical Notes.

Josephus and his works are so well known, and so deservedly popular, that there is no need here to say any-

thing about him or them. But one word is due as to the text which I have used in this revision. Neither the edition of Niese, nor the first instalment of that of Naber in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, appeared in time for me to make any use of them. I have translated from the edition of Dindorf, in the Didot collection of editions of Classical works, Paris, 1865.

With these few words I commend my revision of Whiston to the theological and general reader. These three volumes will at no distant date be followed by two more, which will contain "The Jewish War," and "Josephus on the Antiquity of the Jews against Apion."

CAMBRIDGE,

*September*, 1889.

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## THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

### § 1.

MY family is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so, with us, to be of priestly extraction is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from priests, but also from the first of the twenty-four<sup>1</sup> courses; and as among us there is considerable difference here too, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the sons of Asamonæus, from whom she descended, were both high priests and kings for a very long time. I will give the pedigree. My great-grandfather was named Simon, with the surname of Psellus: he lived at the same time as 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 whom was Matthias, called the son of Ephias; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, the first of the sons of Asa-

<sup>1</sup> We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the second book against Apion, § 7, 8 (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 to four courses, while he says that each of these courses contained above 5,000 men, which, multiplied by only four, will make not 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. Neh. vii. 39-42. 1 Esd. v. 24, 25, with Ezra ii. 64. Neh. 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, § 7, that David's partition of the priests into twenty-four courses had continued to that day.—W.

monæus who was high priest, and the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, born 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; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; and I was born to the first Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, Justus in the seventh, and Agrippa in the ninth. Thus have I set down our pedigree as I found it entered<sup>1</sup> in the public records, and so farewell to those who try to run me down as of low extraction!

§ 2. Now my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his noble birth, but was still more esteemed for his uprightness, and was held in the highest reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias (my own brother by both father and mother); and I made mighty proficiency in learning, and appeared to have both a good memory and good understanding. Even as a boy at about fourteen 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 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 I have frequently said in my other works; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once intimately acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with hard fare, and hard labour, and went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but when I was informed that one whose name was Bauus, lived in the desert, who used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity,

<sup>1</sup> An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, especially as to the priests. See Cont. Ap. i. 7.—W.

I became a follower of him. And having continued with him three years,<sup>1</sup> and accomplished my purpose, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to live in strict accordance with the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is very similar to what the Greeks call the Stoic school.

§ 3. But when I was twenty-six, it happened that I went up to Rome, on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judæa, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, very excellent persons, whom on a small and trifling charge he had put in irons, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, especially as I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts.<sup>2</sup> And I arrived at Rome, after great peril by sea; for, as our ship went down in the Adriatic sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number,<sup>3</sup> swam for our lives all that night; and at daybreak, upon our sighting, by God's providence,

<sup>1</sup> 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 stayed besides with one particular ascetic, called Banus, *παρ' αὐτῶν, with him*, and that before he was nineteen, there is little room left for his trial of 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, by this his description, might well be a follower of John the Baptist, and that from him Josephus might easily imbibe such notions, as afterwards prepared him to have a favourable opinion about Jesus Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.—W.

<sup>2</sup> We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at least those that were priests, were sometimes ascetics also, and, like Daniel and his companions in Babylon, Dan. i. 8-16, ate no flesh, but *figs and nuts*, &c., only. This was like the *ξηροφαγία*, or austere diets, of the Christian ascetics in passion-week. Constit. v. 18.—W.

<sup>3</sup> It has been thought the number of St. Paul and his companions on ship board, Acts xxvii. 38, which are 276 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.—W. For several close coincidences between the voyages of Josephus and St. Paul, see Blunt's "Undesigned Coincidences," § 22.

a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, got the start of the rest, and were taken on board. And having thus got safe to Dicæarchia,<sup>1</sup> which the Italians call Puteoli, I became intimate with Aliturus, an actor much beloved by Nero, and a Jew by race, and through his interest became known to Poppæa, Nero's wife, and speedily effected through her influence the liberation of the priests. And having obtained many presents from Poppæa besides this favour, I returned home again.

§ 4. And now I perceived that we were on the eve of revolution, and that many were very elated at the idea of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavoured to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and to persuade them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and 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 risk bringing the most terrible woes upon their country, their families, and themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them, for the madness of desperate men carried the day.

§ 5. I was then afraid that, by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and suspicion, as if I were of the enemy's party, and should run risk of being seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia,<sup>2</sup> which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner part of the temple. But I stole out of the temple again, after Manahem and the leaders of the band of robbers were put to death, and abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us now that we saw the people in arms, for we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain the revolutionary party. 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

<sup>1</sup> Now *Pozzuoli*, near *Naples*. See *Antiq.* xvii. § 1; *Jewish War*, ii. 7, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Castle of Antonia, built by Herod the Great, was near the north cloister of the Temple.

quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that it would not be long ere Gessius came up with a great force, and so put an end to these revolutionary proceedings.

§ 6. But upon his coming up and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this reverse of Gessius became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that advocated the war were so elated with this success, that they had hopes of eventually conquering the Romans. There was also another pretext for the war: those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria<sup>1</sup> seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least cause of complaint against them: for they had neither thought of revolting from the Romans, nor had they shown the slightest sign of hatred or treacherous design towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis<sup>2</sup> was the most impious and highly criminal of all;<sup>3</sup> for, when hostile Jews attacked 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:<sup>4</sup> and when by their assistance they had joined battle with those that attacked them, and had beaten them, they forgot after the victory the assurances they had given these their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many myriads. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> The cities of Syria, so called because they were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Syria, were inhabited by a mixed population, chiefly Greek; some of them were made free cities by Pompey, and others enjoyed certain rights and immunities.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek name of Bethshean, now *Beisân*. In Jewish War, iii. 9, § 7, it is called the largest town in Decapolis. The extensive ruins lie on a terrace above Jordan, at the lower end of the Valley of Jezreel.

<sup>3</sup> See Jewish War, ii. 18, § 3.—W. Where the "many myriads" here becomes "upwards of 13,000."

<sup>4</sup> The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren from that law of Moses, Lev. xix. 16: "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour;" and that, ver. 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. See Antiq. viii. 8, § 3.—W.

Damascus. But I have given a more accurate account of these things in my books on the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the war of the Jews with the Romans was not so much choice as necessity.

§ 7. Now when Gessius had been beaten, as I have already said, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and revolutionary party had arms in great plenty, and fearing that they, being unprovided with arms, would be in subjection to their enemies, as actually came to pass afterwards; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two others of the priests, who were excellent persons, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill-advised men there to lay down their arms, and to prove to them, that it were best to keep those arms in reserve for the most courageous men that the nation had, for that it had been resolved, that while they should always keep their arms ready against any emergency, they should yet wait to see what the Romans would do.

§ 8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I went into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> in no small anxiety about their town, because the Galilæans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand to, and made a league with, Cestius Gallus, the governor 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 their own hostages with Gessius in Dora,<sup>2</sup> which is a city of Phœnicia, as often as they pleased. But I found that the inhabitants of Tiberias<sup>3</sup> had already taken up arms, and that on the following account.

§ 9. There were three factions in Tiberias. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his com-

<sup>1</sup> Now *Sefûrieh*, a town of Galilee, afterwards called Diocæsarea.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Tantûra*, on the sea coast south of Carmel; the Dor of Joshua xi. 2, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Tubariyeh*, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee.



panions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalns, and Compsus the son of Compsus (for as to Compsus' brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king <sup>1</sup> [Agrippa], he was beyond the Jordan on his own estate); all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should still continue in its allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution, for by nature he had a touch of the mad. The second faction was composed of the most obscure 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 revolution, supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, "that 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 the town of Sepphoris to be subordinate to it, nor had they lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it, until Felix was procurator of Judæa. But now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present of by Nero to Agrippa junior; and that upon Sepphoris' submission to the Romans, it had become the capital of Galilee, and the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken this, and a great deal more against Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to revolt, he added, that "now was the time for them to take up arms, and join with the Galilæans as their confederates (whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bore to the people of Sepphoris, because they had preserved their fidelity to the Romans), and to gather together a great force in order to punish them." By this speech he swayed the multitude, for his abilities lay in making harangues to the people, and in gaining the victory by his speeches over such as opposed him, though

<sup>1</sup> That 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.—W.

their advice was better, by his juggling and craft. For he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks, and in dependence on that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, intending by his narrative to subvert the truth. But as to this man, and his bad character and conduct in life, and how he and his brother were, in a great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the course of my narrative. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed upon the citizens of Tiberias to take up arms,—nay, had even forced a great many to do so against their will, he went out with all of them, and set the villages of Gadara<sup>1</sup> and Hippos<sup>2</sup> on fire; which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

§ 10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala<sup>3</sup> its affairs were thus. When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much elated at the idea of revolting from the Romans, he tried to restrain them, and entreated them to keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his purpose, in spite of all his endeavours, for the neighbouring people of Gadara, Gabara,<sup>4</sup> Sogane,<sup>5</sup> and Tyre,<sup>6</sup> got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took it by storm, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely razed it to the ground they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people before mentioned, and rebuilt Gischala stronger than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

§ 11. But Gamala<sup>7</sup> adhered to its allegiance to the Romans, for the following reason. Philip the son of Jacimus, who was prefect under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been be-

<sup>1</sup> A town of Decapolis, now *Umm Keis*, on the heights above the valley of the *Yarmūk*, east of Jordan.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Súsiyeh*, on the plateau east of the Sea of Galilee, and not far from Gamala; it was the centre of a district called Hippene.

<sup>3</sup> A town of Upper Galilee, now the village *el-Jish*, in the *Safed* district.

<sup>4</sup> One of the largest towns in Galilee; *Life*, 25; now *Kh. Kábra*.

<sup>5</sup> Now *Sukhnin*.

<sup>6</sup> Now *Súr*.

<sup>7</sup> Now *Kul'at el-Husn*, to the east of the Sea of Galilee, and nearly opposite Tiberias.

sieged ; but as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was 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, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip stayed 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 the villages in his jurisdiction that lay near the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of his men, and commanded them to come to him. But the deity hindered his intention, and that for his own advantage, for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him suddenly, he wrote letters to Agrippa and Berenice, and gave them to one of his freedmen to carry to Varus, who at this time was procurator of the kingdom, which office the king and his sister had entrusted him with, as they had gone to Berytus<sup>1</sup> with the intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, 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 them ; and said, that he spoke falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting with the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when the freedman of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what was the reason, 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 would himself get the kingdom, being descended from kings. For Varus was, by the confession of all, of royal race, as being a descendant

<sup>1</sup> Now *Beirut*.

<sup>2</sup> The Cæsarea mentioned here is Cæsarea Philippi, or Paneas, now *Baniás*, at one of the sources of the Jordan.

of Sohemus, who had been tetrarch near Mount 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 get any letters from Philip, by guarding all the passes, lest anyone should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cæsarea. He intended also to join with the Trachonites in Batanæa,<sup>1</sup> and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana,<sup>2</sup> for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the most influential Jews of Cæsarea, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, that Varus hath heard, that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing it, 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 credit those who raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make their defence on the charge brought against them. So when the twelve got to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no revolutionary ideas at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy, who not at all suspecting what would happen to them, sent them accordingly. So they went down to Cæsarea with the twelve ambassadors, where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, ambassadors and all, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one of the seventy escaped, and stole a march on Varus and informed the Jews of his 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 many myriads of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of this, he also went to the citadel of Gamala;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the four districts into which the ancient Bashan was divided; the others being Trachonitis (*el-Lejah*), Auranitis (*Haurân*), and Gaulonitis (*Jaulân*). Its name is still preserved in *el-Butein* and *Ard el-Bathanyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> The context shows that Ecbatana is used here for Batanæa; the Babylonian Jews appear to have lived in Batanæan villages not far from Gamala, *Kul'at el-Husn*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn*.

and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to lead them 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 their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But when the king got to learn of Varus's design to cut off the Jews of Cæsarea, being many myriads, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him *Æquus Modius*, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as I have elsewhere related. So Philip kept the citadel of Gamala and the adjacent country in its allegiance to the Romans.

§ 12. Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things from the information of such as told me, I wrote to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem about it, and asked their direction what I should do. They begged me to stay there with my colleagues if they were willing, and to look after the condition of Galilee. But my colleagues, having got great riches from those tithes which were their dues as priests, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay till we could settle affairs, they complied with me. So I removed with them from the city of Sepphoris,<sup>1</sup> and came to a certain village called Bethmaus,<sup>2</sup> four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and thence I sent messengers to the council of Tiberias, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me; and when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them, that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as an envoy, 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 had forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired, that they would give us leave to do so immediately. But for a good while Capellus and the principal

<sup>1</sup> *Sefûrieh*.

<sup>2</sup> The same place as the Emmaus of Antiq. xviii. 2, § 3, and Jewish War, iv. 1, § 3; famous for its hot springs. It is probably the Hammath of Josh. xix. 35; and is now *Hammâm Tubariyeh*, close to Tiberias.

men of the city would not give us leave, but were at length induced to assent to our wishes. But Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom I have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious rising of sailors and poor people, anticipated us, and took with him certain Galilæans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs were gilt. They also plundered a great deal without our approbation; for, after we had conversed with Capellus, and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into 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.

§ 13. When I heard of this, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could to recover all that could be recovered of the royal furniture from such as had plundered it. It consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass; and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the council, and Capellus the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, that they should part with it to nobody but myself. From thence I and my colleagues went to Gischala<sup>1</sup> to John, being desirous to know his intentions, and I soon saw that he was for revolution, and had a mind to the chief power; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off the corn which belonged to Cæsar, and was stored 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 was aiming at, and what he had in view, I said I would not permit him to do so. For I thought either to keep it for the Romans, or for myself, now I was intrusted with the management of affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my colleagues, who had no sagacity in reading the future, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them

<sup>1</sup> *el-Jish.*

with money, to decree that all the corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; and I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and had to acquiesce. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance. 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 him, that, since they had no oil that was pure to use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of Greek oil, and thereby transgress their laws. Now this was said by John, not out of regard to religion, but out of the most flagrant desire of gain: for he knew that two pints of oil were sold at Cæsarea for one drachma, but that at Gischala fourscore pints were sold for four drachmæ. So he gave order, that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as if he had my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. As I therefore yielded the point, John gained vast sums of money by this knavery.

§ 14. But when I had dismissed my colleagues, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to get arms provided, and the cities fortified. And, when I had sent for the boldest of 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 pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little money willingly, rather than to see their goods plundered. And when I had obliged the robbers to take an oath not to come into our country, unless they were invited, or when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to war against the Romans, nor against their neighbours: for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. And as I wished to have the principal Galilæans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity under the pretext of friendship, I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes: and it was with their approbation that I gave my sentences, while I endeavoured not to deviate from justice through over haste, and to keep my hands clean from all bribes.

§ 15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for anyone to escape the calumnies of envy, although he restrain himself from any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I respect the chastity of every woman, and, as to the presents which 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 who inhabited the cities that were adjacent to us, when I had conquered them, and that I sent it to my kindred at Jerusalem; although when I twice took Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> by storm, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara<sup>2</sup> once, and when I had got John in my power, who had often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not revenge myself upon either him or any of the people beforenamed, as the course of my narrative will show. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God,<sup>3</sup> who never forgets those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of their hands, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

§ 16. Now the mass of the Galilæans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by storm, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were anxious for my safety. And when John saw this, he was moved with envy, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot baths of Tiberias for the recovery of his health. And I did not forbid him, having no suspicion of any wicked design on his part, and I wrote expressly to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias to provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and to procure him a plen-

<sup>1</sup> *Sefürich.*

<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis.*

<sup>3</sup> Our Josephus shows, both here and everywhere, 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 this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity to the Jews his brethren.—W.



tiful supply of whatever he stood in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is called Cana<sup>1</sup>

§ 17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded its inhabitants to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to attach themselves to him; and many of them gladly received the invitation of his, as ever fond of revolutions, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions: but Justus and his father Pistus were chiefly earnest in their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I was too quick for them, and anticipated them: for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and told me of the purpose of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither; for if I made any delay, the city would soon be in the power of others. Upon receipt of this letter of Silas', I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night, having sent on a messenger, to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me, and John with them, who saluted me, but in a very confused manner, as if afraid that my coming was to call him to account for what I was now aware he was doing. So he went in great haste 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 high wall, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their fidelity would be to their reproach, and they would be justly suspected by those that should be their masters hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them either.

§ 18. But, before I had spoken all I intended, I heard one of my own followers bidding me come down; for that it was not the time to be anxious about retaining the good-

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to indicate which of the Canas is alluded to here; it may either be *Kāna el-Jelil*, north of Sepphoris, or the well-known *Kefr Kenna*, on the road from Nazareth to Tiberias; the former is most probable.

will of the people of Tiberias, but about my own safety, and how to escape my enemies there; for John had sent the most trusty of those thousand armed men that he had with him, and had given them orders to kill me, having learned that I was alone, except for a few personal followers. So those that were sent came as they were ordered, and would have done their work, had I not leaped down from the wall I stood on, with one of my guards, whose name was James, and been hoisted 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, greatly to the surprise of my enemies, and got to Tarichææ.<sup>1</sup>

§ 19. Now when the inhabitants of that city heard of the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked. 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 Galilæans, and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and besought them to muster in large numbers and come to them, that they might act as the general thought fit. Accordingly, the Galilæans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by storm, and to lay it even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those of my friends also who had escaped out of Tiberias gave me the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war, for I thought that this contention ought not to proceed further than words; nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do this, the Romans wishing for nothing better than that we should destroy one another by our mutual factions. And by saying this I put a stop to the anger of the Galilæans.

§ 20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were with him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concern-

<sup>1</sup> Now, apparently, the ruins of *Kerak*, at the south end of the Sea of Galilee, at the point where the Jordan leaves the lake.

ing what had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in what he wrote to me.

§ 21. But now another large body of the Galilæans mustered from all the district again with their weapons, knowing how wicked and how perjured the man was, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I confessed, that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galilæans to let me do so, I went to Sepphoris.

§ 22. But the inhabitants of that city, having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, and being afraid of my coming to them, tried to divert me by another transaction, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were on the borders of Ptolemais,<sup>1</sup> 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 beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took with him 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 near, one of those with him deserted, and came to me, and told me of his intention. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, pre-

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemais, or Ace (Antiq. ix. 14, § 2), afterwards so celebrated as St. Jean d'Acre. It is now 'Akka.

tending to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galilæans that were armed, as also some from 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 Jesus, when he came with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they tried to force themselves in, to smite them. Accordingly, those that had received orders did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few of his men; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him that if he refused to do so he was a dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was frightened and complied; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they heard of his arrest, they fled. I then called Jesus apart, and told him, that "I was not a stranger to his treacherous design against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he had been sent, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And upon his promising to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to muster his followers together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that if they would not leave off their unfair treatment of me, I would punish them.

§ 23. At this time two great men who were under the jurisdiction of king Agrippa, came to me out of the region of Trachonitis,<sup>1</sup> bringing their horses, and carrying with them their arms and money. As the Jews wanted to force them to be circumcised, if they wished to stay among them, I would not permit them to have force put upon them,<sup>2</sup> but said, "Every one ought to worship God according to his principles and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And

<sup>1</sup> Now *el-Lejah*, a broken volcanic district to the south of Damascus.

<sup>2</sup> 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 so to do. See § 31, and Luke ix. 54.—W.

when I had persuaded the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatever they wanted, according to their usual way of living, in great plenty.

§ 24. Meantime king Agrippa sent a force under the command of *Æquus Modius* to make itself master of the citadel of *Gamala*,<sup>1</sup> but the force that was sent was not large enough to invest it, but lay before it in the open country, and besieged it. But when *Æbutius* the decurion, who was intrusted with the charge of the great plain, heard that I was at *Simonias*,<sup>2</sup> a village lying on the borders of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horse that were with him, and about two hundred foot, by night, and brought the inhabitants of the city of *Gaba*<sup>3</sup> with him as auxiliaries, and marched by night to the village where I abode. And when I drew up my large force in battle array, *Æbutius* tried to entice us to the plain, as greatly depending on his horse, but we would not come down; for as I saw at once the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, as we were all foot, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now *Æbutius* and his men made a stout fight for some time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him on that ground, he retired to *Gaba*, without having effected his object, and having lost three of his men in the fight. I followed him closely with two thousand armed men: and when I got to the city *Besara*,<sup>4</sup> that lay on the borders of *Ptolemais*, but twenty furlongs from *Gaba*, where *Æbutius* was, I placed my armed men outside the village, and gave orders that they should guard the roads with great care, that the enemy should not disturb us until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there, which belonged to *Berenice* 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

<sup>1</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn.*

<sup>2</sup> Now *Semûnieh* on the hills north of *Esdraelon*, called by Josephus "the great plain."

<sup>3</sup> Now *Jebâta*, see *Jewish War*, ii. 18, § 1, and iii. 3, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> Site unknown.

this, I offered Æbutius battle; but as he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I marched against Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was being plundered by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had had Scythopolis<sup>1</sup> intrusted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from ravaging Tiberias any further, I began to see to the affairs of Galilee.

§ 25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as I said, was at Gischala,<sup>2</sup> heard how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was in favour with those who 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 launched out into bitter envy against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to my good fortune, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris (as for those of Gabara<sup>3</sup> he supposed they would be of the same mind with the others,) and these three were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to join his party; and he 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 listen to him, and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to revolt from me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara went over to John; for Simon, a leading man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John, persuaded them so to do. It is true, the men of Gabara did not openly own their revolt (because they were in great fear of the Galilæans, having had frequent experience of the goodwill they bore to me) yet did they privately watch for a good opportunity to lay snares for me, and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the following occasion.

§ 26. There were some bold young men of the village Dabaritta,<sup>4</sup> who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the

<sup>1</sup> *Beisân.*

<sup>2</sup> *el-Jish.*

<sup>3</sup> *Kh. Kûbra.*

<sup>4</sup> The Daberath of Josh. xix. 12, &c.; now *Debûrich*, at the foot of Mount Tabor.

king's procurator, was journeying over the great plain with a large retinue, and with some horsemen that followed as a guard, from 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, and plundered all the baggage. They also came to me to Tarichææ,<sup>1</sup> with four mules laden with garments and other articles; 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 by our laws even to spoil our enemies), so I told those that brought those spoils, that they ought to be kept to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem by their sale. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of these spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people, that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, for I used deceitful language to them, when I said what had been thus got by rapine should be kept for rebuilding the walls of the city of Jerusalem, when I intended to restore these spoils again to their owner. And indeed they were not mistaken as to this my intention; for when they had gone away, I sent for two leading men, Dassion, and Jannæus the son of Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the articles that had been robbed, and to send them to him; and I threatened that I would have them put to death, by way of punishment, if they communicated my orders to any other person.

§ 27. Now, when all Galilee was filled with the rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and desirous to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichææ did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and urged my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to go quickly to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel with all men against me their commander. And, when they had pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Kerak.*

vailed with them, and they were got together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them to punishment. Now Jesus, the son of Sapphias, principally egged them on. He was chief magistrate at this time in Tiberias, and a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make great disturbances; he was indeed a seditious person, and an innovator beyond everybody else. He now took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow-citizens! if you cannot hate Josephus on your own account, have regard at any rate to those 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 has acted with such presumption to his deserved punishment."

§ 28. When he had said this, and the multitude loudly applauded him, he took some armed men, and hasted to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately. But I was wholly insensible of all this till the disturbance happened, for I had fallen fast asleep from fatigue. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, seeing the violent rush the citizens made at me, awoke me, and told me of the danger I was in, and begged 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 themselves killed me. Thus did he speak to me, but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. And I put on a black garment, and hung my sword round my neck, and went by a different way to the hippodrome, so that I thought none of my adversaries would meet me: and I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears, and seemed to all persons an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was thus wrought 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 have been, but I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept the money



arising from the plunder, and they might then kill me, if they pleased. And, upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came in, and when they saw me, they ran up to kill me: but when the multitude bade them stop, they complied, expecting that as soon as I should own to them that I had kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of treason, and they would then be allowed to kill me.

§ 29. When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I spoke thus to them: "My countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth before I die; for as I knew that this city of yours was a city given to hospitality, and filled with abundance of men who 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 Tarichææ and the foreigners cried out, that they gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage. But the Galilæans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, as 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 the other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned everyone to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied by my friends and twenty armed men.

§ 30. But those robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account that 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 I was told of their approach, I thought it unseemly to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with resolution. So I gave orders to shut the doors of the house, 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 that then they would have no occasion to be

angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely, after having him dragged to the innermost part of the house, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung it about his neck, and thus thrust him out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they would 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); so they ran away immediately. Thus I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped their second treacherous design against me.

§ 31. But there were some that still irritated the multitude against me, and said that those royal grandees that came to me ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their habits to suit those to whom they fled for safety: they spoke reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were sorcerers, and prevented their getting the better of the Romans. And the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible arguments as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were persuaded by them. But when I was informed of this, I urged on the multitude again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted; I also laughed at the absurd allegation of sorcery, and told them that the Romans would not keep so many as ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by sorcery. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while, but they returned afterwards, being irritated by some bad people against the grandees. Nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tarichææ, in order to kill them; and when I was informed of that, I was afraid, if so horrid a crime should take effect, that nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore went with some others to the house where these grandees lived, and locked their doors, and had a canal cut from their house to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked thereon with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos.<sup>1</sup> I also paid them the value of their horses, for in such a flight I could not have their horses

<sup>1</sup> *Súsiyeh.*

brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which had befallen them. I was also myself greatly grieved that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me for shelter to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it better that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at last, for king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned those men.

§ 32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to guard their country; for they were desirous to come over to him: this was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to construct for them walls, as I had promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of Tarichææ were already built. I agreed to the proposal accordingly, and when I had made all preparations for the building, I gave orders to the engineers to go to work. But on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichææ, which was thirty furlongs from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were sighted on the march not far from the city, which made it supposed that a force was come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me, and one came running up 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 Tarichææ to their own homes, because the next day was our sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarichææ disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I sojourned in that city, I never took any particular care for a body-guard, because I had had frequent proofs of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me; and I had about me no more than seven armed men besides some friends, and so I was doubtful what to do. For I did not think proper to send to recall my own forces, because the day was almost over, and had these forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws

forbade us to do so, even though our necessity should be very great ; and if I should permit the people of Tarichææ, and the strangers with them, to plunder the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to defer my assistance a great while ; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would get the start of me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I resolved, therefore, to get clear of these forces by a stratagem ; so I immediately placed at the gates of Tarichææ those friends of mine on whom I could best confide, to watch very carefully those who wished to pass out ; I also called to me the heads of families, and bade every one of them to launch a ship, and go on board it, and take a pilot with them, and follow me to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men I have already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

§ 33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear for their city, and were greatly terrified, supposing that the ships were full of soldiers ; so they 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 intentions, and besought me to spare the city. But when I was come near, I gave order to the pilots to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board. And I went near to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and for being so fickle as, without any just excuse, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them, that I would certainly 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 before mentioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Tarichææ, and ordered them to be kept in prison there.

§ 34. And by this stratagem I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to Tari-

chææ, with many of the principal men among the populace, and those not fewer in number than the others. 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 Clitus, and he was a young man bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own countrymen to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own body-guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this was afraid to go alone among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the cowardice of the soldier should be made manifest to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou 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. And he, to prevent the loss of both his hands, willingly took his sword, and cut off his left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

§ 35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I had gone to Tarichææ, discovered the stratagem I had used against them, and admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition without shedding of blood. And now I sent for some of the people of Tiberias out of prison (among whom were Justus and his father Pistus) and had them to sup with me; and during supper time I told them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but had kept silent about it 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 act with the moderation that I had done. I also reminded Justus how the Galilæans had cut off his brother's hands, before I came from Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him of having forged some letters before the war, as also how the people of Gamala, in a rising against the Babylonians after the departure of Philip, slew Chares (who was a kinsman of Philip), and also how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother, the

husband of Justus's sister. When I had said this to them during supper-time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be discharged.

§ 36. 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 had been removed by king Agrippa, and that Modius Æquus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, had come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what various fortunes he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he had sent to the king and queen. Now, when Modius had received these letters, he was exceedingly glad, knowing thereby that Philip was safe, and forwarded the letters to the king and queen, who were then at Berytus.<sup>1</sup> But when King Agrippa knew that the rumour 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) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him; and when he was come, he saluted him in a very friendly way, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about that he had revolted from the Romans. He also bade him to take some horsemen with him, and go to the citadel of Gamala, and bring out thence all his household, and restore the Babylonians<sup>2</sup> to Batanæa again. He also charged him to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of any insurrection. And Philip, upon these directions from the king, made haste to do what he commanded him.

§ 37. Now, there was one Joseph, the son of a midwife, who stirred up a great many bold young men to join with him, and rose against the principal persons at Gamala, and urged them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should through him recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that would not acquiesce in their views, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him his kinsman Jesus, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as I have already said. They

<sup>1</sup> *Beirût.*

<sup>2</sup> The Babylonian Jews; see p. 10.

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 refuse either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis<sup>1</sup> did also revolt from the king, as far as the village of Solyma.<sup>2</sup> I also built walls about Selucia<sup>3</sup> and Sogana,<sup>4</sup> villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, in like manner, I walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names were Jamnia,<sup>5</sup> and Meroth,<sup>6</sup> and Achabare.<sup>7</sup> I also fortified, in Lower Galilee, the cities of Tarichææ, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages of the cave of Arbela,<sup>8</sup> Bersabe,<sup>9</sup> Selamin,<sup>10</sup> Jotapata,<sup>11</sup> Caphareccho,<sup>12</sup> Sigo,<sup>13</sup> Japha,<sup>14</sup> and Mount Tabor.<sup>15</sup> I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms also, that might be for their security afterwards.

§ 38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, as 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 his native place. 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,<sup>16</sup> to beg him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galilæans, and to give their votes for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city of Jerusalem, and of a very illustrious family, of the sect of the

<sup>1</sup> Now the district of *Jaulân*, east of Jordan.      <sup>2</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>3</sup> A town on Lake Semechonitis, *Bahr el-Hüleh*; the site is unknown.

<sup>4</sup> *Sukhnîn*.      <sup>5</sup> Site unknown.      <sup>6</sup> *Meirôn*, near *Safed*.

<sup>7</sup> Now *'Akbara*, to the south-east of *Meirôn*; see B. J. ii. 20; § 6.

<sup>8</sup> Now *Irbid*, west of the Sea of Galilee.      <sup>9</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>10</sup> Now *Khurbet Selâmeh*.

<sup>11</sup> Now *Jefât*.

<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> Sites unknown.

<sup>14</sup> The *Japhia* of Josh. xix. 12; now *Yâfa*, south of Nazareth.

<sup>15</sup> Part of the fortifications on Mount Tabor may be those still remaining, and which were seen lately by Mr. Maundrel. See his *Travels*, p. 112.—W.

<sup>16</sup> 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 in Acts v. 34, and at whose feet St. Paul was brought up. Acts xxii. 3. See Prid. at the year 449.—W.

Pharisees, who are supposed to excel all others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and intelligence, and capable of restoring public affairs, when they were in an ill posture, by his sagacity. He was also an old friend and companion of John, but was at that time at variance with me. When therefore he had received this exhortation, he urged the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same party, to cut me short, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook my advancing to the height of glory; and he added, that it would be for their advantage if I were deprived of my government in Galilee. He desired Ananus also, and his friends, 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 showed that it was no 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 added that it was the work of bad men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

§ 39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired those present to conceal the thing, and not to let it come abroad; for he would take care to have me removed from Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, and charged him to send presents to Ananus and his friends; for he said they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did thus at last compass what he aimed at; for Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me from Galilee, without any others of the citizens knowing what they were doing. Accordingly, they resolved to send men of distinction, both as to their families and learning. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan and Ananias, of the sect of the Pharisees, while the third, Jozarus, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also, and Simon, the last of them, was the youngest of the high priests. They were instructed, when they were come to the multitude of the Galilæans, to ask them, what was the reason of their love to me? And if they answered, that it was be-



cause I was born in Jerusalem, then 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; and if they should further say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of them were priests also.

§ 40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand pieces of silver out of the public treasury. And when they heard that there was a certain Galilæan that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had with him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months' pay, and orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and to be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred citizens to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors. And when they had complied, and got ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, taking along with them John's brother and a hundred armed men. The orders given them by those that sent them were, that if I should voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city of Jerusalem, but that, in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their command so to do. They also wrote to John to make all things ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of Sephoris, and Gabara, and Tiberias, to send auxiliaries to John.

§ 41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present at that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it), I was very much troubled, discovering thereby, that my fellow-citizens were so ungrateful to me, as out of envy to give orders that I should be slain; my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and said that in three days 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, as they would be, if they were deprived of my command over them. But as I did

not grant their request, but provided for my own safety, the Galilæans, dreading that after my departure they would 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 fear on their own account: for, while I stayed 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.<sup>1</sup>

§ 42. But wonderful was a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, being grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me that a certain person stood by me, and said, "Sir, leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very great and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt not only get over these difficulties, but many others, with great success. Be not therefore 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. But when the whole multitude of the Galilæans (and among them the women and children) saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away, and permit their country to be the sport of their foes. But as they did not persuade me by their entreaties, they tried to force me to take an oath that I would stay with them: they also cast abundant reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, because they would not let their country enjoy peace.

§ 43. When I heard this, and saw what dejection the people were in, I was moved with compassion, and thought it right 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 orders that five thousand of them should come to me armed, and with their own provisions, I sent the rest away to their own homes. And

<sup>1</sup> The plain of *el-Buttauf*, northward from Nazareth.

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 the village of Chabolo, which is situated on the confines of Ptolemais. And there I kept my forces together, feigning to get ready to fight with Placidus, who had come with two cohorts of foot, and one troop of horse, having been sent there by Cestius Gallus, to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais.<sup>1</sup> And upon his casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from Chabolo.<sup>2</sup> And now we frequently brought out our forces as if for battle, but proceeded no further than skirmishes; for, when Placidus saw that I was earnest to come to battle, he was afraid, and declined it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

§ 44. It was about this time that Jonathan and his fellow-envoys came, who were sent, as I have said already, by Simon and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan laid a plot to catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following letter. "Jonathan and those that are with him, who are sent by the people of Jerusalem, send greeting to Josephus. 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 for the future. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, as to what ought 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 hold a great number of soldiers." Thus they wrote, expecting one of two things, either that I should go to them without armed men, and then they would have me in their power; or, if I came with a great number, they would judge me to be a public enemy. Now a horseman brought the letter, an impudent man who had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night when he came, and I was feasting with my friends, and the leading Galilæans. This man, upon my

<sup>1</sup> 'Akka.

<sup>2</sup> The Cabul of Josh. xix. 27; now *Kábúl*, nine miles east of 'Akka.

servant's telling me that a certain Jewish horseman was come, was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out the letter, and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem: do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I am in a hurry to return to them." Now my guests wondered at the boldness of the soldier, but I asked him to sit down and sup with us; but as he refused to do so, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and conversed with my guests about other matters. But not long after I rose, and when I had dismissed the rest to their repose, I bade only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine. I also opened the letter, without anybody noticing it; and understanding thereby presently the intention of the writers, I sealed it up again, as if I had not read it, but only held it in my hands, and ordered twenty drachmæ to be given the soldier for the expenses of his journey; and when he took the money, and said he was obliged for it, I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that bait, so I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." And he gladly embraced the proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and got so drunk, that he could no longer keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but blabbed out, without my putting questions to him, that a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to death by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back the following answer. "Josephus sendeth greeting to Jonathan and those that are with him. I rejoice to hear that you are come into Galilee in good health, especially as 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 long time. And I confess I ought, not only to come to you as far as Xaloth,<sup>1</sup> but further, and that without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do so now, since I am watching the motions of Placidus, who desires to go up into Galilee, here at Chabolo. Do

<sup>1</sup> The Chesulloth of Josh. xix. 18, and Chisloth-Tabor of Josh. xix. 12; now the village *Iksil*.

you, therefore, on the receipt of this letter, come hither to me. Fare you well.”

§ 45. When I had written this, and given the letter to the soldier to carry, I sent along with him thirty of the Galilæans of the best repute, and gave them instructions to salute the envoys, but to say nothing to them. I also attached as many armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, to watch, lest any conversation might pass between those whom I sent, and those that were with Jonathan. So these men set out. But, as Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, as follows. “Jonathan and those with him send greeting to Josephus. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth,<sup>1</sup> 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, and saluted the Galilæans whom I sent, they went 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 bade them be gone, and not grudge them an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly; so they deigned to make no answer, but went to other villages. But similar clamours met them from all the people, who said, “Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander than 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,<sup>2</sup> the people of that place made a clamour against them, just 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.

<sup>1</sup> The same as Gabara, *Life*, 25 and 46.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Kefr Menda*, above the plain of *Buttauf*.

And when they came to Gabara, John met them with three thousand armed men. And as I understood by their letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I departed from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my most faithful friends, and went to Jotapata, being desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. And I wrote thus to them. "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and four cities and villages in Galilee: I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gabara and Gischala; one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

§ 46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote to me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together, and taking John into their consultation, deliberated how 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 were at variance with me, and that these should be invited to come and oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city of Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galilæans, might themselves also vote the same. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galilæans who were well affected to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he said was very agreeable to the rest. I was made acquainted with this about the third hour of the night by one Sacchæus, 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, but gave command to James, 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 all passers by, and send them to me, especially such as were taken with letters about them. I also sent Jeremiah himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led

from that country to the city of Jerusalem, and gave him charge to arrest such as travelled with letters about them, and to keep the men in bonds upon the spot, but to send me the letters.

§ 47. When I had laid these commands upon those I sent out, I gave the Galilæans orders and bid them to take their arms, and bring three days' provision with them, and be with me the next day at Gabaroth. I also divided the armed men about me into four parts, and set those of them that were most faithful to me to be my body-guard. I also put over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier whom they did not know should mix himself among them. Now, about the fifth hour on the day following, when I was at Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who according to my orders were come out of Galilee to assist me: a large multitude also from the villages accompanied them. And as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of their country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them, I also advised them to fight with nobody, and not to spoil the country, but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their provisions; for I told them I had a mind to settle these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, on the very same day, that those who were sent by John with letters fell into the hands of the guards whom I appointed to watch the roads, so the men were themselves kept upon the spot, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to march against those men, without saying a word of my intention to anybody.

§ 48. 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 tower, and no way unlike a citadel. And they privately secreted a band of armed men there, and shut all the doors but one, which they kept open, and expected that I should come to them off my journey 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 all the others; supposing that by this means they should easily get me into their power: but they were deceived in their expectation. For I perceived what snares they had laid for me, and, as soon as I was come off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep. Then Jonathan and his party, thinking I was really asleep and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was a sorry general. But matters proved other than they expected; for upon their appearance there was a cry made by the Galilæans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their general; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his party for coming to them, when they had suffered no harm, to upset their affairs; and advised them to go back again, for they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When this was reported to me, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them; I went, therefore, myself down at once to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation from them, who confessed their thanks were owing to me for my leadership of them.

§ 49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were afraid for their own lives, lest they should be attacked by the Galilæans on my account; so they thought of flight. But as they were not able to get off (for I told them to stay) they looked with concern at my words to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restrain their acclamations, and posted the most faithful of my armed men at the avenues, to be on the guard lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us; and I advised the Galilæans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden assault should be made upon them. Then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his party in mind of their letter, how they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the commonalty of the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to go to them. And as I spoke



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 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 would have been forced, after the examination of their characters, to acquit me of the charges brought against me. That therefore you may know that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I give you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decorum and integrity among them. And I further conjure you, O Galilæans! to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, if I have in anything acted otherwise than well."

§ 50. While I was thus speaking, the voices of all the people united in calling me their benefactor and saviour. And they attested to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue so to act. And they all swore that their wives had been preserved from outrages, and that no one had ever been harmed by me. After this I read to the Galilæans two of the letters which had been sent me by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the roads had taken and sent on to me. They were full of reproaches and lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a general to them, and many other things besides were therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent falsehoods. I also informed the multitude that I got those letters, because those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know anything of the guards I had posted, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing any more.

§ 51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them, and kill them, and would certainly have done so, had I not restrained the anger of the Galilæans, 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 dismissed them, although I knew they would do nothing of what they 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 induce them to spare the men; for I knew that every case 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. But 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 from Gabara. By using this stratagem, I so managed as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

§ 52. But when I was come near to 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 afterwards remedied; 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 of Jerusalem, to 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 remain in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested this to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them forth the third day after the assembly; I also sent five hundred armed men with them. I then wrote to my friends in Samaria,<sup>1</sup> to see to their safely passing through that country; for Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that wanted to go quickly to Jerusalem, to pass through that country; for by that road one may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also myself

<sup>1</sup> Samaria lay between Galilee and Judæa; its limits are defined in Jewish War, iii. 3, § 4.

conducted the envoys as far as the bounds of Galilee, and posted guards on the road, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had done this, I went and abode at Japha.

§ 53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues, having failed in accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John back to Gischala, and went themselves to the city of Tiberias, expecting it would submit to them. Their idea was founded on a letter which Jesus, its then governor, had written them, promising, that if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government. So they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left by me to look after Tiberias, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. And I complied with his advice quickly, and went there, but found myself in danger of my life, for the following reason. Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many who were at variance with me to revolt from 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. They added further, 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 stayed that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this, they swore to it with oaths such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge somewhere else: because the next day was the sabbath, and it was not fit that the city of Tiberias should be disturbed by them on that day.

§ 54. As I suspected nothing, I went away to Tarichææ; yet did I leave some in the city to make inquiry whether anything was said about me. I also posted many persons all along the way that led from Tarichææ to Tiberias, that they might communicate to me by relays whatever they learned from those that were left in the city. Now the next

day they all assembled in the place of prayer,<sup>1</sup> a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people; Jonathan went in too, and though he durst not openly speak of 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 forward, and commended him for what he had said, and induced some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and would certainly have gone in for a tumult, had not the sixth hour, which was now come, dissolved the assembly, as at that hour our laws require us to go to dinner on Sabbath days. So Jonathan and his party put off their council till the next day, and went off without effecting their ends. When I was informed of these things, I at once determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I went to Tiberias from Tarichææ, and found the multitude ready assembled in the place of prayer; but why they were assembled together those that were present did not know. But, when Jonathan and his colleagues unexpectedly saw me there, they were in great disorder, but they spread a report of their own invention that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Homonæa,<sup>2</sup> on the borders, thirty furlongs from the city. Upon this report Jonathan and his colleagues advised and exhorted me not 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 pretence of the pressing need of assistance, while they might make the city hostile to me.

§ 55. 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

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting here, that there was now a great proseucha, or place of prayer, in the city Tiberias itself, though such proseuchæ used to be out of cities, as the synagogues were within them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Site unknown.

anxious about their security. I therefore went out, but when I was at the place, I found not the least footstep of an enemy, so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council and the mass of the people assembled, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one that cared not to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they talked thus, they produced four letters as if written to them from some people that lived on the borders of Galilee, imploring them to come to their assistance (for there was an army of Romans, both horse and foot, who would come and lay waste their country on the third day), and desiring them to make haste, and not to neglect them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spoke truth, and raised a clamour against me, and said, I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of their fellow-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 promised without delay to march to the war, but advised them, at the same time, since those letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four different places, that they should divide their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues commanders of each body, for it was fit for brave men not only to give counsel, but to take their place as leaders, and assist their countrymen when necessity pressed upon them; for I said it was not possible for me to lead more than one body. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their plans were thus put into very much disorder, because they had not effected what they had designed to do, as my stratagem foiled their undertakings.

§ 56. Now there was one of them whose name was Ananias, who was a wicked and very mischievous man. He proposed that a general religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people, and gave order that they should come at the same hour to the same place without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that unless they obtained his assistance, they thought every weapon useless. This he said, not out of piety, but to

catch me and my friends unarmed. And I was 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, bidding him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for he would then be able easily to get me into his hands, and to do all that he desired to do. When John received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of my body-guards whom I esteemed the most courageous and most faithful, to hide 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 myself took my breastplate, and girt on my sword, so that it might be, as far as was possible, concealed, and went to the place of prayer.

§ 57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered me to enter with only my friends. And while we were engaged in the services 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 the uncoined silver, and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to spin out the 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 lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me further, "What is become of those twenty 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 their ambassadors, as journey-money, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. To this 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 foresaw that a tumult was going to arise, and being desirous not to provoke the people to greater rage against the men, I said, "Well, 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."

§ 58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change on the part of the people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay, for he said 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 with them, there came one and told Jesus and his friend 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 it not happened so, I should certainly have been destroyed by John), said, "O you people of Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold, for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitudes of the Galilæans with his speeches, in order to obtain the rule over them." When he had said this, they at once laid hands on 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; thus they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

§ 59. But when I advanced a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men, and being afraid of him I turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Tarichææ. So I escaped this danger beyond my expectation. Whereupon I at once sent for the chief of the Galilæans, and told them how, against all faith given, I had been very nearly slain by Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galilæans were very angry, and exhorted me to delay no longer to make war against them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his col-

leagues. However I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to stay till we should learn what news those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, would bring back; for I told them it was best for them to act according to their determination. And my words prevailed on them. At this time, also, John, as the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

§ 60. 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, because without any determination of the public they had sent to Galilee, and had tried to get me removed. The ambassadors said further, 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 got these letters, I went to the village Arbela,<sup>1</sup> where I got an assembly of the Galilæans to meet, and bade the ambassadors relate 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; to whom I immediately sent the letter, and bade him that carried it to inquire carefully what they intended to do.

§ 61. Now, when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of Gabara, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. The men of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves, for they said it was not right to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust, especially as I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that I had threatened to do so. Now John was not only of the

<sup>1</sup> Now *Irbid*, west of the Sea of Galilee.



same opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude at Jerusalem for not managing the affairs of Galilee well, and he said they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because every multitude is very fickle. As, therefore, it appeared to them that John had given the wisest advice, they resolved that two of their number, 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 as their guard.

§ 62. However, the men of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded the inhabitants to take up arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John, who was at Gischala, to assist them against me if there should be necessity. Jonathan, therefore, and those that were with him, when they had departed from Tiberias, as soon as they were come to Dabaritta,<sup>1</sup> a village that lay on the borders of Galilee in the great plain, fell in about midnight with my guards, who not only commanded them to lay down their weapons, but kept them in bonds on the spot, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of the guard committed to him by me. I allowed two days to elapse, and, pretending to know nothing about this, I then sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay down their arms, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But they, supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, returned reproachful answers to me; yet was I not dismayed thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them, for I did not think it agreeable to 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 in ambush in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, among the mountains as were the others, but only four furlongs

<sup>1</sup> Now *Debúrieh*, see p. 20.

from Tiberias, and gave order, that when they got my signal, they should come down immediately. And I myself went out of the village and encamped with my soldiers in the open. 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 round it, they mourned over me in jest and sport, and I could not but be myself in a merry humour at the sight of this madness of theirs.

§ 63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by stratagem, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and asked 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. And Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and from the hope of gain, and did not delay to come ; but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, stayed behind. So, when Simon was come up, and his friends with him as a guard, I met him, and saluted him with great civility, and confessed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me. But a little while afterwards I walked along with him, as though I would say something to him by myself ; 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 take into the 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 beat me (for my armed men had already fled away), I saw the posture of 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 storm, and so threw down their arms in fear, and implored, they and their wives and children, that I would spare their city. So I was moved by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from their im-

petuosity, and myself, upon the coming on of evening, returned back with my soldiers from the siege, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him about what had happened and promised him that I would send him safe to Jerusalem, and would also give him provisions for his journey thither.

§ 64. But, on the next day, I took ten thousand men with me, and went to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude to the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had pointed out who the men were, I sent them bound to the city of Jotapata. But, as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, and sent them with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them, to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and begged that I would forgive them for what they had done, and said they would amend what they had done amiss by their fidelity to me for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained from 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 as 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 where he had got it from, and he replied that he had got it from the plunder of the city; so I had him punished with stripes, and I threatened to inflict a severer punishment upon all the rest unless they produced whatever they had plundered; and as a great many things were brought together, I restored to every one of the people of Tiberias what they recognized as their own.

§ 65. And now I am come to this part of my narrative, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who has himself written a history concerning these affairs, as also to all others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of hatred or goodwill to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men act like those who draw up forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the same punishment as them, pay no regard to truth. When, therefore, Justus

undertook to write the history of these things and of the Jewish war, that he might appear to be an industrious man, he lied in what he related about me, and did 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 long ago. For although it be necessary for an 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 from his own moderation. How, then, comes it to pass (that I may address myself to him as if he were here present), O Justus! thou most clever of writers, for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galilæans were the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king? For, before I was ever 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 against Decapolis<sup>1</sup> in Syria. At any rate thou hadst burnt their villages, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this, but it is also written so in the Commentaries of Vespasian the emperor, as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis clamoured against Vespasian at Ptolemais, and demanded that thou who wast the author [of that war,] shouldest be brought to punishment. And thou wouldst certainly have been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, changed the punishment, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Berenice, from death to a long imprisonment. Thy administration of affairs afterwards doth also clearly discover, both thy other behaviour, and that thou wast the occasion of thy country's revolt from the

<sup>1</sup> See Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20, vii. 31. Decapolis, or the "ten towns," is a political rather than a geographical expression; it was a confederacy, or "bund" of ten autonomous cities leagued together for mutual defence, and placed under the direct jurisdiction of the governor of Syria. The towns were Scythopolis, Hippos, Pella, Gadara, Philadelphia, Dion, Canatha, Raphana, Capitolias, and Abila. Pliny also calls Damascus a city of Decapolis.

Romans ; plain proofs of which I shall 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 that light upon this history, that thou barest no goodwill, either to the Romans, or to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus ! were Sepphoris, and thy own native place Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able, with ease, to have been troublesome to the Romans, if it had so pleased, did yet resolve to continue faithful to its masters, and excluded me out of the city, and prohibited any of its 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 a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestius Gallus, who was then commander of the Roman legions in Syria, and so held me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me ; and at the 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 into the enemy's hands, they sent no assistance, not wishing to have it thought they would take up arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus ! situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos <sup>1</sup> thirty furlongs, from Gadara <sup>2</sup> sixty, and from Scythopolis, <sup>3</sup> which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty, as there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity to the Romans, if it had so pleased ; for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But I was then, so thou sayest, the author of its revolt. And pray, O Justus ! who was the author afterwards ? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and that Jotapata was taken by storm, as well as many other fortresses, and that a great many of the Galilæans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw down your weapons, and to prove to the king and to the Romans, that it was

<sup>1</sup> *Súsiyeh.*<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis.*<sup>3</sup> *Beisán.*

not out of choice, but from necessity, that you rushed into war against them ; but you stayed till Vespasian himself came up to your walls with his whole army, and then you did indeed lay down your weapons out of fear, and your city would certainly have been taken by storm, had not Vespasian complied with the king's supplication for you, and condoned your folly. 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 in my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once rose 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, at the time when I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias at the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were slain and the rest taken and carried away captive? But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst flee to the king at that time. 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, why 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 afterwards put thee into bonds, and as often ordered thee to be an exile from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, granted thee a pardon at the earnest request of his sister Berenice? and when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee manipulating his letters, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but marvel at thy impudence, in having the assurance to say, that thou hast better related the history of these affairs than have all the others that have written about them, since 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 inflicted upon us ; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself ; for

all those that might have afforded thee such information were slain in that conflict. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem accurately. But how should that be? for neither wast thou engaged 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. And if thou art so confident 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 hadst written it twenty years before, and thou mightest then have had testimony to thy accuracy from people who knew the facts. But now, when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be confuted, thou venturdest to publish it. But I was not afraid in like manner of mine own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves when the facts were almost still under men's eyes, for I was conscious to myself that I had stated the facts truly, 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 engaged in the war, as king Agrippa and some of his kindred. The emperor Titus indeed was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from my history alone, that he subscribed his own hand to it, and ordered that it should be published; while king Agrippa wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of my narration; two of which letters I have here subjoined, that thou mayest thereby know their contents, if thou wishest. "King Agrippa sendeth greeting to Josephus, his dearest friend. I have read through thy book with very great pleasure, and it appears to me, that thou hast written it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers on the same subject. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dearest friend."—"King Agrippa sendeth greeting to Josephus, his dearest friend. It seems by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of

no instruction, in order to all our information from the beginning. However, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." When this history was finished, Agrippa wrote this, neither by way of flattery, which was not in his line, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say (for he was entirely a stranger to such malignity of mind), but by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus,<sup>1</sup> as I am obliged to add this digression.

§ 66. Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled a council of my friends, I consulted what I should do to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Gallilæans, that I should arm them all, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. But I was not pleased with their views, as I desired to compose these troubles without bloodshed. So I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all that were under John ; which

<sup>1</sup> The character of this history of Justus of Tiberias, the rival of our Josephus, which is now lost, with its only remaining fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Photius, who read that history. It is in the 33d end of his Bibliotheca, and runs thus:—"I have read (says Photius) the Chronology of Justus of Tiberias, whose title is this, [*The Chronology of*] *the kings of Judah which succeeded one another*. This [Justus] came out of the city Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his history from Moses, and ends it not till the death of Agrippa the seventh [ruler] of the family of Herod, and the last king of the Jews; who took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and still more augmented by Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan, where also his history ends. He is very concise in his language, and slightly passes over those affairs that were most necessary to be insisted on; and being under the Jewish prejudices, as indeed he was himself also a Jew by birth, he makes not the least mention of the appearance of Christ, or of what things happened to him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the son of a certain Jew, whose name was *Pistus*. He was a man, as he is described by Josephus, of a most profligate character; a slave both to money and to pleasures. In public affairs he was opposite to Josephus; and it is related, that he laid many plots against him, but that Josephus, though he had this his enemy frequently under his power, did only reproach him in words, and so let him go without farther punishment. He says also, that the history which this man wrote is, for the main, fabulous, and chiefly as to those parts where he describes the Roman war with the Jews, and the taking of Jerusalem."—W.



when they had done, and I thereby was apprized who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days' time to such as would take this advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened that, unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and confiscate their goods. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John, and four thousand threw down their arms and came to me. So that no others stayed 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 afterwards in his own country in great fear.

§ 67. About this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew bold and took up arms, from the 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. And 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 storm. The Galilæans seized this opportunity, as thinking they had now a convenient time for showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that city, and exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, finding them without inhabitants, for the men, out of fear, fled to the citadel. And they plundered everything, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen. But as they would neither hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too much for my exhortations to them), I bode those of my friends, who were most faithful to me,

and were about me, to spread the report that the Romans were attacking 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 Galilæans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this stratagem succeeded; for, upon hearing this report, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering, and ran away; and that more especially, because they saw me, their general, doing the same also, for, that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this contrivance of mine.

§ 68. Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galilæans 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. The king promised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of his bedchamber, whose name was Crispus, who was by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galilæans knew that this man carried such a letter, they arrested him, and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. And a great many of them assembled together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city of Asochis,<sup>1</sup> where I then lodged, and vehemently vociferated, and called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go down, and utterly destroy it; for they bore the same ill-will to the people of Tiberias as they did to those of Sepphoris.

§ 69. When I heard this, I was in doubt how I could deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galilæans, for I could not deny that the people 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 acted wrongly, nor shall I forbid you to plunder their city. However, such things ought to be

done with discretion ; for the men of Tiberias have not been the only traitors to our liberty, but many of the most eminent of the Galilæans. Tarry, therefore, till I shall exactly find out the authors of this treason, and then you shall have them all at once in your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this, I pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger and went their way ; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds ; but a few days [afterwards 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 drunk, and to flee to the king. So, when Tiberias was in danger of being destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skilful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

§ 70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus, escaped to the king without my knowledge. The occasion of which I will now 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. But Justus tried to persuade them to take up arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for ; for the Galilæans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, on account of their anger at the miseries they had suffered from them before the war ; so they would not suffer Justus to 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, being unable to bear his villany. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my rage should come to extremity ; so he sent to the king, supposing that he should dwell better and more safely with him.

§ 71. Now, when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and asked him to come to them quickly, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies' attacks 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 country round about was harrassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and went to a village called Garis<sup>1</sup> where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city of Sepphoris, as I was at twenty furlongs' distance, and advanced upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls; 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 locality forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman infantry and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and retreated. There also fell in the battle one of those that had been instructed to guard my body, whose name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the king. At the same time also there came forces both of horse and foot from the king, and Sylla as their commander, who was the captain of his body-guard: this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs' distance from Julias,<sup>2</sup> and set a guard upon the roads that led to Cana<sup>3</sup> and to the fortress of Gamala,<sup>4</sup> that he might hinder the inhabitants of Sepphoris<sup>5</sup> from getting provisions out of Galilee.

§ 72. As soon as I had got 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 the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy, till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and went to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes identified with *et-Tell*, east of Jordan, but more probably at the spot where the Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee. See *Antiq.* xviii. 2, § 1; *Jewish War*, ii. 9, § 1, and iii. 10, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> Probably *Kána el-Jelil*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sefúrieh*.

ambush in a certain valley, not far from the bank, I challenged those that belonged to the king to battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs, till they should have drawn the enemy on to follow them, which happened accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party were really fleeing, made ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them in the rear, and threw them all into great disorder. I also immediately wheeled round with my own force, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I should have performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hindrance; for the horse on which I rode in the battle fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village called Cepharnome.<sup>1</sup> When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been badly hurt, so they did not go on with the pursuit any further, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the doctors, and was under their hands, and continued feverish all that day; and as they directed, was that night removed to Tarichææ.<sup>2</sup>

§ 73. 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 placed, by night, a body of horse in ambush beyond the Jordan, and when it was day they challenged us to fight; and as we did not refuse, but went into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of the ambush in which they had lain, and threw our men into disorder, and made them run away, and slew six of our men. Yet did they not go off with victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Tarichææ to Julias, they were afraid, and retired.

§ 74. It was not long now before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; and the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully against the king, and called him an enemy of 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, at his command.

<sup>1</sup> *Tell Hüm, Capernaum.*

<sup>2</sup> *Kerak.*

When Vespasian heard this, he rebuked the Tyrians, for abusing a man who was both a king, and a friend of the Romans; but he advised the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But, when Philip was sent to Rome, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him in extremities on account of the troubles that then happened and civil war, so he returned to the king. But, when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the leading men of Decapolis in 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 received his forces and Placidus their commander: and also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and how it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village of Tarichææ, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and what I did in the siege of it, and how I was taken alive and bound, and how I was afterwards set free, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related all this in the books concerning the Jewish War. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in my history of the Jewish War.

§ 75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was treated very well, chiefly because of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a virgin of the country, who was one of the captives taken at Cæsarea; but she did not live with me long, but left me upon my being freed from my bonds, and going to Alexandria. And I married another wife at Alexandria. I was thence sent with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in danger of death, as the Jews were very desirous to get me in their power, in order to have me punished, and the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it happened through my treachery, and made continual

clamours to the commander-in-chief, and desired that he 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' vehemence against me. And when the city of Jerusalem was taken by storm, Titus Cæsar urged me frequently to take whatever 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 in my calamities, but personal freedom, so I made request for this to Titus. I had also the holy books by Titus' concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother and fifty friends, and was not denied. When I also went, by permission of Titus, to the temple, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children shut up, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintances to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety, and I released them without their paying any ransom, 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 Thecoa,<sup>1</sup> in order to see if it was a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives being crucified, and recognised three of them as my former acquaintances. I was very sorry in my mind at this, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them. And he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them, in order to their recovery. But two of them died under the surgeon's hands, while the third recovered.

§ 76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judæa, conjecturing that the lands which I had near Jerusalem would bring me in no profit, because a garrison of Romans to guard the country was afterwards to pitch there, he gave me another estate in the plain. And, when he was going home to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and showed me great respect. And, when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by

<sup>1</sup> Tekoa, the birthplace of the prophet Amos; now *Tekû'a*, ten miles south of Jerusalem.

Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in the house which he lived in before he came to be emperor. He also honoured me with the privilege of Roman citizenship, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which thing made me envied, and brought me into danger. For a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a revolt in Cyrene,<sup>1</sup> and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin, and when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the emperor, he told him that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die, according to which sentence he was put to death. And frequently after that, when those who 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 grant of land in Judæa. And about this time I divorced my wife, not being pleased with her behaviour, though she was the mother of three children, two of whom are dead, and one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is still alive. After this I married a wife who lived at Crete, but was a Jewess by birth; she was of noble parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all that country, and her character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did show. By her I had two sons, the elder named Justus, and the next Simonides, and also Agrippa. These were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. And the kindness of the emperors to me continued the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the empire, kept up the same respect for me as I had from his father: and, though I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded him, even augmented my honours; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and tutor of my son, should be punished. He also made the land I had in Judæa tax-free, which is a mark of the

<sup>1</sup> The chief town of Cyrenaica, or Pentapolis, a district in North Africa, to the west of Egypt.



greatest honour to him who hath it. Domitia also, the wife of Cæsar, continued to do me many kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But to thee, Epaphroditus, most excellent of men, do I dedicate all my work on our Antiquities; and so, for the present, I here conclude this narrative.



ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.



## PREFACE.

### § 1.

THOSE who write histories, do not, I observe, take that trouble for one and the same, but for many and very different reasons. Some apply themselves to this part of learning to parade their skill in composition, and to acquire reputation thereby; others, to gratify those that happen to have been personally concerned in them, have spared no pains, but even gone beyond their own abilities in the undertaking; others again have been compelled by force of circumstances to narrate clearly the affairs in which they themselves had a hand; while many are induced by the importance and utility of the real facts, and by the general ignorance about them, to produce them for the benefit of the public. Now of these several reasons for writing history, the two last were my own also; for since I myself had witnessed the war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew its particular actions, and conclusion, I felt forced to give the history of it, because of those who perverted the truth in their writings.

§ 2. Now I have undertaken the present work, thinking it will appear to all the Greeks 'worthy of their study; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, translated from the Hebrew writings. I had intended, when I wrote the history of the Jewish War,<sup>2</sup> to explain who the Jews originally were, what fortunes they had had, and by what legislator they had been instructed in

<sup>1</sup> That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.—W. So also at the end of this paragraph. At this time all the Roman world spoke Greek, and so Greek had become a general term for all the Roman Empire.

<sup>2</sup> We may note here, that Josephus wrote his seven books of the Jewish War long before he wrote these his Antiquities. Those books of the War were published about A.D. 75, and these Antiquities A.D. 93, about eighteen years later.—W.

religion, and the exercise of other virtues; what wars they had also fought in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans. But as this work would have taken up a great compass, I separated it into a work by itself, with a beginning and conclusion of its own, but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great works, I grew weary, and went on slowly, it being a large subject to translate into a foreign and strange language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and above all the rest, Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kinds of learning, but especially delights in the knowledge of history, and that on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs and many turns of fortune, and having shown a wonderful vigour of an excellent nature, and an immovable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to his persuasions, for he always stimulates such as have abilities for what is useful and noble to a like ardour to his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were most noble, so I roused myself to greater exertions. Besides the foregoing motives, I had one which greatly swayed me, namely that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others, and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the history of our nation.

§ 3. I found for example that the second of the Ptolemies was a king, who was extraordinarily diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also very desirous to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our polity according to it, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar, not inferior in virtue to any of our high priests, did not grudge the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which he would certainly have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was to hinder nothing that we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly, I thought it became me to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the

king; for he did not obtain all our records, for those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law. But there is a vast number of other matters in our sacred books, which, indeed, contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, great exploits of commanders, and changes in our constitution. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well even to an incredible degree, and that the reward of felicity is given by God, to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men depart from the strict observance of them, what was practical before becomes impracticable; and whatever they set about as a good thing ends in irremediable calamity. And so I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God, and to test our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him, and hath ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath kept his account pure from the unseemly mythology current with others; although, from the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged any lies; for he lived two thousand years ago: to which distant time the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to refer even the generations of their gods, much less the actions or laws of men. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have promised so to do throughout this work, neither adding anything to what is therein contained, nor taking away anything therefrom.

§ 4. Now as almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, it is necessary for me first to make a few remarks about him, for otherwise those that read my book may wonder how it comes to pass that, while it promises an account of laws and historical facts, it contains so much physiology. The reader is, therefore, to know, that Moses deemed it exceedingly necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, should in the first place consider the divine nature; and upon the contemplation of God's

operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, as far as possible, and endeavour to follow after it; neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation, nor would anything he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers, unless they were taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and bestows a happy life upon those that follow him; but brings such as do not walk in the paths of virtue into great misery. Now as Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin his legislation in the same manner that other legislators did as to contracts and rights between man and man, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God and his creation of the world; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the works of God upon earth, and when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things. But as to all other legislators, they followed fables, and in their legends imputed the most reproachful of human vices to the gods, and so afforded wicked men great pretext for their own crimes; while our legislator, when he had once shown that God was possessed of perfect virtue, thought men also ought to strive after the participation of the same, and on those who did not so think and believe he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort, therefore, my readers to examine my subject from this point of view; for so it will appear to them, that there is nothing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator teaches some things wisely but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but explains such things as require a direct explanation plainly and distinctly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of everything, may find here much philosophical contemplation, which I now indeed shall defer, but if God affords me time, I shall set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to the narration of events, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books in the following manner.



# ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

## BOOK I.

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

### CHAP. I.

*The Constitution of the World, and the Disposition of the Elements.*

#### § 1.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth had not yet come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light: and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to the one was night, and the other he called day, and he named the beginning of light morning, and the time of rest evening. And this was indeed the first day. But Moses said it was one day; I could tell why now; but because I have promised to give the reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its explanation till then. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from it, and determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a moist and rainy firmament round it, in a manner agreeable to the earth, for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he caused the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day

he made plants and seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, and moon, and the other stars, and appointed them their motions and courses, that the changes of the seasons might be clearly marked by them. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures that swim in the sea, and those that fly in the air: and made them fit partners for one another severally both as to society and sexual ends, that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: on the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says that in just six days the world, and all that is therein, was made, and that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations, whence it is that we celebrate a rest from our labours on that day, and call it the sabbath: which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue.

§ 2. After his account of the creation, Moses begins to talk physiologically, and concerning the formation of man says that God took dust from the ground, and formed man of it, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies red, because he was formed of red earth compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also brought the living creatures according to their kinds, both male and female, and showed them to Adam, and he gave them the names by which they are still called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society (for there was no such created), and that he wondered at the other animals being male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed woman; and Adam knew when she was brought to him that she was made out of himself. Now woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa; but the name of this woman was Eve, which signifies the mother of all living.

§ 3. Moses says further, that God planted a garden eastward, full of all sorts of trees; and that among them was the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil: and that when he had brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river, which

ran round the whole earth, and was divided into four—Phison, Euphrates, Tigris, and Geon.<sup>1</sup> Phison, which denotes a multitude, runs into India, and makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates and Tigris flow into the Red Sea. Now Euphrates is also called Phora, which denotes rush, or produce, and Tigris is also called Diglath, which denotes swift with narrowness, and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the east, and is by the Greeks called Nile.

§ 4. Now God commanded Adam and his wife to eat of all the other plants, but to abstain from the tree of knowledge, and foretold them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But as all living creatures had one language at that time, the serpent who then lived together with Adam and his wife, was envious of their happiness, for he thought they would be happy if they obeyed the commands of God, and that if they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities. So he persuaded the woman, out of malicious intent, to taste of the tree of knowledge, telling her, that in that tree was the knowledge of good and evil; which knowledge whoso should obtain, would lead a happy life; nay, a life not inferior to that of a god: by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of the tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to eat of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were naked, and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they tried to find some covering, for the tree sharpened their understanding; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves; and placing these before them out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who used before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wickedness, kept out of the way. This behaviour surprised God; and he asked what was the reason of it? and why he, that before delighted in his company, did now

<sup>1</sup> Compare Genesis ii. 10-14, where the name of the Tigris is given as Hiddekel; the upper Tigris is still called *Dijleh*. For the site of Eden, and the identification of the four rivers, see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*.

shun and avoid it? When he made no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, "I had intended that you should both lead a happy life, without any care and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence spontaneously, without your labour and pains; which labour and pains would soon bring on old age, and your life would not be long: but now thou hast mocked at my purpose and disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of virtue, but of an evil conscience." Then Adam began to excuse his sin, and to entreat God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife, and said that he was deceived by her, and became an offender; while she again accused the serpent. But God punished Adam for weakly submitting to the counsel of his wife; and said that the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that only to their severe labour should it bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also punished Eve by the sharp pains of bringing forth children, because she had persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the serpent had persuaded her, and had so ruined him. He also deprived the serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malignity to Adam, and inserted poison under his tongue to show that he was an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and that it would be easiest to take vengeance on him that way. And depriving him of his feet, he made him trail and crawl on the ground. And, when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve from the garden to another place.

## CHAP. II.

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

## § 1.

A DAM and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named Cain, which being interpreted, signifies possession; the younger was Abel, which signifies sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brothers were pleased with different pursuits. Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness, and, believing that God was present at all his actions, he paid regard to virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was only intent upon gain, and he first devised ploughing the ground. He slew his brother on the following occasion. They had resolved to sacrifice to God, and Cain brought the fruits of his husbandry and of trees, but Abel brought milk and the first-fruits of his flocks: and God was more delighted with the latter sacrifice, when he was honoured with what came naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and got by forcing the ground. So Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him; and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him, What was become of his brother? because he had not seen him many days; whereas he had observed them conversing together at other times. But Cain was at a loss, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said that he himself knew not what to make either of his brother's disappearance, but getting angry, as God pressed him and closely questioned him, he replied, that he was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. Then God convicted Cain of having been the murderer of his brother, and said, "I wonder that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God, however, did not inflict the punishment

[of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him, but he made him accursed, and threatened to punish his posterity in the seventh generation; he also cast him and his wife out of that land. And as he was afraid, that in wandering about he might fall among wild beasts, and so perish, God bade him not to entertain such a melancholy suspicion, but to go over all the earth, without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and having set a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

§ 2. And when Cain had travelled over much ground, he, with his wife, settled in a place called Nod,<sup>1</sup> where he made his abode; and also had his children born there. However, he did not take his punishment as a warning, but only became the wickeder, studying only his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He augmented his household substance with much wealth, by rapine and violence; he incited his acquaintance to luxury and robbery, and became their leader in wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that simplicity in which men lived before by the introduction of measures and weights; and whereas they lived innocently and generously while they knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cunning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about land; he built a city, and fortified it with walls, and compelled his family to crowd into it; and called it Enoch, after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the son of Enoch; whose son was Malaleel; whose son was Methuselah; whose son was Lamech; who had seventy-seven children by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of the children by Ada one was Jabel: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shepherd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother too, was an adept in music, and invented the psaltery and harp. But Tubal, one of Lamech's sons by the other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was a mighty man of war. He was the first who devised armour for the girding of the body.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nod lay to the east of Eden (Gen. iv. 16).

<sup>2</sup> The ordinary reading, τὰ πρὸς ἡδύνην τοῦ σώματος, seems so inex-

Lamech was also the father of a daughter whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he himself was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that known to his wives. Even while Adam was alive, the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, one after another by force of example turning out worse. They were exceedingly addicted to war, and eager for rapine. And, generally speaking, if any of them were slow to murder, yet was he a bold desperado, insulting, greedy and grasping.

§ 3. Now Adam, the first man made out of the earth (for our discourse must now go back to him), after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire for children, being two hundred and thirty years old; after which he lived seven hundred years more, and then died. He had, indeed, several more children, and among them Seth. As for the rest, it would be tedious to name them; I will, therefore, only endeavour to give an account of the posterity of Seth. This Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, practised virtue, and, as he was himself an excellent man, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All of them were good, and inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They were also the inventors of the science of astronomy. And, that their inventions might not be lost before they became generally known, upon Adam's prediction that the world would be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another time by the violence and quantity of water, they made two pillars, one of brick, the other of stone, and inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and teach mankind those discoveries, and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. And it remains in the land of Siris to this day.

plicable here, that I emend τὰ πρὸς ζώην τοῦ σώματος. See Pausanias, ix. 17. Perhaps the ἡδόνην got in from what was said a little before about Cain.

## CHAP. III.

*Concerning the Flood, and how Noah was saved in an Ark, with his Kindred, and afterwards dwelt in the Plain of Shinar.*

## § 1.

NOW the posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations, but in process of time they changed to worse from the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men; but instead of that zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed in their actions a double degree of wickedness, whereby they made God their enemy. For many angels of God formed connections with women, and begat sons that were violent, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their strength; for the tradition is, that their acts resembled the daring of those whom the Greeks call giants. But Noah, being very vexed and displeased at their conduct, tried to induce them to change their dispositions and actions for the better: but seeing that they did not listen to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, so he departed out of that land with his wife and sons and sons' wives.

§ 2. Now God loved Noah for his righteousness: and not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only, he turned the dry land into sea. And thus were all these men destroyed. But Noah alone was saved, for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape:—That he should make an ark of four stories, three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly, he entered into the ark, he and his wife and his sons, and their wives, and not only put into



it other provisions to support their wants there, but also all sorts of living creatures, male and female, for the preservation of their kind, *some in pairs*, others by sevens. Now the ark was strong, and well-constructed both in its sides and roof, so that it could not be any way inundated, or unequal to the violence of the water. And thus Noah, with his family, was preserved. He was the tenth from Adam, being the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Malaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

§ 3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, called by the Macedonians Dius, but by the Hebrews Marshesvan; for so did they order the year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that Nisan, which is the same with Xanthicus, should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: so that month began the year, as to all the solemnities observed in honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now Moses says that this flood began on the twenty-seventh day of the forementioned month; and was two thousand two hundred and fifty-six years<sup>1</sup> from Adam the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books, those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

§ 4. Seth then was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived altogether nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enos in his two hundred and fifth year, and lived nine hundred and twelve years. Enos delivered the government to Cainan his son, whom he had in his hundred and ninetieth year, and lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan lived nine hundred and ten years, and had a son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel, having lived eight hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving a son, Jared, whom he begat when he was in his hundred and

<sup>1</sup> To make Josephus' numbers square with § 4, I adopt the necessary and very small alteration of reading *διακοσίων* for *ἑξακοσίων*. Then constat ratio.

sixty-fifth year. Jared lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Enoch, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed and went to God; whence it is, that they have not written down his death. Now Methuselah, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son, when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; who succeeded him when he had lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years. And Lamech, when he had lived seven hundred and seventy-seven years, left Noah his son to be the head of the family, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and lived nine hundred and fifty years. These years, added together, make up the sum before set down.<sup>1</sup> But let no one calculate the deaths of these men (for part of their lives was co-extensive with the lives of their children and grandchildren), but let him regard their births only.

§ 5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth, which was the reason why there were no more preserved, since they had no place of refuge. When the rain ceased, the water began to abate after one hundred and fifty days, that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, and then subsided by degrees. Then Noah, observing that the ark rested on the peak of a mountain in Armenia, opened it, and seeing some land about it, he felt easier, and more full of hope. And a few days afterwards, when the water was decreased still more, he sent out a raven, desiring to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the subsidence of the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven, finding all the land still under water, returned to Noah again. And seven days after he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground; which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: so Noah learned that the earth was become clear of the flood. And when he had stayed seven more days,

<sup>1</sup> In § 3, namely 2,256.

he put the living creatures out of the ark; and both he and his family went out of it, and sacrificed to God, and feasted. And the Armenians call this place Landing-place; indeed, as the ark was preserved there, its remains are showed by the inhabitants to this day.

§ 6. Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this ark, and among them Berosus the Chaldæan. For describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus:—"It is said, there is still some part of the vessel in Armenia, near the mountain of the Cordyæans,<sup>1</sup> and that some people carry off pieces of its bitumen, which they use as charms." Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phœnician Antiquities, and Mnaseas, and many more, make mention of the same. Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, gives the following account about it:—"There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Milyas, called Baris,<sup>2</sup> upon which, it is reported, that many who fled to it for refuge at the time of the deluge were saved; and that one, who was in an ark, came ashore on the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved: this might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

§ 7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had once destroyed mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt-offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of living creatures would be in danger of destruction; but that, having now punished the wicked, he would spare those that for their goodness had been left, and judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity; for otherwise these last would be more

<sup>1</sup> The Cordyæan Mountains separated Armenia from Assyria, and the name is preserved in *Kurds* and *Kurdistan*. Berosus probably alludes to the "Mountain of Nizir," or *Rowandiz*, on which the ark of the Chaldæan Noah rested.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus identifies the mountain upon which the ark rested with the traditional Mount Ararat. For discussion on the more probable site to the south, see Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," 'Ararat.' Milyas, or Minyas, the country of the Minni, adjoined Ararat on the south-east. Baris, or Lubar, is said by Epiphanius to have been the boundary between Armenia and the Kurds.

miserable than the first, and would have a worse sentence, if not safe for ever, but reserved for another deluge; for they would be terrified by the remembrance of the first deluge, and would be destroyed by a second. He also entreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and never again so to punish the earth, that men might continue to cultivate it, to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood, but might attain to the like length of days and old age as their progenitors.

§ 8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted all his prayers, and said that it was not he who had brought destruction on a polluted world, but that they had undergone that vengeance on account of their wickedness; nor would he have brought men into the world, if he had intended to destroy them, it being greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction; but “the outrages,” said he, “they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will cease for the time to come to exact such heavy punishment for wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall, at any time, send extraordinary tempests of rain, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers; for the water shall no more cover the earth. However, I bid you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder, and to punish those that commit murder, and to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you: for I have made you lords of them all, both of beasts of the earth, and fishes of the sea, and fowls of the air, except their blood, for therein is the life. And I will give you a sign, that I have left off my anger, by my bow” (meaning the rainbow, for they considered it the bow of God). And when God had said and promised this, he went away.

§ 9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and happily all that time, he died at the age of nine hundred and fifty years. Now let no one comparing the lives of these ancients with our short lives, think that what we have said of them is false: or make

the shortness of our lives now an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for they were beloved of God, and made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolonging of life, might well live so great a number of years; and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of their time in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which they could not have made unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. I am borne out in what I have said by all those that have written antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barbarians: for Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berosus, who compiled the Chaldæan, and Mochus and Hestius and Hieronymus the Egyptian, who compiled the Phœnician history, agree to what I here say. And Hesiod, Hecatæus, Hellanicus and Acusilaus, and beside them, Ephorus and Nicolaus, relate that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Concerning the Tower of Babylon, and the Confusion of Tongues.*

###### § 1.

NOW the three sons of Noah, Shem, Japheth, and Ham, who were born one hundred years before the deluge, first descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others, who were greatly afraid of living in the plains on account of the flood, and so were loath to come down from the higher ground, to venture to follow their example, and the plain in which they first dwelt was called Shinar.<sup>1</sup> And although God had commanded them to send out colonies, if they

<sup>1</sup> The great alluvial plain through which the Tigris and Euphrates run before reaching the sea; known in later times as Chaldæa or Babylonia.

should grow numerous, that they might not quarrel among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits in abundance, in their ignorance they did not obey God. So they fell into calamities, and were made sensible by experience of their error. And as they flourished with a numerous population, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from his favour, but supposing that their own strength was the cause of it, did not obey him. Nay, they added to their disobedience to the divine will the suspicion that God urged them to send out colonies, that being dispersed, they might the more easily be oppressed.

§ 2. It was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God that they were happy, but to believe that it was their own excellence that procured them happiness. He also gradually established absolute sway, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but by bringing them into complete dependence on his power. He also said, "He would be revenged on God, if he should design to drown the world again, for he would build a tower too high for the water to be able to reach; and he would be even with him for destroying his forefathers."

§ 3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the ideas of Nimrod, esteeming it slavery to submit to God: so they built the tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent, about the work; and, by reason of the many hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great that its height seemed to those who saw it less than it really was. It was built of burnt brick cemented with bitumen, that it might be waterproof. When God saw that they were so mad, he resolved not to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of those that perished in the flood, but set them at variance by causing them to speak in different languages, so that they could not understand one another. The place where they built the tower is now called Babylon,

because of the confusion of that language which they clearly understood before, for the Hebrews call confusion Babel. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of tongues, when she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built a very high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind, and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason the city was called Babylon."<sup>1</sup> And as to the plain of Shinar, in the region of Babylon, Hestius mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved took the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalios, and went to Shinar in Babylonia."

## CHAP. V.

*How the Posterity of Noah colonized the whole Earth.*

### § 1.

AFTER this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their different languages, and threw out colonies everywhere; and each colony took possession of that land which they lit upon, and into which God led them, so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and maritime parts. Some also passed over the sea in ships, and settled in the islands, and some of the nations still retain the names which were given them by their first founders, but some have altered them, and some have modified them, that they might be more intelligible to sojourners in them. It was the Greeks that introduced these changes of nomenclature; for growing powerful in after times, they monopolized the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well, and that they themselves understood, and imposing forms of government over them, as if they were descended from themselves.

<sup>1</sup> *Birs Nimrud*, and ruins near *Hillah*, on the Euphrates.

## CHAP. VI.

*How every Nation was named after its First Settlers.*

## § 1.

NOW it was in honour of the grandchildren of Noah, that names were imposed on the nations by those that first occupied any land. Japheth, the son of Noah, had seven sons. They began from the mountains Taurus<sup>1</sup> and Amanus,<sup>2</sup> and proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanais,<sup>3</sup> and along Europe as far as Gades,<sup>4</sup> and settling on the lands they lit upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call Galati, but were then called Gomerites. Magog founded those that were named Magogites after him, but who are by the Greeks called Scythians. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japheth, from Madai came the Madæi, who are called Medes by the Greeks; and from Javan Ionia and all the Greeks come. Thobel founded the Thobeli, who are now called Iberes; and the Mosocheni were founded by Mosoch; they are now called Cappadocians, but a trace of their ancient name still exists, for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca,<sup>5</sup> which shows experts that the entire nation was so called once. And Thiras called those whom he ruled over Thires, but the Greeks changed the name into Thracians. So many were the nations that the sons of Japheth founded. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanazus founded the Aschanazi, who are now called by the Greeks Rhegines, and Riphath founded the Riphatheans, now called Paphlagonians, and Thorgames the Thorgameans, whom the Greeks determined to call Phrygians. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of

<sup>1</sup> The Taurus range extends along the south coast of Asia Minor from the Ægean sea to the present frontier of Persia.

<sup>2</sup> The Amanus, now *Giaour Dagh*, runs southwards from the Taurus to the Orontes.

<sup>3</sup> The river *Don*.

<sup>4</sup> *Cadiz*.

<sup>5</sup> Now *Kaisariyeh*, near Mount Argæus, in Asia Minor.



Japheth Elisás gave name to the Elisæans, who were his subjects, they are now the Æolians; and Tharsus to the Tharsians, for so was Cilicia<sup>1</sup> of old called, the proof of which is that the noblest city which they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus,<sup>2</sup> Tau being by change put for Theta. Chethimus occupied the island Chetima, now called Cyprus, and from it all islands, and most maritime parts, are called Chethim by the Hebrews. My proof is that one city in Cyprus has been able to preserve its name, the one called Citium<sup>3</sup> by the Greeks, which has not very much deviated from its old name of Chethim. And so many nations did the sons and grandsons of Japheth occupy. Now when I have first stated what perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return to what I have omitted. The names are spelled here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers; for our own language does not so spell them: but the names in all cases are one and the same: for the name we here spell Noeus, is there Noah, and in every case is the same.

§ 2. The sons of Ham occupied the land from Syria and Ananus, and the mountains of Libanus;<sup>4</sup> seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean appropriating it as their own. Some indeed of their names are utterly lost, others changed or modified so as to be hardly recognizable, but a few have retained their names intact. For example, of the four sons of Ham, time has not altered the name of Chusus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves, and by all men in Asia, called Chusæans. The memory also of the Mestrai is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit that country call Egypt Mestre,<sup>5</sup> and the Egyptians Mestracæans. Phutes also was the founder of Libya,<sup>6</sup> and called the inhabitants Phuti after himself. There is also a river in the country of the Mauri, which bears that name;

<sup>1</sup> Cilicia corresponds very nearly with the modern province of *Adana*, at the south-east end of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Tarsus*.

<sup>3</sup> Close to *Larnaca*.

<sup>4</sup> Mount Lebanon.

<sup>5</sup> The name is still retained in the Arabic *Misr*.

<sup>6</sup> The country west of Egypt: in Jewish War, vii. 11, § 1. Josephus speaks of Libya Pentapolitana, that is of Cyrenaica; the five towns were Cyrene, Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, and Apollonia.

whence most of the Greek historians mention that river, and the adjoining country, by the appellation of Phute. But the name it has now, Libya, has been given it from one of the sons of Mestram, who was called Libys. I shall soon say why it was called Africa also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, occupied the country now called Judæa, and called it after his own name Canaan. Now Chusus had six sons, Sabas who founded the Sabæans, Evilas who founded the Evilæans, who are now called Gætuli, Sabathas who founded the Sabatheni, now called by the Greeks Astabari, Sabacathas who founded the Sabacatheni, and Regmus, who founded the Regmæans, who had two sons, one of whom, Judadas, founded the Judadæans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name, as the other, Sabas, did to the Sabæans; but Nimrod, the son of Chusus, stayed and was king at Babylon, as I have already stated. Now all the sons of Mestram, being eight in number, occupied the country from Gaza<sup>1</sup> to Egypt, though it retained the name of one of them only, Phylistinus, for the Greeks call his share Palestine. As for the rest, Ludiim, Enemetiim, Labiim (who alone inhabited Libya, and called the country after himself), Nedim, Phethrosim, Chesloim, and Chepthorim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the Ethiopic war, which I shall describe hereafter, overthrew those cities. The sons of Canaan were Sidon, who built a city of the same name in Phœnicia, still also by the Greeks called Sidon;<sup>2</sup> Amathius, who inhabited Amathe,<sup>3</sup> which is even now called so by its inhabitants, although the Macedonians called it Epiphania, from one of their kings; Aradius, who occupied the island Aradus;<sup>4</sup> Arucæus, who occupied Arce,<sup>5</sup> which is in Libanus. But for the seven others, Chettæus, Jebusæus, Amorrhæus, Gergesæus, Euæus, Asennæus, and Samaræus,<sup>6</sup> we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their

<sup>1</sup> Now *Ghuzzeh*, on the sea-coast in southern Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Saida*, on the coast south of *Beirut*.

<sup>3</sup> The Hamath of the Bible; now *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.

<sup>4</sup> The Arvad of Ezek. xxvii. 8-11; now the island of *Ruad*, off the Syrian coast to the north of Tripoli.

<sup>5</sup> Now *Tell 'Arka*, not far from Tripoli.

<sup>6</sup> For the corresponding Biblical lists, see Genesis x.

cities, their calamities coming upon them for the following reason.

§ 3. After the deluge, when the earth was restored to its former condition, Noah set about its cultivation; and having planted it with vines, when the fruit was ripe he gathered the grapes in their season, and when the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and got drunk, and fell asleep, and lay naked in an indecent manner. When his youngest son saw this, he laughed, and showed his brothers, but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah knew of it, he prayed for the prosperity of his other sons, but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity: and as the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters, I shall speak more hereafter.

§ 4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who colonized Asia from the Euphrates to the Indian ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Asshur founded the city of Nineveh,<sup>1</sup> and called his subjects Assyrians, who enjoyed great prosperity. Arphaxad called his subjects Arphaxadites, who are now called Chaldæans. Aram was father of the Aramites, whom the Greeks call Syrians, and Lud founded the Ludites, who are now called Lydians. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis<sup>2</sup> and Damascus, between Palestine and Cœle-Syria.<sup>3</sup> Ulus founded Armenia, Gatherus the Bactriani, Mesas the Mesanæi, now called Spasini Charax. Salah was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, after whom they originally called the Jews Hebrews. Heber begat Joctan and Phalek: he was called Phalek, because he was born when the earth was divided, for Phalek in the Hebrew tongue signifies division. Now Joctan, the other son of Heber, had thirteen sons:—Elmodad, Saleph, Azer-moth, Jerah, Adoram, Aizel, Declah, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Evilates, and Jobab. They colonized from

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Nineveh are on the Tigris, opposite *Mosul*.

<sup>2</sup> *el-Lejah*.

<sup>3</sup> The great valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, now *el-Bukā'a*; the name sometimes included the country east of Anti-Lebanon, and the Damascus district.

Cophen, an Indian river, and parts of Aria adjoining to it. Let this much suffice for the sons of Shem.

§ 5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phalek, whose father was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, whose son was Nahor, whose son was Terah, the father of Abraham, who was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge, for Terah begat Abraham in his seventyeth year. Nahor begat Terah, when he was one hundred and twenty years old: Nahor was born to Serug in his hundred and thirty-second year: Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age also Phalek had Ragau: Heber begat Phalek in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Salah, when he was a hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad begot in the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abraham had two brothers, Nahor and Haran; of these, Haran left a son, Lot, and daughters, Sarah and Milchah, and died among the Chaldæans, in a city of the Chaldees, called Ur,<sup>1</sup> and his tomb is shown to this day. Nahor and Abraham married their nieces, Nahor Milchah, and Abraham Sarah. Now Terah hating Chaldæa, on account of his losing Haran there, they all removed to Charran<sup>2</sup> in Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived two hundred and five years, for the life of man was already by degrees diminished, and became shorter, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to be that length; which was the age that Moses happened to lived to. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milchah:—Uz, Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Azau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the legitimate sons of Nahor: for Tebah, Gaham, Tavaus, and Maachah, were born of Reumah, his concubine. But Bethuel, one of Nahor's legitimate sons, had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

<sup>1</sup> Now probably *Mugheir*, on the right bank of the Euphrates, south of Babylon.

<sup>2</sup> The Haran of Gen. xi. 31, &c.; now *Harran*, between the Euphrates and the *Khabûr*.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Abraham our Forefather went out of the Land of the Chaldæans, and lived in the Land then called Canaan, but now Judæa.*

## § 1.

NOW Abraham, having no legitimate son, adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarah's brother, and left Chaldæa<sup>1</sup> when he was seventy-five years old, at the command of God removing to Canaan, and there he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things, and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his inferences. So he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and determined to alter and change the opinion all men then had concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to declare that there was but one God, the Creator of the Universe; and that of other things whatever contributed anything to the happiness of men, was only according to his appointment, and not by its own power. This he inferred from the changes on land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, for if, he argued, those bodies had power of their own, they would certainly make their motions regular, but since they did not preserve such regularity, they made it plain, that, so far as they co-operated to our advantage, they did it not of their own power, but as subservient to him that commanded them, to whom alone we ought to pay honour and thanksgiving. For which opinions, when the Chaldæans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought it best to leave that country; and at the will, and by the assistance of God, he dwelt in the land of Canaan: and when he was settled there, he built an altar, and sacrificed to God.

§ 2. Berosus mentions our father Abraham without naming him, when he says thus:—"In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldæans a man,

<sup>1</sup> The southern portion of Babylonia.

just and great, and skilful in his knowledge of the heavenly bodies." But Hecataeus does more than merely mention him; for he composed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his History, says thus:—"Abraham reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldæans; but no long time after he departed and moved from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called Canaan, but now Judæa, he and his numerous posterity, whose history I shall relate in another book. Now the name of Abraham is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and they show a village named after him, The Habitation of Abraham."

#### CHAP. VIII.

*How, when there was a Famine in Canaan, Abraham went thence into Egypt, and after he had continued there some time, returned back again.*

##### § 1.

SOME time after this, when a famine had seized upon the land of Canaan, and Abraham heard that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of their plenty, and to hear what their priests said concerning the gods; intending either to follow them if they had better notions than he, or to convert them to a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. And as he took Sarah with him, and was afraid of the mad lust of the Egyptians for women, lest the king should kill him on account of his wife's great beauty, he contrived the following device. He pretended to be her brother, and instructed her to say the same, for he said it would be for their benefit. Now, as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abraham as he supposed it would, for his wife's beauty was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and intended to enjoy her;

but God but a stop to his unjust desires by illness and an insurrection. And when he inquired of the priests, how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him, that they came from the wrath of God, on account of his intention to outrage the stranger's wife. He then, in fear, asked Sarah, Who she was? and who it was that she brought along with her? And when he had found out the truth, he made his excuses to Abraham, for, supposing her to be his sister and not his wife, he had set his affections on her, desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not incited by lust to outrage her. He also made him a large present in money, and gave him full liberty to converse with the most learned among the Egyptians: from which converse his virtue and reputation became more conspicuous than before.

§ 2. For whereas the Egyptians were addicted to different customs, and depreciated one another's usages, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abraham conferred with each of them, and examining the reasoning they made use of to maintain their views, he demonstrated that such reasoning was idle, and void of truth. So he was admired by them in those conferences as a very wise man, and able, when he discoursed on any subject, not only to understand it, but to persuade other men also to assent to him. He instructed them in arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of astronomy; for, before Abraham came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those branches of learning, for they were imported from the Chaldæans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

§ 3. As soon as Abraham returned to Canaan, he divided the land between him and Lot, on account of the quarrels of their shepherds concerning the land where they grazed. So he gave Lot his option and choice, and took himself what the other left, which were the skirts of the mountain range, and dwelt in Hebron,<sup>1</sup> a city seven years ancients than Tanis<sup>2</sup> in Egypt. But Lot occupied the land in the plain watered by the Jordan, not far from the city of

<sup>1</sup> Now *el-Khulil*, in the hill country south of Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> The Zoan of the Bible; now *San*, near Lake *Menzaleh*, in Lower Egypt.

Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed by the will and wrath of God, the cause of which I shall show in its proper place.

## CHAP. IX.

### *The Reverse sustained by the Sodomites at the Hand of the Assyrians.*

#### § 1.

AT this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom<sup>1</sup> were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and the number of their youth. There were five kings that ruled that country, Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, and Sumobor, and the king of Bela;<sup>2</sup> and each king led his own troops; and the Assyrians made war upon them, and divided their army into four parts and beleaguered them, and each part of their army too had its own commander. In the battle that ensued, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years, and so long continued to pay their tribute: but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians invaded them, under their commanders Amarapsis, Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp in the vale called the Asphalt-pits, for at that time there were pits in that place; but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the Lake Asphaltitis,<sup>3</sup> as it is called; however, concerning this lake, I shall say more presently. Now, when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, the fight was very stoutly contested, and many of them were killed, and the rest carried away captive; and among them Lot, who had come to help the Sodomites.

<sup>1</sup> Sodom lay in the Jordan Valley, north of the Dead Sea. the site has not been identified.

<sup>2</sup> Another name for Zoar. now perhaps *Tell esh-Shaghūr*, near the foot of the hills east of Jordan.

<sup>3</sup> The Dead Sea.



## CHAP. X.

*How Abraham fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and rescued the Sodomites who were Prisoners, and recovered from the Assyrians the Prey they had taken.*

## § 1.

WHEN Abraham heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbours; and thinking it right to come to their aid, he did not delay, but made a forced march, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians near Dan<sup>1</sup> (for that is the name of one of the springs of the Jordan); and before they could arm themselves, he slew some in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. And Abraham pursued after them, till, on the second day, he drove them all into Hobah,<sup>2</sup> in the region of Damascus, showing that victory does not depend on numbers and hands, but that the zeal and mettle of soldiers overcome all odds, seeing that he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends; whereas all those that had fled returned home ingloriously.

§ 2. So Abraham, when he had rescued the Sodomites, who had been taken captive by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, marched home in peace. And the king of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they call The King's Dale, where Melchisedek, king of the city of Salem,<sup>3</sup> received him. His name signifies righteous king; and such he was. with-

<sup>1</sup> Now *Tell el-Kâdy*, near *Bâniâs*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Jewish tradition it is now *Jobâr*, north of Damascus; according to Moslem tradition it is now *Buzreh*, to the north-west of *Jobâr*.

<sup>3</sup> According to Josephus and the Jewish commentators Salem was the same as Jerusalem; the Samaritans identified it with Shunem, now *Sôlam*, to the north of Jezreel; and Jerome says that, in his day, it was a town of the same name near Seythopolis, *Beisân*.

out dispute, insomuch that, on that account, he was made priest of God : and Salem they afterwards called Jerusalem. Now this Melchisedek supplied Abraham's army in a hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance ; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abraham gave him the tenth part of the prey, he accepted the gift. But when the king of Sodom desired Abraham to take the remaining nine-tenths of the prey, only asking to have those men restored to him whom Abraham had rescued from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him, Abraham would not have any more of the prey than what his servants had eaten, and a portion for the friends that had shared in the expedition. The first of them was called Eschol, the second Enner, and the third Mambres.

§ 3. And God commended his virtue, and said, "Thou shalt not, however, lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive for thy glorious actions." He answered, "And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me?" for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous, insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this : he took an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon : and, as he was enjoined, he divided in the midst the beasts, but not the birds. Then, before he built his altar, as birds of prey hovered upon the carcasses, smelling the blood, a divine voice came to him, telling him that his posterity would have wicked neighbours in Egypt for four hundred years ; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterwards overcome their enemies, conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess their land and cities.

§ 4. Now Abraham dwelt near the oak called Ogyges,<sup>1</sup> a place in Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But

<sup>1</sup> The oak, or "terebinth" of Abraham, was at the ruin known as *Râmet el-Khulil*, not far from Hebron ; a church was afterwards built at the spot by Constantine.

being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he entreated God to grant him a son; and God exhorted him to be of good cheer, and said that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarah, at God's command, brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, an Egyptian by race, in order to obtain children by her: and when this handmaid was with child, she ventured to affront Sarah, and play the queen, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abraham resigned her into the hand of Sarah to punish her, she contrived to flee away, not being able to bear Sarah's harshness to her: and she entreated God to have compassion on her. And an angel of God met her, as she was going on her way in the wilderness, and bade her return to her master and mistress, for if she would be more discreet she would be happier, for her present trouble only came from her unfeeling arrogance to her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on her way, she would perish; but if she returned back, she would become the mother of a son, who should reign over that country. To this she listened, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards she bare Ishmael, which may be interpreted heard of God, because God had heard his mother's prayer.

§ 5. The forementioned son was born to Abraham when he was eighty-six years old; but when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him, that he should have a son by Sarah, and commanded that his name should be Isaac; and revealed to him, that from him should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born. The reason of circumcision I shall explain in another place. And on Abraham also inquiring concerning Ishmael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him, that he should live to be very old, and should be the father of great nations. Abraham, therefore, gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and

all his household, and his son Ishmael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

## CHAP. XI.

*How God overthrew the Nation of the Sodomites, being wroth against them for their Sins.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time, the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth: they were outrageous to men, and impious to God, insomuch that they no longer remembered his benefits, and hated strangers, and declined all intercourse with them. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow in it.

§ 2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mambre<sup>1</sup> at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and begged them to put up at his abode, and accept of some refreshment. And when they agreed, he ordered cakes of the finest wheaten flour to be made at once, and he slew a calf, and roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a show of eating, and also asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was? And when he said, She was within, they said, They should come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which Sarah laughed, and said, that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God, and that one of them was sent to inform them about their future son, and two to inform them of the overthrow of the Sodomites.

<sup>1</sup> Now *Râmet el-Khulil*.

§ 3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites, and rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated that he would not destroy the righteous and good with the wicked. And when God replied, that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of hospitality with him; for he was very kind to strangers, and had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw that the young men were of beautiful countenances, and that to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their abode with Lot, they thought of nothing but how to enjoy their beauty by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to bridle their lust, and not to act indecently to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised, that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust instead of the strangers; neither thus were they shamed out of their wicked desires.

§ 4. But God was so much displeased at their audacious wickedness, that he smote the men with blindness, so that they could not find the entrance into the house, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. And Lot, upon God's informing him of the impending destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife and two daughters, who were still virgins; for those that were betrothed<sup>1</sup> to them were above the thoughts of going away, and deemed Lot's warning absurd. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country all round with similar burning, as I formerly said, when I wrote the Jewish War.<sup>2</sup> But Lot's wife, continually turning back to view the city as she went from it (being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it), although God had forbidden

<sup>1</sup> These *sons-in-law* to Lot, as they are called, Gen. xix. 12-14, might be so called because they were betrothed to Lot's daughters, though not yet married to them. See the note on Antiq. xiv. 13, § 1.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, iv. 8, § 4.—W.

her to look back, was changed into a pillar of salt: <sup>1</sup> I have seen it, for it remains still. But Lot and his daughters fled to a certain small place on the verge of the fire, and settled in it: it is to this day called Zoar,<sup>2</sup> for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a small thing. There he lived a life of hardship from want of company, and dearth of provisions.

§ 5. And his daughters thinking that all mankind were destroyed, lay with their father, taking care not to be perceived. This they did, that the human race might not utterly fail. And they bore sons: the son of the elder was named Moab, which denotes a son by a father; the younger bore Ammon, which name denotes a son by a kinsman. The former was the founder of the Moabites, who are even still a great nation; the latter was the founder of the Ammonites; both dwell in Cele-Syria.<sup>3</sup> Such then was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning Ishmael, the Son of Abraham; and his Posterity the Arabians.*

### § 1.

ABRAHAM now removed to Gerar<sup>\*</sup> in Palestine, taking Sarah with him as his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before out of fear. For he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who also himself fell in love with Sarah, and was disposed to seduce her; but was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous illness, which befell him from God. Now when his physicians gave him up, he had a dream warning him

<sup>1</sup> This *pillar of salt* was, we see here, standing in the days of Josephus, and he had seen it. That it was standing then, is also attested to by Clement of Rome, contemporary with Josephus; as also that it was so in the next century, is attested by Irenæus.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Now probably *Tell esh-Shagûr*, north of the Dead Sea, at the foot of the hills east of Jordan.

<sup>3</sup> Now *el-Bakû'a*.

<sup>4</sup> Now the ruin *Umm Jerrar*, six miles south of Gaza.

not to outrage the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted his illness upon him by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger, and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for he did not take her with him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person was secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, he sent for Abraham at the advice of his friends, and bade him not be concerned any longer about his wife's chastity; for God took care of him, and it was by his providence that he received his wife back intact. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience, that he would have had no inclination for her at all, if he had known she was married, but since, said he, thou leddest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no crime. He also entreated him to be at peace with him, and to make God propitious to him; and said if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but if he preferred to go away, he should have an escort and whatever he came to him for. On his saying this, Abraham told him, that his claim of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his illness, but was only solicitous for his own safety: he said also, that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land and money, and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well called Beersheba,<sup>1</sup> which may be interpreted, The well of the oath: and so it is called by the people of the country unto this day.

§ 2. Not long after Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies laughter. And indeed he so called him, because Sarah laughed when God<sup>2</sup> said that she should bear a son, she

<sup>1</sup> Now *Bir es-Seb'a*.

<sup>2</sup> It is well worth observation, that Josephus here calls the principal angel, who appeared to Abraham, and foretold the birth of Isaac, directly *God*; which language of Josephus here, prepares us to believe those other expressions of his, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*, Antiq. xviii. 3, § 3, and of *God the Word*, in his Homily concerning Hades, may be both genuine.—W.

not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that their son was born to them in the last year of each of those numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day: and since that time the Jews observe the custom of circumcising their sons after so many days. But the Arabians circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, the son of Abraham by the concubine, was circumcised at that age. And of him I shall now give a full account with great exactness.

§ 3. Sarah at first loved Ishmael, the son of her handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up as the future head of the family. But after the birth of Isaac, she was not willing that Ishmael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him a mischief when their father should be dead; she therefore urged Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now, at first, he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it the greatest barbarity to send away a young child and a woman without necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah insisted on, so he handed over Ishmael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself, and commanded her to take a skin of water and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, making necessity her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fir-tree, and went on a little further, that so he might not die in her presence. But an angel of God met her, and pointed out a well hard by, and bade her take care and bring up the child, for she should be very happy in the preservation of Ishmael. She then took courage from what was promised her, and meeting with some shepherds, by their care escaped from her piteous plight.

§ 4. When the lad grew up to man's estate he married an Egyptian wife, of the same nationality as his mother. By her he had twelve sons, Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Massamas, Idumas, Masmass, Masses, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphesus, Cedmas. They inhabited all the country from



the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene. They have handed down their names to the Arab nation and tribes, both because of their own prowess, and the fame of Abraham.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *Concerning Isaac, the legitimate Son of Abraham.*

#### § 1.

NOW his father Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his only begotten son, and given to him on the threshold of old age by the gift of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more by the exercise of every virtue, adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed all his happiness in the prospect, that, when he should die, he should leave his son in a secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God: who, being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to his enemies; and how his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and asked him to offer up to him this son of his as a sacrifice and victim. He bade him take him to Mount Moriah, and build an altar there, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it; for that would best manifest his religious disposition towards him if he preferred what was pleasing to God to the preservation of his own son.

§ 2. Now Abraham thought it was not right to disobey God in anything, but to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all living creatures owe their life to his providence and bounty. So concealing this command of God, and his own intention to slay his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he might have been hindered from obeying God, he took Isaac and two of his servants, and laded an ass with whatever was necessary for a sacrifice, and started for the mountain. Now the servants went along with him two days; but on

the third day, as soon as he descried the mountain, he left them in the plain, and taking his son alone with him, went to the mountain. It was the mountain upon which king David afterwards fixed the site of the temple. Now they had brought with them everything necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the victim. And as Isaac, who was twenty-five years old, was preparing the altar, he asked his father, "What he was about to offer, since there was no victim?" to which he answered, "That God would provide *one* for them, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men even out of non-existing things,<sup>1</sup> and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust in them; so, if God pleased to be present and propitious at the sacrifice, he would provide him a victim."

§ 3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham had laid the wood in order on it, and all things were ready, he said to his son, "My boy, I poured forth to God ten thousand prayers that I might have you for my son: and when you came into the world, I paid the greatest attention to your education, nor did I deem myself happy in anything more than in the prospect of seeing you grow up to man's estate, and leaving you at my death the successor to my dominion; but since it was by God's will that I became your father, and it is now his will that I relinquish you, bear this consecration to God with a noble mind; for I resign you to God, who has thought fit now to claim this honour for himself, on account of the favours he hath conferred on me in being to me a supporter and defender. And as your birth was extraordinary, so your leaving the world will be also, being solemnly offered to God, the father of all, by your own father as a sacrifice. I take it he thinks you worthy to die neither by disease, nor in war, nor by any of those casualties by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive your soul with prayers and sacrifice, and will place you near to himself, and you will there be a succourer and supporter to me in my old age, for which end I chiefly educated you, supplying me with God instead of yourself."

§ 4. Now Isaac was of such a noble disposition, as be-

<sup>1</sup> For *καὶ* I conjecture *καὶ*κ with confidence.

came the son of such a father, and was pleased with his words, and said, "That he was not worthy to be born at all, if he should reject the determination of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their wills, since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed would have been done, if God had not stopped it: for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said that it was not out of a desire for human blood that he had commanded him to slay his son, nor did he wish to act so impiously as to take away the son he had given him, but only to try the temper of his mind, whether he would obey such a command. Since, therefore, he was now satisfied of his zeal and excessive piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in honouring his race; and that his son should live to a very great age, and should have a happy life, and bequeath large possessions to sons, who should be good and legitimate. He foretold also that his family should become many nations, and be very wealthy, and that the patriarchs of the family should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan by war, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, that they had not noticed before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac, being restored to one another beyond their hopes, and having obtained promises of such great blessings, embraced one another, and when they had sacrificed, returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Concerning Sarah, Abraham's Wife, and how she ended her Days.*

## § 1.

NOW Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron, the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place, a piece of ground which Abraham bought for four hundred shekels of Ephrou, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place.

## CHAP XV.

*How the Nation of the Troglodytes sprang from Abraham's Marriage with Keturah.*

## § 1.

ABRAHAM after this married Keturah, by whom he had six sons, industrious and clever: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josobak, and Suus. Now the sons of Suus were Sabathan and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were Latusim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were Ephas, Ophren, Anoch, Ebidas, and Eldas. Now Abraham contrived to settle all these sons and grandsons in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis,<sup>1</sup> and the country of Arabia Felix,<sup>2</sup> as far as the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Libya and occupied it, and that his grandchildren, who inhabited it, called it from his name Africa. And, indeed, Alexander Polyhistor bears me out in the following passage: "Cleodemus, the prophet, who was also called Malchus, who wrote a History of the Jews, in agreement

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the district to the south of Petra; see Antiq. ii. 11, § 1, where Jethro's daughters are alluded to as being in the country of the Troglodites.

<sup>2</sup> According to Josephus, Antiq. xiv. 1, § 4, Arabia bordered on the province of Judæa.

with the History of Moses their legislator, relates that there were several sons born to Abraham by Keturah : nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. He says that from Surim the land of Assyria<sup>1</sup> got its name, and that from the other two, Apher and Japhran, the town of Aphra and the country of Africa got named ; and that they helped Hercules when he fought against Libya and Antæus ; and that Hercules married Aphra's daughter, and by her had a son Didorus, whose son was Sophon, from whom the barbarous people called Sophacians got their name."

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Isaac took Rebekah to Wife.*

## § 1.

NOW when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to get Rebekah, the granddaughter of his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was now about forty years old, he sent the oldest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given in the following manner :—They put each other's hands under each other's thighs ; and then called upon God to witness what should be done. He also sent presents to those that were there, that were valuable because either rarely or never seen in that country. The servant did not get there under a considerable time ; for Mesopotamia<sup>2</sup> is a difficult country to travel in, in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer for want of water, and also for the bands of robbers there, only to be avoided by travellers by great precaution beforehand. However, the servant got safely to Haran.<sup>3</sup> And when he was in the suburbs, he met several maidens going to the water ; he therefore prayed to God that Rebekah might be one of

<sup>1</sup> To the north of Babylonia ; the country round Mosul.

<sup>2</sup> The Aram Naharaim of Gen. xxiv. 10 ; the northern part of the country between the Euphrates and Tigris.

<sup>3</sup> *Harran*.

them whom Abraham had sent him to betroth to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should come about, and that she might be made known to him by this sign, that while others denied him water to drink, she should offer it.

§ 2. With this intention he went to the well, and asked the maidens to give him some water to drink. But while the others refused, saying they wanted to take it home, and not to supply him (for the water was not drawn up without some difficulty), one only of them all rebuked them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger, and said, "What is there that you will ever communicate to anybody, who will not so much as give the man some water?" She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that all would go well, but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her generosity and good nature, that she did not hesitate to supply water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter; and "may they marry you," added he, "to their satisfaction, into the family of a good husband, to bear him legitimate children." Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him about her family. "They," says she, "call me Rebekah, my father was Bethuel, but he is dead, and Laban is my brother, who with my mother takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity." When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey; and producing a necklace, and some other ornaments which were becoming for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. He asked also that he might come and lodge with them, since the approach of night allowed him not to proceed further. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said he could trust them to none more safely, than to such as she had showed herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the kindness of her brother and

mother, from the virtue he found in her, that they would not object to take him in, for he would not be burdensome, but would pay for his lodging, and live at his own expense. To which she replied, that he guessed rightly as to the kindness of her parents ; but chided him for suspecting them of meanness, for he should be at free cost. But she said she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave his consent, she would conduct him in.

§ 3. As soon then as his consent was got, she introduced the stranger ; and as for his camels, the servants of Laban took them and looked after them, and he was himself brought into supper by Laban. And, after supper, he said to him, and to the mother of the damsel, “ Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of yours, for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, was the brother of Abraham by the same father and mother ; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son, and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the richest of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them ; but out of regard to his own relations, he desired to match him here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise ; for it was by the good pleasure of God that other things happened in my journey, and that I found your daughter and house. For when I was near to the city I saw several maidens coming to the well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which came to pass accordingly. Do you therefore ratify that marriage, which has been already sanctioned by divine interposition ; and show the respect you have for Abraham, who hath sent me with so much solicitude, by giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel.” And they understood it to be the will of God, for they greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter as was desired. And Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him ; for the sons of Abraham by Keturah were gone to their colonies.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Concerning the Death of Abraham.*

## § 1.

A LITTLE while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God as his piety deserved. He lived one hundred and seventy-five years, and was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ishmael.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Concerning the Sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob, and their Birth and Bringing-up.*

## § 1.

NOW Isaac's wife proved with child, after the death of Abraham, and as she was very big, Isaac was anxious, and inquired of God; who told him that Rebekah should bear twins, and that two nations should take the names of those sons, and that he who seemed the lesser should excel the bigger. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins, the elder of whom from his head to his feet was very hairy, but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called Esau, or Seir, a name agreeable to his hairiness, which the Hebrews called Seir; but the younger, Jacob, was best beloved by his mother.

§ 2. And when there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went instead to Gerar, for so God commanded him. Here Abimelech the king received him, because Abraham had formerly been his guest and friend. And at first he treated him very kindly, but he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end by envy; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him out of his kingdom. And



he, seeing how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called The Valley, not far from Gerar :<sup>1</sup> and as he was digging a well, the king's shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work ; and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him. And he retired still further, and dug another well ; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired ; thus purchasing security to himself by rational prudence. At length accident<sup>2</sup> permitting him to dig a well without disturbance, he named this well Rehoboth,<sup>3</sup> which denotes room ; and of the former wells, one was called Escon, which denotes strife, the other Sitenna, which signifies enmity.

§ 3. And now Isaac's affairs were in a flourishing condition from his great riches. So Abimelech, thinking Isaac throve in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring seemed to show a secret enmity also, was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac would not secure him, if Isaac should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had formerly sustained, so he renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Phicol, one of his generals. And when he had obtained everything he desired owing to Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had showed to himself and his father to his later wrath, he returned home.

§ 4. Now when Esau, the favourite son of Isaac, was forty years old, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Alibamah, the daughter of Esebeon, who were men of great rank among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself the sole responsibility for his marriage, without asking the advice of his father ; for had Isaac been consulted, he would not have given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any affinity with the people of that country ; but not wishing to incur his son's hatred by commanding him to put away those wives, he resolved to be silent.

<sup>1</sup> The valley not far from Gerar, *Umm Jerrar*, is supposed to lie between *Ruheibeh*, Rehoboth, and *Khalasa*, Elusa.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *roû avromárou*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ruheibeh*.

§ 5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides his blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his old age hindered him from the worship of God; he bade him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to make him a meal, that after it he might make supplication to God to support and assist him during the whole of his life, saying, that it was uncertain when he should himself die, and that he was desirous, by his prayers for him, to procure beforehand the favour of God for him.

§ 6. Accordingly Esau went out a hunting. But Rebekah, thinking to obtain the favour of God for Jacob, and that against the wish of Isaac, bade him kill some kids of the goats, and prepare a meal of them. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the meal was got ready, he took a goat's skin and put it about his arm, that, by reason of its hairiness, he might be believed by his father to be Esau: for they, being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this respect. This he did out of fear, lest before his father made his supplications, he should be detected in his guile, and provoke his father to curse him instead of bless him. So he brought in the meal to his father. Isaac, perceiving by the peculiarity of his voice who he was, called his son to him, who gave him his hand, which was covered with a goat's skin. When Isaac felt that, he said, "Thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet, because of the thickness of thy hair, thou seemest to be Esau." So, suspecting no deceit, he ate the meal, and betook himself to prayers and intercession with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst give to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have, and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings: do thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me because of my present weak condition, on account of which I the more need thy help. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him, and keep him from everything that is evil. Give him a happy life, and the possession of as many good

things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honoured and beloved by his friends.”

§ 7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau; and he had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: but Esau asked that he might obtain the like blessing from his father that his brother had got; but his father refused, because all his prayers had been expended upon Jacob: so Esau bitterly grieved over the mistake. So his father being moved at his weeping, said, that he should excel in hunting, and strength of body, and in arms, and in all his actions, and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him, but still should serve his brother.

§ 8. Now his mother delivered Jacob, when he was afraid that his brother would take vengeance on him because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac, for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob of her own kindred out of Mesopotamia, Esau having married already Basemath, the daughter of Ishmael, without his father's consent, for the fact that Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, made him take Basemath to wife, in order to please him, and also because he was very much in love with her.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Concerning Jacob's Flight into Mesopotamia, by reason of the fear he was in of his Brother; and how he Married there, and had Twelve Sons, and returned to Canaan.*

### § 1.

NOW Jacob was sent by his mother into Mesopotamia to marry her brother Laban's daughter (which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his complaisance to the wishes of his wife), and he journeyed through the land of Canaan; and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of

them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid his head on a heap of stones that he had gathered together. And he saw in his sleep the following vision close to him: he seemed to see a ladder, that reached from earth to heaven, and persons descending down it, that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, and, calling him by his name, spoke to him in these words:—

§ 2. “O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things by my assistance: for I brought Abraham hither out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen, and I made thy father a happy man, nor will I bestow less happiness on thyself. Be of good courage, therefore, and under my conduct proceed on thy journey, for the intended marriage shall take place. And thou shalt have noble sons, and their descendants shall be innumerable, and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and they shall fill the entire earth and sea that the sun looks on. And do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still more in the time to come.”

§ 3. Such things did God foretell to Jacob: whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard, and poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifice upon them, if he could get his living and returned safe: and if he came again in peace, he would give the tenth of what he had got to God. He also judged the place to be honourable, and gave it the name Bethel,<sup>1</sup> which in Greek signifies House of God.

§ 4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds

<sup>1</sup> Now *Beitin*, nine and a half miles north of Jerusalem.

in the suburbs, and youths and maidens sitting by a certain well, he stayed with them, as if desirous to drink; and beginning a conversation with them, he asked them, whether they knew anyone called Laban, and whether he was still alive? And they all said they knew him, for he was not such a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, "for from her," said they, "you may learn more exactly whatever you desire to know about the family." As they were saying this, the damsel came up accompanied by some shepherds. They then showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger who came to enquire about her father. And she, pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was? and whence he came to them? and by what necessity he had been moved to come there? She also hoped it might be in their power to supply his wants.

§ 5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their relationship or the affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so great that few of the women of that age could equal it. He said at last, "There is a relationship between us older than either of our births, if you are the daughter of Laban, for Abraham, as well as Haran and Nahor, was the son of Terah. And Bethuel your grandfather was the son of Nahor. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later pledge of relationship which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebekah was own sister to Laban your father, so we are first cousins. And I am now come to salute you all, and to renew our relationship." And she, remembering she had heard a good deal from her father about Rebekah (as young people are likely to hear family history), and knowing that her parents loved her name, in her filial love wept and embraced Jacob, and after this affectionate greeting told him, that he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasure to her father, and indeed all their family; as for her father, he was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, "this," she added, "will make thee equal in his eyes to any advan-

tage whatever." Then she bade him go at once to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure by loitering on the way any longer.

§ 6. When she had said this, she brought him to Laban; and, being owned by his uncle, he felt secure himself as being among friends, and brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected arrival. And not many days afterwards Laban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming; but still he enquired of him the reason of his coming, and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted all his care and attention; he said also that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole reason of his journey, and told him, "That Isaac had two sons that were twins, himself and Esau; and that Esau, because he lost his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were offered up for him, sought to kill him, as being deprived of the kingdom which was to be given him by God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed; and that this was the reason of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him to do; for we are all (says he) brethren one to another, and my mother prefers my marrying into your family rather than into one of the families of Canaan, so I look upon you and God to be my supporters in my new home, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

§ 7. Then Laban promised to treat him with all kindness, on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would show his love, even though she was absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him overseer over his flocks, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and, should he have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and such honour as the nearness of their relationship demanded. This Jacob heard gladly; and said he would willingly undergo any labour to please him while he tarried with him, but asked as his wages the hand of Rachel, who was esteemed by him not only on other accounts, but also because she was the means of his coming to him (for he was

forced by love for the damsel to make this proposal). Laban was well pleased with these terms, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of having married his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, it was agreed he should stay seven years; for so many years he had to serve his father-in-law, that, having thus given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob accepting of his terms, when the time had expired, Laban made the wedding-feast; and, when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was not only older than Rachel, but of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, being in drink, and misled by the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for the wrong done to him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he had not given him Leah out of any ill design, but overcome by a weighty reason;<sup>1</sup> that, notwithstanding this, nothing need hinder him from marrying Rachel; for, when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone by he had Rachel to wife.

§ 8. Now each of these had handmaids given them by their father. Zilpah was handmaid to Leah, and Bilhah to Rachel; they were by no means slaves,<sup>2</sup> but subject to their mistresses. Now Leah was sorely troubled at her husband's passionate love to her sister, and expected she herself would be better esteemed if she bore him children: so she entreated God per-

<sup>1</sup> I suppose that alleged in Genesis, xxix. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Here we have the difference between *slaves* for life, and servants, such as we now hire for a time, agreed upon on both sides, and dismissed again after the time contracted for is over. Accordingly, when the Apostolical Constitution forbids a clergyman to marry *perpetual servants, or slaves*, b. vi. ch. xvii., it is meant only of the former sort: as we learn elsewhere from the same Constitutions, ch. xlvii. can. lxxxii.

—W.

petually: and, when she had borne a son, and her husband paid a little more attention to her on that account, she named her son Reuben, because God had had mercy upon her, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bore three more sons: Simeon, which name signifies that God had hearkened to her prayer; Levi, which means confirmer of union; and Judah, which denotes thanksgiving. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her handmaid Bilhah. By her Jacob had Dan; one may interpret that name in the Greek tongue a divine judgment; and after him Nephthalim, which means unconquerable in stratagem, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stratagem. But Leah took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister, for she put to bed to Jacob her own handmaid. So he had by Zilpah a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted fortuitous; and after him Asher, which may be said to signify enviable, because he added glory to Leah. Now Reuben, the eldest son of Leah, brought some apples of the mandrake to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her them, for she longed to eat them; but when she refused, and bade her be content that she had deprived her of the love of her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her, and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour, and Jacob slept with Leah to oblige Rachel. She bore then these sons: Issachar, denoting one born by hire; and Zabulon, which signifies a pledge of good will; and a daughter, Dinah. After some time, Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another son added to him.

§ 9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he made up his mind to do it secretly. He made trial, therefore, of the disposition of his wives, as to what they thought of this journey. As they approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods which they used to worship



as their country's gods, and ran away, together with her sister. The children also, both of them, and the handmaids, and the possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know. Now the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship, was, that in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order to obtain his pardon.

§ 10. But Laban hearing on the third day of Jacob's and his daughters' departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them with a band of men; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them encamped on a certain hill; and then, indeed, he did not meddle with them, for it was eventide; and God appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to treat his son-in-law and his daughters in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon anything rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he despised their small number, and attacked them in a hostile manner, he would himself assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he invited Jacob the next day to a colloquy, and told him what dream he had had; in dependence whereon Jacob went confidently to him. Then Laban began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had; "For," said he, "I joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that in consequence of this your goodwill to us would be greater than before; but you have paid no regard either to your own mother's relationship to me, nor to the affinity between us, nor to the wives whom you married, nor to the children of whom I am the grandfather, but have treated me as an enemy, by driving away my cattle, and by persuading my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home with you those sacred family gods, which were worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honoured by myself with the like worship which they paid them. In short, you have done what even enemies would shrink from doing in war, though my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the husband

of my daughters, and after being hospitably treated by me, and eating at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence: "That he was not the only person in whom God had implanted the love of his native country, for he had made it innate in all men, and therefore it was but reasonable that, after so long a time, he should desire to go back to his. And as for the cattle, of whose driving away you accuse me, if any other person were the arbitrator, you would be found in the wrong; for, instead of the thanks I ought to have had from you, for both keeping your cattle, and increasing them, how is it that you are unjustly angry at me, because I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them? And, as to your daughters, know that it is not through any evil practices of mine that they accompany me in my return home, but from that just affection which wives naturally have to their husbands. They follow, indeed, not so much me as their own children." And thus much he said to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added a counter-complaint and accusation of Laban, saying, "Though I was your sister's son, and you had given me your daughters in marriage, you have worn me out with harsh commands, and detained me twenty years under them. That, indeed, which was required in order to my marrying your daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been lighter, but your conduct to me after those marriages was worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided." And certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was with him in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born, he should have sometimes those of a white colour, and sometimes those of a black, but when those that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep his faith with him, but said he would give them to him the next year, for he envied him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it came, he deceived him.

§ 11. But as to the sacred images, he bade him search for them; and, as Laban accepted his offer, Rachel, learning of it, put those images into the camel's saddle on which

she rode, and sat upon them, and said that her menses prevented her rising up: so Laban left off searching any further, not supposing that his daughter in such circumstances would approach those images. So he made a covenant with Jacob, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened, and Jacob made the like covenant, and promised to love Laban's daughters. And these covenants they made on a certain mountain, whereon they erected a pillar in the form of an altar: whence that hill is called Gilead;<sup>1</sup> and so they call that land the land of Gilead to this day. Now when they had feasted after their mutual covenant, Laban returned home.

## CHAP. XX.

*Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau.*

## § 1.

NOW, as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and he called that place the Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent on messengers to investigate everything, being afraid on account of their former jealousy. And he charged those that were sent on to say to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live with him whilst he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that now, thinking the long time of his absence must have reconciled them, was returning home; that he brought with him his wives and his children, with the substance he had got, and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to share with his brother what God had bestowed upon him." And those messengers told Esau this message. Upon which he was very glad, and went to meet his brother with

<sup>1</sup> The mountainous district east of Jordan, lying between Bashan on the north, and Moab and Ammon on the south.

four hundred armed men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of armed men, was greatly afraid: however, he relied for deliverance on God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies, if they attacked him unjustly. He therefore divided his company into two parts: some he sent on before the rest, and the others he ordered to follow close behind, that so, if the first were overpowered, if his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed to make good their retreat. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some forward to carry presents to his brother. They consisted of beasts of burden, and a quantity of animals of various kinds, such as would be very valuable to those that received them on account of their rarity. Those who were sent on with these went apart at certain intervals, that by following close after one another, they might appear to be more numerous, for he thought that Esau would remit his anger on account of these presents, if he were still angry. Instructions were also given to those that were sent on to speak him fair.

§ 2. When Jacob had made these arrangements all the day, as night came on, he moved on with his company; and, as they crossed over a certain stream called Jabbok,<sup>1</sup> Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle: and he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice and spoke to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had overcome a divine angel, and to consider his victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him; and that his offspring should never fail, and that no man should be too strong for him. He also bade him call himself Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with an angel. This however he foretold him at the entreaty of Jacob; for, when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he begged he would tell him what should befall him hereafter.

Now *Wady Zerka*, an eastern affluent of the Jordan.

And when the angel had told him all this, he disappeared; but Jacob was pleased with these things, and called the place Phanuel,<sup>1</sup> which signifies the face of God. Now as he felt pain from his struggling upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterwards, and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

§ 3. When Jacob heard that his brother was at hand, he ordered his wives to go forward, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see at a distance the fight, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up and bowed down to his brother Esau, who had no evil design upon him, but embraced him, and asked him about the company of the children and women; and proposed, when he had learned all he wanted to know about them, to go along with him to their father; but, Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir,<sup>2</sup> for there was his place of habitation, and he had named the place Rough from his own hairy roughness.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Concerning the Violation of Dinah's Chastity.*

## § 1.

THEN Jacob came to the place, till this day called Booths [Succoth],<sup>3</sup> from whence he went to Shechem,<sup>4</sup> which is a city of the Canaanites. Now, as the Shechemites were keeping a festival, Dinah, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for wife. And he assented, and went to Jacob, and asked him that his son Shechem might marry Dinah according to law. But Jacob, not knowing

<sup>1</sup> The Penuel of Gen. xxxii. 30; it was probably on the northern slope of *Jebel Osha*.

<sup>2</sup> The mountainous country round Petra; see Antiq. iv. 4, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> Probably *Tell Dar'ala*, east of Jordan.

<sup>4</sup> Now *Nâblus*, in the valley between Ebal and Gerizûn.

how to deny his request owing to his position, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entreated him to give him leave to deliberate about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, hoping that Jacob would allow this marriage. And Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the wish of Hamor; and desired them to advise what to do. Upon this most said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the uterine brothers of the damsel, agreed between themselves upon the following action. As it was now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were engaged in relaxation and feasting, they first fell upon the watch by night when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew all the males, including the king and his son, but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's sanction, they brought away their sister.

§ 2. Now while Jacob was dismayed at the daring of this act, and indignant with his sons for it, God stood by him, and bade him be of good courage, and purify his tents, and offer those sacrifices which he had vowed when he set out for Mesopotamia, and saw the vision. As he was, therefore, purifying his company, he lit upon the gods of Laban (for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel), and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel,<sup>1</sup> the place where he saw his dream when he first started for Mesopotamia.

§ 3. And going on from thence, when he got near Ephratah,<sup>2</sup> he buried Rachel there, who died in childbed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And he mourned for her greatly, and called the son that was born of her Benjamin,<sup>3</sup> because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males and one female.

<sup>1</sup> *Beitin*.

<sup>2</sup> The original name of Bethlehem, now *Beit Lahm*.

<sup>3</sup> Since Benoni signifies 'the son of my sorrow,' and Benjamin, 'the son of days,' or 'one born in the father's old age,' Gen. xlv. 20, I suspect Josephus' present copies to be here imperfect, and suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, he wrote that Rachel called her son's name Benoni, but his father called him Benjamin, Gen. xxxv. 18.—W.

Of the sons, eight were legitimate, six by Leah, and two by Rachel; and four were by the handmaids, two by each; all whose names I have set down already.

## CHAP. XXII.

*How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.*

## § 1.

FROM thence Jacob went to Hebron,<sup>1</sup> a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and they lived together for a little while; but as to Rebekah, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the arrival of his son, and was buried by his sons near his wife in Hebron, where they had their family burying-place. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved by God, and was very providentially taken care of by God, after the death of Abraham his father; and lived to be exceedingly old: for he died when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years.

<sup>1</sup> *El-Khulil.*

## BOOK II.

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

## CHAP. I.

*How Esau and Jacob, the Sons of Isaac, divided their Habitation ; Esau possessing Idumæa, and Jacob Canaan.*

## § 1.

AFTER the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively. Nor did they retain what they had before ; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumæa. He called the country Edom<sup>1</sup> from his own name of Edom, which he got on the following occasion. One day, returning from the toil of hunting very hungry (it was when he was a boy in age), he found his brother was getting ready for his dinner lentil-pottage, which was of a very red colour ; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat ; and he took advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him for it his birthright, and he, being famished with hunger, resigned it up to him with an oath. So it came about that, on account of the redness of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, called by his contemporaries Edom, for the Hebrews call what is red Edom ; and that was the name he gave the country ; but the Greeks gave it the more euphonious name of Idumæa.

§ 2. Esau became the father of five sons ; of whom Jaus, and Jeglomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Olibamah ; and of the others, Eliphaz was born to him by Adah, and Raguel by Basemmath. And these were the sons of Esau. Eliphaz had five legitimate sons, Theman,

<sup>1</sup> The district east of the *Wâdy 'Arabah*. of which Petra was the capital.



Omar, Sophar, Gotham, and Kenez; for Amalek was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamnaa. These dwelt in that part of Idumæa which was called Gobolitis, and that called Amalekitis,<sup>1</sup> from Amalek; for Idumæa was a large country, and so preserved the name of Edom for the whole country, while in its several parts it kept the names of its particular inhabitants.

## CHAP. II.

*How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's Sons, was envied by his Brothers, when certain Dreams had foreshown his future Happiness.*

## § 1.

IT happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any person has arrived at. He was richer than the original inhabitants of the country; and was at once envied and admired for the virtues of his sons, for they came short in nothing, but were stout-hearted both in manual labour and enduring of toil, and of good understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and took such care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings, even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful conditions; and to make him and his sons the cause of our forefathers' departure into Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The occasion was this. When Jacob had his son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. The affection of his father excited the envy and hatred of his brothers; as did also the dreams which he saw and related to his father and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy even their nearest relations their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these.

<sup>1</sup> The distinction here is, apparently, between the 'mountain land,' Gobolitis, east of the 'Arabah,' and the level desert country to the west of it, in which the Amalekites lived. Both districts formed part of the later Idumæa.

<sup>2</sup> The critical reader will see I have changed ἀπὸ into ἐπι.

§ 2. When it was the season of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brothers, to gather in the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream very different to the ordinary dreams that come when we are asleep; which, when he got up, he told his brothers, that they might judge what it meant. He said he saw in a dream the previous night, that his w heatsheaf stood in the place where he had put it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as slaves bow down to their masters. But as they perceived the dream foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and authority over them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if it were not understood by them, but they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass, and they bore still greater hatred to him.

§ 3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon and the rest<sup>1</sup> of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told this vision to his father, and suspecting no ill-will on the part of his brothers, desired him, when they were present, to interpret what it signified. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream: for considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time would come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of obeisance by his parents and brothers, guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things; and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, and received their power from the sun and moon.

§ 4. And thus did Jacob make a shrewd judgment of this vision. But these predictions caused very great grief to Joseph's brothers; and they felt to him as if he were some stranger, that was to have those good things which

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *ἐνδεκα* should be read here, instead of *λοιποῦς*, as at end of section.

were signified by the dreams, and not as to a brother, with whom it was probable they would go shares, as partners alike in the same parentage and prosperity. So they resolved to kill the lad, and having fully made up their minds, as soon as the harvest was gathered in they went to Shechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage; and there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their departure there. So not knowing where his sons were, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state of things, he grew melancholy and anxious about them, and sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn all about his brothers, and to bring back word how they did.

## CHAP. III.

*How Joseph was sold by his Brothers into Egypt, by reason of their Hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his Brothers in his Power.*

## § 1.

NOW they rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, and that sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by divine providence was delivered into their hands; and they at once resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reuben, the eldest of them, saw them thus disposed, and all of one mind to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, showing them the heinousness and horrid nature of the deed; that it appeared wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even to kill one not related to them; but far more flagitious would it appear to slay their own brother,—an outrage to the father, and a bitter sorrow to the mother, to lose their son in such an unnatural way. He entreated them, therefore, to reverence them, and to consider what anguish they would suffer at the death of their favourite and youngest son, and to desist from their cruel intention, and to fear God, who was already both a spectator and witness of the designs they

had against their brother, and would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to repentance and amendment; but in case they carried it out, there was no vengeance which God would not exact from them for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was everywhere present, and did not overlook what was done, either in deserts or in cities; for wherever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them further, that their consciences would be their enemies, if they attempted to carry out so wicked a deed, and that they could never escape conscience, whether it were a good one, or whether it were such a one as they would have within them when once they had killed their brother. He also added to what he had before said, that it was not a right thing to kill a brother, even though he had injured them; that it was well not to bear malice to such near friends, even when they did seem to have given reasonable cause for offence; but they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, and whose tender age should rather procure mercy and protection from them. He said also that the motive for killing him made their act much worse, as they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity, an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were not strangers to him, but the nearest relations; so they might reckon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it behoved them to think that the anger of God would, for this cause, be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that expected prosperity, and so made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

§ 2. Reuben said this and much more, and used entreaties to them, and endeavoured to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, but they were urgent to do the deed, he advised them to alleviate their wickedness in the manner of killing Joseph; for, as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, not to do so, so, since the sentence for killing their brother prevailed, he said, that they would not be so grossly guilty if they would be persuaded to follow his

present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so bad, but in their emergency a lighter crime. He begged them, therefore, not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into a pit that was hard by, and so let him die; by which they would gain this much, that they would not defile their own hands with blood. To this the young men readily agreed: so Reuben took the lad, and tied him with a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; and when he had done this, he went to seek for pastures for their flocks.

§ 3. But Judah, another of Jacob's sons, seeing some Arabian merchants, of the posterity of Ishmael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, urged his brothers, after Reuben was gone, to haul up Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to these Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they would be free from the guilt of his blood. This, therefore, was resolved on: so they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for twenty minæ. He was now seventeen years old. But Reuben came in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph without the knowledge of his brothers; and when upon his calling to him he made no answer, he was afraid that they had killed him after he was gone; and accused his brothers of the murder. But when they told him what they had done, Reuben left off mourning.

§ 4. When Joseph's brothers had acted in this way to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had stripped off from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them, at the time they let him down into the pit; so they thought it well to tear that coat to pieces, and dip it in goat's blood, and then take and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they went to the old man, who by this time knew that something must have happened to his son, and said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him, but that they had found his coat bloody, and torn to pieces, so they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so

perished, if that was the coat he had on when he started from home. Now Jacob had before some slight hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that his coat was an evident proof that he was dead, for he well remembered that that was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brothers; so he ever after lamented the lad as dead. And as if he had been the father of only one son, without taking any comfort in the rest, he was as much affected with his misfortune as before he conversed with Joseph's brothers, when he conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down in sackcloth, and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did he tire of his sorrow through time.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Concerning the remarkable Chastity of Joseph.*

###### § 1.

NOW Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants who sold him, and held him in all honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to enjoy a better diet than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages; yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before upon this change in his condition, but he showed that prudence can control the ills of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only adopt it in temporary prosperity.

§ 2. For when his master's wife fell violently in love with him, both on account of his beauty, and dexterity in affairs, and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she could easily persuade him to lie with her, and that he would look upon it as a piece of good fortune that his mistress should solicit him, she regarding his state of slavery, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed, she made known her passion

for him, and proposed his lying with her. However, he rejected her overtures, thinking it criminal to yield so far to her as to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him who had bought him, and bestowed so much honour on him. So he besought her to govern her passion, and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding: and he said, that as for himself, he would endure anything whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, disobedience in such a case had much excuse. But this refusal of Joseph's, as she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was sorely beset with her passion, she resolved to compass her ends by a second attempt.

§ 3. When, therefore, there was a public festival coming on, which it was the custom for women to attend and join in its festivities, she pretended to her husband that she was not well, seeking for solitude and leisure, that she might solicit Joseph again: which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before, and said, that it would have been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the respect he ought to bear to her who solicited him, and because of the vehemency of her passion, which forced her, though his mistress, to condescend beneath her dignity: but that he might now by more prudent action gain pardon for his former folly; for whether it were, that he expected the repetition of her solicitations, she had now made it, and that with greater earnestness than before, for she had pretended to be ill, and had preferred his company to the festival and its festivities; or whether he opposed her former overtures from distrust, she now gave him sufficient security, by thus continuing her suit, that she meant not to impose upon him: and assured him that, if he complied with her desires, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had, and, if he hearkened to her, he should have greater advantages still, but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her in case he rejected her suit, and preferred the reputation of chastity

to gratifying his mistress. Nor would he gain anything by such procedure, because she would then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband that he had attempted her chastity; and Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be ever so agreeable to the truth.

§ 4. When the woman had said this, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, being afraid to do a wicked act; and he chose to undergo the worst rather than to enjoy the present by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve death. He also reminded her that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and besought her to let these considerations have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards, would end in trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear of being caught in the act, and that their only gratification would be not being found out while their wickedness was not known, while she might have the enjoyment of her husband without any danger. He told her also, that in going with her husband she might have great boldness from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act more like his mistress, and make better use of her authority over him, while she continued chaste, than she could after he had outraged her modesty, and that it was much better to depend on one's good life being well known, than on undetected wickedness.

§ 5. By saying this and more to like effect, Joseph tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to bring her lust to reason: but she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter, and as she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him and had a mind to force him. But when Joseph got away from her furious lust, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her and leaped out of the chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the slight he had put on her; so she resolved



to be beforehand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his terrible contempt of her charms; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to anticipate an accusation. So she sat dejected and in confusion, pretending in her anger, that the sorrow, which was really for being disappointed of her lust, was for an attempt upon her chastity; and, when her husband came home, and was troubled at her appearance, and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph, and said, "O husband, mayest thou not live a day longer, if thou dost not punish the wicked slave who desired to defile thy bed; who neither remembered who he was when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty, nor was he mindful of the favours he had received from thy bounty (and he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he in every respect behave well to us), but formed the design to abuse thy wife, and that at the festival time, watching for thy absence. So that it is now clear, that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in from fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, or even hoped for, so that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate, and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, had liberty to touch thy wife also." And when she had ended speaking, she showed him his garment, as if he left it there when he attempted to force her. Then Potiphar, not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his wife said, and the garment which he saw, and placing too much confidence in his wife owing to his love for her, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactors' prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bore witness to her modesty and chastity.

## CHAP. V.

*What befell Joseph in the Prison.*

## § 1.

NOW Joseph, committing all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to any defence or account of the real circumstances, but silently underwent the bonds and distress; firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth, would be more powerful than those that put him in bonds; a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison, taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him: he also permitted him to enjoy a better diet than the rest of the prisoners. Now his fellow-prisoners, when their hard labour was over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are partners in trouble, and to inquiring one of another, what were the reasons of their being condemned. Among them the king's favourite cupbearer was put in bonds, owing to the king's anger, in the same part of the prison as Joseph, and grew intimate with him, and observing that Joseph had an excellent understanding, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

§ 2. He then said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already and ripe for gathering, and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, if he had any understanding in such matters, that he would tell him what the vision foretold. And he bade him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three

days' time, because the king desired his service, and was about to restore him to his office again: for he let him know, that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and friendship among men, putting an end to quarrels, and taking away perturbation and grief from the minds of those that use it, and making them cheerful. "Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king received it; know, therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretells a release from thy present distress within the same number of days as the branches had from which thou gatheredst the grapes in thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I foretold thee when thou hast found it come true, and when thou art in authority, do not overlook me in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave me, when thou art gone to the place I have foretold; for I am not in prison for any crime, but I was condemned for my virtue and chastity to suffer the punishment of malefactors, and because I was unwilling to injure him that has thus treated me for my own pleasure." The cupbearer, therefore, as was natural, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited for the completion of what had been thus foreshown him.

§ 3. But there was another servant of the king, who had been chief baker, and was now in prison with the cupbearer; he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he asked Joseph to tell him what the visions he had seen the night before meant. They were as follows:—"Methought," says he, "I carried three baskets upon my head, two full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats and other eatables, such as are prepared for kings; but some birds came and swooped on them, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to scare them away." And he expected a similar prediction to that of the cupbearer. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream signified, but he told him that he had only two days in all to live, for that the baskets signified that on the third day he

would be crucified, and devoured by birds, when unable to help himself. Now both these dreams had the very end that Joseph foretold they would have to both parties; for on the predicted day, when the king solemnized his birthday, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former office.

§ 4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cupbearer, who did not remember his predictions. God contrived the following method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the king had seen in his sleep the same night two visions, and with them the interpretation of each. He had forgotten the latter, but remembered the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, he called together the next day the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams. But as they were in doubt about them, the king was so much the more troubled. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in the interpretation of dreams, came into the mind of the king's cupbearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in: so he came and mentioned Joseph to him, as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said, and also how the chief baker was crucified on the very same day, and that this also happened to him according to the interpretation of Joseph: that Joseph himself had been put in prison by Potiphar, who was over the cooks, as a slave; but he said that he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews, and that his father had great renown. "If, therefore," added he, "you will send for him, and not despise him on the score of his present misfortunes, you will learn what your dreams signify." So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence, and those who received the command went and fetched him, having attired him suitably according to the command of the king.

§ 5. Then the king took him by the right hand, and said, "O young man, as my servant bears witness that you are at present the best and most skilful person I can consult with, vouchsafe me the same favour which you be-

stowed on him, and tell me what the visions of my dreams foreshadow. I desire you not to suppress anything out of fear, or to flatter me with lying words to please me, if the truth is of a melancholy nature. Methought, as I walked by the river, I saw seven fat and very large kine going from the river to the marshes; and seven other kine met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean and ill-favoured, which eat up the fat and large kine, and yet were no better than before, being miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision I woke from my sleep troubled, and considering with myself what this apparition meant, I fell asleep again and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which did still more affright and disturb me: I saw seven ears of corn growing on one stalk, having their heads borne down by the weight of the grain, and bending down with its ripeness, and near them I saw seven other ears of corn thin and weak for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were ripe, and put me into great astonishment."

§ 6. To which Joseph replied, "This dream, O king, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same condition of future things. For your seeing the kine, animals made for the plough and labour, devoured by the lean kine, and the ears of corn eaten up by smaller ears, both foretell a famine and dearth in Egypt for the same number of years as the years of plenty, so that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to relieve; as a sign whereof, the lean kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But God predicts what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that, when they know it beforehand, they may, by prudence, make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If you, therefore, carefully store up the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, you will so contrive that the future dearth will not be felt by the Egyptians."

§ 7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he could so store up the plentiful crops in the fertile years as to

make the dearth more tolerable. Joseph then suggested to spare the good crops, and not to permit the Egyptians to use them extravagantly, but to reserve what they would have spent in superfluous luxury against the time of want. He also urged Pharaoh to take the corn of the husbandmen, and to give them only so much as would be sufficient for their food. And Pharaoh, admiring Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with the management of everything, with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, believing that he, who first discovered this method of acting, would prove the best to carry it out. And he, having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of the king's seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to everyone as would be sufficient for seed and for food, but without telling anyone the reason why he did so.

## CHAP. VI.

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

### § 1.

JOSEPH was now full thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honour from the king, who called him Psothom Phanech, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom, for that name denotes 'finder out of secrets.' He also married a wife of very high quality, for he married the daughter of Petephres,<sup>1</sup> one of the priests of Heliopolis;<sup>2</sup> she was a

<sup>1</sup> This 'Petephres,' who was now a priest of On, or Heliopolis, is the same name in Josephus, and perhaps in Moses also, with him to whom Joseph was sold. They are also affirmed to be one and the same person in the same testament of Joseph, § 18, for he is there said to have married the daughter of his master and mistress. Nor is this a notion peculiar to that testament; but, as Dr. Bernard confesses, note on Antiq. ii. 4, § 1, common to Josephus, to the Septuagint interpreters, and to other learned Jews of old time.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The On of Gen. xli. 45 and xlii. 20; called Bethshemesh in Jer.

virgin, and her name was Asenath. By her he had two sons before the scarcity came on, Manasseh, the elder, which signifies 'forgetful,' because his present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies 'restorer,' because he was restored to the freedom of his forefathers. Now, after Egypt had had seven prosperous years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them in the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them unexpectedly, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a saviour to the mass of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that had abundance.

§ 2. So Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might use that market, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine, and indeed it touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, his son by Rachel, and uterine brother of Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing was done without his approbation; for even the honour that was paid the king himself was only advantageous to the persons that paid it when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now he recognized his brethren, though they had no idea it was him, for he was but a lad when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, so that he was not known to them, and the greatness of his dignity suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He therefore determined to make trial of their views on all matters. So he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the king's affairs; and that they had come from several countries, and had joined themselves together, and only pretended that they were akin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many

xliii. 13, and Aven in Ezek. xxx. 17. The ruins of Heliopolis are about ten miles north-east of *Cairo*.

sons so distinguished looking, such a family not being easily reared by kings themselves. Now he did this in order to discover all about his father, and what had happened to him after his own departure, also wishing to know what was become of Benjamin his brother; for he was afraid that they had plotted against him as they had done against himself, and had got rid of him also.

§ 3. And they were in great alarm and terror, and thought that the greatest danger hung over them; yet did not at all reflect about their brother Joseph, but stood firm under the accusations laid against them, and made their defence by Reuben, the eldest of them, who now became their spokesman. "We came not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor to do any harm to the king's country, we only wanted to be preserved alive, supposing your humanity might be a refuge for us from the miseries which our country labours under, we having heard that you have established a market for the sale of corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, having determined to afford preservation to all that want it: and that we are brethren, and of the same blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not much different from one another, plainly show. Our father is Jacob, a Hebrew, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives, and, when we were all alive, we were a happy family; but when one of our brothers, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed for the worse, for our father made a long lamentation for him, and we are in affliction, both from the calamity of the death of this brother, and the misery of our aged father. And now we are come to buy corn, having left the care of our father and the management of the house to Benjamin our youngest brother. And you can learn, by sending to our house, whether we are guilty of the least falsehood in what we say."

§ 4. Thus did Reuben endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But he, when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother Benjamin had not been destroyed by them, put them for the present in prison, as if intending to examine them more at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, "Since you constantly affirm that



you are not come to do any harm to the king's country, and that you are brothers, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when you have carried corn to your father, you come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you, this I shall esteem a proof of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and kept deploring one among another their treatment of Joseph, and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for their plots against him." But Reuben severely reproached them for their too late repentance, which could do no good to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of vengeance on his account. Thus they spoke to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general dejection also seized on them at Reuben's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it that he fell into tears, and not being willing that his brothers should observe him, he retired; and after a while, came to them again, and detaining Symeon as a pledge for the brothers' return, he bade the rest take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of the corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did as he was commanded.

§ 5. Now when Jacob's sons got back to Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were supposed to have gone thither as spies upon the king; and how they said they were brothers, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should go and be a proof of the truth of what they had said; and they begged their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with anything his sons had done, and was

especially vexed at the detention of Symeon, and thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reuben's supplication, though he gave Jacob leave to kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do; and there was another circumstance that disturbed them still more,—the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed, and the famine still afflicted them, and necessity almost forced him, Jacob could not<sup>1</sup> make up his mind to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. But their distress growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take under the circumstances. And Judah, who was of a bold temper upon other occasions, spoke his mind very freely to him. He said that it did not become him to be afraid on account of Benjamin, nor to suspect the worst, for nothing could happen to him but by the appointment of God, which could also certainly come to pass, though he were at home with him: that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction, nor deprive them of the abundance of food they might have from Pharaoh by his unreasonable fears about Benjamin, but ought also to think about the preservation of Symeon, lest he should perish by Benjamin's journey being put off. He exhorted him also to trust to God for him; and said, he would either bring Benjamin back to him safe, or together with him lose his own life." So Jacob was at last persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with double the price of the corn; he also sent presents to Joseph of the produce of the land of Canaan. balsam, and cinnamon, and turpentine, and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as also did they. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; and the old man was at last tired out with grief, and stayed behind; and they went on their way to Egypt,

<sup>1</sup> Supplying with Whiston the necessary *ou*.

endeavouring to counteract their grief for the present with hopes for the future.

§ 6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought before Joseph, and no small fear disturbed them lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. So they made profuse apology to Joseph's steward, and told him, that when they got home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it back with them. He said he did not know what they meant. So they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and attired him suitably, he permitted him to be with his brothers. And meantime Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents: and upon his asking them about their father, they answered that they found him well. He also, finding that Benjamin was alive, asked, Whether this was their younger brother? for he had seen him. And when they said he was, he replied, that God ruled over all things. But his affection to him making him shed tears, he retired, not wishing to be observed by his brothers. Then Joseph had them to dinner, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a portion to Benjamin double that of the rest of his guests.

§ 7. Now when after dinner they composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward not only to give them their measures of corn, but to hide the money again in their sacks, and also to put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup out of which he himself used to drink. Now this he did in order to make trial of his brothers, whether they would stand by Benjamin, when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger, or whether they would leave him, and, on the score of their own innocency, return to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way the next day, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause for joy, both because they had received him back again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen

surrounded them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected approach of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who, a little before, had been by their lord thought worthy of honour and hospitality? They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgotten that very hospitality and kind treatment of Joseph, and had not scrupled to do an injury to him, by carrying off the cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, and had not regarded their friendship with Joseph, or the danger they would be in if they were detected, in comparison with unjust gain. Hereupon they threatened that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him, who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had they got off safe with what they had stolen; and now they had the assurance to ask why they were followed after, as if they knew nothing of the matter: but they should soon know by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the steward say, by way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of anything that concerned them, mocked at what he said; and wondered at the idle talk of the steward, who made bold to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it back, though nobody else knew anything about it, so far were they from any idea of wilful fraud. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than denial of the fact, they bade them search them, and if any one of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spoke with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger also. The horsemen also desired search might be made; but they said that punishment should be inflicted only on him who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search, and having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, knowing his was the sack in which they had hidden the cup, having indeed searched the rest only for a show of completeness; so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin,

but were still very confident that he also would be found innocent: and they reproached those that had pursued after them for their hindering them, when they might by now have got a good way on their journey. But as soon as they searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup at once; and all their tone changed to mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother would have to undergo for his theft, and for their own breach of promise to their father to bring Benjamin back safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came at a time when they thought they had got off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief their father would feel for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was himself averse to it.

§ 8. The horsemen then took Benjamin and brought him back to Joseph, his brethren also following. And he, when he saw him in custody, and them looking like mourners, said, "Whatever, vile wretches, were your ideas of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, for you to act so to your benefactor and host?" Whereupon they offered themselves for punishment to save Benjamin: and again called to mind their former wicked plot against Joseph, whom they pronounced more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life, and, if he were alive, that he had obtained God's vengeance upon them. They said further, they were their father's bane, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reuben also reproached them at length. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said they had been guilty of no offence, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment, for he said it was not right either to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended, or to punish them together with him who had been guilty of the theft. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were in great consternation, and speechless at the catastrophe. But Judah, who had persuaded their father to send the lad, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of

his brother. "It is true," said he, "O governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to you, and on that account deserve punishment, even all of us, although the theft was only committed by one of us, and he the youngest also; but yet there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, from your goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now I beg you will not look at us, or at the magnitude of the crime, but at your own nature, and take advice of virtue instead of anger, which those that are otherwise mean employ to add to their strength, and that not only on great, but also on trifling occasions. Be magnanimous, and be not subdued by anger so as to slay those that do not any longer presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from you. And this is not the first time that you will bestow it on us, for before when we came to buy corn, you afforded us great plenty of food quickly, and gave us leave to carry so much home to our family, as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any difference between not disregarding men that are perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and are envied for that glorious benefaction which they received from you. This will be the same favour, though bestowed after a different maner; for you will preserve this way those whom you did feed the other, and will preserve alive, by your bounty, those souls which you did not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby in our present distress we may continue those lives. And I think that God, wishing to afford you this opportunity of showing your virtuous disposition, brought us into this calamity, that it might be evident you could forgive injuries done to yourself; and be kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of your assistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but it is a still more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of offences against yourself. For if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive and overlook such as have been guilty of small offences,

to restrain anger as to crimes which are capital to the guilty is to approximate to the nature of God. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father who showed in his sorrow for Joseph how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I should not have spoken any words to save our own lives, except so far as to praise your character, it being good for it to save alive even those that will have nobody to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatever you pleased : but now, for we do not plead for mercy for ourselves, though indeed, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had much enjoyment in life, but in regard to our father, and pity for his old age, do we make these supplications to you, and beg for those lives, which this wickedness of ours has rendered liable to punishment. He is not himself wicked, nor did he beget us to be such, for he is a good man, and not worthy to have such trials ; and now we are absent, he is afflicted with anxiety about us, and if he hear of our deaths, and the cause of it, he will die a premature death : and the infamy of our end will hasten his, and will bring him to a miserable death, for he will make haste to get into a state of insensibility, before the sad story of our end come abroad to the world. Consider these things in this manner, although our wickedness does now justly provoke you to anger, and forgive it for our father's sake : and let your pity for him counterbalance our crime. Have regard to the old age of our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon to the name of fathers, for so you will honour both your father and yourself also, who enjoy already that title, which will be preserved intact to you by God the Father of all, whom you will seem to honour as he shares the same name, by taking pity on our father, considering how miserably he will be if he be deprived of his sons. It is in your power, therefore, to bestow on us what God has given us (as it is also to take it away), and so to resemble him entirely in benignity ; for it is good to use that power, which can either give or take away, on the merciful side ; and though it is in your power to destroy, to forget that you ever had that power, and to look on yourself as only allowed power

for preservation ; and that the more people anyone extends this power to, the greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now, by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily committed, you will preserve us all ; for we cannot think of living if he be put to death, since we dare not show ourselves alive to our father without our brother, but here we must partake of one and the same end. And so much we beg of you, O governor, that if you condemn our brother to die, you will punish us together with him, as if we were partners of his crime ; for we shall not think it right to kill ourselves for grief at our brother's death, but rather to die as if we were equally guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with you one consideration, and then will say no more, viz. that our brother committed this fault when he was young, and not yet of ripe wisdom, and that men naturally forgive such. If then you condemn us, any omission of mine may be supposed to have hurt us, and made you take the severer view. But if you set us free, that may be ascribed to your own goodness, of which you are inwardly conscious, and that not by merely preserving us, but by granting us such a favour as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, by your seeing more motives for our deliverance than we can ourselves. If, therefore, you mean to slay him, slay me in his stead, and send him back to his father ; or if you prefer to retain him with you as a slave, I am more serviceable to you in that capacity, and, as you see, am better prepared for either contingency." Then Judah, being very willing to undergo anything whatever for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at Joseph's feet, and tried all he could to assuage and pacify his anger. All the brothers also fell down before him weeping, and offered their own lives for that of Benjamin.

§ 9. But Joseph, overcome now with his affections, and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded all that were present to depart, that he might make himself known to his brothers when they were alone. And when the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his brothers, and said, " I commend you for your virtue and kindness to our brother ; I find you better men than I could have expected from your plot against me. Indeed, I



did all this to try your love to your brother; so I believe you were not wicked by nature in what you did in my case, but that all has happened according to God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of what good things we have, and, if he continue propitious to us, will hereafter. Since, therefore, I know that our father is safe and well beyond my expectation, and I see you so well disposed to our brother, I no longer remember the guilt you seem to have had in my case, but will leave off to hate you for that wickedness, and rather return you thanks, that you have co-operated with the will of God to bring things to their present state. I would have you also forget and rather be glad of your old folly, since it is come to such a happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush at your offence. Do not, therefore, let your evil intentions when you condemned me, and that bitter remorse which followed, grieve you now, since those intentions were frustrated. Go therefore your way, rejoicing in what has happened by divine providence, and inform your father of it, lest he should be worn out with anxiety for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part of my felicity, by dying before he comes into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now have. Bring therefore with you him, and your wives and children, and all your kindred, and remove your habitation hither; for it is not proper that the persons dearest to me should live remote from my prosperity, especially as the famine must endure five more years." When Joseph had said this, he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow at the remembrance of their conduct to him, but the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave them no room for fear of punishment. And they then feasted with him. Now the king, as soon as he heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding glad, as if it had been his own good fortune; and gave them wagons full of corn, and gold and silver, to take to their father. And when they had received more from their brother, part to take to their father, and part as gifts for each of themselves, Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

## CHAP. VII.

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

## § 1.

AS soon as Jacob learnt on his sons' return home all about Joseph, that he had not only escaped death, though he had mourned for him so long, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt with the king, and had almost all affairs intrusted to his care, he did not think anything he was told incredible, considering the greatness of the power of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had for some time been intermitted; so he immediately set out on his journey to Joseph.

§ 2. When he came to the well of the oath (*Beersheba*),<sup>1</sup> he offered sacrifice to God, and being afraid that their prosperity in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and think no more of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, if this migration to Egypt were made without the will of God, that his family might be destroyed there; fearing also that he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

§ 3. But God appeared to him, and called to him twice by his name; and when he asked who he was? God said, "It is not right that Jacob should not know that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to his forefathers, and after them to himself. For when your father would have deprived you of the position of head of the family, I gave it you, and by my kindness it was, that when you were sent into Mesopotamia all alone, you obtained good wives, and returned home with many children and much wealth. Your whole family also has been preserved by my providence, and it was I who conducted Joseph your son, whom you gave up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, with power little inferior to that

<sup>1</sup> *Bir es-Seb'a.*

of the king. And I now come to guide you on this journey, and to foretell to you that you shall die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform you, that your posterity shall be many ages in power and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

§ 4. Encouraged by this dream, Jacob went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and their children. They were in all seventy persons. I once indeed thought it best not to set down their names, especially because of their difficult pronunciation [by the Greeks], but upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention their names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came not originally out of Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph had already gone into Egypt. I will therefore set down the names of those that followed him, and their children. Reuben had four sons, Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Symeon had six, Jamuel, Jamin, Jaod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons, Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judah had three sons, Sala, Phares, Zarah; and by Phares two grandchildren, Esrom and Amur. Issachar had four sons, Thola, Phua, Jasub, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons, Sarad, Elon, Jalel. All these are the posterity of Leah, with whom also went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, one of whom, Joseph, had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. The other, Benjamin, had ten sons, Bolosor, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Optais, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three before mentioned amount to forty-seven in number. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Naphtali, which last had four sons, that followed him, Jesel, Guni, Issares, and Sellim. Dan had an only-begotten son, Usi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpah, who was the handmaid of Leah. These had with them, Gad seven, Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, Ariel; Aser had a daughter Sarah, and six sons, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isui, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-

four, the fore-mentioned number (seventy) is made up, Jacob himself not being included in it.

§ 5. When Joseph heard that his father was coming, for Judah his brother went on before, and informed him of his approach, he went to meet him, and they met together at Heroopolis.<sup>1</sup> And Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to help being affected in the same manner by pleasure, yet was he not wholly overcome by his feelings as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brothers with him, and hastened on to the king, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come, which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bade Joseph tell him what sort of life his brothers loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same; and he told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father, as also that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would clash with their pursuits, for the Egyptians were prohibited to feed sheep.

§ 6. When Jacob was come to the king, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his kingdom, Pharaoh asked him how old he now was? And when he answered that he was an hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis;<sup>2</sup> for there the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

§ 7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians, and this awful distress grew worse for them, because neither did the river irrigate the land, for it did not rise, nor did God send any rain upon it, nor had the people made the least provision for themselves in their ignorance, but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their

<sup>1</sup> The ancient Pithom, now *Tell el-Mahuta*, in Lower Egypt, on the railway from *Ismailia* to *Zagazig*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 140, note 2.

cattle and slaves, and if any of them had a piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food. So the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their land might be secured to the king, excepting the lands of the priests, for they continued in their possession. And indeed the sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at last compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when the famine ceased, and the river overflowed the land, and it brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph went to every city, and gathered the people thereof together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the king might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed its fruits. He also exhorted them to look on it as their own possession, and to till it diligently, and to pay as tribute to the king the fifth part of the fruits for the land which the king restored to them when it was his own. And they rejoiced upon thus becoming unexpectedly owners of their land, and diligently observed what was enjoined them. And by this means Joseph procured for himself greater esteem among the Egyptians, and greater goodwill to the king from them. And this law that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until the later kings.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph.*

#### § 1.

NOW when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell ill, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he had offered up prayers for their prosperity, and foretold to them prophetically that the posterity of every one of them should dwell in the land of Canaan, as indeed happened many years afterwards. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph, because he had not borne malice to his brothers for their treatment of him, but had been even more kind to them, and bestowed upon them such benefits

as are seldom paid back even to benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them: concerning whom I shall speak hereafter. And he requested that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full an hundred and forty-seven years, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God; and having such a recompense for it, as it was fit those so good should have. And Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it at great expense. Now his brothers were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid, now their father was dead, that he would take vengeance on them for their plot against him, since he was now gone for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he urged them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicion of him. So he brought them back with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his good-will to them.

§ 2. Joseph also died when he had lived an hundred and ten years: having been admirable for virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and having exercised his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even though he came from another country, and that in such bad circumstances also as I have already described. At last his brothers died also, after they had lived prosperously in Egypt. Now their posterity and sons some time after carried away their bodies, and buried them at Hebron: but, as for the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterwards, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of each of them, and by what struggles they got possession of the land of Canaan, shall be showed hereafter, when I have first explained why they left Egypt.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Afflictions that befel the Hebrews in Egypt, during four hundred years.*

## § 1.

NOW it happened that the Egyptians, who were luxurious and lazy as concerned labour, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain, became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, from envy at their prosperity: for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become notable for abundant wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having from length of time forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly as the crown had now come into another family, they treated the Israelites very badly, and contrived various ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities, and banks to restrain the river, and hinder its waters from inundating the country and becoming a stagnant marsh. They set them also to build pyramids, and wore them out, and forced them to learn all sorts of arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to rise superior to them.

§ 2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, the following reason made the Egyptians more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would be a child born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites, and would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which

thing was so feared by the king, that, at this scribe's suggestion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, who was born to the Israelites, into the river, and so destroy it, and that the Egyptian midwives should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe their births (for they were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them, as being unlikely from their nationality to transgress the king's commands). He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey the royal edict, and venture to keep their male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and being themselves parents were obliged to help in the destruction of their own children, but the intention being to blot out their race, by the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, made their calamity very hard and inconsolable to them. And this was the misery they were in. But no one can defeat the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end; for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up, and concealed from the observers appointed by the king; and the scribe was found a true prophet of what should happen through him. The circumstances were as follows.

§ 3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler of the Hebrews, was afraid for the whole nation, lest it should fail, by the dearth of young men to be brought up hereafter; and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of future favours. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few to so great a multitude. He re-



minded him that, when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but also because, though his wife was at first barren, she was afterwards by him enabled to conceive seed and bear children; and because he left to Ishmael and to his posterity the country of Arabia, and Troglodytis to his sons by Keturah, and Canaan to Isaac. "And it was by my assistance," said he, "that he did great exploits in war, which [unless you be yourselves impious] you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known even to strangers, by the greatness of the prosperity which he enjoyed all his life and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become over six hundred thousand. Know, therefore, that I shall provide for you all in common what is for your good, and particularly for your own glory. For the child, in dread of whose birth the Egyptians have doomed the Israelitish children to destruction, shall be thine, and he shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: and after being brought up in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under among the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts, and that not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All this shall be the effect of my favour to you and your posterity. His brother also shall be so eminent, that he and his posterity shall have my priesthood to the end of the world."

§ 4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awoke, and told it to Jochebed, who was his wife. And now their fear increased on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation of what was foretold by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, from the easiness of her pains, and because the throes of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time, Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and, by falling into the king's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should

make the promise of God of none effect, determined rather to trust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him [which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and whereby both the child so privately to be nourished, and himself, would be always in imminent danger]; for he believed that God would certainly procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own predictions. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of papyrus like a cradle, big enough for an infant to be laid in it without being too confined. They then daubed it over with bitumen (which would naturally keep out the water from coming through the papyrus), and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God. So the river received the child, and carried him along, and Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank near him, as her mother had bidden her, to see where the ark would be carried. Then did God demonstrate, that human wisdom was nothing, but that whatever he wished to do would have a prosperous end, and that those who for their own security condemn others to destruction, and take great pains over the matter, fail of their purpose, while others are preserved in a surprising manner, and obtain a prosperous condition almost from the very midst of their calamities, when their dangers arise by the appointment of God. And, indeed, such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as showed the power of God.

§ 5. Thermuthis was the king's daughter. She happened to be diverting herself by the banks of the river, and seeing the ark borne along by the current, she sent some who could swim, and bade them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child in it, she was greatly in love with him on account of his size and beauty: for God took such great care of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by those very persons who had made the most fatal decrees on account of their dread of his birth, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bade them bring a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not

the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did so to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not as if on purpose, but only as a spectator, and she said, "It is in vain for you, Princess, to call women who are no way akin to it to suckle the child; but if you will order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it will take to the breast of one of its own nation." And as she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bade her procure such a one, and bring a Hebrew woman that could give suck. And she, having such authority given her, went and fetched her mother, who was known to nobody there. And now the child gladly took to the breast, and seemed to stick close to it; and so at the princess' desire the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to Jochebed.

§ 6. Then it was that Thermuthis imposed the name 'Moses' upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river: for the Egyptians call 'water' by the name of 'Mo,' and such as are 'saved out of it,' by the name of 'Uses;' so by putting these two words together, they gave him his name. And he was by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind, as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews. And he was the seventh from Abraham, for he was the son of Amram, the son of Caath, the son of Levi, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham. Now Moses' understanding was above his age, nay, far beyond that standard, and when he was taught he showed greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater ones when he should become a man. God did also give him such height, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And for his beauty, there was nobody so uncouth, as when he saw Moses, did not greatly marvel at his handsomeness. And it happened to many, that met him as he was carried along the road, that they turned back to see the child, and left their work to gaze idly at him. For the beauty of the child was so remarkable and excessive, that it spellbound spectators to gaze on him.

§ 7. Thermuthis therefore, perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no

child of her own. And on one occasion she took Moses to her father and showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own, and said to him, "I have brought up a child who is divine in form and noble in mind; and as I received him from the bounty of the river in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of your kingdom." And when she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him close to his breast: and, to please his daughter, playfully put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, after stripping it off in childish mood, and trod upon it with his feet. And this seemed to portend something evil to the kingdom of Egypt. So when the sacred scribe saw this, who had foretold that his birth would be for the humiliation of the Egyptian kingdom, he ran up to kill him, and, crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "O king! this is the child of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger. He himself affords an attestation to the prediction, by his insulting your government, and treading upon your diadem. Put him therefore out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of reliance on him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was reluctant to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was therefore educated with great care. And the Hebrews were sanguine that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow his education. But as there was no plausible pretext for his being killed, either by the king, to whom he was a relation by adoption, or by anyone else, in whom by a knowledge of the future they might have had more confidence, as likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

## CHAP. X.

*How Moses Warred against the Ethiopians.*

## § 1.

MOSES therefore, being born and brought up in the way described, and coming to maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and showed that he was born for their humiliation and to raise the Israelites on the following occasion. The Ethiopians, who are neighbours of the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, and plundered and carried off the goods of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, marched against them to revenge the insult, but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and got home safe. And the Ethiopians followed after them in hot pursuit, and thinking that it would be soft not to subdue all Egypt, they ravaged the country far and wide, and when they had tasted its sweets never left off the prosecution of the war: and as the nearest parts had not courage enough at their first approach to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis<sup>1</sup> and the sea, not one of the cities being able to hold out against them. The Egyptians in this strait betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had counselled them to call in the Hebrew to their aid, the king commanded his daughter to produce Moses, that he might be their general. And when she had made the king swear he would do Moses no harm, she delivered him to the king, supposing his assistance would be of great advantage, and reproaching the priests, who, having before urged the Egyptians to kill him as an enemy, were not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

§ 2. So Moses, at the entreaty of Thermuthis and the king, cheerfully undertook the business: and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians,

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Memphis, or Noph, are at *Mitrahamy*, on the left bank of the Nile above Cairo.

thinking they should overcome their enemies by his valour, and hoping at the same time to kill Moses treacherously,<sup>1</sup> and those of the Hebrews hoping to escape from the Egyptians, since Moses was to be their general. And he was too quick for the enemy, and before they heard of his approach marched against them with his army, not by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful proof of his sagacity. For as the ground was difficult to travel over, because of the multitude of serpents (which it produces in vast numbers, and indeed some that other countries do not breed, and such as are remarkable for strength and malignity and unusual appearance, some of which fly so as to come upon men at unawares off the ground and do them a mischief), Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe and without hurt on its march, for he made baskets like arks of papyrus, and filled them with ibises,<sup>2</sup> and carried them along with the army. Now the ibis is the greatest enemy to serpents, which fly from them when they come near them, and as they fly they get caught and devoured by them, as if by deer. But the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to serpents. About them I shall say no more at present, since the Greeks themselves are not unacquainted with the nature of the bird. As soon, then, as Moses was come to the land which breeds these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpents, and used them to clear the ground for his army. Having therefore thus proceeded on his march, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him, and joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and attacked and overthrew their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of the Ethiopians. And when the Egyptian army had once tasted success thanks to Moses, they did not slacken their vigour, so that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and utter ruin. And at last they were forced into Saba, the

<sup>1</sup> τῶ αὐτῶ δόλω can have no meaning here. I conjecture therefore that καιρῶ has fallen out before δόλω.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny speaks of these birds, and says, "The Egyptians invoked them against the serpents," Hist. Nat. x. 28.—W. See also Herodotus, ii. 75, 76, and 65.

royal city<sup>1</sup> of Ethiopia (which Cambyses afterwards called Meroe, after the name of his own sister), and there were besieged. The place was almost impregnable, as it was completely surrounded by the Nile, and two other rivers, the Astapus and Astaboras,<sup>2</sup> made it very difficult for such as attempted to cross over them; for the interior of the city formed an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers as a first line of defence, and great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, so that when the waters rise with the greatest violence they can never overflow it, and these ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are got over the rivers to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle (for the enemies durst not offer battle), the following circumstance happened: Tharbis, the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians, happened to see Moses as he led the army near the walls, and fought with great courage; and admiring the ingenuity of his undertakings, and supposing him to be the author of the Egyptian success (when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty), and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, who had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him. And as her passion increased, she sent to him the most faithful of her servants to propose marriage. He accepted her offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to wife, and that when he had once got possession of the city, he would not break his word. No sooner said than done, and when Moses had destroyed the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and celebrated the marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the capital of Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> Meroe lay between the Nile, the Blue Nile (Astapus), the *'Atbara* (Astaboras), and the *Sobat* rivers: the capital Saba, or Meroe, was at the north end of the district.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Moses fled out of Egypt into Midian.*

## § 1.

NOW the Egyptians, because they had been preserved by Moses, entertained an hatred to him, and were very eager in plotting against him, suspecting that he would, after his success, stir up a revolution in Egypt, and told the king he ought to be slain. The king also had some intention of the same purpose, from envy of his military exploits, and fear of being brought low by him; and, being urged on by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses. But he, having learned beforehand what plots there were against him, went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the desert, where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously. And when he came to the city of Midian,<sup>1</sup> that lay near the Red Sea, and got its name from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested there after his laborious journey and hardships. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon. And there he had an opportunity offered him by the custom of the country, of doing what exhibited his virtue, and afforded him means of bettering his circumstances.

§ 2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to occupy the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water, by its being exhausted by others before they came. Now there were come to this well seven sisters that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one of great repute among the people of the country. These virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary among women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, came first of all, and drew water out of the well in sufficient quantity for

<sup>1</sup> The city of Midian was on the east side of the gulf of 'Akabah; the site has not been identified.



their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water. But when the shepherds came up and tried to drive the maidens away, that they might have the water for themselves, Moses, thinking it monstrous to allow the maidens to be so oppressed, and to suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, drove away those men who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded the necessary help to the women: who, after having received such a benefit from him, went to their father, and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and entreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well of his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor, and bade them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him the testimony his daughters bore to his assistance, and admiring him for his virtue, he said, that Moses had bestowed his assistance on persons not ungrateful, but both able and willing to return his kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he adopted him as his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the superintendent and master over his cattle, for of old all the wealth of barbarians was in cattle.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning the Burning Bush, and the Rod of Moses.*

## § 1.

NOW Moses, having obtained such treatment from Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, stayed there, and fed his flock; but some time afterwards grazing his flocks near the mountain called Sinai,<sup>1</sup> he drove them there. Now Sinai is the highest of all the mountains thereabouts, and the best for pasturage, the herbage there being good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the

<sup>1</sup> In the peninsula of Sinai; the highest mountain is *Jebel Kattarin*, close to *Jebel Músa*, the traditional Mount Sinai.

opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it. And here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses: for a fire seized upon a thorn-bush, yet did its green luxuriance continue intact, nor did the fire consume the bush, though the flame was great and fierce. Moses was frightened at this strange sight, but was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and called to him by name, and spoke to him, and told him how bold he had been in venturing to come to a place where no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove as far as possible from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he was himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, not to pry any further. And he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him; and commanded him to return with confidence to Egypt, to be the commander and leader of the nation of the Hebrews, and to deliver his kinsmen from the affliction they suffered there: "For," said he, "they shall inhabit that happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and you by your intelligence shall be their leader there." But he enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such was the divine message delivered out of the fire.

§ 2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be madness, O Lord, rather than sense, to distrust your power, which I myself worship, and which I know has been manifested to my forefathers, but still I fail to see how I, who am a private man, and of no abilities, should persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I should lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how I can force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since the Egyptians augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labour and work they put upon them."

§ 3. But God exhorted him to be confident on all points, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his

words, when he was to persuade men, and in his deeds to supply strength. He bade him also take a sign of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground, which, when he had done, it crept along, and became a serpent, and rolled itself round in coils, and reared its head, as ready to retaliate on such as should assault it, after which it became again a rod as it was before. After this, God bade Moses put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white and in colour like chalk, but afterwards it returned to its usual colour again. He also, at God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. And Moses marvelling at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bade him make use of those signs in order to obtain belief among all men, "that you are sent by me, and do all things according to my commands. And I bid you make no delay but haste to Egypt, and travel night and day, and not waste time, so as to make the bondage and sufferings of the Hebrews to last the longer."

§ 4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, could no longer disbelieve them: he entreated God to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe to him the knowledge of his name, that since he had heard and seen him, he would also tell him his name, so that when he offered sacrifice, he might invoke him by it. Whereupon God declared to him his name, which had never been discovered to men before, concerning which it is not lawful for me to speak. And these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always when he needed them: of all which signs he put most confidence in the fire in the bush, and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and to bring ruin on the Egyptians.

## CHAP. XIII.

*How Moses returned into Egypt to Pharaoh.*

## § 1.

AND Moses, when he heard that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he had fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt to help his own people: and he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the sons he had by her, Gershom and Eleazar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of these names, Gershom, signifies in the Hebrew tongue, 'I have been a stranger in a strange land;' and Eleazar, that, by the 'assistance of the God of his fathers,' he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had happened to him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. And as they went forward, the chief men among the Hebrews, having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and, as he was not believed, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and had a good hope about everything, believing now that God looked after their preservation.

§ 2. Now when Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatever he should order, as they promised to be, and that they were in love with liberty, he went to the king, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done to help the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him what danger he had been in during that expedition, without having any proper return made to him, as he had deserved. He also informed him of what had happened to him at Mount Sinai, and what God had said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to make him put faith in

the commands which he had given him, and he exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

§ 3. And when the king jeered, Moses made him actually see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. But the king was very angry with Moses, and called him a bad man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and now came back with deceitful tricks and wonders and magical arts to frighten him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights, knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in these kind of arts [and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended to be divine; as also he told him, that, when he exhibited such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned]. And when the priests threw down their rods, they too became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at this, and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is as much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man: and I will prove that what I do is not done by juggling or untrue deception, but by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all; it then returned to its own form, and Moses took it up.

§ 4. However, the king was no more moved, when this was done, than before, but being very angry, he said, that Moses should gain nothing by his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians. And he commanded the chief task-master over the Hebrews to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before. For though he allowed them chaff before for making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer, but he made them work hard at brick-making in the daytime, and they had to gather chaff in the night. Now as their labour was thus doubled, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their work and misery were

on his account become more severe. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king's threatenings, nor did he abate his zeal for all the Hebrews' complaints, but he set his soul resolutely against both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and urged him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and sacrifice there to God, for he had ordered them so to do, and not to act counter to the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he was aware, by laying an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, he should occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable anyone that acted counter to the divine commands would undergo, since afflictions arise from everything to those that provoke the divine wrath against them; for such have neither earth nor air for their friends, not does the fruit of the womb come according to nature, but everything is hostile and adverse to them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by bitter experience; and that also the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

#### CHAP. XIV.

##### *Concerning the Ten Plagues which came upon the Egyptians.*

###### § 1.

BUT as the king made light of the words of Moses, and paid no regard to them at all, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues ever happened to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt, and because I wish to show that Moses did not speak falsely in any one thing that he foretold them, and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution, not to act like the Egyptians and do anything that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon them. The Egyptian river ran with blood at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water, and the water was not only of

the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink it pain and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians: but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and no way different from its natural condition. As the king therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, and would not suffer their departure.

§ 2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians: an innumerable multitude of frogs devastated their land, the river was also full of them, insomuch, that those who drew water found it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in and were drowned in the water; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born and died; they also disturbed all their household arrangements, being found among what they ate, and what they drank, and swarming upon their beds. There was also a strong and unpleasant odour from them as they died in their houses. And as the Egyptians suffered grievously from this plague, the king ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away, and both the land and river returned to their usual condition. But as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having made his concession rather out of fear than from prudence.

§ 3. Accordingly, God punished his falseness with another additional plague. There broke out in the bodies of the Egyptians an innumerable quantity of lice, by which these miserable wretches miserably perished, being unable to destroy the vermin either with washes or with ointments. At which terrible plague the king of Egypt was troubled, fearing that his people would be destroyed, and considering that the manner of death was also shameful, so that he was forced in part to recover from<sup>1</sup> his folly

<sup>1</sup> Reading ἀπό for ὑπό.

to a sound mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he demanded that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return, whereby he provoked God to greater anger, thinking to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished Egypt for the sake of the Hebrews; for he filled that country full of various kinds of pestilential creatures, such as had never been seen by men before, by whom the men themselves perished, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation: and if anything escaped destruction by them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men suffered from also.

§ 4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God, but though he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with various plagues greater than those prevalent before; for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains, which consumed their inward parts, and a great many Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail such as the climate of Egypt had never suffered from before, like that which falls in other climates in winter-time, and larger than that which falls in the middle of spring in the northern and north-western regions, came down and destroyed all their crops. After this, a swarm of locusts devoured the seed which was not hurt by the hail, so that to the Egyptians their hopes of crops were entirely lost.

§ 5. The forementioned calamities would have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise and sensible of what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, not so much in folly as in wickedness, even though he knew the cause of his troubles, still contested with God, and wilfully deserted the better course. So he bade Moses take the Hebrews away with their wives and children, but leave their cattle behind, since the Egyptian cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and as time was wasted over this



argument, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and in terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. After that, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and yet Pharaoh did not repent and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him, and said: "How long will you be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins you to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of your all being freed from these plagues unless you do so." But the king was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head, if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Thereupon Moses said, he would not speak to him any more about them, but that the king himself, together with the principal Egyptians, would beseech the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he went his way.

§ 6. But God, signifying that with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, commanded Moses to tell the people to make ready a sacrifice, and to prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus against the fourteenth (the month is called by the Egyptians Pharmuthi, and by the Hebrews Nisan, but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus), and ordered him to lead away the Hebrews with all they had. Accordingly, having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having divided the people into tribes, he kept them together in one place. And when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart, they offered sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is, that we do still offer this sacrifice in like manner to this day, and call this festival Pascha, which signifies passover, because on that night God passed us over, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians; for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians, who lived near the king's palace, came and advised Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bade them be

off, supposing, if once the Hebrews were gone out of the country, that Egypt would be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with gifts, some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourly friendship to them.

## CHAP. XV.

### *How the Hebrews, led by Moses, left Egypt.*

#### § 1.

SO the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so harshly. And they took their journey by Letopolis,<sup>1</sup> a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon<sup>2</sup> was built afterwards, when Cambyses conquered Egypt. And as they journeyed by the shortest route, on the third day they came to a place called Baalzephon<sup>3</sup> near the Red Sea; and as they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they ate loaves kneaded with flour, only baked by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and that only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is, that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, called the feast of unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including women and children, would not be easy to number, but those that were of an age fit for war were six hundred thousand.

§ 2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the

<sup>1</sup> A town in Lower Egypt, about twenty miles north of Memphis, which gave its name to the Letopolitan Nome; it is now probably *er-Rahneh*.

<sup>2</sup> A town in Lower Egypt, in the Heliopolitan Nome, on the right bank of the Nile, and at the commencement of the old canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea. The ruins are near *Old Cairo*, and still bear the name *Babäl*.

<sup>3</sup> Site not identified.

fifteenth day according to the moon, four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham went into Canaan, and two hundred and fifteen years after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and Aaron was three years older. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

§ 3. But the Egyptians repented that the Hebrews were gone, and the king also was very enraged, as if it had come about through the jugglery of Moses, so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons and other stores of war, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they could now have no pretence to pray to God, since they had already been permitted to go out; and they thought they would easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey. So they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of everyone they met which way they were gone; and indeed it was a difficult land to travel over, not only for armies but for single persons. Now Moses had led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent of letting them go, and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. Also on account of the inhabitants of Palestine, who had been hostile to them and hated them of old, he contrived that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country was next that of Egypt; and so it was that Moses led the people not along the road to the land of Palestine, but was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so, after a long journey and many hardships, they might enter into the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared for battle, and by their multitude drove them into a narrow place, for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot. They also blocked up the roads by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly,

intercepting them between inaccessible precipices and the sea; for a mountain terminated at the sea, which was impassable from its ruggedness, and so barred their flight; so they hemmed in the Hebrews with their army, where the mountain closed with the sea, planting themselves at this opening, that so they might bar their passage into the plain.

§ 4. The Hebrews then, not being able to undergo as it were a siege, because they wanted provisions, and seeing no means of escape, and if they resolved to fight having no weapons, expected complete destruction, unless they surrendered voluntarily to the Egyptians. And they accused Moses, and forgot all the miracles wrought by God for their freedom, and in their unbelief wished to stone the prophet, who encouraged them and promised them deliverance, and resolved to deliver themselves up to the Egyptians. And there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, as they were shut in by mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and saw no means of escape.

§ 5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not relax his care of them, but trusted in God, who, as he had done for their liberation all other things which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves of, or to be slain by them. And standing in the midst, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter: but it is no better than madness for you at this time to despair of the providence of God, by whom all those things have been performed which he promised, when you expected no such things, namely, all that I have had a hand in for your deliverance and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we are, we ought the rather to hope that God will succour us, whose work it is that we are now hemmed in in this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable, and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power and providence over us. For God does not give his

help in small matters to those whom he favours, but in cases where he sees no hope in men of bettering their condition. Depend, therefore, upon such a protector as is able to make small things great, and to evidence the weakness of this mighty force, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army, and despair not of safety, because the sea before and the mountains behind afford you no opportunity for fleeing, for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made level ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

## CHAP. XVI.

*How the Sea was divided asunder for the Hebrews, when they were pursued by the Egyptians, and so gave them an opportunity of escaping from them.*

## § 1.

WHEN Moses had said this, he led them on towards the sea, while the Egyptians looked on. For they were within sight, but so tired by their toilsome pursuit, that they thought it best to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and aid, and said, "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance for us to extricate ourselves from our present condition, but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to our host, which left Egypt at thy command. We despair of any other hope or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee: and if there be any method that can promise us escape from the fury of the Egyptians by thy providence, we look to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us, and do thou infuse in the people, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind, courage and confidence of deliverance. We are in extremities, but still such as thou hast power over; the sea is thine, the mountain that encloses us is thine; so that it will open if thou commandest it, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight

through the air, if it seemed good to thee to preserve us in that way by thy power."

§ 2. When Moses had thus prayed to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and retiring into itself, left dry ground as a road for the flight of the Hebrews. Now, when Moses saw this manifestation of God, and that the sea went out of its own place and left dry land, he stepped first of all into it, and bade the Hebrews follow him along that divine road, rejoicing at the danger their enemies that followed them were in, and giving thanks to God for so surprising a deliverance vouchsafed to them by him.

§ 3. Now as they loitered not, but went on earnestly, relying on God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed at first that they were mad, and rushing upon certain destruction. But when they saw that they had gone a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty presented itself, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their cavalry foremost, and stepped down into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while they were putting on their armour and so lost time, were beforehand with them, and got over to the land on the other side without any hurt. So the Egyptians were encouraged the more to pursue them, expecting no harm would come to them either: but they were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not a common road,—a road made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those who were intent on using it for the others' destruction. As soon, therefore, as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed back again, and came down with a rush agitated by storms of wind, and cut off the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from heaven, and dreadful thunders and flashes of lightning. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there anything, wont to be sent upon men by God as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

§ 4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain them-

selves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies, supposing themselves firmly delivered, as those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and as they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And having escaped the danger they were in in this manner, and moreover seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whatever, they spent all the night in singing of hymns and mirth. Moses also composed a song to God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his favour, in hexameter<sup>1</sup> verse.

§ 5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this account as I found it in the sacred books. And let no one<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What that hexameter verse, in which Moses' triumphant song is here said to be written, distinctly means, our present ignorance of the old Hebrew metre or measure will not let us determine. Nor does it appear to me certain, that even Josephus himself had a distinct notion of it, though he speaks of several sorts of that metre or measure, both here and elsewhere, *Antiq.* iv. 8, § 44, and vii. 12, § 3.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Take here the original passages of the four old authors that still remain, as to the transit of Alexander the Great over the Pamphylian Sea; I mean of Callisthenes, Strabo, Arrian, and Appian. As to Callisthenes, who himself accompanied Alexander in this expedition, Eustathius, in his notes upon the third *Iliad* of Homer (as Dr. Bernard here informs us), says, that "this Callisthenes wrote, how the Pamphylian Sea did not only open a passage for Alexander, but, rising and elevating its waters, did pay him homage as its king."—Strabo's account is this, *Greg.* xiv. p. 666. "Now about Phaselis is that narrow passage, by the sea side, through which Alexander led his army. There is a mountain called Climax, which adjoins to the sea of Pamphylia, leaving a narrow passage on the shore, which in calm weather is bare, so as to be passable by travellers, but when the sea overflows, it is covered to a great degree by waves. Now then, the ascent by the mountains being round about and steep, in still weather they make use of the road along the coast. But Alexander fell into the winter season, and, committing himself chiefly to fortune, he marched on before the waves retired, and so it happened that they were a whole day in journeying over it, and were under water up to the navel."—Arrian's account is this, i. pp. 72, 73. "When Alexander removed from Phaselis, he sent some part of his army over the mountains to Perga; which road the Thracians showed him. A difficult way it was, but short. However, he himself conducted those that were with him by the sea-shore. This road is impassable at any other time than when the north wind blows; but if the south wind prevail, there is no passing by the shore. Now at this time, after strong south winds, a north wind blew; and that not without the Divine providence (as both he and they that were with him supposed), and afforded him an easy and quick passage." Appian, when

wonder at the strangeness of the narration, if a way of safety through the sea were discovered to those men of old time who were free from wickedness, whether by the will of God, or by chance, since for Alexander, king of Macedonia, and his suite, who lived only the other day, the Pamphylian sea<sup>1</sup> retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians. And this is recorded as true by all that have written about the exploits of Alexander. But as to these events let every one think as he pleases.

§ 6. On the next day Moses collected the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and the force of the wind acting upon it, and he conjectured that this also happened by divine providence, so that they might not be destitute of weapons. So, when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to Mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice there to God, and to render thank-offerings for the deliverance of the people, as he had been ordered beforehand.

he compares Cæsar and Alexander together (De Bel. Civil. ii. p. 522), says, "That they both depended on their boldness and fortune, as much as on their skill in war. As an instance of which, Alexander journeyed over a country without water in the heat of summer, to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and quickly passed over the bay of Pamphylia, when, by Divine Providence, the sea was cut off; thus Providence restraining the sea on his account, as it had sent rain when he travelled over the desert.

N.B. Since, in the days of Josephus, as he assures us, all the more numerous original historians of Alexander gave the account he has here set down, as to the providential going back of the waters of the Pamphylian Sea, when he was going with his army to destroy the Persian monarchy, which the fore-named authors now remaining fully confirm, it is without all just foundation that Josephus is here blamed by some late writers for quoting these ancient authors upon the present occasion. Nor can the reflections of Plutarch, or any other author later than Josephus, be in the least here alleged to contradict him. Josephus went by all the evidence he then had, and that evidence of the most authentic sort also. So that, whatever the moderns may think of the thing itself, there is hence not the least colour for finding fault with Josephus; he would rather have been much to blame had he omitted these quotations.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Now the *Gulf of Adalia*, on the south coast of Asia Minor.



## BOOK III.

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

## CHAP. I.

*How Moses, when he had brought the People out of Egypt, led them to Mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered many Hardships on their Journey.*

## § 1.

WHEN the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them on their journey to Sinai, for it was entirely a desert, and without any sustenance for them, and also had exceeding little water, so that it was not only not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that could give growth to any produce. But they were forced to travel over this country such as it was, as they had no other but this to travel in. They did indeed carry water along with them from the land over which they had just travelled, as their leader had bidden them; but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with difficulty from the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and that in small quantities only. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called Mar,<sup>1</sup> which had its name from the badness of the water, for Mar denotes bitterness. And they were distressed when they got there, both from the tediousness of their journey, and their want of food, which entirely failed them at that time. Now there was a well there, which made them the more to stay in the place, which, although it was not sufficient to

<sup>1</sup> The Marah of Exod. xv. 23, and Numb. xxxiii. 8, 9; probably 'Ain Hawarah, on the road from Suez to Sinai.

satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort in such a region, for they heard from those who had been sent to explore that there was nothing to be found if they travelled further. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink, and intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

§ 2. When Moses saw how much the people were dispirited, and that the matter was incontestable (for they were not a pure army, who could oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them, but the multitude of children and of women, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men), he was in great anxiety, and had everybody's calamity as his own. For all ran to him and begged of him, the women for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not neglect them, but would procure some means to save them alive. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour, he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made an incision lengthways. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would obey him in what he should enjoin them to do, and that not remissly but with alacrity. And when they asked, what they were to do in order to get the water changed for the better? he bade the strongest men among them that stood round to draw up the water, and told them that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink: so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged by frequent strokes as to be fit to drink.

§ 3. And removing from thence they came to Elim,<sup>1</sup> which looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees there, but when they came near, it was evidently a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill-grown and stunted from want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them gushed out from the fountains,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Wady Ghurundul*, on the road from *Suez* to *Sinai*.

which were in number twelve; they were rather a few moist places than springs that could jet out their water plentifully. And when they dug in the sand they found no water, and if they did get a few drops into their hands, they found it useless on account of its muddy nature. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and refreshed by water. So they laid the blame on their leader, and cried out against him; and said, that their miserable state, and this taste of adversity were owing to him. For they had now journeyed thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and, finding no fresh ones, were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon their present evil plight, they were hindered from remembering what favours they had received from God, and from the virtue and wisdom of Moses also; so they were very angry with their leader, and were fain to stone him as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

§ 4. But as for Moses, though the multitude were excited and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon the consciousness of the care he had taken of his fellow-countrymen, and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamoured against him, and had stones in their hands. He was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches, so he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be overmindful of their present necessities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present distress, to cast out of their minds those great and wonderful favours and gifts which they had obtained of God, but to expect deliverance out of their present straits also by the solicitude for them of God, who, it was probable, was making a trial of their virtue to see what fortitude they had, and what memory they retained of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they would not think of them in the miseries they now felt. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering the benefits done to them, since they so despised God and his commands, by which they had left the land of

Egypt, and behaved themselves so ill to him who was the servant of God, and that when he had never deceived them, either in what he had said, or ordered them to do by God's command. He also recapitulated all that had passed: how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them by force contrary to the will of God, and how the very same river was to the Egyptians bloody and not fit for drinking, but to them sweet and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which retired a long way from them, by which very thing they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and how when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them; and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were apparently just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner, and that he had still the same power, so that they ought not even now to despair of his providence, but to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it came not immediately, if it were present with them before they suffered any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus, that God delayed to assist them, not because he had no regard to them, but because he would first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they took in freedom, that he might learn whether they had souls great enough to bear want of food and scarcity of water on its account, or whether they were content to be slaves, as cattle were slaves to such as owned them and fed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. Finally he said that he should not be so much concerned for his own preservation (for if he should die unjustly he should not reckon it any affliction), but that he was concerned for them, lest, by stoning him, they should be thought to despise God.

§ 5. By this speech he pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and made them repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were in made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God some succour for the people and deliverance from the want they were in (for in him, and in him alone,

was their hope of safety) ; and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since it was the nature of mankind to be peevish and querulous in adversity. And God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desirous of. And when Moses heard this from God, he came down to the multitude. And when they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their dejection to gladness. And he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came to bring them from God a deliverance out of their present distress. And soon after came a vast number of quails (this is a bird more plentiful in the Arabian gulf than anywhere else), flying over the sea, and hovering over them, till, wearied with their flight, and also flying more than other birds very near to the earth, they bore down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so quickly, even sooner than he had promised it.

§ 6. But soon after this first supply of food God sent them a second : for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down : and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposing this also was come for food from God to them, tasted it, and was delighted, and as the people knew not what it was and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them, that this dew did not fall from heaven as they imagined, but was for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied of what he told them. They also imitated their leader, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, and very similar to bdellium one of the sweet spices, and in size equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it, but they were enjoined to gather it equally, the measure of an omer for each day, that this food should not fail them, and the weaker not be able to get their share, by reason of the overgreediness of the strong in gathering it. However, those who from their extra labour gathered

more than the measure appointed for them, had no more than others, for they found no more than an omer a piece. And there was no advantage got by leaving any till the next day, as it got bitter and bred worms. So divine and wonderful a food it was! It also supplied the want of other food to those that fed on it. And even now in all that region it comes down in rain, as Moses then obtained it of God for the people's sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food manna, for the particule 'man' in our language, asks the question, 'What is this?' So the Hebrews continued to be very joyful at this food sent them from heaven. And they used it for forty years, as long in fact as they were in the wilderness.

§ 7. As soon as they removed thence, they came to Rephidim,<sup>1</sup> being distressed to the last degree by thirst, for while on the preceding days they had lit on a few small fountains, they now found the land entirely destitute of water, and were in an evil case, and again turned their anger against Moses. And he, only just escaping the fury of the multitude, betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain and plenty of water from a place they did not expect to get any from. And he commanded him to smite the rock which they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted, for he would see that drink should come to them without any labour or pains. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming fast from the eminence. As soon as he was come, he told them that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected deliverance, and told them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were dejected at hearing that, supposing it would be necessary to cut the rock in pieces, now they were worn

<sup>1</sup> See Numb. xxxiii. 14, 15. Probably near *Feirán*, in the *Wády Feirán*, in the Sinaitic peninsula.

out by their thirst and journey, when Moses only smote the rock with his rod, and out of it gushed out water in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful thing, and, as it were, quenched their thirst at the very sight. And the water was pleasant and sweet to those that drank it, and such as was to be expected where God was the donor. They also admired Moses for being so honoured by God, and gratefully offered sacrifice to God for his providence towards them. And a document deposited in the temple informs us that God foretold to Moses that water should in this manner be elicited from the rock.

## CHAP. II.

*How the Amalekites, and the neighbouring Nations, made War with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great Part of their Army.*

## § 1.

THE name of the Hebrews began already to be everywhere noised abroad, and rumours about them spread which made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly, they sent envoys to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that urged them especially to this course were the inhabitants of Gobolitis<sup>1</sup> and Petra, who were called Amalekites, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and their kings sent envoys, and exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to war against the Hebrews; telling them that an army of strangers, who had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait for them, "which army it is well for us and safest and most prudent not to disregard, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to prosperity, and perhaps attack us first, presuming upon our inertia, and we ought to avenge ourselves on them for what they have done in the wilderness, but this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities, and our goods. For those who endeavour to

<sup>1</sup> See page 127.

crush a hostile power in its first rise, are wiser than those who endeavour to put a stop to its progress when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not give any opportunity for their enemies to become troublesome to them." After they had sent such messages to the neighbouring nations, and to one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

§ 2. These proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such hostile move. And when they offered battle, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in great dismay, being in want of all necessaries, and yet having to war with men who were thoroughly well prepared. Then Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's good pleasure, by which they had been raised to freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were drawn up in battle array to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. He told them to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as men in possession of fight with confidence, and to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. He told them also to suppose the enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as God, who knew their character, could not wish them to be conquered by. And how valuable God's assistance was, they had experienced on many occasions more terrible than war, for that was only against men, but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that were insuperable, as also against mountains and sea when they had no way of escape, yet all these difficulties had been conquered by God's favour to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous now, and to look upon their entire prosperity as depending on the conquest of their enemies.

§ 3. With such words did Moses encourage the multitude, and then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and together. The young men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were



cheered in their minds in regard to their danger, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be haply delivered out of all their troubles, nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies without the least delay, as if delay might cool their courage. Then Moses picked out all that were fit for war, and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them, who was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours, of great intelligence and eloquence, and very conspicuous for his worship of God, and indeed imitated Moses in piety towards God, and was much honoured among the Hebrews. He also set a small party of armed men near the water, to take care of the children and women and the entire camp. So that whole night they got ready for the battle, and repaired their weapons if any of them required it, and attended to their commanders, being ready to rush into battle, as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also passed the night in instructing Joshua how to draw his army up in order of battle. And when the day began to dawn, Moses exhorted Joshua again to approve himself in deeds such a one as his reputation warranted people to expect, and to gain glory in the coming fight among his men by his exploits. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him.—And when he had thus animated the army, both by his words and the disposition of the troops, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

§ 4. So the armies joined battle, and it was a close fight hand to hand, both sides showing great alacrity and encouraging one another. As long as Moses stretched out his hands towards heaven, the Hebrews were too much for the Amalekites: but Moses not being able to keep his hands so stretched out (and as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted), he bade his brother Aaron, and Hur, his sister Miriam's husband, to stand on each side of him, and to hold up his hands, and not to permit him to cease giving this aid to the battle through weariness. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force, and indeed they would all

have perished, if the approach of night had not obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantage, which they obtained by their strenuous efforts in the battle; for when they had taken the enemy's camp, they got great booty both publicly and individually, whereas before they were short of even necessary food. Their victory in this battle was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present but for the future also: for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their spirit also, and after this slaughter of the Amalekites were feared by all that dwelt round about them. Moreover, they acquired a vast quantity of riches: for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels which they made use of in their families; and there was a notable quantity of embroidery and fine work about the armour and apparel and furniture, and much cattle of various kinds, and whatever else is wont to accompany an army on the march. So the Hebrews now prided themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour, and perpetually inured themselves to take pains, by which they deemed everything attainable. Such were the consequences of this battle.

§ 5. On the next day Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that had fled, and gave rewards to such as had distinguished themselves in the action, and highly commended Joshua, their general, to whose great prowess testimony was borne by all the army. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be counted up. Then Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he called God the Conqueror. He also foretold that the Amalekites should be utterly destroyed, and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and that when they were in the wilderness and in sore distress. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with

those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. And, when Moses had celebrated this festival of victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days after the fight, and then led them on in order of battle. And they had now many soldiers armed. And by easy marches he got to Mount Sinai three months after the departure from Egypt, at which mountain, as I have before related, the vision of the burning bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

### CHAP. III.

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

#### § 1.

NOW when Raguel, Moses' father-in-law, heard of his success, he came to congratulate him, and greet Moses and Zipporah and their children. And Moses was pleased at the arrival of his father-in-law, and when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude near the burning bush which burnt with fire but was not consumed. And the multitude, every one according to their families, partook of the feast, and Aaron and the company and Raguel sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance and freedom. They also praised their leader as the person by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also in expressing his thanks to Moses passed great encomiums upon the whole multitude, and extolled Moses for the prowess he had exhibited in bringing about the safety of his friends.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Raguel suggested to Moses to set the People in Order, under Rulers of Thousands, and Rulers of Hundreds, and how Moses complied in all things with his Father-in-law's Advice.*

## § 1.

THE next day, Raguel noticed Moses in the midst of a crowd of business (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one going to him and supposing that they would only obtain justice if he were the arbitrator; and those that lost their causes, thought it no harm, for they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality). Raguel, however, said nothing at the time, not wishing to stop any who desired to avail themselves of their leader's sagacity. But when the uproar was over he took Moses aside, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser matters to others, and himself to see only to the greater, and to the people's safety, for others of the Hebrews could be found that were fit to determine causes, but nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many myriads. "Be not, therefore," he continued, "insensible to your own merit, and to what you have done by ministering under God to the people's preservation. Commit, therefore, the management of disputes to others, and reserve yourself for the service of God only, and for finding means of preserving the multitude from their present distress. If you adopt what I suggest as to human affairs, you will take a careful review of the host, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and over thousands, and over five hundreds, and again over hundreds, and over fifties, and let these again be sub-divided into thirties and twenties and tens. And let there be one set over each division, to be nominated by the division. And those whom the whole multitude have approved as good and righteous men, shall decide controversies between man and man. But if any great question arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers

of a higher dignity, and if any difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them remit it to you. By these means two advantages will be gained, the Hebrews will have justice done them, and you will be able to attend constantly on God, and make him more favourable to the host."

§ 2. This was the suggestion of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted upon it. Nor did he conceal the invention of this plan, or claim it as his own, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it. Nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, thinking it right to bear true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have got reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men. Hence we may learn the integrity of Moses; but about this I shall have occasion to speak in other parts of my work.

## CHAP. V.

*How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, and received Laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews.*

### § 1.

NOW Moses called the multitude together, and told them that he was going from them to Mount Sinai, to converse with God; to receive from him, and to bring back with him, a certain oracle: and he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer vicinity to God to other places. When he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai,<sup>1</sup> which is the highest of all the moun-

<sup>1</sup> Since this mountain Sinai is here said to be the highest of all the mountains that are in that region, it must be that now called St. Katherine's, which is one-third higher than that within a mile of it, now called Sinai, as Mons. Thevenot informs us, *Travels*, i. 23, p. 168. The other name of it, Horeb, is never used by Josephus; and perhaps was its name among the Egyptians only, whence the Israelites were lately come, as Sinai was its name among the Arabians, Canaanites, and other nations. Accordingly, when (1 Kings ix. 8), the scripture says, that Elijah came to Horeb, the mount of God, Josephus justly

tains that are in that region, and is not only very difficult of ascent by men on account of its great height, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at without fatiguing the eyes; and besides this, it was terrible and unfrequented on account of the rumour that was prevalent that God dwelt there. And the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elated in their minds, from the expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he intended for them; so they feasted, and waited for their leader, and kept themselves pure in other respects, and abstained from their wives for three days, as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favourably receive Moses in his converse with him, and bestow some gift upon them by which they might live well. They also adopted a more sumptuous diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental clothing than they usually wore.

§ 2. So they passed two days in this feasting, and on the third day, before the sun rose, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such as none had ever before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents: and while all the rest of the sky was clear, there came strong winds that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also such lightning as was terrible to those that saw it, and thunder-bolts hurled down declared God's gracious presence and favour to Moses. Now as to these circumstances every one of my readers may think as he pleases, but I am obliged to relate this history, as it is described in the sacred books. What they saw and heard frightened the Hebrews terribly, for it was such as they were not accustomed to; and then the rumour that was prevalent, that God frequented that mountain, greatly awed their minds; so they sorrowfully confined themselves within their tents, supposing that Moses was destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the same for themselves.

says, *Antiq.* viii. 13, § 7, that he came to the mountain called Sinai; and Jerome, here cited by Dr. Hudson, says, that he took this mountain to have two names, Sinai and Choreb. See *Nom. Heb.* p. 427.—W.

§ 3. As they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared majestic and in great elation. His appearance freed them from their fear, and suggested better hopes of what was to come. The air also became clear and pure from its former storms on the appearance of Moses. Whereupon he called the people together to a solemn assembly to hear what God would say to them, and when they were gathered together, he stood on high ground where all might hear him, and said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as on former occasions, and has suggested a happy method of living for you, and an order of polity, and is now present in the camp. I therefore charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and for what we have done through him, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, only looking at me the speaker, and because it is the tongue of a man that delivers the message. For if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of him whose institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage. For it is not Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various plagues, who provided a way through the sea for us, who contrived a method of sending us food from heaven when we were distressed for want of it, who made water to gush out of a rock when we were in need of it; he by whose means Adam partook of the fruits both of land and sea; he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge; he by whose means our forefather Abraham from a wandering pilgrim became possessor of the land of Canaan; he by whose means Isaac was born of parents who were very old; he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons; he by whose means Joseph became lord over the Egyptians; he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and more precious than children and wives. For if you will follow them, you will lead a happy life; you will find the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb will be plenteous, you will also be terrible to your enemies; for I have been admitted into

the presence of God, and been made a hearer of his immortal voice; so great is his concern for your nation, and its preservation.”

§ 4. When he had said this, he brought the people forward with their wives and children, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about what they were to do, that the excellency of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by the tongue of a man, and so be imperfectly delivered to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, inasmuch that not one of the words escaped them, which Moses wrote on two tables; which words it is not lawful for me to set down directly, but I will make their import known.

§ 5. The first word<sup>1</sup> teaches us, that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in an insignificant matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth, that we must abstain from murder. The seventh, that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not covet any thing that is another's.

§ 6. Now when the multitude heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had spoken of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the assembly broke up; but on the following days the people came to Moses' tent, and desired him to bring them also laws from God. Accordingly, he appointed such laws; and afterwards informed them how to act in all cases: which laws I shall mention at the proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for another work,<sup>2</sup> and make there a separate narration of them.

§ 7. When matters were in this condition, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, first telling them of his intention.

<sup>1</sup> So the ten Commandments are often called the Decalogue, that is, the ten words.

<sup>2</sup> This other work of Josephus, here referred to, does not appear to have been ever published.—W.



And he made his ascent in their sight. And as he stayed there a long time (for he was absent from them forty days), fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there anything in all the evils they had experienced that so much troubled them, as this idea that Moses had perished. Now there was a contention about the matter, some saying that he had been slain by wild beasts, and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; others saying, that he was departed and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of these opinions with any satisfaction, thinking that it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, and that it was probable enough that he might have been translated by God on account of his virtue; so they abstained from conjecture; yet were they exceeding sorry at the idea that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never get his like again: nor would this idea let them entertain any hope about him, so that they could not help feeling trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. But they durst not remove the camp all this while, because Moses had bid them before to stay there.

§ 8: But when forty days and as many nights had elapsed, Moses came down, having tasted no usual food all that time. His appearance filled the host with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct they might live happily, telling them, that during those days of his absence, God had also suggested to him that he would have a tabernacle made for him, into which he would descend when he visited them, and how they should carry it about with them, when they removed elsewhere, and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to Mount Sinai, but that God would himself come and visit that tabernacle, and be present at their prayers. Moreover the tabernacle was to be of such proportions and construction as God had showed him, and they were to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten words engraven upon them, five upon each table: and the writing was by the hand of God.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the Wilderness for the honour of God, which seemed a sort of Temple.*

## § 1.

AND they, rejoicing at what they had seen and heard from their leader, were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; for they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and the best sort of wood, and such as would not rot, goat-skins also and sheep-skins, some of them dyed blue, some scarlet, some purple, and some white, and wool dyed with the same various colours before-mentioned; and fine linen, and precious stones, which those that use costly ornaments fasten and set in gold; they brought also a great quantity of incense. Of such materials did Moses construct the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was munificent even beyond his means, Moses set architects over the works, by the command of God, and indeed they were the very same as the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been left to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books, and they were these, Bezaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, and grandson of Miriam, the sister of their leader, and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with the undertaking with so much alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation, that there were enough volunteers for the work, for so the artificers informed him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the proportions and size were to be, and how many vessels it was to contain for use in the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their part in making robes for the priests, and other things that were wanted in

the work, both for ornament, and for the divine service itself.

§ 2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, having appointed beforehand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, reared up the tabernacle. And when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad and an hundred long, he set up brazen pillars five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the broad side behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. The capitals of the pillars were of silver, but their bases were of gold, and resembled the sharp ends of spears, but were of brass where they were fixed in the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which at every pillar were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by violent winds. And a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from the capitals to the base, and enclosed the whole space between, and seemed not at all unlike a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of the enclosure. But as for the fourth side, which was fifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits were left for gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side like a vestibule, they were brass faced with silver, except the bases, which were entirely brass. And on each side of the vestibule there stood three pillars, which were firmly fixed in the supports of the gates, and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen. But the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, had a curtain of purple, and scarlet and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for ablutions (with a base of like material), in which the priests might wash their hands, and pour water over their feet. And this was the construction of the enclosure of the open court of the tabernacle.

§ 3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of the open court, facing the east, that when the sun rose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length

was thirty cubits, and its breadth ten cubits. One of its walls faced south, and the other north, and behind was the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought in quadrangular form, in breadth a cubit and a half, but in thickness four fingers; they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on all sides, within and without; they had each of them two pivots inserted in their bases, and these were of silver, and in each of the bases there was a socket to receive the pivot. And the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these pivots and sockets exactly fitted into one another, so that the joints were invisible, and there seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on each side, as there were on each twenty, and every one of them was the third part of a span in thickness: so that thirty cubits were made up by them. And as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together only nine cubits, they made two other pillars, and cut them out, of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and adorned them equally as the larger ones. And every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars gilt with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these fastened together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, as if deftly screwed into one another. And for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together. And why all was jointed so fast together, was that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by wind or by any other thing, but that it might stand secure and immoveable.

§ 4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the innermost part Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was similar to that of the rest, and they stood upon similar bases to them, each a little apart. And inside was

the 'Most Holy Place;' but the rest of the tabernacle was open to the priests. And these partitions in the tabernacle happened to correspond with the nature of the universe. For the third part within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, was, as it were, heaven, set apart to God: and the space of the twenty cubits was, as it were, sea and land, to which men have access, and so it was open to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was, there stood five pillars of gold on bases of brass. And there were hung in the tabernacle veils of fine linen embroidered in purple, and blue, and scarlet colours. The first veil was ten cubits every way, and this they hung over the pillars which parted the temple, and shut off the most holy place, for this veil made it invisible to anyone. Now the whole temple was called 'The Holy Place;' but the part within the four pillars, to which none had access, was called, 'The Holy of Holies.' This veil was very beautiful, and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces, and there was worked on it everything that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of animals. Another veil covered the five pillars that were at the entrance, like the former in size and texture and colour, and at the corner of every pillar a ring fastened it back half-way down the pillar, so as to give entrance for the priests who crept under it. Over this there was a veil of linen of the same size, that could be drawn this way or that by cords, and rings, attached both to the veil and to the cords, allowed either of its being spread or drawn back at the corner, that it might be no hindrance to the view, especially on solemn days; but on other days, and especially when the weather was inclined to snow, it was drawn close, and afforded a covering to the veil of divers colours. Hence the custom continued even after the temple had been built, of having a similar linen veil drawn over the entrances. And ten other curtains four cubits in breadth, and twenty-eight in length, had golden clasps to join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly that they seemed to be one entire curtain; these were spread over the temple, and covered all the top, and parts of the walls on the sides and behind, one cubit from the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth as these, but one more in

number, and longer, for they were thirty cubits long, and were woven of hair, with as fine workmanship as those of wool were made, and were extended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a gable and porch at the gates, the eleventh curtain being used for this purpose. There were also other curtains made of skins above these, which afforded covering and protection to those that were woven, both in hot weather and when it rained. And great was the surprise of those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seemed not at all to differ from the colours of the sky. And those that were made of hair, and of skins, reached down in the same manner as did the veil at the gates, and kept off the heat of the sun, and the violence of rain. After this manner was the tabernacle reared.

§ 5. There was also an ark made to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and would not rot; this was called Eron in our language. Its construction was as follows. Its length was five spans, but its breadth and height were each three spans. It was covered all over with gold both within and without, so that the wood was not seen. It had also a cover fastened to it by golden hinges, in a wonderful manner, for it was every way evenly fitted to it, and had no projections to hinder its exactly fitting. There were also two golden rings attached to each of the long sides of the ark, passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each side, that it might be moved and carried about by them, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but borne on the shoulders of the priests. And on its cover were two figures, which the Hebrews call Cherubims; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them: and this ark he placed in the Holy of Holies.

§ 6. And in the holy place he placed a table like those at Delphi, its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the

lower parts of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads, but the upper parts near the table were wrought in a square form. The table had a hollow on every side, having a ledge of four fingers' depth, that went round about like a spiral, both on the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet there was also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood gilt over, that could be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where the table was joined to the rings: for they were not entire rings, but before they came quite round they ended in acute points, one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table, which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened loaves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth deals of the purest flour, which tenth deal [an omer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian cotylæ; and above those loaves were put two golden vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which by us is called the Sabbath; for we call the seventh day the Sabbath. The reason of placing loaves here I shall tell in another place.

§ 7. Over against this table, near the south wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the weight of one hundred minæ, which the Hebrews call cinchares; if it be turned into the Greek language, it denotes a talent. It was made with knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls (these ornaments amounted to seventy in all); from which it rose on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, all in order corresponding to one another; and on them were seven lamps, one on each, in imitation of the number of the planets; these lamps faced east and south, the candlestick being placed obliquely.

§ 8. Now between this candlestick and the table inside, as I said before, was the altar of incense, made of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as

was not liable to rot, but covered over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but its height double. Upon it was a grate of gold projecting above, with a golden crown at each corner encompassing it round about, whereto were attached rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Also before the tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but underneath of wood, five cubits in length and breadth, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth like network, for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no base to receive it. And opposite this altar lay the basons, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons made of gold; but the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the Vestments of the Priest, and of the High Priest; concerning the Priesthood of Aaron, with the Manner of the purifications and Sacrifices; also concerning the Festivals, and how each Day was ordered; with other Laws.*

### § 1.

THERE were vestments appointed for the priests, as well for all the rest whom they call Chanææ, as for the high priest, whom they call Anarabeches, which signifies high priest. The following is the dress of the ordinary priests. When the priest approaches the sacrifices, he first purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes, and then puts on first what is called Mennachase, which means apron. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them, in the nature of breeches; but about half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

§ 2. Over this he wore a linen coat of fine flax doubled: it is called Chethomene, which denotes linen, for we call



linen by the name of Chethon. This coat reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the armpit, by a girdle four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine linen, but the warp is nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast; and when it has gone twice round, it is tied, and hangs loosely down to the ancles, that is, all the time the priest is not doing anything, for so it appears most handsome to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the sacrifices, and serve at the altar, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it on the left shoulder, and wears it so. Moses indeed called this belt Abaneth; but we have learned from the Babylonians to call it Emian, for so it is called by them. This coat has no folds anywhere in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is called Massabazanes.

§ 3. Upon his head the priest wears a cap, not with a conical top, or encircling the whole head, but still covering more than half of it, which is called Masnaempthes; and its make is such, that it seems to be a crown, being a thick band of woven linen; and it is folded round many times and sewed together. Moreover, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the band, which would otherwise appear, and not look well, and sticks close to all the upper part of the head, being so firmly fixed, as not to fall off while the priest is busy with the sacrifices. Thus I have shown the dress of the priests generally.

§ 4. The high priest, indeed, is adorned with the same garments that I have described, without abating one; only over these, he puts on a vestment of a blue colour. This also is long, reaching to the feet; in our language it is called Meeir, and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colour and flowers as the former, with gold woven on it. And at the bottom of it are sewn fringes, in colour

like pomegranates, to which are attached golden bells <sup>1</sup> by a beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vestment was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment, so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but open at the breast and back. A border also was sewed over it, lest the aperture should look too unhandsome. There was also an opening where the hands were to come out.

§ 5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third garment, which was called the Ephod, which resembled the Epomis of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner. It was woven to the depth of a cubit, of all kinds of colours, with gold embroidered on, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered; it had sleeves also; nor did it appear to be very different from a coat. And in the empty place of this garment, there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the same colours as the ephod, and called Essenes,<sup>2</sup> which, in the Greek language, signifies the Oracle. This piece exactly filled up the empty space in the ephod. It is united to it by golden rings at every corner, similar rings being attached to the ephod, and a blue riband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue. There were also two sardonyxes upon the ephod, one at each shoulder, to fasten it in the nature of

<sup>1</sup> The use of these golden bells at the bottom of the high priest's long garment, seems to have been this: That by shaking his garment at the time of his offering incense in the temple, on the great day of expiation, or at other proper periods of his sacred ministrations there, on the great festivals, the people might have notice of it, and might fall to their own prayers at the time of incense, or other proper periods; and so the whole congregation might at once offer those common prayers jointly with the high priest himself to the Almighty. See Luke i. 10, Rev. viii. 3, 4. Nor probably is the son of Sirach to be otherwise understood, when he says of Aaron, the first high priest, Ecclus. xlv. 9, "And God compassed Aaron with pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went, there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple for a memorial to the children of his people.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The Breastplate, in fact, as I shall hereafter translate it.

clasps, having each end running to the sardonyxes of gold, that they might be fastened by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob in our own national letters, and our own tongue, six on each stone, and the elder sons' names were on the right shoulder. There were also twelve stones upon the breastplate, extraordinary for size and beauty, ornaments not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones also were in three rows, four in a row, and were inserted into the breastplate, and set in gold, and so made that they could not fall out. The first three were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a jacinth, the second an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the second an onyx, the third a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all the sons of Jacob, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, were engraven on these stones, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And as the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breastplate which reached the neck, and inserted into the very texture of it, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards, and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breastplate, that it should not fall out of its place. There was also sewed to the breastplate a girdle of the forementioned colours mixed with gold, which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted the fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

§ 6. The high priest's cap was like that we described before, being made like that of all the other priests; above which there was another one, embroidered in blue, and over it was a triple golden crown, and on its top a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call saccharus, but which those Greeks that are skilful in botany call hyoscyamus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henbane.

Now in case anyone that has seen this herb is unacquainted with its nature, or knowing its name recognizes not the herb when he sees it, I shall give a description of it. This herb is often above three spans high, and its root is like that of a turnip (for he that should compare it thereto would not be far out), and its leaves are like the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch, and a coat encompasses it, which it puts off of itself when it is about to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the size of the joint of the little finger, and in shape is like a cup. This I will further describe for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. It resembles the exact half of a sphere, being round at the bottom, and tapering gradually to the top, and wide at the brim, like a pomegranate cut exactly in two. And it has a cover so round that one might say it was turned on the lathe, and has notches projecting above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now its fruit is contained in this cover of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb *sideritis*: it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble the petal of the poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the back of the head to each of the temples: but this *ephielis*, for so the calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, for on that was a golden plate, which had the name of God inscribed upon it in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

§ 7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to feel on account of our despising that Deity which they choose to honour. For if anyone do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and the garments of the priest, and the vessels which we make use of in the sacred service, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if anyone will with judgment and without prejudice look upon these things, he will find they were each designed in imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses divided the tabernacle into three parts, and assigned two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but he set apart

the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he set twelve loaves on the table, he denoted the year divided into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he hinted at the seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlestick, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The veils, too, which were woven of four materials, represent the four elements; for the linen seems to signify the earth, because flax grows out of the earth, the purple signifies the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of fish, the blue is meant to signify the air, and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Moreover, the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signifies the earth; the blue denotes the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and resembling thunder in the noise of the bells. And as for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four elements, and as for the gold interwoven on it, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place in the world. And the girdle, which encompassed the high priest about, signifies the ocean, for that goes round about everything. And the two sardonyxes that were in clasps on the high priest's shoulders indicate to us the sun and moon. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or the twelve signs of what the Greeks call the zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the cap, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for otherwise the name of God would not have been inscribed upon it. That it was also adorned with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of the splendour with which God is pleased. Let this explanation suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and on many occasions, afford me opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the Priesthood of Aaron.*

## § 1.

WHEN what has been described was brought to a conclusion, the votive offerings not having been yet consecrated, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. And when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and shown their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "Israelites, our work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now, since we must receive God in this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister in the sacrifices and prayers that are to be put up for us. And, indeed, had the search for such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of that honour, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance; but as it is God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among you. So he is to put on the vestments consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that will put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office." The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and gave their approbation to him whom God had appointed; for Aaron was of all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his family, and

gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

§ 2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the surplus contributions to the structure of the tabernacle, in coverings for the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, the altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all injured on the road either by rain or dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordered that they should offer half a shekel per head. The shekel is a Hebrew coin equal to four Athenian drachmæ. And they readily obeyed what Moses commanded; and the number of those who contributed this money was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. This money was contributed by free men above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

§ 3. Moses next purified the tabernacle and the priests. The purification was performed in the following manner. He commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon and calamus (this last is a sort of sweet spice), to pound them, and steep them in an hin of oil of olives (an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choes), then mix them together, and boil them: and prepare them after the art of the unguent makers, and make them into a very sweet-smelling ointment, and afterwards to take it to anoint and purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the incense, of which there were various kinds used in the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers. But incense was to be offered twice a day, both before sun-rise and at sun-set. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps: three of which were to give light all day long upon the sacred candlestick before God, and the rest were to be lit at eventide.

§ 4. And now all was finished, Bezalee and Aholiab appeared to be the most skilful of the artificers; for they produced finer work than what others had done before, and were very clever to pick up notions of what people

were formerly ignorant of. Of the two Bezaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was seven months: which completed the first year since their departure out of Egypt. And at the beginning of the second year in the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but the Hebrews call it Nisan, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

§ 5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain by disdain to make use of what they had made, but he came and sojourned with them, and made his abode in the holy house. And thus did he show his presence. The sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter, nor yet with so thin a one that men could discern anything through it, but there distilled a sweet dew from it such as showed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

§ 6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honourable presents on the workmen, as it was fit they who had wrought so well should receive, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him, a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred worship in my account of the sacrifices; and shall there specify in what cases the law bids us offer a whole burnt-offering, and what it permits us to partake of as food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments and person, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring water and ointment, they became God's priests. And in this manner did he consecrate them and their vestments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed as I have said, and with the blood of bulls and of rams slain day by day, one according to its kind. And on the eighth day, he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. And they vied with one another, and were ambitious to exceed one another in the sacrifices which they offered, and in doing what they were told.



And as the victims lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them spontaneously, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed all that was upon the altar.

§ 7. Hereupon an affliction befell Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will. He had four sons, as I said before, and the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring to the altar such incense as Moses had bade them bring, but such as they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death by fire which nobody could quench, rushing upon them, and burning their faces and breasts. So they died. And Moses bade their father and brothers take up their bodies and carry them out of the camp, and bury them magnificently. And the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at their death, which had so unexpectedly befallen them. But Moses entreated their remaining brothers and father not to grieve for them, but to prefer the honour of God to their mourning for them, for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

§ 8. So Moses refused all the honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but the service of God. He went no more up to Mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he asked. His dress also was that of a private man; and in all other respects he behaved himself like one of the common people, and did not wish to appear different from the multitude, except in his evident care of them. He also set down in writing their polity and laws, by obedience whereto they would lead their lives so as to please God, and not offend one another. And all this was dictated to him by God. I shall now relate that polity and those laws.

§ 9. I shall first, however, relate what I before omitted about the dress of the high priest: for Moses left no opportunity for malpractice on the part of the prophets. For if any of them should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his worship when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he wished this to

be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who chanced to be present. Now as to those stones which I said before the high priest wore on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes (I think it needless to describe their nature, as they are known to everybody); one of them sparkled when God was present at their worship, namely the one that served as a clasp on the right shoulder, bright rays darting out thence, and being seen even by persons at a very great distance, though this was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing to such as do not cultivate wisdom in contempt of religion. But I will mention what is still more wonderful than this, for God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's presence for their assistance. So those Greeks, who had a regard for our customs, as they could not possibly contradict this, called the breastplate the oracle. However, the breastplate and sardonyx left off shining two hundred years before I composed this work, God having been displeas'd at the transgression of his laws. Of all this I shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

§ 10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judg'd that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices and praise, as being now deliver'd from all expectation of evil, and entertaining hope of better times to come. They offer'd also gifts to God, some common to the whole nation, and others privately tribe by tribe, for the heads of the tribes combin'd together, two by two, and brought a wagon and a yoke of oxen. These amount'd to six, and carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides this, every head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a censer, worth ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver: and they weigh'd together two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and they were full of fine flour kneaded with oil, such as

they used on the altar for the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering, as also a he-goat for a sin-offering. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offerings, every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. And Moses went up no longer to Mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what had been devised by human understanding, and were firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God, so that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either in times of peace tempted by luxury, or in times of war by necessity. But I say no more here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work about our laws.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Nature of our offering Sacrifices.*

## § 1.

[ WILL now mention some of our laws which belong to purifications and sacrifices, as I am come to this part of my subject. The sacrifices are of two sorts; of these one is offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are performed in two different ways. In the one case what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it; but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak first of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter in their first year, though he is permitted to sacrifice bulls of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; then they clean the

bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, when the cleft wood is piled up and the fire burning: they next clean the feet of the victims and their entrails carefully, and add to the other parts to be purified by fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

§ 2. But those that offer thank-offerings, sacrifice indeed the same animals, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; they may however take either males or females. They also in sacrificing them sprinkle the altar with their blood: but they lay upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb: then giving the breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains over they burn.

§ 3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to provide the proper victims, offer two pigeons or turtle-doves; one of which is a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food to the priests. But I shall treat more fully of the sacrifice of these birds when I come to sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or female kid of the goats, a year old, and the priest sprinkles the blood over the altar, not as before, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys, and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides and the flesh, and feast on the victim in the holy place the same day, for the law does not permit them to leave any of it till the next morning. But if anyone sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath nobody that can prove it against him, he sacrifices a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat also in the holy place on the same day. And if the heads of tribes offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same victims that private men do, only they so far differ, that they bring for sacrifice a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

§ 4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, for a ram two, and for a

bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar: it is kneaded with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice, for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian choes. They bring the same quantity of wine as they do of oil, and pour the wine round the altar; but if anyone does not offer a victim in sacrifice, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a handful upon the altar as first-fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled (for it is kneaded with oil), or made into bread. But whatever it be that a priest himself offers must of necessity be all burnt. And the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time and place with its dam; and in other cases, till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices are appointed for escaping diseases, or other occasions, in which cakes are eaten with the flesh of the victims, any part of which it is not lawful to leave till the next day, when the priests have taken their share.

## CHAP. X.

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

### § 1.

THE law requires that a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the public expense, at the beginning and end of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. And at the new moon, they not only perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a ram, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, for sins of ignorance.

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

§ 3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month they

fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness as the scape-goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat is burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest at his own cost. And when it is slain, he brings its blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkles the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also the floor, and again as often towards the holy place, and about the golden altar; he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God at his own cost as a burnt-offering.

§ 4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins to pitch tabernacles in every family, to preserve them from the cold of that time of the year; as also that, when they should arrive at their own country, and come to that city, that they should have for their metropolis because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank-offerings to God, they should carry in their hands a branch of myrtle and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the fruit of the persea. And the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and two rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats as a sin-offering; and on the following days the same number of lambs and of rams, with one kid of the goats; but one bull less every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work is laid aside, and then, as I said before, they sacrifice to God a calf a ram and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats for a sin-offering. And this is the ritual of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

§ 5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called Nisan, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries (for it was in this month that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians), the law ordained, that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, which was called the Passover. And so we celebrate it in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of Unleavened Bread succeeds that of the Passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein the people feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats which is added to all the rest for sins, for a feast for the priests on every one of those days. But on the second day of Unleavened Bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the harvest, for before that day they do not touch them. And as they suppose it right to honour God first, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, they offer to him the first-fruits of their barley in the following manner: they take a handful of the ears, and dry them, then winnow and get the barley out of the bran ready for grinding, they then bring one tenth deal to the altar to God; and casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priests. And after this they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also, at this feast of first-fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb as a burnt-offering to God.

§ 6. When a week of weeks has elapsed after this sacrifice, that is forty-nine days, on the fiftieth day, which is called by the Hebrews Asartha, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf, made of two tenth deals of wheat flour with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs; and when they have presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave anything of them till the following day. They also slay three calves for a burnt-offering, and two rams, and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats for a sin-offering. Nor is there any one of their festivals in

which they do not offer burnt-offerings; they also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. And the law prescribes in all, what they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest, and which sacrifices they may feast upon.

§ 7. Baked bread also unleavened was supplied at the common cost (as much as twenty-four tenth deals of flour were used in making this bread): two heaps of these loaves were baked the day before the sabbath, and were brought into the holy place on the morning of the sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on a heap opposite one another (and a golden cup full of frankincense was set on each heap), and there they remained till the next sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead, and those loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all the burnt-offerings were burnt, and other frankincense was set upon the loaves instead of what was there before. The priest also, at his own cost, offered twice every day one tenth deal of flour mingled with oil, and gently baked; he brought half of it to the fire in the morning, and half at night. I shall give fuller account of these sacrifices hereafter; but I think I have said sufficient for the present concerning them.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Of the Purifications.*

#### § 1.

MOSES separated the tribe of Levi from the rest of the people, and set them apart to be a holy tribe; and purified them by water from perennial springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on such occasions. He delivered to their charge also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and all things which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

§ 2. He also determined concerning animals, which of them might be used for food, and which they were to abstain from, as to which I shall say more when occasion



calls, adding the reasons why he allowed some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. But he entirely forbade us the use of blood in food, deeming it to contain the life and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died a natural death, as also the caul and fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

§ 3. He also ordered, that those who were afflicted with leprosy, or had a gonorrhœa, should not come into the city;<sup>1</sup> and he set apart women, when they had their courses, till the seventh day; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have laid out a corpse to come in after the same manner, when that number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law ordered him to offer two lambs as a sacrifice, one of which they were to purify by fire, and as for the other, the priests had it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have the gonorrhœa. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he bathes in cold water, has the same privilege as those that have lawfully companied with their wives. As for lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had by prayer to God obtained his recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthy colour again, such a one returned thanks to God with various sacrifices, concerning which I shall speak hereafter.

§ 4. So one cannot but smile at those who say, that Moses was himself afflicted with leprosy, when he fled out of Egypt, and that he was the leader of those who, on that account, were banished from that country into the land of Canaan; for had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, indeed it was more likely he would have opposed them, if others had endeavoured to introduce them, especially as there are lepers in many nations, who are yet held in honour, and are not only free from reproach and exile, but have been great captains

<sup>1</sup> We may here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the city, and the court of the Mosaic tabernacle a temple, and the tabernacle itself a holy house, with allusion to the latter city, temple, and holy house, which he knew so well long afterwards.—W.

of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in their commonwealths, and had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples. And so nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him, had had such a misfortune in their colour, he might have legislated for their credit and advantage, and have cast no such slur upon them. Accordingly it is plain that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such complaint, and lived with countrymen who were pure from it also, and only legislated for those who had it, doing this for the honour of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them as he pleases.

§ 5. As to women, when they had had a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days had elapsed if it were a boy, but if a girl, not till twice that number of days had elapsed. And after the time appointed they perform their sacrifices, which the priests offer to God.

§ 6. And if anyone suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he brings a tenth deal of barley-flour, they throw one handful to God, and give the rest of it to the priests for food. One of the priests sets the woman at the gates facing the temple, and takes the veil from her head, and writes the name of God on parchment, and orders her to swear that she has not at all wronged her husband; and to pray that if she had violated her marriage vow, her right thigh might be put out of joint, and her belly swell, and that she might die so, but if her husband, by the violence of his love, and consequent jealousy, had been rashly moved to this suspicion, that she might bear a male child in the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest rubbed the name of God out of the parchment, and pressed it into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it to her to drink. And the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived and in due time had a child, but if she had broken her faith to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a shameful manner. her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And

these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purification thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also enacted the following laws for them.

## CHAP. XII.

*Various laws.*

## § 1.

AS for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, esteeming it a happy thing that men should be faithful in wedlock; and that it was profitable both for states and families, that children should be legitimate. The law also forbade a man's lying with his mother, as one of the greatest crimes, and also lying with his father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and sons' wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she had her courses, or to lie with beasts, or to approve of lying with males, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasure on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such outrageous lusts he ordained death as the punishment.

§ 2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of chastity, for he not only restrained them like others in the matters mentioned above, but also forbade them to marry harlots, or a slave or captive, or such as got their living by keeping taverns or inns; as also a woman parted from her husband on any account whatever. Nay, he did not permit the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. So also the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although other priests are not prohibited from coming near to their brothers, or parents, or children, when they are dead. Priests were also to be unblemished in all respects. The priest who had any blemish was to have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to approach the altar, or to enter the temple. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred

ministrations, but in their daily life, that it might be unblameable also. And on this account it is, that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are blameless and eminent for their purity and sobriety; nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, they offer victims that are entire and have no defect whatever.

§ 3. And Moses gave them all these precepts which were observed during his own lifetime. But though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision for their laws when they should have come to the land of Canaan. He gave rest to the land from ploughing and sowing every seventh year, as he had prescribed rest from work every seventh day; and ordered, that what grew then of its own accord out of the earth should belong in common to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which are in all fifty years: and that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the year of Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty, who became slaves, though they were their own countrymen, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital, but punished by slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following. When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together and make an estimate, on the one hand of the fruits gathered in, and on the other hand of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered in come to more than the expenses laid out upon it, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal

<sup>1</sup> We must here note with Reland, that the precept given to the priests not to drink wine, while they wore the sacred garments, is equivalent to their abstinence from it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministration to another.—W.

to one another, the present possessor relinquishes the land to the former owners. Moses wished the same law to obtain also to those houses which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it offered the purchaser his money again within a year, the latter was forced to restore it; but if a whole year had elapsed, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. Moses learned this code of laws of God, when the camp lay under Mount Sinai, and delivered it in writing to the Hebrews.

§ 4. Now when this legislation seemed to be well arranged, Moses turned his attention next to reviewing the host with a view to war. So he charged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and free from all burdens. And when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses made Manasseh, the son of Joseph, one of the heads of tribes, and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed a request of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I before related.

§ 5. When they set up the tabernacle, they placed it in the middle of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst. There was also a well-appointed market; and everything was there ready for sale in due order; and artificers of all trades had their shops; so the camp resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was moveable, and sometimes fixed. The priests were stationed nearest to the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-three thousand eight hundred and eighty males. And during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, supposing that God's presence was among them; but when that removed, they journeyed on.

§ 6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description

is this. In length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with as much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. It was called in the Hebrew tongue *Asosra*. Two of these trumpets were made, and one of them was sounded to call the multitude to come together to public assemblies. When one of them sounded, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and to consult about the affairs properly belonging to them; but when both of them sounded, it was to call the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in the following order: at the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and six that followed, all the Levites keeping close to the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, those that had their tents towards the west put themselves in motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing the victims to the altar, as well on the sabbaths as on all other days. And now it was that Moses first celebrated the feast called the Passover in the wilderness since the departure from Egypt.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How Moses removed from Mount Sinai, and led the People to the Borders of the Canaanites.*

#### § 1.

SHORTLY afterwards he departed from Mount Sinai,<sup>1</sup> and after staying at several places, of which I shall speak anon, he came to a place called *Hazeroth*,<sup>2</sup> where the

<sup>1</sup> *Jebel Mûsa*: the particular portion of the mountain from which the Law was delivered is known as *Rûs Sa'sûfeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *'Ain Hudherah*, two or three days' journey north-cast of *Jebel Mûsa*.

multitude began again to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the trials of their wandering life, and because, as he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they had lost that, and instead of the happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being in want of water, and if the manna should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spoke many and sore things against the man, one of them exhorted them not to be unmindful of Moses, and the great efforts he had made for their common safety, and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before. Thereupon Moses, although he was so disgracefully treated by them, tried to raise them from their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for one day only, but for several. This they disbelieved, and when one of them asked, whence he could obtain supply for so many thousands, he replied, "Neither God, nor I, although we are so abused by you, will leave off our care for you, and this shall soon be seen." As soon as he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails, and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long before God punished the Hebrews for their insolence and murmuring, for no small number of them died. And the place to this day retains the memory of this destruction, being named Kibroth-hattaavah,<sup>1</sup> which is, the graves of lust.

<sup>1</sup> Numb. xi. 34. Now perhaps *Erweis el-Ebeirig*, on the road from *Jebel Mâsa* to *Akabah*.

## CHAP. XIV.

*How Moses sent some Spies to search out the Land of the Canaanites, and the Largeness of their Cities; and how when those who were sent returned after forty Days, and reported that they should not be a match for them, and extolled the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were troubled, and fell into despair, and resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.*

## § 1.

WHEN Moses had led the Hebrews from thence to a place called Ravine, which was near the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to stay at, he gathered the multitude together in assembly, and standing in the midst of them, said, "Of the two blessings that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of a fertile country, ye already are partakers of one by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we are now close to the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder our progress, neither king nor city, nor even all the inhabitants of the country, if they were all gathered together. Let us, therefore, prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign their land up to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles. Let us then send spies, who may search out the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of. But above all things, let us be of one mind and honour God, who above all is our helper and assister."

§ 2. When Moses had said this, the multitude acquiesced in his proposals, and chose twelve spies of their most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who, passing over all the land of Canaan from the borders of Egypt, went as far as the city Hamath<sup>1</sup> and Mount Lebanon: and having learned the nature of the land and its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits of the land, and

<sup>1</sup> *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.



by showing them the excellency of those fruits, and giving an account of the great quantity of the good things the land afforded, they stirred up the multitude to desire war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty of the enterprise, for the rivers were so large and deep that they could not be passed over, and the hills were so high, that they could not climb them, and the cities were strong with walls, and solid fortifications round about them. They told them also that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. For indeed these spies who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all their difficulties would be greater there than any they had met with since they came out of Egypt, were dismayed at them themselves, and endeavoured to make the multitude so too.

§ 3. So supposing from what they had heard that it was impossible to get possession of the country, they broke up the assembly, and with their wives and children burst into lamentation, as if God would not assist them in deed, but only promised them fair in word. They also again blamed Moses, and raised a clamour against him and his brother Aaron the high priest. And they passed that night very ill, and in mutinous language against them; and in the morning they ran to the assembly intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and then return to Egypt.

§ 4. But two of the spies, Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, being afraid of the consequences, came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage, and neither to condemn God as having held out to them false promises, nor to hearken to those who had dismayed them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success and possession of the happiness promised them, for neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially as God espoused their cause and would fight for them. "Let us then go," said they, "against the enemy, without any suspicion of ill success, trusting in God as our champion, and following us who will be your leaders." Thus did these two exhort them,

and endeavoured to pacify their rage. Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own safety, but that he would put a stop to the blindness of the people, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by the distress of their present position. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, which declared to them the presence of God.

## CHAP. XV.

*How Moses was displeas'd at their conduct, and foretold, that God was angry, and that they should continue in the Wilderness for forty Years, and should not, during that time, either return to Egypt, or take possession of Canaan.*

### § 1.

MOSES now came boldly up to the multitude, and informed them, that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children in correction: for, he said, that when he had entered the tabernacle, and was bewailing with tears the destruction that was coming upon them, God reminded him what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him; that just now they had been induced by the timidity of the spies, to think that their words were truer than his promise to them; and that therefore, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness, but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without any fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years, as a punishment for this their transgression: but he promised to give that land to their children, and to make them the possessors of those good things, which, by their unguided passions, they had deprived themselves of.

§ 2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved and mourned, and entreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but to bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not hear of any such plan, for he was not moved to his determination from any human levity or anger, but had deliberately sentenced them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for God was with him and helped him in persuading the multitude; and though they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they thereby fell into calamities.

§ 3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men credit what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even still there is no one of the Hebrews who does not act as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him, if he should do anything disorderly; nay, there is no one but is obedient to the laws he ordained, even although they might be able to escape detection. There are also many other indications that his power was more than human. On one occasion there were some who had come from the parts beyond the Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers and at great expense, in honour of our temple: and yet, when they had offered their sacrifices they could not partake of their victims, because Moses had forbidden it in the case of people not accustomed to it, whose ancient rites were different to our own. Some of them did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices incomplete; nay, many were not able even at all to enter into the temple, but went their way, preferring submission to the laws of Moses to the fulfilling of their own inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that anybody would convict them, but only out of regard to their own conscience. Thus this legislation, which appeared to come from God, made this man to be esteemed as one above human nature. Nay, further, a little before the beginning

of the Jewish War, when Claudius was Emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a famine was come upon our country,<sup>1</sup> that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmæ; and when no less than seventy cors of flour were brought into the temple at the feast of unleavened bread (these cors are thirty-one Sicilian, but forty-one Athenian, medimni), not one of the priests ventured to eat one crumb of it, even though so great distress was on the land, fearing the law, and that wrath which God ever visits on acts of wickedness, even when secret. So we ought not to wonder at what happened in those days, since even now the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us confess that our polity was founded by God, and that by means of Moses and his virtue; but as to these matters, let every one judge as he thinks fit.

## BOOK IV.

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

### CHAP. I.

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

#### § 1.

NOW the life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, that it tempted them, although God had forbidden it, to make an attempt upon the Canaanites. For they would not hearken to the words of Moses and be quiet, but supposing they would be able to beat their enemies, even without his

<sup>1</sup> This great famine in the days of Claudius is again mentioned in Antiq. xx. 2, § 6, and Acts xi. 28.—W.

approbation, they suspected and accused him of trying to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always be in need of his assistance. So they were eager to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whom he befriended; and also that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would assist them now if they were willing to take pains. They also said, that they were competent of themselves to conquer the Canaanites, even although Moses should wish to alienate God from them, and that it was altogether for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so to rejoice in their deliverance from the outrages they endured under the Egyptians as to suffer the tyranny of Moses over them, and allow themselves to be deluded, and to live according to his will and pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns our nation out of kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, but God made him alone the author of all the knowledge of the future they had, and that they must still learn it from him; that it would be a piece of prudence in them to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their trust in God, and to resolve to take possession of the land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering, therefore, the distressed state they were in then, and that in those desert places they might expect things would be still worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, making only God their general, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

§ 2. When, therefore, they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they marched against their enemies; but they were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, but received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain, and the remainder of the army, when their line of battle was broken, were pursued and fled in disorder to their camp. This unexpected misfortune made them quite despond, and they expected nothing that was good, inferring that this

reverse came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

§ 3. But when Moses saw how dismayed his countrymen were at this defeat, fearing that the enemies would be elated at their victory, and would attempt to push their advantage still further, he resolved to withdraw the host into the wilderness, to a further distance from the Canaanites; and the multitude giving themselves up again to his authority (for they perceived now that without his foresight their affairs would not be in a good condition), he moved his camp, and went further into the wilderness, intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should appoint a time for so doing.

## CHAP. II.

*The Rebellion of Corah, and of the Multitude, against Moses and Aaron, concerning the Priesthood.*

### § 1.

THAT which is usually the case in great armies, and especially after reverses, namely that the discipline is hard to keep up, did now befall the Jews; for they being six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great number not likely to be docile to their officers, even had things gone well, were at this time more than usually angry, both against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the reverse they had had. Such a rebellion broke out among them, as we know not the like either among the Greeks or barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were saved by Moses, who bore no malice, though he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but, notwithstanding the shameful way they had treated their legislator, and their disobedience to the commands which he himself had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, without his providential care, would have come upon them by this rebellion. I shall first

relate the cause of this rebellion, and then give an account of it, as also what settlement Moses made after it was over.

§ 2. Corah, one of the chief Hebrews, both from his family and his wealth, a person also that was able to speak well, and could easily sway the people by his speeches, seeing that Moses was held in exceeding great honour, was vexed at it from jealousy (for he was of the same tribe with Moses, and akin to him), and was put out because he thought he better deserved that position [on account of his great riches, and as not inferior to him in birth]. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his own branch of the family. He said that it was monstrous that they should allow Moses to hunt after and pave the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts to obtain it under the pretence of God's command; seeing that contrary to the laws he had given the priesthood to his brother Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in an arbitrary way on whom he pleased. He added that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by open force, because he not only took away their power against their will, but even while they were unapprized of his contrivances. For whoever was conscious to himself that he deserved any dignity, aimed to get it by persuasion, and not impudently to seize it; but those that believed it impossible to obtain their honour justly, wishing to appear good, abstained from force, but by cunning tricks and crooked courses got powerful; that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they thought themselves undetected in their designs, and not to suffer them to gain strength till they had detected them as open enemies. "For what reason," added he, "is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is, I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and age. And if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reuben would have it most justly, and

then Dathan and Abiram and Peleth would have it, for they are the oldest men of that tribe, and powerful on account of their great wealth also."

§ 3. Now Corah in saying this wished to appear to be looking after the public welfare, but was in reality trying to get that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he speak to the men of his own tribe, with malignant design, but plausible words, and as these words gradually spread to more of the people, and as the hearers still added to the calumnies cast upon Aaron, the whole host was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah there were two hundred and fifty of the principal men, who were eager to take the priesthood away from Moses' brother, and to bring him into disgrace. And the multitude themselves were in a ferment, and attempted to stouè Moses; and gathered themselves together in the assembly with noise and confusion and disorder. And now they stood before the tabernacle of God, and cried out to remove the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands, laid violent injunctions upon them; for had it been God who chose one to perform the office of priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have given the office to such a one as was inferior to many others, and had he judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted the choice to the multitude, and not have left it to his own brother.

§ 4. Now, although Moses had long foreseen this jealousy of Corah's, and saw that the people were greatly excited, yet was he not dismayed, but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had got the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skilful in other respects, and having the natural talent of swaying the multitude, he said, "O Corah, both you and all those with you (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men), seem to be worthy of honour, nor do I seek to deprive any of this whole company



of similar honour, though they may not be so rich or so worthy as you are, nor have I taken and given this office to my brother because he excelled in riches, for you exceed us both in the greatness of your wealth, nor indeed because of his family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our family one, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have thought right. And indeed if I had not bestowed this honour out of regard to God and to his laws, I should not have passed over myself and given it to another, as being nearer akin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him. And surely it would not be wise in me to expose myself to the dangers of acting illegally by bestowing this happy employment on another. But I am above such base practice, nor would God have overlooked being himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one to be his priest, and so freed us from that care. Aaron did not owe it to my favour, but to the will of God. He therefore resigns it to the competition of such as please to put in for it, stipulating only that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your living without rebellion to this honour, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God was the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept of it with your good will. And it would have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honour when God offered it; nay, it would have been exceedingly unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again whom he will have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end, therefore, to your rebellion and disturbance on this account; and to-morrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censor from home, and come hither

with incense and fire. And do you, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and wait to see on which side he will give his vote upon this occasion. and do not make yourself greater than God. Do you also come as a candidate for the office. And I suppose we may also admit Aaron without offence, to offer himself to the vote, since he is of the same family as you. and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be open to censure. Come ye, therefore, together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he, whose sacrifice God shall accept, shall be elected high priest, and shall be clear of the present charge brought against Aaron, that he had that favour granted him because he was my brother."

### CHAP. III.

*How those that stirred up this Rebellion were destroyed by the Will of God: and how Aaron, Moses' Brother, and his Posterity, retained the Priesthood.*

#### § 1.

WHEN Moses had said this, the multitude left off their turbulent behaviour, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said, for his proposal was good, and seemed so to the people. At that time, therefore, they dissolved the meeting. And on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the selection that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now the meeting proved a stormy one, as the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what would happen, for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of wrong-doing, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance: for they were afraid, that if this rebellion went on, the good order of their body politic would be destroyed. For the mass of the people naturally delighting in clamours against their governors, and changing their opinions after hearing every speaker, disturbed the

public tranquillity. And Moses sent messengers to Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly as had been agreed, and wait for the result of the solemn service. But they answered the messengers, that they would not obey the summons, nay, would not overlook Moses' behaviour, who was growing too great for all the people through intrigue. Now when Moses heard their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the company of Dathan, not being afraid at all to go to those insolent people; and they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan and his company, when they understood that Moses and the chiefs of the people were coming to them, came out with their wives and children in front of their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend them, in case Moses should use force.

§ 2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of all that is in heaven, in earth, and sea (for you are the worthiest witness of what I have done, for it has all been done by your command, and you afforded us assistance when we attempted anything, and showed mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses), come now and hear all that I say, for no action nor thought escapes your knowledge, so that you will not disdain to speak what is true for my vindication, without any regard to the ingratitude of these men. As for what happened before I was born, you know best, not learning it by hearsay, but being an eyewitness of it, and for what has been done of late, which these men, although they know otherwise, unjustly pretend to suspect, be my witness. When I enjoyed a quiet life, I left what by my own diligence and your providence I had got with Raguel my father-in-law, and sacrificed myself for this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I had great labour at first to obtain liberty for them, and since to provide for their safety, and have always shown alacrity to assist them in every danger. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men, whose preservation is owing to my labours, do you, who showed me that fire at Mount Sinai, and made me hear its

voice, and see the several wonders which that place afforded me; you, who commanded me to go to Egypt, and declare your will to this people; you, who disturbed the happiness of the Egyptians, and gave us the opportunity of escaping from our slavery under them, and made the power of Pharaoh inferior to mine; you, who made the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and overwhelmed the Egyptians with destruction in those waves which had been driven back for us; you, who bestowed upon us the security of weapons when we were unarmed; you, who made wells that were corrupted to be fit for drinking, and supplied us with water that gushed out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest distress for it; you, who preserved our lives with food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us; you, who sent us such food from heaven as had never been known before; you, who gave us the knowledge of your laws, and appointed our polity; come, I say, Lord of the whole world, as my judge and witness that cannot be bribed, and show that I have never received any gift from any of the Hebrews to pervert justice, and have never condemned a poor man that ought to have been acquitted for one that was rich; and have never used my power to the injury of the community. Yet I am suspected of a thing, the remotest from my practices, of having given the priesthood to Aaron, not at your command, but out of my own favour to him. Prove then now that all things are arranged by your providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by your will, and so attains its end: as also that you take care of those that have done good to the Hebrews; prove this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who accuse you of want of perception, as overcome by my contrivance. This you will do by inflicting an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of your glory, by removing them from the world, not in an ordinary manner, nor by their dying after the manner of other men; let the ground which they tread upon open about them and swallow them up, with their families and goods. This will be a proof of your power to all men, and a lesson of wisdom to those that entertain profane sentiments about you. And

I too shall so be found a faithful carrier-out of your commands. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, then preserve these men from every evil, and bring on me all that destruction which I have imprecated upon them. And when you have inflicted punishment on those that have wished to injure this people, bestow upon them concord and peace for the future. Save the multitude that follow your commands, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for you know yourself it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

§ 3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground began to move all of a sudden, and its motion was like that which the wind produces in the waves of the sea. The people were all dismayed, as the ground that was about their tents sunk down with a great and terrible sound, and swallowed up all that belonged to Dathan and Abiram. And they vanished so quickly that the eye could scarce take it in, for the earth that had opened about them closed again, and became as it was before, insomuch that such who saw it afterwards did not perceive that any such thing had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a proof of the power of God. And truly, anyone would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bore to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the company of Dathan that perished as pestilent men, they did not grieve for them.

§ 4. And now Moses called for those who contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God accepted should be elected. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the virtue of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled them: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in the censers which they brought with them, before the

tabernacle. Thereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any made by the hand of man, nor in those eruptions out of the earth caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as burst out spontaneously in forests by the violence of winds and by trees rubbing one against another, but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; and by its bursting out on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed, and that so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who were to be burned. And Moses, after those men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be handed down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put the censers of Corah and the rest near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what those men suffered for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the high priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God, and he and his children enjoyed the honour securely afterwards.

#### CHAP. IV.

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

##### § 1.

HOWEVER, the rebellion was so far from ceasing upon this, that it grew much stronger and fiercer. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: for the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came not thus to pass without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him that God was so angry, and said that this had happened not

so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as from the solicitation of Moses; and that those men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and men most excellent all of them, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, would now put in for it, since he must have seen how those that first did so miserably perished. Moreover, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

§ 2. Now Moses, having been informed some time that an uproar was brewing, and fearing that they would mutiny a second time, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence, called the multitude together, and patiently heard them, making no apology for himself, lest he should embitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rod with the name of their tribe inscribed upon it, and said he should receive the priesthood, on whose rod God should put a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought them out, and they were known from one another by those who had brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had also the multitude. Now as to all the rest, they saw them still in the same form Moses had received them, but they saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, and ripe fruit; they were almonds, the rod having been made of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to marvel at the judgment of God concerning them; so that henceforth they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the high priesthood peaceably. And thus God selected him three several times, and he retained that

honour without further disturbance. And thus this rebellion of the Hebrews, which had been a serious one, and had lasted a great while, was at last ended.

§ 3. And Moses, who had exempted the tribe of Levi from war and military duties, and set it apart for the divine worship, lest they should want and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should get possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites, and allow them land in the suburbs, two thousand cubits all round the walls of those cities. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay tithe of the annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude. I now think it necessary to set down what is paid by all only to the priests.

§ 4. Moses commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes which they every year received from the people. Moreover, he decreed that the people were to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground, and to offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that were appointed for sacrifices, if it were a male, to the priests to be slain, that they and their entire families might eat it in the holy city; and that the owners of those first-born beasts not appointed for sacrifice by the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; and for the first-born of a man, five shekels. They were also to have the first-fruits out of the shearing of sheep, and when any baked bread and made loaves, they were to give some of what they baked to them. Moreover, those that have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot what is shorn off to the priests. Such also as call themselves Corban to God, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be



too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine on what sum they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival and not a religious one, they are obliged to bring the tripe and breast and right shoulder of the sacrifice to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set down in the previous book. He also ordered, that out of everything allotted for the priests, their servants, daughters, and wives should partake as well as themselves, except what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins: for of them none but the males of the families of the priests might eat, and that in the temple on the same day they were offered.

§ 5. When Moses had made these regulations, after the rebellion was over, he removed with the whole host, and came to the borders of Idumæa. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumæans, and asked him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to give him what guarantees he should desire, that he should be secured from any injury. He asked him also to allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and said, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassy from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people out armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavour to force their passage. And when Moses consulted God, he told him not to begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

§ 6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end (having completed the fortieth year since she left Egypt) on the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus. They had a public funeral for her at great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call Sin;<sup>1</sup> and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people in the following manner. He took a heifer, that had never been used to the plough or to hus-

<sup>1</sup> A hill, not identified, in or near *Jebel Magrah*, at the south end of the Negeb, or south country.

bandry, without blemish, and entirely red, to a little distance from the camp, to a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger seven times before the tabernacle of God; after this the entire heifer was burned as it was, together with its skin and entrails, and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. And when any persons were defiled by touching a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he also enjoined them to do when the tribes should come into their promised inheritance.

§ 7. Now when this purification, which their leader enjoined after the mourning for his sister, was over, he caused the army to remove, and to march through the wilderness, and through Arabia. And when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra,<sup>1</sup> which was encompassed by a high mountain, Aaron ascended the mountain in the sight of the whole host, for the place was over against them, Moses having before told him that he was to die there. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was his oldest son, and died while the multitude gazed at him. He died in the same year in which he lost his sister, having lived in all a hundred and twenty three years. He died on the first day of the lunar month called by the Athenians Hecatombæon, by the Macedonians Lous, and by the Hebrews Abba.

<sup>1</sup> Petra is situated a short distance east of *Wâdy 'Arabah*; near it is *Jebel Harûn*, Mount Hor, on which, according to tradition, Aaron died.

## CHAP. V.

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

## § 1.

THE people mourned for Aaron thirty days, and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the host from that place, and came to the river Arnon,<sup>1</sup> which rising in the mountains of Arabia,<sup>2</sup> and running through all the wilderness, falls into the lake Asphaltitis,<sup>3</sup> and forms the boundary between the land of the Moabites and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men with the good things it produces. Moses, therefore, sent messengers to Sihon the king of this country, asking that he would grant his army a passage through it on whatever terms he should please to require: he promised that no injury should be done either to the country which Sihon governed, or to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though they should desire to sell them even their water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and made every preparation to hinder their crossing the Arnon.

§ 2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult, and determining to wean the Hebrews from their inaction and consequent distress, which had been the occasion of their former rebellion (nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds), he inquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight? which when he had done, and also promised him the victory, he was himself very confident for the fray, and encouraged the soldiers, calling on them now to take pleasure in fighting, since God gave them leave to do so. They

<sup>1</sup> Now *Wady Mojib*.

<sup>2</sup> The hills separating Moab from the desert country to the east.

<sup>3</sup> The Dead Sea.

then, upon the receipt of this permission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not equally confident now the Hebrews were going to attack him, but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed itself very courageous, was now found to be timorous. So they could not sustain the first onset, nor stand against the Hebrews, but fled away, thinking this would afford them more likelihood of safety than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, though they reaped no advantage from them when they were forced to fly to them: for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away in the direction of their cities. And the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the efforts they had already made: and being very skilful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing all kinds of missiles, and also having on nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped death were sorely wounded. And they were more distressed with thirst, than even with those that fought against them. for it was the summer season, and as most of them hurried down in confusion to the river out of a desire to drink, the Hebrews, as they fled *en masse*, came round them, and shot at them, so that what with darts, and what with arrows, they slew them all. Silon also their king was slain. And the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took the prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and they took the enemies prisoners, who could no way put a stop to their progress, since all their fighting-men had been slain. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in council nor courageous in action. And the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situated between three rivers, and naturally resem-

bling an island, the river Arnon being its southern limit, the river Jabbok<sup>1</sup> bounding its northern side, which, running into the Jordan, loses its own name, and takes the other's, while the Jordan itself runs along by it on the west.

§ 3. When matters were in this state, Og, the king of Gilead<sup>2</sup> and Gaulanitis,<sup>3</sup> fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon. And though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour, but was disappointed in his hope, as he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. Then Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew the cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the country, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the quantity of property. Now Og had very few equals either in size of body or handsomeness of appearance. He was also a man of great activity in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the size and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and size, as they took his bed at Rabbah,<sup>4</sup> the royal city of the Ammonites; its material was iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length nine cubits. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they took sixty cities strongly fortified that had been subject to him, and all got much spoil both in general and in particular.

<sup>1</sup> Now *Wady Zerka*.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Jaulán*, east of Jordan.

<sup>4</sup> Rabbah or Rabbath Ammon, afterwards called Philadelphia, is now *Amman*, in the highlands of Gilead.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning Balaam the Prophet, and what kind of a Man he was.*

## § 1.

NOW Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho.<sup>1</sup> This city has a very happy situation, and is very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very elated, and very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had first offered, for a few days, sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities by storm. His reason for making war upon them was as follows.

§ 2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who inherited from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much alarmed on account of his kingdom's danger; for he was not acquainted with the fact, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any further. So, with more haste than wisdom, he resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had had such great successes even against odds, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites, knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by the Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets of that time, and one that was friendly to them, sent some of their principal men with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses for the destruction of the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly, and when he had supped, he inquired God's will as to the matter for which

<sup>1</sup> Now called *Ghôr es-Seisebán*.

the Midianites entreated him to come to them? And when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them that God was opposed to his desire, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions, for that the host whom they entreated him to come to curse was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

§ 3. Then the Midianites, at the earnest request and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at this [second] trial, and bade him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors; and when a divine angel met him in the way, as he was in a narrow passage hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode, perceiving that it was a divine spirit that met him, thrust Balaam against one of the walls, without any regard to the stripes which Balaam, being hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuing to press on to her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, she made use by the will of God of a human voice, and complained to Balaam of his acting unjustly to her; for whereas he had had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, not understanding that she was hindered from serving him on his present errand by the will of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the ass speaking like a human being, the angel appeared plainly to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass, and informed him that it was not in fault, but that he had himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was ready to return back again, but God urged him to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should utter nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

§ 4. When God had given him this charge, he went on to Balak; and when the king had received him with distinction, he asked to be led up one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also ascended the mountain with a royal retinue, and took the prophet along with him. This mountain lay over their heads, and was sixty furlongs distant from the camp. Now when Balaam saw the Hebrews, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; which the king quickly did. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings, that he might observe some sign betokening the rout of the Hebrews. Then said he, "Happy is this people on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their help and guide. For there is no nation among mankind that you will not be esteemed superior to in virtue, and in regard to the best rules of life, and such as are pure from wickedness, and you will leave these excellent rules to children better than yourselves, as you are the only people that God regards, who secures your being happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and all the earth, as well as the sea, shall be filled with your glory; and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in every region of it with inhabitants of your race. O blessed host! marvel that you are become so many from one father; and truly the land of Canaan can now hold you as being yet comparatively few; but know that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live in the islands as well as on the mainland, and shall be more in number than the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not leave off his care of you; but will afford you an abundance of all good things in peace, with victory and dominion in war, if the children of your enemies have a desire to fight against you, and are so bold as to come to arms, and assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor so as to give joy to their children and wives. To such a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who



is able to diminish the abundance of some, and to supply the wants of others."

§ 5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, not being master of himself, but moved to say what he did by the divine Spirit. And Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he and his allies had invited him on the promise of great presents: for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had sung their praises, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, "O Balak, if you rightly consider the whole matter, can you suppose, that it is in our power either to be silent or to say anything when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? for it puts such words as it pleases into our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so zealously brought me hither, and why I took this journey. It was my prayer that I might satisfy you as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than my resolve to serve you, for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely powerless, either to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he possesses us, nothing that we say is our own. I certainly did not intend to praise this host, nor to recount the good things which God intended to do for their race, but he being favourable to them, and anxious to bestow upon them a happy life and eternal glory, suggested the declaration of those things to me. But now, because it is my desire to oblige you and the Midianites, whose request it is not becoming for me to reject, come, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." And when Balak had agreed to this, God would not even at the second sacrifice consent to his cursing the Israelites. And Balaam sacrificed yet a third time, having erected other altars, nor could he even then curse the Israelites, but he fell upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall kings and most eminent cities, some of which were not yet inhabited; which events have come to pass to those persons, in the foregoing ages, and down to my own memory,

both by sea and by land. From which accomplishment of all those predictions that he made, one may conjecture that the rest will have their accomplishment in the future.

§ 6. But Balak, being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam, not thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, as he was just starting on his journey and was about to cross the Euphrates, he sent for Balak and the princes of the Midianites, and spoke thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present (for I am obliged even against the will of God to gratify you), it is true no entire ruin can come on the nation of the Hebrews, either by war, or by plague, or by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident destroy them. For the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from all evil, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish: but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought hurt to them. But if you desire to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions. Select such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and able to take by storm and conquer the modesty of those that behold them by their beauty, and send them, when decked and trimmed to the highest degree possible, to the Israelites' camp; and give them injunctions, when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, to allow it them; and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them pretend to go, and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them to abandon their own laws, and the worship of that God who gave them, and to worship the gods of the Midianites and the Moabites; for by this means God will be angry with them." And when Balaam had suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

§ 7. And when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had advised, the young men of the Hebrews were captivated by their beauty, and came to discourse

with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their love. And they received their words gladly, and complied with their wishes, and when they had brought them to be enamoured of them, and their desires-were at their height, they began to talk of departing. Then these men became greatly disconsolate at the idea of their departure, and implored them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives, and they promised them they should be made mistresses of all they had. This they said with oaths, and called on God to witness what they promised, and that with tears in their eyes, and all other marks of concern such as might move their pity. And the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their intimacy, began to speak to them as follows.

§ 8. "Most excellent young men, we have houses of our own and plenty of good things there, together with the natural affection and love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of any want of such things that we come to discourse with you, nor did we submit to your wishes in the idea of prostituting the beauty of our body for gain, but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, treating you with such honours as friendship required. And now, since you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled at the idea of our departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we receive such proof of your good-will as we think can alone be considered sufficient, we shall be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents in dishonour;" and they begged they would excuse their anxiety about that danger. But the young men professed they would give them any pledge they could desire, and would contradict them in nothing, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then (said they) this be your resolution, since you make use of such customs and modes of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your food is peculiar to yourselves, and your drink unlike that of others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for

your wives, that you should worship our gods: nor can there be any other proof of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than your worshipping the same gods that we do. And no one could censure you, now you are come into this country, for worshipping its gods, especially as our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody but yourselves." So they said they must either adopt the ways of all other people, or else they must look out for another world, where they could live by themselves according to their own laws.

§ 9. Now the young men were induced by the love they had for these women to think they spoke very well, so they gave themselves up to what they urged, and transgressed their own laws, and believed in many gods, and resolving that they would sacrifice to the gods established by the laws of that country, they were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do everything that the women would have them do, contrary to their own laws; insomuch that lawlessness already spread through the whole host of the young men, and they fell into a rebellion much worse than the former, and ran risk of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went in for them with insatiable inclinations, and even some of the principal men, who were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, were also corrupted with the rest.

§ 10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cozbi a Midianitish woman, the daughter of Zur, a prince in that country; and being bidden by the woman to disregard the laws of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, both by sacrificing in a manner different to the national custom, and by taking a strange woman to wife. When things were in this condition, Moses was afraid that matters would grow worse, and called the people to an assembly, and accused nobody by name, being unwilling to drive into despair those who, by remaining unknown, might repent, but he said, that they did not do what was either worthy of themselves or of their fathers, in preferring pleasure to God and to living according to his will: that it was fit they should change

such courses, while their affairs were still in a good state ; and think that was true fortitude which offered not violence to their laws, but which resisted their lusts. He also said that it was unreasonable, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now they were in prosperity ; and that they ought not to lose, now they had abundance, what they had gained when they had little. And by saying this he endeavoured to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

§ 11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, “ Do you, Moses, make use of such laws as you are fond of, and have ratified by custom, for, if things had not been thus, you would have been often punished before now, and would have known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon ; but you shall not have me one of your followers in your tyrannical commands, for you do nothing else hitherto, but, under pretext of laws and God, wickedly impose on us slavery and gain dominion for yourself, while you deprive us of the sweetness of life, and of that free will which is the right of freemen, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this fellow is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, claiming to punish according to his laws everyone’s acting as is most agreeable to himself ; but you yourself better deserve to suffer punishment, who presume to abolish what everyone acknowledges to be good for him, and aim to make your absurd notions have more force than the opinions of everybody. And I should justly lose my present fortune, if, thinking it right, I should be afraid to admit it. I have married, as you say, a strange woman (for you shall hear what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I do not intend to conceal myself). I also own, that I sacrifice to those gods to whom I think fit to sacrifice ; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not, like one that lives under a tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man ; nor shall anyone have cause to rejoice, who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself.”

§ 12. Now when Zimri had spoken thus about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their

peace, both from fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring Zimri's insolence before the public any more, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the profligacy of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude: so the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischief would have proceeded further, if Zimri had not first been slain, which came about in the following way. Phinehas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries from the dignity of his father (for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses' brother), was greatly troubled at what had been done by Zimri, and resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his outrageous behaviour should grow worse from impunity, and to prevent this transgression from proceeding further, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was morally and physically so brave, that, when he was in any danger he did not leave off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory; so he went into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and Cozbi also. Upon which all the young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do noble actions, imitated Phinehas' boldness, and slew those that were accused of the same crime as Zimri. And many of those that had transgressed perished by the noble conduct of those young men: the rest all died of a plague, which God himself inflicted upon them; and all their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had egged them on, were esteemed by God partners in their wickedness, and died. And there perished of the host no less than twenty-four thousand.

§ 13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites; concerning which expedition I shall speak presently, when I have first related what I have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due eucorium, on account of his conduct here. For although Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, when hindered from doing so by divine Providence, yet suggested that advice to them,

by adopting which our enemies well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their practices, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions, yet did Moses do him great honour by setting down his prophecies in writing. And though it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and convict him of so doing, he still gave his attestation to Balaam, and thought him worthy of mention. But let everyone think of this as he pleases.

## CHAP. VII.

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

## § 1.

NOW Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the reason I have mentioned, in all twelve thousand men, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed as their commander that Phinehas whom I mentioned a little before as observing the laws of the Hebrews, and inflicting punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites hearing that the Hebrews were coming, and were all but upon them, assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited their coming. When they were come, and had joined battle with them, an immense number of the Midianites fell, nor could they be numbered they were so many, and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who gave his name to the chief city of all Arabia, which is still called by the whole Arabian nation Arceme,<sup>1</sup> from the name of the king that built it, but is called by the Greeks Petra. Now when the enemies were routed, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took much prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they spared the virgins, as Moses had

<sup>1</sup> See p. 248, where the name is given in the form Arce.

commanded Phinehas to do, who indeed came back bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey: fifty-two thousand oxen, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses divided the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites, and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour, and having no misfortune that hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

§ 2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and to be the commander of the army if they should at any time stand in need of one; and it was at the command of God, that the authority was committed to him. Now Joshua had been instructed in all the learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

§ 3. It was at this time that the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh, as they had a multitude of cattle, as well as all other kinds of property, took counsel together and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites which they had captured by the spear, because it was fruitful and good for feeding cattle. But Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle as a handsome excuse for avoiding the war, called them arrant cowards: and said, that they had only contrived a specious excuse for their cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great hardships to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were unwilling to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those enemies whom God had showed them, and obtain their land.



But they, seeing that Moses was angry with them, and supposing he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made a defence for themselves; and said, that it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had got in convenient places, and so might be more free and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles. They added also, that when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children and wives and possessions, if he would allow them, they would go along with the rest of the army. And Moses was pleased with what they said: so he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chiefs of the tribes, and permitted those tribes to possess the land of the Amorites, upon condition that they should join with their kinsmen in the war until it was finished. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built strong cities, and put into them their children and their wives, and whatever else they had that might hinder their prosecution of the war.

§ 4. Moses also now built ten of the forty-eight cities of the Levites; three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment as that of the life of the high priest under whom the flight happened, for after the death of the high priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile the relations of him that was slain might kill the slayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city of refuge to which he had fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for refuge were these: Bezer<sup>1</sup> on the borders of Arabia, Ramoth<sup>2</sup> in the land of Gilead, and Golan<sup>3</sup> in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses' command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

§ 5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him that there was an

<sup>1</sup> Now probably *Kusr el-Besheir*, in Moab, near Dibon.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Reimán*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *Sahem el-Jaulán*.

eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was Zelophead, who had left no male children, but only daughters, and asked him, Whether these daughters might inherit his land or not? He made answer, that if they should marry in their own tribe, they should carry their estate along with them, but if they should dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they should leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that everyone's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

## CHAP. VIII.

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

### § 1.

WHEN forty years all but thirty days were completed, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila<sup>1</sup> now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spoke to them as follows.

§ 2. "Fellow-soldiers, who have been partners with me in long distress, since now the will of God, and the course of old age, as I am a hundred and twenty, requires that I should depart out of this life; and since I am not to help or aid you in what remains to be done beyond the Jordan, being prevented by God, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and remembrance for myself when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity. Come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal possession of good things to your children after you, and so let me go out of the world. And I deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already

<sup>1</sup> The Abel Shittim of Numb. xxxiii. 49; now *Kefrein*, at the northern end of the *Ghór es-Seisebán*.

done for you, and because when souls are about to leave the body they speak with all virtue. O children of Israel, there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, the favour of God, for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; and if you live according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, exhort you to do, you will never cease being esteemed fortunate, and an object of envy by all men; you will then secure the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that at present you are in want of. Only be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow, and prefer no other constitution of government to the laws now given you, neither disregard that mode of divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other. If you do this, you will be the most valiant of all men in waging wars, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for when God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are in store for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the oldest and first of blessings, and bestows abundance of others afterwards, so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than other nations, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, if you hearken to and observe those laws which by divine dictation I have drawn up for you, and withal meditate upon their wisdom. I am going from you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I commend you to the law of self-control, to the order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And God, who has been till now your leader, and by whose will I have myself been useful to you, will not put an end now to his providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your protector, in your practice of virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest Eleazar, and Joshua, your senate, and the chiefs of your tribes, will suggest to you the best advice, by following

which you will continue to be happy; to whom do you hearken without reluctance, being aware that all such as know well how to be governed will also know how to govern, if they come to that authority themselves. And do not suppose liberty to consist in disliking what your leaders call on you to do, as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been. And do not ever indulge in such a degree of passion against them as you have often ventured to show to me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies. I now put you in mind of this not to reproach you (for I do not desire, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since at the time when I suffered that treatment from you, I was not angry with you), but to make you wiser hereafter, and to teach you that it will be for your security never to treat insolently those that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over the Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. For if you shall once have been induced by your wealth to despise and disregard virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and that with very great disgrace. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, fill every sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it will be too late. So I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to judge it for your advantage to destroy them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own polity. I also further exhort you to overthrow their altars and their groves, and whatever temples they have among them, and to consume all such, their nation, and their very memory, with fire, for by this means alone the safety of

of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your nature degenerating from ignorance of virtue into vice, I have also by divine suggestion ordained for you laws, and a form of government, which are so good, that if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

§ 3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws, and the constitution of their polity written in a book. And they fell into tears, and showed great affection to their leader, remembering what a number of dangers he had passed through for them, and what care he had taken of their preservation. They desponded also about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another head like him ; and feared that God would take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on that account, insomuch, that the whole body of the people burst into tears with such passion, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation, and to call them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep that form of government he had given them : and then the assembly broke up.

§ 4. I shall now first describe our polity, which was agreeable to the merit and virtue of Moses ; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities what our original constitution was, and shall then proceed to narrate other matters. Now our constitution is all still in writing, as Moses left it, and I shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor anything besides what he left us, I shall only so far innovate, as to digest the various laws into a regular system, for they were left by him casually written down, as he had information on each matter from God. I have thought it necessary to premise this beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of a mistake herein. I shall now only discuss the laws that belong to our polity. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a work concerning our

manners of life and their reasons, which I propose with God's assistance to write after I have finished the present work.

§ 5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterwards determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be one holy city in the land of Canaan, and that situate on the finest and best spot, and chosen by God himself by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, reared not of hewn stones, but of such as are gathered together at random: which stones, when they are whited over with plaster, will have a handsome appearance, and look clean. Let the ascent to it be not by steps, but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar, nor temple, in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

§ 6. He that dares to blaspheme God, let him be stoned, and let him hang upon a tree all day, and then be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

§ 7. Let those that live in all parts, however remote, of the land which the Hebrews shall occupy, come to the city where the temple shall be placed three times a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and pray for future blessings, and let them maintain a friendly feeling with one another by meeting and feasting together; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by their thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing their memory of one another: for if they do not thus converse together occasionally, they will appear mere strangers to one another.

§ 8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a second tenth, besides that which I have allotted to the priests and Levites, which may indeed be sold in the country, but the value is to be expended on those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess to the honour of the giver.

§ 9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the hire of a woman which is a harlot, for the Deity is not pleased with anything that comes from lust, and none can be worse than the prostitution of the body. In like manner, no one may take the price of the lining of a bitch, either of one used for hunting, or keeping sheep, for sacrifice to God.

§ 10. Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem, nor steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gift dedicated to any god.

§ 11. Let not any of you wear a garment made of woollen and linen together, for that is allowed to the priests alone.

§ 12. When the multitude have come together to the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the laws to all the people; and let neither woman nor children be hindered from hearing, no, nor slaves either; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out, for so they will not be guilty of sin, since they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined. The laws also will have a great authority among sinners by foretelling what they will suffer if they break them, and by imprinting in their souls by hearing what they command, that so there may always be within their minds the object of the laws, by neglecting and violating which they cause their own hurt. Let children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can learn, and ensure their happiness.

§ 13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefits which he bestowed upon them by their deliverance out of the land of Egypt twice every day, both when the day begins, and when the hour for sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only as return for past favours, but also calling down future ones. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same on their arms: as also they are to bear inscribed on their head and arm whatever can declare the power

of God and his good-will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear everywhere conspicuous about them.

§ 14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city, such as have been foremost in the exercise of virtue and righteousness, and let every judge have two assessors allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any, when these are present, or to carry themselves in an insolent manner to any, it being natural that reverence towards those in high office among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those who judge have power to decide as they think right, unless anyone can show that they have taken bribes to the perversion of justice, or can bring any other charge against them, proving them to have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not right to decide cases wrongly, out of regard to gain or the position of one of the suitors, but to esteem what is right before all things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence: for justice is the power of God. He therefore that favours those in high positions, makes them more powerful than God himself. But if these judges are unable to decide on the cases that come before them (as happens not unfrequently in human affairs), let them send the case undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the senate, determine as shall seem good to them.

§ 15. But let not a single witness be credited, but only three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their past lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of their sex. And let not slaves be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they will not speak truth, either from hope of gain or fear of punishment. But if anyone be believed to have borne false witness, let him, if convicted, suffer the very same punishment which he, against whom he bore witness, would have suffered.

§ 16. If a murder be committed in any place, and the



perpetrator of it be not found, and no one is suspected of having hated the man and therefore killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made, and rewards offered for his apprehension, but if no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the body was found, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a ravine and place unfit for ploughing or planting, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and senate of that city, shall take water, and shall openly declare over the head of the heifer, that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been accessories to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land.

§ 17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution, and may you never have an inclination to any other polity, and may you always love that form, having the laws as your masters, and doing all things according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you should desire a king, let him be one of your own nation, let him be always careful of justice, and other virtues: let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom, but let him do nothing without the high priest and the vote of the senators, let him not have a great number of wives, nor seek abundance of riches or horses, whereby he might grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become too powerful for your welfare.

§ 18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, either our own, or of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those land-marks away, which are, as it were, a sure decree of rights made by God himself to last for ever, since the going beyond limits, and taking others' ground, is the occasion of wars and tumults; for those that remove boundaries are not far off from subverting the laws.

§ 19. He that plants a piece of land, whose trees produce

fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first-fruits to God, nor to make use of the fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season ; for when nature is forced unseasonably the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the owner's use ; but let him gather all that is grown in the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him gather it and carry it to the holy city, and spend it, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends and with orphans and widows. But in the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

§ 20. You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen ; and not to put other animals under the same yoke with them ; but to plough with beasts that are of the same kind. Seeds also are to be pure and unmixed, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike. Nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together ; for there is reason to fear, that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, taking its first rise in small and trifling matters. Nor is anything to be allowed, by imitation of which any errors may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even they may be seen to in a blameless manner.

§ 21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also, but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, to be a god-send to them for their subsistence. In like manner, when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruit of their olive trees, for those to gather who have none of their own ; for the advantage arising from the complete gathering of all will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will make your land more fertile if, in producing its fruits, you do not merely look after your own interest, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen,

when they tread the ears of corn in the threshing floor ; for it is not just to restrain those that have laboured with us, and worked in its production, from the fruit. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe from touching them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have, and that whether they be of your own country or strangers, being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe, but let them not carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them ; for it is unjust to grudge those that desire it their partaking of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and that while the season is at its height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some out of modesty hesitate to touch those fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them, if Israelites, as if they were partners and owners, on account of their kindred, and if they come from other countries, let them hospitably partake of those things which God has given in their proper season. For that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which anyone out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only to reap the advantage for themselves, but also to give to others out of generosity ; wishing by this means to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly contribute, out of their great superfluities, to foreigners also. As for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one by the public executioner, let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a freeman, because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his own merit. For it is proper for you, who have had experience of afflictions in Egypt and in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances ; and as you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute the same plenty out of sympathy to such as stand in need of it.

§ 22. Besides those two tenths, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the

other for feasting, you are to bring every third year a third tenth to be distributed to those that want, also to women that are widows, and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all to the temple, and when they have blessed God for the land which has produced them, which he has given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. And when any one has done this, and has brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits that were for the Levites, and for feasting, as he is about to go home, let him stand before the temple precincts, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land and a large to enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he has publicly declared that he has fully paid the tenths according to the laws of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving to them the good things which he has already given them, and by adding further what he could bestow upon them.

§ 23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. And let not free men marry slaves, even if strongly impelled by love to do so, for it is decent and for the dignity of persons to govern their affections. Furthermore, no one ought to marry an harlot; whose marriage-sacrifices, owing to the prostitution of her body, God will not receive. For so the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous, if they are not born of base parents, or of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If anyone has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterwards find her to be so, let him bring his action and accuse her, and let him make use of such proofs as he is furnished with, and let the father or brother of the damsel, or the nearest of kin to her after them defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she has not been guilty, let her live with her husband

that accused her, and let him not have any further power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great grounds for suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father. But if he prove the damsel guilty of having been seduced, and she is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she was lawfully married; but if she is the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any man has two wives, and if he greatly regards and is kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved is younger than one born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance (for that double portion is what I have allotted the eldest in the laws), let not it be permitted: for it is unjust, that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him in the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath seduced a damsel espoused to another man, if he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she was persuaded to yield herself to be seduced, either for pleasure, or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, when nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath seduced a virgin not yet espoused, marry her; but if the father of the damsel be unwilling that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of his outrage. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatever (and many such causes happen among men), let him in writing give assurance that he will never cohabit with her any more, for so she will have liberty to marry another husband, although

before this bill of divorce be given she is not to be permitted so to do : but if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband should wish to marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred ; and it will solace widows in their affliction to be married to the nearest relations of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and testify that the brother will not take her to wife, but will outrage the memory of his deceased brother, though she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children : and when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to the marriage, whether he gives a good or bad reason, the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say that he deserves this treatment from her, as having outraged the memory of the deceased. And then let him go away from the senate, and bear this reproach all his life long, and let her marry whom she pleases of such as seek her in marriage. And if any man take captive either a virgin, or one that has been married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to live with her as his wife, before she has shaven her head and put on mourning, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that so, having given vent to her sorrow for them, she may afterwards betake herself to feasting and matrimony. For it is good and right for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, and pay no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many days are sufficient to sensible persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage. But if, when he has satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make

her a slave, but let her go away where she pleases, and have the privilege of a free woman.

§ 24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them or think themselves wiser than they, let their parents first admonish them in words (for they are sufficient judges for their sons), and let them say to them, that they cohabited not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their wealth by joining both their properties together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and to supply them with what they then should want. And let them say also, "When you were born we received you with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for you, and brought you up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for your preservation, and instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice you to have given so many indications of your contempt of us, reform and act more wisely for the time to come, considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same title, when they do not meet with due gratitude from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment, which may you never experience!" Now if the insolence of the young men be thus cured, let them escape the disgrace which their former errors deserved, for so the lawgiver will be good, and parents happy, if they never behold either a son or daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions of theirs to reclaim their son are evidently useless, and the offender makes the laws implacable enemies to him in consequence of the insolence he has repeatedly offered his parents, let him be brought forth by these very parents out of the city, the multitude following, and let him be stoned, and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And let all whom the laws condemn to die upon any account whatever be buried so.

Let our enemies that fall in battle also be buried, nor let any dead body lie above the ground, and so suffer punishment beyond what justice requires.

§ 25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury either meat or drink, for it is not just to make gain of the misfortunes of one of your own nation; but if you have assisted his necessities, think it a gain if you obtain their gratitude and the reward which will come to you from God for your humanity.

§ 26. Those who have borrowed either money, or any sort of fruits whether dry or wet, when their affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be in a prosperous condition, shall bring them back, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and expecting to have them again if they shall want them. But if they are shameless about restoring what has been borrowed, let not the lender enter the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning the matter, but let him ask for a pledge outside the house, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes to him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God by his nature showing mercy to the poor. It is also unlawful to take a millstone, or any thing thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food with, and so be undone by their necessity.

§ 27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but let him that has purloined gold or silver pay double. If anyone kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, even if the man were only breaking through the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold what was stolen, except in the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay five-fold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay the fine laid upon him, be his slave to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

§ 28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let



him serve him six years, and in the seventh let him go free : but if he have children by a female slave in his purchaser's house, and if, on account of his good-will and natural affection to his wife and children, he will serve still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee (which is the fiftieth year), and let him then take away with him his children and wife, who shall be free also.

§ 29. If anyone find gold or silver in the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in the case of cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep them, appealing to God that he does not desire to appropriate what belongs to another.

§ 30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, or from a storm fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, having a sympathy with it in its pain.

§ 31. It is also a duty to show the way to those who do not know it, and not to esteem it a matter for sport to hinder another's convenience by setting him in a wrong way.

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

§ 33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron used, let him that is smitten be avenged, if he die immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him : but if, when he is carried home, he lie sick several days, and then die, let him that smote him escape punishment. But if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his recovery, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his illness, and for all that he has paid the doctors. He that kicks a woman with child, so that she miscarries, let him pay a fine in money as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the population by the destruction of what was in her womb : and let money also be given the woman's husband by him. But if she die of

the kick, let him also be put to death, the law judging it right that life should go for life.

§ 34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any deadly poison, or any other harmful drug, and if he be caught with such, let him be put to death, suffering the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

§ 35. He that mutilates anyone, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is mutilated will accept of money instead, for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he has suffered, and permits him to take compensation, unless he wishes to be more severe.

§ 36. Let him that is the owner of an ox, which pusheth with its horns, kill it: but if it gores and kills anyone in the threshing-floor, let it be put to death by stoning, and let it not be thought fit for food; and if its owner be convicted of having known what its nature was, and did not keep it tied up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox killing the man. And if the ox have killed a male or female slave, let it be stoned; and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain;<sup>1</sup> but if it be an ox that is gored and killed, let both the oxen, that which gored, and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide the price between them.

§ 37. Let those that dig a well or pit be careful to lay boarding over it, and so keep it covered up, not to hinder any person from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of anyone falling in. And if anyone's beast fall into such a well or pit not covered up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from tumbling off and losing their lives.

§ 38. Let him that has received anything in trust for another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing,

<sup>1</sup> We may here note, that thirty shekels, the price our Saviour was sold for by Judas to the Jews, Matt. xxvi. 15, and xxviii. 3, was the old value of a bought servant, or slave, among that people.—W.

and let no one venture to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, whether man or woman, even although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and that where they could not be convicted of it by anybody, for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he has, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as to procure him the approval of others, but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed. But if he in whom the trust was reposed, lose what he was intrusted with, without any fraud of his own, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that it has not been lost willingly or with a wicked intention, and that he has not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame. But if he has made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he received. And as in the case of these trusts, if anyone defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him of their wages, let him remember that we ought not to defraud a poor man of his wages, knowing that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be deferred, but to be paid that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate fruit of his labour.

§ 39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to pity them, because they were born of wicked parents, than to hate them, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, as young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from our instruction, from their proud refusal of such instruction.

§ 40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be held in detestation, and avoid the company of those who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of our kind. Let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they have destroyed beforehand what would procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have also transfused that effe-

minacy to their body. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to geld either men or any other animals.

§ 41. Let this be the constitution of your polity in time of peace, and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance. And may that time never come which may innovate any of these things, and change them for the contrary! But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either involuntarily or intentionally, come let us give a few precepts concerning them, that so being apprized beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to seek what is to be done, and have to meet emergencies unprepared. May you be a laborious people and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and so possess the land God has given you without wars, while neither any foreigners make war upon it and afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the customs which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God has approved of, and delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether now in your own days, or hereafter in the days of your posterity, take place out of your own borders. And when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to use words to them before you take up weapons of war, and assure them that, although you have a numerous army, and horses and weapons, and, before all, God propitious and ready to assist you, yet you desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which would be a gain you do not wish. And if they hearken to you, it will be right for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust in their own strength as superior to yours, and will wrong you, lead your army against them, making God your supreme commander, and appointing as lieutenant under him one that is of the greatest courage among you. For many commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done quickly, are disadvantageous to those that use them. Lead

a chosen army, composed of such men as have all strength of body and boldness of soul, and sift out the timid, lest they run away in time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those who have lately built houses, and have not yet lived a year in them, and to those who have planted vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of the fruits, to stay at home, as well as those also who are betrothed or have lately married wives, lest they have such an affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and by reserving themselves for their enjoyments, purposely play the cowards [on account of their wives].

§ 42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not ravage the land by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, considering that they were planted for the benefit of men, and that, if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not the cause of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer from it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves to another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you, but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, except the nation of the Canaanites, for as to them you must destroy them root and branch.

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

§ 44. This was the form of polity left us by Moses, who had already delivered laws in writing forty years before, concerning which I shall speak in another work. And on the following days (for he called them to assembly continually), he delivered blessings on those who should obey the laws, and curses upon those who should not live according to them, but should transgress what was prescribed to them. After this he read them a poetic song composed in hexameter verse, which he wrote down in the holy book. It contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterwards, and all things have happened agreeably to it all along, and do still happen; he has not at all deviated

from the truth. And he delivered these books to the priests as well as the ark, into which they put the ten commandments written on two tables, and the tabernacle also. Moreover, he exhorted the people that, when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injury done to them by the Amalekites, but make war against them, and take vengeance on them, for the hurt they did them, when they were in the wilderness. Also, when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole of its inhabitants, as they were to do, he told them that they were to erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem,<sup>1</sup> between the two mountains of Gerizim on the right, and that called Ebal on the left; and that the host should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And first those that were upon Mount Gerizim were to pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent in the worship of God, and the observance of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses told them; while the other tribes gave assent, and when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced from Ebal upon those that should transgress these laws, the tribes answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what was said. Moses also wrote down those blessings and curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was about to die, he wrote those blessings and curses on each side of the altar, where he says the people stood and sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any sacrifice, for it was not lawful to do so. These are the constitutions of Moses, and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

§ 45. On the next day, Moses called the people together to assembly with the women and children, and the very slaves, that they might engage themselves to the observa-

<sup>1</sup> Now *Nāblus*, lying in the valley between Mount Gerizim on the south, and Mount Ebal on the north; the peculiar natural features of the ground lent themselves admirably to the great ceremony of the ratification of the law.

tion of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either to gratify their kindred, or out of fear of anyone, or indeed for any motive whatever, think anything ought to be preferred to these laws, and so transgress them. That in case anyone of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their polity, they should take vengeance upon them both publicly and privately, and when they had overcome them, should root them out from the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least trace of such madness: and, if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should show that what was done was contrary to their will. And the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

§ 46. Moses taught them also how their sacrifices would be most acceptable to God, and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their guidance,<sup>1</sup> as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was still present, and recapitulated what Moses had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and how he had drawn up for them a code of laws, and procured them an excellent polity, and foretold that God had declared to him, "That if they transgressed the worship of God, they would experience the following miseries: their land would be full of arms and enemies, their cities would be overthrown, and their temple would be burnt, and they would be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: and they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them in their sufferings. Yet, said he, that God who founded your nation, will restore your cities and also the temple to your citizens. And you will lose these things not once only, but often."

§ 47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bernard well observes here, how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the Urim was to Joshua himself, in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him, and ensnared him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commission to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch, which oath he and the other rulers never durst break.—W.

God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks, while I am still alive and present with you, for that providence he has exercised over you, which has not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but has bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also because he has assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the solicitude I had to better your condition, and has on all occasions showed himself favourable to us; or rather it was he who first managed our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making use of me as a lieutenant under him, and as a helper in those matters wherein he was willing to do your nation good: on which account I think it proper, now I am departing, to praise the divine power which will take care of you for the time to come, and that to repay the debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a reminder to you of your obligation to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all that he has already bestowed on us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God, which will be the consequence of the neglect of the laws, which he, your Creator, has given you!"

§ 48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would happen to every one of the tribes afterwards, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell to tears, insomuch, that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had because he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, not being able to control their grief, and so showed that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a protector they were losing, and so lamented their future state, but the young grieved not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to



be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may form conjecture of the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was persuaded all his life that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since people die in accordance with the will of God and the law of nature, yet what the people did so overcame him, that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping, but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that followed close to him not to render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, and let him depart according as he himself desired; so they restrained themselves, though weeping still among one another. The only persons who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua the general. And as soon as they were come to the mountain called Abarim<sup>1</sup> (which is a very high mountain situate over-against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan) he dismissed the senate. And as he was embracing Eleazar and Joshua, and was still conversing with them, a cloud stood over him on a sudden, and he disappeared in a certain ravine. He wrote that he died in the holy books, fearing that people would venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he was translated to God.

§ 49. Now Moses lived, in all, one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, all but one month, he was the people's leader; and he died in the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians *Dvstrus*, but by us *Adar*, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever lived in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking and addressing the multitude, and, as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if

<sup>1</sup> The range of *Jebel Neba* (Mount Nebo), at the northern end of the Dead Sea, and east of Jordan.

he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by name, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, so that whatever he uttered you would think you heard the voice of God himself. And the people mourned for him thirty days: nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses: nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that regretted him, but those also that perused his laws had a strong regard for him, and by them inferred his extraordinary merit. And this shall suffice for the account of the manner of the death of Moses.

## BOOK V.

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

### CHAP. I.

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

#### § 1.

WHEN Moses was taken away from among men in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho,<sup>1</sup> to discover what forces the enemy had and what were their intentions, and he put his camp in order, intending to cross over the Jordan betimes. And calling

<sup>1</sup> The ancient site of Jericho appears to have been at 'Ain es-Sultân, near Eriha.

to him the chiefs of the tribe of Reuben, and the leaders of the tribe of Gad, and [half the tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have its possession in the country of the Amorites, [which was the seventh part of the land of Canaan], he reminded them what they had promised Moses, and exhorted them, that in gratitude for the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, no, not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves readily for what they had promised; so with fifty thousand armed men who followed him he marched sixty furlongs from Abila<sup>1</sup> to the Jordan.

§ 2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies returned to him immediately, having got well acquainted with the condition of the Canaanites: for, at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city of Jericho in security, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak that they might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of their prying, supposing they were only strangers, who are wont to be very curious in observing everything in a city, and did not take them for enemies; and at even they retired to a certain inn that was near the wall, where they went to eat their supper; after which, as they were considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some spies come from the Hebrews' camp to view the city, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered. So he sent immediately some officers with orders to arrest them, and bring them to him, that he might put them to the torture and learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab heard of their coming, she hid the spies under some stalks of flax which were laid to dry on the top of her house, and said to the officers sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sunset, and were gone away, who might easily be pursued and taken if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the

<sup>1</sup> *Kefrein.*

king. So they being thus deluded by the woman, and suspecting no trick, went their way without so much as searching the inn, and immediately pursued them along those roads which they supposed them most likely to have taken, and particularly those which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them, so they left off the pains of any further pursuit. And when the hue and cry was over, Rahab brought the men down, and besought them, as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes (for if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped the vengeance of the king, but she and all her family with her must have perished miserably), and so bade them go home, after swearing to her to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do, for so much she said she knew from those divine miracles of which she had been informed. And they acknowledged that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and again swore to requite her kindness not only in word but in deed: and gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods and all her family in her inn, and shut them up there, and hang out scarlet threads before her doors, that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do it no harm. "For," said they, "we will inform him of this matter, because of your zeal to preserve us: but if any of your family fall in the battle, do not blame us: and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not to be displeased with us in that case, as though we had broken our oaths." So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and told their own people their adventures in Jericho. Joshua also told Eleazar, the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, and they ratified what had been sworn.

§ 3. Now when Joshua was in fear about their passing over the Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current,

and could not be passed over on bridges, for bridges had never been laid over it hitherto, and they suspected, if they should attempt to make a bridge, that the enemies would not afford them time to complete it, and as for ferry-boats they had none, God promised to make the river fordable by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole host to pass over in the following manner. The priests went first of all bearing the ark, the Levites next, bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire host followed according to their tribes, putting their children and wives in the middle, being afraid for them lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the pebbles appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry them away by its force. So they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be such as God had foretold he would make it, and the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the host had passed over, and got to the shore in safety: and when all were gone over, the priests came out also; and permitted the current to run freely as usual. And the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, swelled again presently, and resumed its normal condition.

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

§ 5. Now, while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept quiet within their walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them. So on the first day

of the feast the priests carried the ark round about, with some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, Joshua on the seventh day gathered together the armed men and all the people, and told them the good tidings that the city would now be taken, since God would on that day give it them by the falling down of its walls, and that of their own accord and without their labour. However, he charged them to kill everyone they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies either from weariness or pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and so be diverted from pursuing their enemies as they ran away, but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own private advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first-fruits unto God for this glorious victory, as being got from the city they first took; and to save only Rahab and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

§ 6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city; so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests with their trumpets encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, though no engines of war, nor any violence, were applied to it by the Hebrews.

§ 7. So they entered Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, who were dismayed at the unexpected overthrow of their walls, and their courage became useless for defence. So they were slain and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others caught in their houses; nothing begged them off, but they all perished, even women and children; and the city was filled with dead bodies, and nothing escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country round it; only the spies saved alive Rahab and

her family, who had fled for refuge to her inn. And when she was brought before him, Joshua owned to her, that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: so he said he would not show himself behind her in his return. So he gave her certain lands immediately, and held her in great esteem ever afterwards.

§ 8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he rased it to the ground, and denounced a curse against its inhabitants, if anyone should desire to rebuild it, that, upon his laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son, and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. Nor was this curse pronounced in vain, as I shall show hereafter.

§ 9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold and brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own advantage, but abstaining from what was devoted to God, for Joshua delivered the spoil to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

§ 10. But there was one Achar, the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who, finding a royal cloak woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels, and thinking it a very hard case, that what gain he at some hazard had got, he must give away, and offer to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, dug a deep hole in his tent, and buried them there, supposing he should not only be undetected by his fellow-soldiers, but by God also.

§ 11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called Gilgal,<sup>1</sup> which denotes liberty; for since now they had passed over the Jordan, they looked upon themselves as liberated from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and suffered in the wilderness.

§ 12. Now a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai,<sup>2</sup> a city situate above Jericho: but the people of Ai engaging with them, they were driven back, and lost

<sup>1</sup> Now *Jiljâlia*, three miles east of Jericho.

<sup>2</sup> Now *et-Tell*, two miles east of *Beitin*, Bethel.

thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad and exceedingly dejected, not so much because of the relation the men that were killed bore to them, though those that were killed were all good men and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned. For whereas they believed that they were already in possession of the land, and would bring their army out of battles without loss, as God had promised them, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies elated with success; so they put sackcloth on their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least care for food, and laid what had happened greatly to heart.

§ 13. When Joshua saw the army so dejected, and foreboding evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, "We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses your servant, to whom you promised by many signs that you would give us this land for a possession, and that you would make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has attended upon us agreeably to your promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some of our men, we are grieved at it, fearing what you promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our hope about the future troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do you, O Lord (for you are able to find a cure for this), by giving us victory take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our despair as to the future.

§ 14. Joshua put these intercessions up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: and God bade him get up, and purify the host from the pollution which had got into it; for things consecrated to him had been impudently stolen, and that was the reason why this defeat had happened to them, but if they would search out and punish the offender, he would take care they should ever have the victory over their enemies. Joshua told the people this, and calling for Eleazar the high priest, and those in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe, and when the lot



showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he again cast lots for the several families of that tribe, when this wicked action was brought home to the family of Achar; and when the inquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's finding him out so wonderfully, could not deny the fact; but confessed the theft, and produced what he had stolen, and was immediately put to death, and was buried in the night in a dishonourable manner, as was suitable for a condemned malefactor.

§ 15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai, and having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; and as they advanced boldly against the Israelites because of their former victory, he made believe to retreat, and so drew them a great way from the city, they supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despising them as though they had already won the battle, when Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and face their foes; he then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so made them get up to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, and some of them wholly occupied in watching what was going on outside the city. So they took the city, and slew all that they met with, and Joshua pressed hard those that came against him to battle, and discomfited them, and made them flee; and when they were driven towards the city, which they thought was safe, as soon as they saw it was taken and burnt with their wives and children, they wandered about the fields in confusion, and were unable to defend themselves because of their isolation. Now when this calamity fell upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children and women and servants captured, and an immense quantity of baggage. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for it was a rich country. And when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all this spoil among the soldiers.

§ 16. But when the Gibeonites, who dwelt very near Jerusalem, saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to those of Ai, and suspected that

the like sore calamity would come upon themselves, they decided not to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy every nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cepherah<sup>1</sup> and Kirjathjearim,<sup>2</sup> who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid danger, if the Israelites should anticipate them, and attack them; so they combined, and resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. So, on agreeing to what they proposed, they sent as ambassadors to Joshua, to make a league of friendship with him, such of the citizens as they judged most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might avoid the danger by saying, that they bore no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them; and they said further, that they took their journey on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they pointed to their dress, for they said their clothes were new when they started, but were worn out by the length of time they had been on their journey, for indeed they took threadbare garments on purpose that they might make him believe them. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon,<sup>3</sup> and the adjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make a league of friendship with them, on such conditions as were customary among their fathers; for as they understood, that, by the favour of God and his gift, they were to have possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak, and, showing them the marks of their long journey, entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. And Joshua believing what they said, that they

<sup>1</sup> Now *Kefireh*, eight miles north-west of Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Kuriet el-'Enab*, on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa.

<sup>3</sup> Now *el-Jib*, north of Jerusalem.

were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them, and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, swore to them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would do no injury to them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men, having obtained what they desired by guile, went home; but when Joshua led his army to the foot of the mountains, he learned that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, so he sent for their chiefs, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he convened Eleazar the high priest and the senate, who thought right to make the Gibeonites public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them, and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security against the ruin that was about to overtake them.

§ 17. But the king of Jerusalem was very indignant that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua, so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now, when the Gibeonites saw these kings, who were four besides the king of Jerusalem, come up to attack them, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain, not far from their city, and were getting ready to besiege it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they would be saved by those who came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship ratified between them. And Joshua made haste with his whole army to their relief, and marched day and night, and in the morning fell upon the enemies, who could not bear the brunt of his attack, and routed them, and hotly pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called Beth-horon;<sup>1</sup> and there he saw that God assisted him, manifesting his presence by thunder and thunderbolts,

<sup>1</sup> Upper and Lower Beth-horon are now *Beit 'Ur el-Foka* and *Beit 'Ur el-Tahta*, on the old Roman road from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened, that the night might not come on too soon, and hinder the vigour of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, so that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah,<sup>1</sup> and put them all to death. Now, that the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is declared in the books laid up in the temple.

§ 18. Those kings who made war upon the Gibeonites being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous part of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and taken much prey, he returned to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number had been destroyed were in great consternation; so the kings that lived about Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plains, with auxiliaries of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth,<sup>2</sup> a city in Upper Galilee, not far from Kadesh,<sup>3</sup> which is also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed foot, and ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites: and they, instead of being full of hope of good success, were over cautious from the great terror with which they were stricken. And God upbraided them with the fear they were in, and asked them, Whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them? and promised them, that they should overcome their enemies; and charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. And Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and marched out against the enemies, and came up with them on the fifth day, and joined battle with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also pursued them a very great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when the supply

<sup>1</sup> Now *el-Mûghâr*.

<sup>2</sup> Site not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Kudes*, in the hill country west of the Lake *el-Hüleh*.

of men to be killed failed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots, and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle, taking their cities by siege, and killing all that he found.

§ 19. Five years had now elapsed, and there was not one of the Canaanites remaining any longer, except some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp from Gilgal to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city Shiloh,<sup>1</sup> for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until circumstances would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had before directed; and divided the host, placing half of them on Mount Gerizim, and the other half on Mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed and pronounced the [blessings and the] curses, and left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

§ 20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easy to take, not only because they were situated in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, by which they added to the natural advantages of the ground on which the cities stood, and expected their enemies would despair of taking them by siege, for when the Canaanites had learned that the Israelites came out of Egypt to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong. So he gathered the people together in assembly at Shiloh; and when they with great zeal hastened thither, he observed to them, what prosperous success they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do them, and worthy of the excellence of those laws which they followed. He said also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and that every army, however great it were, that confided in its own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed, so that not so much as

<sup>1</sup> Now *Seilân*, about mid-way between Bethel and Shechem.

any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in process of time by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the consequent confidence the inhabitants had in them, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that had come along with them from beyond the Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, with thanks for the aid they had given. He also thought it well to select one man out of every tribe, held in repute for eminent virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any deceit or fraud should inform them of its real size.

§ 21. Now when he had thus spoken, Joshua found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure the country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily miss the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them orders to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which, if compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceedingly fruitful, yet if compared with the land about Jericho and Jerusalem, would appear to be of no account at all. And although it so fell out, that there was very little of this sort of land, and that in the main mountainous also, yet did it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding fertility and beauty: for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by its quality rather than its quantity, it often happening that one acre of some land was equivalent to a thousand acres of other. Now the men that were sent, who were in number ten, travelled all about, and made a valuation of the land, and in the seventh month returned to Joshua to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

§ 22. Then Joshua, in conjunction with Eleazar, and the senate, and the heads of the tribes, distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to half the tribe of Manasseh, appointing their portion to be according to the size of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned to him by lot

the upper part of Judæa, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and in breadth extending to the lake of Sodom.<sup>1</sup> In the lot of this tribe were the cities of Ascalon<sup>2</sup> and Gaza.<sup>3</sup> The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumæa<sup>4</sup> which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that in length it reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel;<sup>5</sup> and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gadara,<sup>6</sup> but in breadth as far as from Bethel till it ended at the great plain. Half the tribe of Manasseh had the land from the Jordan to the city Dora,<sup>7</sup> and in breadth to Bethshan,<sup>8</sup> which is now called Scythopolis. And after these was Issachar, which had as its limits in length Mount Carmel and the river, and its limit in breadth was Mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the lake of Genesareth, contiguous to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Asher had that part from Mount Carmel which was called The Valley,<sup>9</sup> and such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce<sup>10</sup> belonged to its share, which is also called Ecdipus. The tribe of Naphtali received the eastern parts as far as the city of Damascus and Upper Galilee, and Mount Libanus, and the source of the Jordan which rises in that mountain, extending to the northern boundaries of the neighbouring city Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley<sup>11</sup> which faces the setting sun, and was bounded by Azotus<sup>12</sup> and Dora; they

<sup>1</sup> The Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Now *'Askalân*, on the sea coast.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Ghuzzeh*.

<sup>4</sup> The Negeb or south country to the west of *Wâdy 'Arabah*.

<sup>5</sup> *Beitin*.

<sup>6</sup> Now *Umm Keis*.

<sup>7</sup> Now *Tantûra*, on the sea coast south of Mount Carmel.

<sup>8</sup> Now *Beisân*.

<sup>9</sup> The coast plain at the mouth of the Kishon, between Carmel and Acre.

<sup>10</sup> The Achzib of Josh. xix. 29, now *ez-Zib*, eight and a half miles north of Acre.

<sup>11</sup> The plain between the mountains and the sea.

<sup>12</sup> The ancient Ashdod, now *Esdûd*, in the plain of Philistia.

also had all Jamnia<sup>1</sup> and Gath,<sup>2</sup> from Ekron<sup>3</sup> to the mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

§ 23. Thus did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the names of the sons of Canaan, and their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had anticipated him by having already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was also called from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and a half, as I have already stated. And the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arucæi and the Amathæi, and the Aridei, were not yet regularly disposed of.

§ 24. And now Joshua was hindered by old age from executing what he intended to do (and those that succeeded him in the government took little care of what was for the advantage of the public), but he charged every tribe to leave none of the race of the Canaanites in the land divided to them by lot; as Moses had assured them before, that they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their security, and the observation of their laws, depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites, and three of these he appointed as cities of refuge, for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, in the tribe of Judah, Hebron;<sup>4</sup> and in that of Ephraim, Shechem;<sup>5</sup> and in Naphthali, Kadesh.<sup>6</sup> which is a place in Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, so that they had an abundance of wealth both in general and in particular, and gold and raiment, and other spoil, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

§ 25. After this was over, he gathered the host together in assembly, and spoke as follows to those tribes who had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond the Jordan,

<sup>1</sup> The Jabueel of Josh. xv. 11, now *Yebnah*, in the plain of Philistia.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Tell es-Sâfi*, five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, *Beit Jibrin*, on the road to Lydda, *Ludd*.

<sup>3</sup> Now *'Akir*, in the plain of Philistia, six miles west of Gezer, *Tell Jezar*.

<sup>4</sup> *el-Khulil*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nâblus*.

<sup>6</sup> *Kades*.



for fifty thousand of them had gone armed to the war along with them : “ Since God, who is the father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever ; and since you offered yourselves with alacrity to assist us when we needed your aid on all occasions according to his command, it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer. that so, if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not weary you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return you our thanks for the dangers you have shared with us, and we do so not now only, but we shall be always thus disposed, and be so good as to remember our friends, and to keep in mind what advantages we have had from them, and how you have put off the enjoyment of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured with us for what we have now by the favour of God obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, got great quantity of riches, and will carry home with you much booty and gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good-will towards you, and a willingness to repay your kindness to us in whatever case you shall desire it, for you have not omitted anything which Moses before ordered you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from men, so that there is nothing to diminish the gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your inheritance, and entreat you to think that there is no limit to our kinsmanship, and not to imagine, because this river is interposed between us, that we are a different race from you and not Hebrews, for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that dwell here, and you that dwell there, and it is one God that brought our and your forefathers into the world, whose worship and polity, which he ordained by Moses, you are to attend to, and most carefully to observe ; because while you continue in it God will also ever show himself favourable and helpful to you ; but if you imitate other nations, and forsake him,

he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, the chiefs one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people escorted those tribes on their way, and that not without tears, and indeed they hardly knew how to part from one another.

§ 26. Now when the tribe of Reuben, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the bank of the Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relationship to those that should dwell on the other side: but when those on the other side heard that those who had been sent home had built an altar, but did not know with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it, but thinking the calumny that it was built for divine worship was credible, they took up arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar, and were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their violation of the laws of their country, for they did not think it right to regard their kindred, or the worth of those that had given the offence, so much as the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped. So these men put themselves in array for war: but Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to test their intention by a colloquy, and if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly they sent as envoys to them Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and ten others held in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was their meaning in building, upon passing over the river, an altar upon its bank. And as soon as these envoys had passed over, and were come to them, and a meeting was assembled, Phinehas stood up and said, that the offence they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or censured in regard to the future; yet they did not look at the heinousness of their transgression so as to have recourse to arms for their immediate punishment, but on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending

envoys to them, "that when we have learned the motive by which you have been induced to build this altar, we may not seem to have been too rash in pursuing you with arms, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, but may justly punish you if the accusation prove true. For we can hardly suppose that you who have been acquainted with the will of God, and have been bearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us and gone to your own inheritance, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark, and that altar, which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime, if you repent now, and proceed no further in your madness, but pay a due reverence and regard to the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws, but we will pass over the Jordan and defend them and God also, and will esteem you as men no way differing from the Canaanites, but will destroy you just as we destroyed them. For do not imagine, because you are got over the river, that you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are everywhere in his reach, and it is impossible to escape his power and vengeance. And if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your religious feelings, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this land as a sheep-walk; but you will do well to return to your sense of religion, and to leave off these novelties; and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Deliberate therefore in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war."

§ 27. When Phinehas had discoursed thus, the chief men in the assembly and the whole multitude began to make an apology for themselves as to what they were accused of, and said, "That neither would they depart from the relation they bore to them, nor had they built

the altar by way of innovation: but they recognized one and the same God as all the Hebrews, and the brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices. And as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and memorial for ever of our relation to you, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect. And let God be our sufficient witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar. So we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of utter destruction, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

§ 28. When they had made this answer, and Phinehas had commended them for it, he returned to Joshua, and reported to the people what answer he had received: and Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in battle array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same. And after that Joshua dismissed the people to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. And in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest position in the several cities, for those in authority, and the senate, and convened as many of the common people as could be present: and when they were come, he reminded them of all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since they were advanced from a low estate to so great a degree of glory and plenty, and exhorted them to regard the will of God, which had been so gracious towards them, for the Deity would continue their friend only if they honoured him and practised piety; and he said that it was proper for him, now he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such advice to them, and he desired they would keep in memory his exhortation to them.

§ 29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived a hundred and ten years; forty of which

he lived with Moses, in order to learn his duties. He was also commander, after his death, for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but was very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity in action and in dangers; and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great merit in emergencies. He was buried in the city of Timnath,<sup>1</sup> belonging to the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time Eleazar the high priest died, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phinehas. His sepulchre and monument are in the city of Gabatha.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. II.

*How, after the Death of Joshua their Commander, the Israelites transgressed the Laws of their Country, and experienced great afflictions; and how, when there was a Sedition, all the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, except six hundred men.*

## § 1.

NOW after the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phinehas prophesied that it was God's will that they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites, for the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon, on condition that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the same for those in the inheritance of Simeon.

§ 2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they waited for the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek,<sup>3</sup> having put the command into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes

<sup>1</sup> See Judges ii. 9; Josh. xix. 50, xxiv. 30; now *Kefr'Hâris*, nine miles south of *Nâblus*.

<sup>2</sup> The Gibeah of Phinehas, Josh. xxiv. 33; the tomb of Phinehas is now shown at *Awertah*, south of *Nâblus*.

<sup>3</sup> Site not identified, but possibly *Bezakah*, six miles south-east of *Lydda*, *Ludd*.

the lord of Bezek, for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue means lord. Now they hoped to have been victorious over the Israelites, because Joshua was dead: but when the Israelites joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes just mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and in the pursuit captured Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "I was not then always to escape from God, as I find by what I now endure, for I was not ashamed to do the same to seventy-two kings." And they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem, and when he was dead they buried him in the ground, and went on still taking the Canaanitish cities: and when they had taken most of them, they besieged Jerusalem. And when they had taken the lower city, which was not for a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, from the strength of its walls and the nature of the place.

§ 3. So they removed their camp to Hebron, and when they had taken it, they slew all the inhabitants. There were still left some of the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and so entirely different an appearance from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike any credible relations of other men. Now they gave Hebron to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with its suburbs of two thousand cubits; but the land belonging thereto they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses: this Caleb was one of the spies whom Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro the Midianite, who was the father-in-law of Moses, for they had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

§ 4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Ascalon<sup>1</sup> and Ashdod<sup>2</sup> of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza<sup>3</sup> and Ekron<sup>4</sup> escaped them, for their inhabitants living in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots,

<sup>1</sup> *Askalân.*<sup>2</sup> *Esdûd.*<sup>3</sup> *Ghuzzeh.*<sup>4</sup> *Akir.*

sorely galled those that attacked them; so these tribes having grown very rich by the war, retired to their own cities, and laid down their arms.

§ 5. But the Benjamites, to whom Jerusalem belonged, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute: so they all left off, the former to kill, and the latter to expose themselves to danger, and had leisure to till the ground; the rest of the tribes imitated the Benjamites, and did the same; and contenting themselves with the tribute that was paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

§ 6. But the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel,<sup>1</sup> made no adequate progress, considering the time they spent and the pains they took about the siege, yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though it gave them great trouble. At last they caught one of the citizens that came to bring necessaries: and they promised him that if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred; and he swore, upon these terms, that he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the city was preserved with his family, and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city.

§ 7. After this, the Israelites grew lax about fighting any more against their enemies, and applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, and as it produced them great plenty and riches, they neglected order, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasure, nor were they any longer careful to hearken to the laws of their polity. So God was provoked to anger, and first reminded them how, contrary to his will, they had spared the Canaanites, and after that told them that these Canaanites, as opportunity occurred, would use them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at this admonition from God, were still very unwilling to go to war, since they got large tribute from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for exertion by their luxury. They suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not appoint a senate, or any other magistrates such as their laws had formerly required, but were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth. And this great security

<sup>1</sup> *Beitln.*

of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight against one another for the following reason.

§ 8. There was a Levite of no great extraction, who belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; he had married a wife from Bethlehem, a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and greatly smitten with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which the more inflamed his passion for her, so that they quarrelled with one another perpetually; and at last, the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and returned to her parents in the fourth month. The husband, being very uneasy at her departure owing to his fondness for her, went to her parents, and got reconciled to her, and lived there four days, being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and started in the evening; for his wife's parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed her till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to put up somewhere lest some misfortune should befall them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far from enemies, night-time often giving reason for suspicion of danger from even friends. But the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to lodge among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs further, and so lodge in some Israelitish city. And he got his way, and reached Gibeah,<sup>1</sup> a city belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and as no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came up out of his field an old man who belonged to the tribe of Ephraim but resided in Gibeah, who met him, and asked him who he was? and for what reason he came there so late? and why he was trying to get supper when it was dark? To which he replied that he was a

<sup>1</sup> Site not identified; possibly *Tell el-Fül*, two and a half miles north of Jerusalem.



Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home, and he also told him he dwelt in the tribe of Ephraim. So the old man, because of their kindred, and because they belonged to the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met one another, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admired her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, despising the weakness and fewness of the old man's family. And when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or outrage there, they desired him to yield up to them the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him; and when the old man answered, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of dreadful wickedness, if they suffered themselves to be overcome by pleasure, and offended against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn, and threatened to kill him if he thwarted their desires. Thereupon, being in great distress, and yet not willing to see his guests abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her than to abuse his guests; supposing that by this means he would prevent any injury being done to those guests. But as they no way abated of their lust for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on having her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such lawless act, but they proceeded to force, and indulging still more the violence of their desires, they took the woman away to their own house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about daybreak. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, in great affliction at what had happened, and very sorrowful at what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forget what had happened. so she fell down and gave up the ghost; but her husband, supposing that his wife was only fast asleep, and thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had occurred, endeavoured to raise her up, resolving to console her, since she had not voluntarily

submitted to those men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the ass, and carried her home; and cutting her limb by limb into twelve parts, he sent one to every tribe, and charged those that carried them to inform the tribes who were the causes of his wife's death, and of their outrageous conduct to her.

§ 9. Upon this, the people were greatly exasperated at what they saw, and at the atrocity of what they heard, as never having experienced such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, in an uncontrollable and righteous rage, and assembled in crowds before the tabernacle, and immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies. But the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them that they ought not so hastily to make war upon men of the same nation as themselves, before they spoke to them about the accusation laid against them, it being part of their law that they should not bring an army against even foreigners, who appeared to have done them wrong, without sending an embassy first, and trying thereby whether they would repent or not. Accordingly, they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to see whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they delivered them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders; but if they despised the message that was sent them, to retaliate by taking up arms against them. Accordingly, they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crime committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and demanded of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, having justly deserved to die for what they had done. But the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it monstrous from fear of war to submit to other men's demands upon them, vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in arms, either in their numbers or in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great

preparations for war, for they were so mad as to resolve to repel force by force.

§ 10. When what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon was reported to the Israelites, they took oaths that none of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but would make war with greater fury against them than we have heard our forefathers made war against the Canaanites. And forthwith they despatched an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army was only twenty-five thousand and six hundred ; five hundred of whom were excellent at slinging stones with their left hand, insomuch that when a battle took place at Gibeah, the Benjamites routed the Israelites, and there fell of them twenty-two thousand men ; and probably more would have been killed, had not night come on, and prevented this, and broken off the fight ; so the Benjamites returned to Gibeah with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in great dismay at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites again beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain ; and they left their camp from fear of being slaughtered. So they went to Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted the next day, and besought God by Phinehas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory and superiority over their enemies. And God promised them so to do by the prophesying of Phinehas.

§ 11. When they had therefore divided the army into two parts, they laid half in ambush near the city of Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, and retiring as they pressed hard upon them, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, wishing to draw them entirely from the city, and the others followed them as they retired, till both the old men and young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, wishing to subdue their enemies. However, when they were a great way from the city, the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and made the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up,

and fell upon the enemy with a great shout. Now, as soon as they perceived themselves to be outwitted, they knew not what to do, and being driven into a certain hollow place which was a ravine, they were shot at by those that surrounded them, till they were all killed, except six hundred who formed themselves into a compact body, and cut their way through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and occupied them, and remained there; but the rest of them, amounting to about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were not in their prime, and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites. And indeed they were enraged to that degree, that they despatched twelve thousand men from the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh<sup>1</sup> in Gilead, because it had not joined them in fighting against the Benjamites. And those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, sparing only four hundred virgins. To such a degree did they proceed in their anger, because they had not only the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but also the slaughter of their own soldiers.

§ 12. However, they were afterwards sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they thought those men had suffered justly for their sin against the laws: so they recalled by envoys those six hundred who had escaped, and taken up their position on a certain rock called Rhoa,<sup>2</sup> which was in the wilderness. And the envoys lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their vote for the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." Then

<sup>1</sup> The name survives in *Wady el-Yabis*, east of Jordan; the site is perhaps marked by the ruin *ed-Deir*.

<sup>2</sup> The rock Rimmon of Judges xx. 45, 47, xxi. 13; now the rock and village *Rummôn*, east of Bethel, *Beitin*.

they gave way, and confessed that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened in consequence of their own wickedness, and listened to their invitation, and went down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh in Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated as to how they might get wives by whom they might have children: and whereas they had, before the war began, taken an oath that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they would not offend God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was not dreadful and injurious when it was done out of necessity, but only when it was done with a wicked intention. But when the senate cried out at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his plan was? "Three times a year," he said, "when we meet in Shiloh at festival time, our wives and daughters accompany us; let the Benjamites then be allowed to steal away and marry such maidens as they can catch, while we neither incite them nor forbid them: and if their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over-angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high before." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow his advice, and decreed that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival came on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, in groups of two and three, and waited for the coming of the virgins in the vineyards and other places where they could be concealed. And the virgins came along playing, and suspecting nothing of what was going to happen to them, and walked in an unguarded manner, so the men rose up and caught hold of them as they ran away. And so

these Benjamites got them wives, and applied themselves to agriculture, and took pains to recover their former prosperity. And thus was the tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the fore-mentioned manner, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and soon flourished again, and increased in population, and came to enjoy all other advantages. And such was the conclusion of this war.

### CHAP. III.

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

#### § 1.

NOW it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered as much as the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so for the following reason. As the Israelites had already left off the practice of war, and were intent upon husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer any harm from them, but because they hoped to be able to treat the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and dwell for the time to come in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and concentrated their infantry, their cities also combined together, and won over to themselves Ascalon and Ekron, which were in the lot of the tribe of Judah, and several cities that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to flee into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain to set their foot on. As then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the interior of the country, to look out for a land to which they might remove their habitation: and they went not far from the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, and the source of the lesser Jordan, to the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from that city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and

found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they set out with their army, and built there the city of Dan, which they so called from the son of Jacob, and their own tribe.

§ 2. The Israelites fell into heavier misfortune from their want of energy and neglect of religion. For when they had once fallen off from the order of their polity, they indulged themselves further in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were defiled by the vices that were common among the Canaanites. God was therefore angry with them, and they lost by their luxury that prosperity which they had obtained by innumerable efforts. For when Chusarth, king of the Assyrians, made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when their cities were besieged, they were taken by storm. Nay there were some which, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from their troubles in the following manner.

§ 3. There was a man whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenez, of the tribe of Judah, of great courage and energy. He was warned by God not to neglect the Israelites in such distress as they were now in, but to endeavour boldly to gain them their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in his dangerous undertaking (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him), he first of all destroyed the garrison which Chusarth had set over them, and when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more people came to his assistance: and they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to cross over the Euphrates. Then Othniel, who had given such proof of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

## CHAP. IV.

*How our People served the Moabites eighteen Years, and were then delivered from Slavery by one Ehud, who ruled over the People eighty Years.*

## § 1.

WHEN Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder, and as they neither paid to God the honour due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them, on account of the disorders in their body politic, that he made war upon them and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at Jericho, he omitted nothing by which he might distress the people, and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But God took pity on the Israelites on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications, and freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner.

§ 2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labour, and best skilled in using his left hand, in which lay his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and by means of presents obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion, and was therefore also acceptable to those who were about the king. Now, on one occasion when he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he girt a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him; it was then summer-time, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man,



when he had offered his presents to Eglon, who was then in a small parlour situated so as to avoid the heat, fell into conversation with him, for they were now alone, the king having ordered his servants that attended him to go their way, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was sitting on his throne, and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke and not give him a deadly wound, so he got him to rise by telling him he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped off his throne for joy of the dream. Then Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. And the king's servants were very still, supposing that he had gone to sleep.

§ 3. Then Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; and they heard him gladly, and took up arms, and sent messengers all over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. And the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of the misfortune which had befallen him for a great while; but towards evening, fearing something had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead, they were in a great state, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the Israelites were upon them *en masse*, so that some of them were slain on the spot, and some were put to flight, and ran away towards the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the fords of the Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and killed many of them at the fords, nor did one of them escape out of their hands. Thus it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. And Ehud was for this deed honoured with the rule over all the multitude, and died after he had held it eighty years. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides this exploit of his. After him Shamgar, the son of Anath, was elected ruler, but died in the first year of his rule.

## CHAP. V.

*How the Canaanites brought the Israelites into Servitude for Twenty Years ; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them forty Years.*

## § 1.

AND now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their ways, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought into servitude by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing-time after the slavery under the Moabites. This Jabin came out of Hazor,<sup>1</sup> a city situate over the lake Semechonitis,<sup>2</sup> and maintained three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and kept three thousand chariots. Sisera was the commander of all this force, and was the principal person in the king's favour, and so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

§ 2. So they continued to undergo that oppression twenty years, not being good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes, and God wishing also thereby the more to subdue their impiety and ingratitude towards himself, that they might at length become penitent, and be so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws. At last they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them (her name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee), to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to allow their being ruined by the Canaanites. And God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, of the tribe of Naphthali. Now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies lightning.

§ 3. And Deborah sent for Barak, and bade him pick out ten thousand young men to go against the enemy, because God had said that that number was sufficient, and had promised them victory. But when Barak said that he

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *Tell Hâra*, over the lake *el-Hûleh*.

<sup>2</sup> The 'waters of Merom' of Josh. xi. 57 ; now the *Baheiret el-Hûleh*.

would not be general unless she would also go as general with him, she was indignant at what he said, and replied, "You, O Barak, meanly deliver up the authority which God has given you into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at Mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites and Barak himself were so dismayed at the multitude of the enemies, that they resolved to decamp, but Deborah restrained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for they should conquer them, and God would assist them.

§ 4. So the battle began, and when they engaged, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the faces of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit their soldiers to use their swords, while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came on their backs. They also took such courage from the idea that God was assisting them, that they rushed into the midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them. And some of them fell by the hand of the Israelites, some were trodden to death by their own horses, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. And Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, leapt off his chariot and fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he asked to be concealed; and as he asked for something to drink, she gave him some sour milk, of which he drank a huge draught and fell asleep, and when he was asleep Jael took an iron nail, and drove it through his mouth under the lip with a hammer into the floor: and when Barak came a little afterwards, she showed him Sisera nailed to the ground. And thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak razed the city to the ground, and ruled over the Israelites for forty years.

## CHAP. VI.

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

## § 1.

NOW after Barak and Deborah died about the same time, the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and defeated those that resisted them, and carried off their fruits and cattle. Now when they had done this for seven years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plains. They also made for themselves vaults under ground and caverns, and preserved therein whatever escaped the enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to till the land in winter, that so when the others had undergone the labour, they might have fruits to carry away. So a famine ensued and scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to supplication to God, and besought him to save them.

§ 2. And Gideon, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn and privately threshed them at the wine-press, for he was too afraid of the enemies to thresh them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time an angel appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him, "That he was a happy man and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the angel exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of the national liberty. He answered, that it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous, and he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions. But God himself promised to supply what

he was defective in, and to give the Israelites victory under his command.

§ 3. When Gideon related this to some of the young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, that mankind were too fond of themselves, and were hostile to such as excelled in virtue: now, that they might not pass God over, and ascribe the victory to themselves, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he instructed him to bring his army about noon, when the heat was most scorching, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank hurriedly and noisily, to think they did so from fear of the enemies. And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were three hundred men found that took water with their hands hurriedly, then God bade him take these men, and attack the enemy. Accordingly, they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, intending the next day to pass over it.

§ 4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him before to set upon his enemies in the night, and God wishing to free him from his fear, bade him take one of his soldiers, and go near the Midianites' tents, for he should in that very place have his courage raised, and grow bolder. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents, he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier a dream of his own, and that so that Gideon could overhear him. The dream was this: he thought he saw such a barley cake as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so bad, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. And the other soldier explained this dream to mean the destruction of their army, and told him what the reason was which made him so conjecture, viz. that the seed called barley was allowed to be the vilest sort of seed, and that the

Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, like the seed of barley; and those that now had courage among the Israelites were Gideon and the army that was with him: "and since you say you saw the cake overturning our tents, I fear that God has granted the victory over us to Gideon."

§ 5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this dream of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them: so Gideon divided his army into three parts, each part containing a hundred men, and led them out about the fourth watch of the night. They all carried empty pitchers and lighted lamps in them, that their advance might not be discovered by their enemies. Each of them had also a ram's horn in his right hand, which they used instead of a trumpet. Now the enemies' camp took up a large space of ground, for it so happened that they had a great many camels, and they were distributed according to their different nations, so as to form one large circle. Now when the Hebrews, as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approaching their enemies, on a given signal, sounded with their rams' horns, and broke their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and shouted and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," disorder and panic seized the Midianites who were fast asleep; for it was night-time, and God would have it so. And a few of them were slain by their enemies, but most by their allies, on account of the diversity of their language; and when they were once thrown into disorder, they killed all they met, thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there was a great slaughter made. And when the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley, surrounded by ravines, where they could not get away, and they cut them off, and slew them all, with two of their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. And the remaining captains led off those soldiers that were left, who were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not slack his

energy, but pursued them with all his force, and joined battle with them, and cut off the whole enemies' army, and took captive the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmunna. Now there was slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about a hundred and twenty thousand; and the Hebrews took much spoil, gold and silver, and rich stuffs, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was returned to his own country Ophrah,<sup>1</sup> he slew Zebah and Zalmunna.

§ 6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he had not announced to them his intended expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, a man of modesty, and one that excelled in every virtue, pleaded that it was not of his own accord or will that he attacked the enemy without them, but that it was at the command of God, and that the victory belonged to them as well as to those in the army. And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had against their enemies, for he delivered them from civil war, which seemed likely to break out among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer punishment for this injurious treatment of Gideon, of which I shall give an account in due time.

§ 7. Then Gideon would have laid down his command, but was obliged to keep it, and for forty years he dispensed justice to them, as the people came to him in their differences, and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died at an advanced age, he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

<sup>1</sup> Now *Fer'ata*, six miles west of *Náblus*.

## CHAP. VII.

*How the Judges who succeeded Gideon, warred with the adjoining Nations for a long Time.*

## § 1.

NOW Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives, and he had also by his concubine Drumah one that was illegitimate, whose name was Abimelech, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem, to his mother's relations, for they were of that place; and when he had got money from them, who were remarkable for their irregular lives, he returned with them to his father's house, and slew all his brothers, except Jotham; for he had the good fortune to escape and save his life. And Abimelech changed the government into a tyranny, and made himself an autocrat, to do what he pleased instead of obeying the laws, and acted most severely to those that stood up for justice.

§ 2. Now, on a certain occasion when there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was gathered together there, Jotham his brother, whose escape I before related, went up to Mount Gerizim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who listened to him. He desired they would attend to what he was going to say to them: and when silence was made, he said that when the trees could speak, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they asked the fig-tree to rule over them: and when that tree refused to do so, because it was contented to enjoy the honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bore, and not that which would accrue to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intention to have a ruler, so they thought good to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words as the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the sovereignty: and when the olive-tree had done the same, the bramble, whom the trees had asked to take the



kingdom (a sort of wood good only for kindling fires), promised to take office, and to be zealous in the exercise of it, but they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it would destroy them. He told them, that what he said was not said to excite a laugh, but because, though they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they allowed Abimelech to lord it over them all, and had joined with him in slaying his brothers, though he would prove no better than a fire himself. And when he had said this, he went away, and lived hid among the mountains for three years from fear of Abimelech.

§ 3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who now repented of having slain the sons of Gideon, expelled Abimelech both from their city and tribe. So he and his party sought how to injure their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather the grapes, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it so happened that there lived among them then a man of authority, one Gaal, who had armed men and some kinsmen with him ; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage. And he complied with their desire, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiers, and they gathered their grapes in safety ; and when they were at supper in groups, they even ventured to rail at Abimelech openly, and their leading men laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and put them to death.

§ 4. Now there was one Zebul, a leading man among the Shechemites, and a friend of Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and advised him to lay ambushes before the city, for he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would put it in his power to be revenged on him once for all, and when that was once done he would get Abimelech reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. And Gaal abode in the suburbs, consulting too little for his safety, and Zebul was with him. Now Gaal saw some armed men coming up, and told Zebul, that some armed men were approaching, but he

replied that they were only shadows from the rocks, but when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived the truth, and said, they were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, "Did you not accuse Abimelech of cowardice? Why then do you not show how very courageous you are yourself, and go and fight him?" So Gaal in excitement joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took the rest of them with him. But Zebul contrived the expulsion of Gaal out of the city, by accusing him of cowardice in the action with the soldiers of Abimelech. And now Abimelech, learning that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they had come out, the third part of his army occupied the gates, to hinder the citizens from entering in again, while the rest pursued those that were dispersed about, and so there was slaughter everywhere; and when he had razed the city to the ground, for it was not able to stand a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he pushed on with his army, till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they gathered themselves together on a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and intended to build a wall round it; but when Abimelech knew their intention, he anticipated them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid fagots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and ordering his soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was soon surrounded with these fagots, they set them on fire, and threw on whatever was by nature most inflammable; so a mighty fire was kindled, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every one perished, about fifteen hundred men, and a great number of women and children also. Such was the calamity which befell the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account would have been greater than it was, had they not seemed to be justly punished for their ingratitude to Gideon.

§ 5. Now Abimelech, when he had terrified the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to aim at still greater power than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, till

everybody was killed. Accordingly, he marched to Thebez,<sup>1</sup> and took that city by sudden assault, and as there was a great tower therein, wherunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparations to besiege it. Now, as he was hurrying near the gates, a woman threw a piece of mill-stone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell, and asked his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman. And he did what he was told to do. Such was his punishment for his cruelty to his brothers, and his barbarity to the Shechemites. And the calamity that happened to the Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham. And the army of Abimelech dispersed upon his fall, and went to their own homes.

§ 6. Now it was that Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the rule. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his thirty sons, who were good young men, and very skilful in riding, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He ruled twenty-two years, and died an old man, and was buried at Camon,<sup>2</sup> a city of Gilead.

§ 7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were in disorder, and tended to the contempt of God and the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines despised them, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had occupied all Peræa,<sup>3</sup> they were so bold as to cross over the Jordan to gain the possession of all the rest. But the Hebrews being now sobered by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God, and offered sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe against them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

§ 8. When the Ammonites marched into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was a certain person whose name was Jephthah, who, both on

<sup>1</sup> Now *Túbás*, north-east of *Náblus*.

<sup>2</sup> Site not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Peræa, a part of the Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, extended, according to Josephus, *Jewish War*, iii. 3, § 3, from Machærus on the south to Pella on the north, and from the Jordan on the west to Philadelphia, or Rabbath Ammon, on the east.

account of his father's virtue, and on account of an army which he maintained at his own expense, was an influential man. The Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him rule over them all his lifetime. But he would not hearken to their entreaty, and accused them of not coming to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and that openly by his brothers. For they had cast him out, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced into the house by his father's fondness, and they had done this out of contempt at his weakness. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, and received all that came to him, from all parts, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the rule, and swore that they would grant it him for life, he took the command.

§ 9. And when Jephthah took the control of affairs, he soon marched his army to the city of Mizpah,<sup>1</sup> and sent a message to the Ammonite [king], complaining of his unjust occupation of their land. But that king sent a countercharge, and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired them to quit the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as his original paternal inheritance. But Jephthah returned answer that he did not justly complain of the forefathers of the Israelites as to the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that they would not recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now had more than three hundred years, but would fight with them for it.

§ 10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the envoys away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed, if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice whatever living creature should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies as far as the city of Minnith.<sup>2</sup> He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took much

<sup>1</sup> Now probably *Sûf*, north of the Jabbok, and near Gerasa, *Jerash*.

<sup>2</sup> Site not identified; according to Eusebius and Jerome it was four Roman miles from Heshbon, on the road to Philadelphia.

spoil, and freed his own people from the slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But on his return he fell into a calamity very unlike his previous good fortune. For his daughter came out to meet him, who was also his only child, and a virgin; and Jephthah heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward to meet him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, what was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she would die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow-citizens; she only desired her father to give her leave for two months to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens, and after that he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time had elapsed, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering, an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor did he consider what opinion those that heard of it would have of such a deed.

§ 11. Now the tribe of Ephraim marched against him, because he had not taken them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, and because he alone had the spoil, and fame for what had been done. To whom he said, first, that they were not ignorant how their kinsmen were hard pressed, yet though they were invited, they had not come to their assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even without being invited. And in the next place, he said they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they marched promptly against their own kindred; and he threatened them, that with God's assistance, he would inflict punishment upon them, if they did not grow wiser. But as he could not persuade them, he fought them with a force which he sent for out of Gilead, and made a great slaughter of them; and when they were routed, he pursued them, and having occupied the fords of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent on before, he slew about forty-two thousand of them.

§ 12. And when Jephthah had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country Sebee,<sup>1</sup> which is in the land of Gilead.

<sup>1</sup> Site not identified; the name of Jephthah's burial-place is not given in Judges xii. 7.

§ 13. Now, when Jephthah was dead, Ibazan succeeded him, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city of Beth-lehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters husbands, and the sons wives. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording. He died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

§ 14. When Ibazan was dead, neither did Elon, who succeeded him, and ruled ten years, do anything remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulun.

§ 15. Abdon, the son of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, who was born at the city of Pharathon,<sup>1</sup> was appointed the supreme governor after Elon. He can only be recorded as having been happy in his children; for public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that he performed no glorious action. He had forty sons, and thirty grandsons, and used to ride in state with the seventy, who were all very skilful in riding, and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man; and had a magnificent tomb at Pharathon.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning the Bravery of Samson, and what Mischiefs he brought upon the Philistines.*

### § 1.

AFTER Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years. They were delivered from this hardship in the following manner.

§ 2. There was one Manoah of the tribe of Dan, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and was without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and outshining her contemporaries. He had no children, and being uneasy at this want of posterity, he entreated God to give him

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Fer'on*, about fourteen miles west of Nâblus.

legitimate offspring, going frequently to the suburbs<sup>1</sup> with his wife. He was fond of his wife to the degree of madness, and so was violently jealous of her. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her, it was an angel of God, and resembled a beautiful and tall young man, who brought her the good news, that she should have by God's providence a goodly son of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He told her also not to cut his hair, and that he was to avoid all other kinds of drink (for so had God commanded), and restrict himself to water. And the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

§ 3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home of what the angel had said, and showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was beside himself with jealousy, and with such suspicions as are excited by that passion: but she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable distress taken away, so she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favour of God, when they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay till she could bring her husband, and that request being granted, she went to fetch Manoah. When he saw the angel, he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife; but when the angel said, it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he bade him tell him who he was, that when the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied, that he did not want any present, for he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son from want of anything. And when Manoah entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay till he brought him one mark of his hospitality, so he slew a kid of

<sup>1</sup> I can discover no reason why Manoah and his wife went so constantly into these suburbs to pray for children, but because there was a synagogue or place of devotion in those suburbs.—W.

the goats, and bade his wife cook it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh without the vessels upon the rock. And, when they had done so, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, and a flame broke out and consumed both flesh and loaves. And the angel ascended, openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God, but his wife bade him be of good courage, for God appeared to them for their benefit.

§ 4. And the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions given her, and they called the child, when he was born, Samson, which name signifies strong. And the child grew apace, and it appeared evident that he would be a prophet, both from the strictness of his diet, and the letting his hair grow.

§ 5. Now when he went with his parents to Timnath,<sup>1</sup> a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and begged his parents to procure him the damsel for his wife: but they refused to do so, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he succeeded in persuading them to procure her espousal to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was unarmed he received its attack, and strangled it with his hands, and cast the beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

§ 6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he lit upon a swarm of bees hived in the carcase of that lion, and taking three honeycombs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, in dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding feast (for he then feasted them all), thirty of the most stout of their youth, under pretext of being his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. And as they were drinking merrily and playing, as was usual at such times, Samson

<sup>1</sup> Now *Tibnah*, on the south side of the 'Valley of Sorek,' *Wady Surûr*, and west of Beth Shemesh, *'Ain Shems*.



said, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in seven days' time, I will give every one of you linen shirts and garments as a reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the reputation of wisdom, together with the gain, desired him to propose his riddle, when he said, "That a great devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though it was itself very disagreeable." And when they were not able in three days' time to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by means of her husband, and tell it them, and threatened to burn her if she did not do so. And when the damsel entreated Samson to tell it her, he at first refused to do so, but when she pressed him hard and fell into tears, and treated his refusal to tell her as a sign of unkindness to her, he informed her of his killing the lion, and how he found bees in its carcass, and carried away three honeycombs, and brought them to her. Thus he, suspecting no deceit, informed her of everything, and she revealed it to those who desired to know it. So on the seventh day, on which they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sunset, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those who find it." To which Samson made this rejoinder, "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for it was a woman who discovered my interpretation to you." And he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Ascalonites as he met upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced his wife, and the girl despised his anger, and married his companion, who had made the match between them.

§ 7. At this outrage Samson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines as well as her: accordingly, as it was then summer-time, and the fruits of the land were almost ripe for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the crops were destroyed. And when the Philistines knew that this was Samson's doing, and knew also why he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his wife, and her relations, as the causes of their loss.

§ 8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam,<sup>1</sup> which is a strong rock belonging to the tribe of Judah, for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe. But the people of Judah said that they did not act justly in inflicting punishment upon them, as they paid their tribute, merely on account of Samson's offences. They answered, that if they would not be blamed, they must deliver up Samson to them. And they, being desirous not to be blamed, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Samson of the bold attacks he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews, and told him they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to the Philistines, and asked him to bear this willingly. And when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen, and they bound him with two cords, and led him on, to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called Jaw-bone,<sup>2</sup> on account of the great action there performed by Samson, though of old it had no name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet him with joy, and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Samson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with this jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to headlong flight.

§ 9. Upon this Samson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that it had not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage, boasting that some of his enemies fell upon his own use of the jaw-bone, and the rest ran away out of dread of him. But when a great thirst came upon

<sup>1</sup> The rock Etam is variously identified with the rock above 'Ain 'Atân, near 'Solomon's Pools,' and Beit 'Atâb, west of Bethlehem.

<sup>2</sup> Lehi, or Ramath Lehi, the scene of Samson's exploit, was believed, in the sixth century, to be near Eleutheropolis, *Beit Jibrîn*; and the tradition still attaches to the spring 'Ain Umm Judei'a.

him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bore testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at anything he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from his present distress. Accordingly, God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Samson called the place Jaw-bone,<sup>1</sup> and so it is called to this day.

§ 10. After this fight Samson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza,<sup>2</sup> and lodged at a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they occupied the gates, and placed men in ambush near them, that he might not escape without being perceived. But Samson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and dashed against the gates, and carried them away on his shoulders, with their posts and bolts, and the rest of their woodwork, and bore them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

§ 11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines, whose name was Delilah, and he lived with her. And the rulers of the Philistines came to her, and induced her by promises to get out of Samson what was the cause of his strength, by which he became invincible to his enemies. Accordingly, as they were drinking, and conversing together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and tried to get out of him by subtilty how it was he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven green withs of a vine woven together, he

<sup>1</sup> This fountain, called Lehi, or Jaw-bone, is still in existence, as travellers assure us, and was known by this very name in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all the past ages. See Antiq. vii. 12, § 4.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Ghuzzeh.

would be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain soldiers in ambush within the house; and when he was the worse for drink and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withs; and then awoke him and told him some of her people were upon him, but he broke the withs, and endeavoured to defend himself, as though some people really were upon him. And she, in the constant intercourse Samson had with her, pretended that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affection to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to be concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her as the third thing, to weave his hair into a web: but even upon doing this the truth was not discovered. At last Samson, upon Delilah's prayer (for he was doomed to fall into calamity), wishing to please her, said to her, "God cares for me, and I was born providentially, and so I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to cut my hair, for my strength is in the growth and preservation of my hair." When she had learned this, she deprived him of his hair, and delivered him up to his enemies, for he was no longer strong enough to defend himself against their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and led him about among them.

§ 12. But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers and notables were feasting together (and the banqueting-hall in which they were had its roof supported by two pillars); and they sent for Samson to come to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. And he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes if he should not be able to revenge himself for being thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and begged him to bring him near the pillars, and as soon as he came near them, he rushed violently against them, and overthrew the house, by overturning the pillars, with the three thousand

men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. Such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And, indeed, he deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and the magnanimity of his death, and because his wrath against his enemies lasted till his death. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist sins, but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was a man of extraordinary virtue. And his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarias,<sup>1</sup> his own country, with the rest of his family.

## CHAP. IX.

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

## § 1.

NOW after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. In his days, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, a city belonging to the tribe of Judah, being unable to support so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and his sons by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed to the land of Moab, and his affairs prospering there, he took for his sons Moabitish wives, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. In the course of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons, died: and Naomi being very uneasy at these events, and unable to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and as they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them

<sup>1</sup> The Zorah, and Zoreah of the Bible; it is now *Sur'ah*, on the north side of 'the Valley of Sorek,' *Wâdy Surâr*, opposite Beth Shemesh, 'Ain Shems.

from it, though she begged them not; but as they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also, and seeing her own fortunes were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and sharing with her in the uncertainty under which she must live there. Then Orpah stayed behind, but she took Ruth along with her, who was not to be persuaded to stay behind, but determined to share her fortune, whatever it might prove.

§ 2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Boaz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her: and when Naomi was called by the people by her name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue happiness, and Mara sorrow. It was now time of harvest, and Ruth, by the permission of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get food. Now it so happened that she went into Boaz's field, and after some time Boaz came there, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning her. He had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master; who kindly greeted her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of her dead husband, and prayed that she might have prosperity, and bade her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to the servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bade him give her her dinner and drink, when he brought theirs to the reapers. Now Ruth kept for her mother-in-law the barley-meal that she received of him, and returned to her in the evening, and brought her ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Boaz had said to her: and when Naomi had informed her that he was near akin to them, and was so pious a man as perhaps to make some provision for them, she went out again on the following days, to glean with Boaz's maid-servants.

§ 3. It was not many days before Boaz, as the barley was

being winnowed, slept in his threshing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance, she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly, she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet, who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law. And at first she escaped the notice of Boaz, as he was fast asleep, but when he awoke about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked her who she was; and when she told him her name, and desired, that he whom she owned for her lord, would excuse her, he said no more then, but in the morning, before the servants began to set about their work, he awoke her, and bade her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law, before anybody should see that she had lain down there by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially as there had been nothing wrong done. "But as to the main point," he said, "the matter shall rest thus. He that is nearer of kin than I am shall be asked whether he wants to take you to wife, if he says he does, you shall follow him; but if he refuse, I will marry you according to the law."

§ 4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad, from the hope they had that Boaz would make provision for them. And about noon Boaz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and sent for Ruth, and called her kinsman also, and when he was come, he said, "Have not you the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons?" He confessed that he had, as was permitted by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Boaz, "You must not remember the laws by halves, but do everything according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom you must marry according to the laws, if you wish to keep those fields." So the man yielded up both the inheritance and the wife to Boaz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, on the score that he had a wife and children already. So Boaz called the senate to witness, and bade the woman loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law;

and when this was done, Boaz married Ruth, and they had a son a year after. Naomi herself nursed him, and at the advice of the women, called him Obed, as being to be brought up in order to be subservient to her in her old age, for Obed signifies a servant in the Hebrew dialect. The son of Obed was Jesse, the father of David the king, who left the kingdom to his sons for one-and-twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I wished to demonstrate the power of God, who without difficulty can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendour, to which he advanced David, though born of such parents.

## CHAP. X.

*Concerning the Birth of Samuel, and how he foretold the Calamity that befell the Sons of Eli.*

### § 1.

AND now, as their affairs were in a bad condition, the Hebrews made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophni and Phinehas. These sons of Eli were guilty of insolence towards men and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of the gifts they carried off, as belonging to their office, others they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God, obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by presents, and the whole course of their life was no better than a tyranny. Their father therefore was angry with them for their wickedness, and continually expected that God would inflict punishment upon them for their doings. The multitude were disgusted also. And as soon as God foretold the calamity which would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, Eli openly grieved for his sons.

§ 2. I will first speak about the prophet Samuel, and after that of the sons of Eli, and of the miseries they brought



on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elkanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow-citizens, who dwelt at Ramah,<sup>1</sup> a city belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter, but he loved the other best, although she was barren. Now Elkanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was placed, as I have before said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at the festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw Peninnah's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented her barrenness and lonesomeness, and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolation, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her offspring, and to make her a mother, and vowed to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli, the high priest, who sat there before the tabernacle, bade her go away, thinking she was intoxicated; but when she said she had drunk water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bade her be of good cheer, and told her that God would give her a son.

§ 3. So she returned to her husband full of hope, and eat her food with gladness, and when they had gone back to their own country, she was soon with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of Samuel, as if one were to say asked of God. They therefore went to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with them; and the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. And his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. And Elkanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

§ 4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old he began to prophesy: and once when he was asleep, God called to him by his name, but he, supposing he had been called by

<sup>1</sup> Site not identified.

the high priest, came to him, but when Eli said he had not called him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before, it is God that calls you. So answer him, and say, here I am." So when Samuel heard God speak again, he begged him to deliver what message he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration he might desire of him, to which God replied, "Since you are here, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, too great for words to declare, or faith to believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar, for Eli has loved his sons more than he has loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." This message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for he had no wish to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the loss of his sons; and the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being seen that whatever he prophesied came to pass.

## CHAP. XI.

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

### § 1.

ABOUT this time the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city of Aphek.<sup>1</sup> Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of the multitude to their camp.

§ 2. And the Hebrews, being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in battle array, when it was present with them, they might

<sup>1</sup> Site not identified.

be too hard for their enemies, not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure this calamity was greater than the ark, and was the cause of the ark's being honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that if they intended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence ; for Phinehas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned the office to him because of his great age. And the Hebrews were full of courage, supposing that by the coming of the ark they would be too much for their enemies: while the enemies were very dismayed, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites. However, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectations of either side, for when the battle was fought, the victory which the Hebrews expected was gained by the Philistines, and the defeat the Philistines were afraid of happened to the Hebrews, who thereby found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were at once routed as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among whom were the sons of the high priest, and the ark was carried away by the enemies.

§ 3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark (for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came and brought the news), the whole city was full of lamentation. And Eli the high priest, who sat upon a high seat at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family, so he sent for the young man, and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not so much uneasy as to his sons, or as to what was told him about the army, having known before by divine revelation that these things would happen, and having himself declared them before, for when sad things come unexpectedly they distress men most ; but as soon as he heard that the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected, so he rolled off his seat and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and held the government forty of them.

§ 4. On the same day his son Phinehas' wife died also,

not being able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour, and she bore a seven months' son, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Ichabod, which name signifies disgrace, because the army received disgrace at that time.

§ 5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the high-priesthood, for the house of Eleazar officiated as high priests at first, the high-priesthood regularly descending from father to son, for Eleazar bequeathed it to his son Phinehas, and after him his son Abiezer took the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom I have been speaking, had the high-priesthood, and so had his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign, but then the posterity of Eleazar reassumed it.

## BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—  
FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.

### CHAP I.

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

#### § 1.

WHEN the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city of Ashdod,<sup>1</sup> and put it by their own god, who was called Dagon,<sup>2</sup> as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple, the next morning, to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark; for he lay on the ground, having fallen down from the base

<sup>1</sup> *Esdúú.*

<sup>2</sup> Dagon, a famous maritime god or idol, is generally supposed to have been like a man above the navel, and like a fish beneath it.—W.

whereon he stood. So they took him up, and set him on his base again, and were very troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon, and found him still lying on the ground, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At last God sent destruction and disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery, a sore distemper that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could by an easy death be loosened from the body, they brought up their entrails, which were eaten through, and vomited them up entirely rotted away by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice came up out of the earth, and hurt them, and spared neither plants nor fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were undergoing these trials, and were not able to bear up under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had got, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Ascalon, and asked that they would receive the ark among them. This request of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Ascalon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had got the ark, they were in the same miserable condition, for the ark carried along with it the plagues that the people of Ashdod had suffered to those who received it from them. Those of Ascalon therefore also sent it away from themselves to others: nor did it remain with those others either, for as they were pursued by the same plagues, they sent it on to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round in this manner to five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these plagues as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

§ 2. As those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and as those that heard of them learnt thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute and price for it, at last they sought for some contrivance and means to get free from it: so the rulers of the five cities, Gath,<sup>1</sup> Ekron,<sup>2</sup> Ascalon,<sup>3</sup> Gaza, and Ashdod, met together, and considered what was to be

<sup>1</sup> *Tell es-Sáfi.*

<sup>2</sup> *'Akir.*

<sup>3</sup> *'Askalán.*

done; and at first they thought it best to send the ark back to its own people, in the idea that God had avenged its cause, and that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. Others said they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded into ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such a power and influence upon them; for had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: so they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which at certain periods of time produces such changes in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves previously by their understanding and prudence, and who, in the present circumstances, seemed more than all the rest to speak to the point. These men said it was not right either to send the ark away or to detain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for each city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to face. They also advised to make five golden mice, like those that devoured and destroyed their country, and to put them in a box and lay them upon the ark; to make also a new cart for the ark, and to yoke milch kine to it, but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove a hindrance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire for their calves; then to drive those milch kine that carried the ark, and leave them at a place where three roads met, and to let the kine go along whichever of those roads they pleased, and in case they took the way to the Hebrews, and went into their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes, but if they should turn into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude it has no such force in it."

§ 3. So they determined that these men spoke well, and immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three roads met, and left it there, and went their way, and the kine took the right road, as if some one had led them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, wishing to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village belonging to the tribe of Judah, whose name was Bethshemesh,<sup>1</sup> and to that village did the kine go, and though there was an extensive and fertile plain before them to proceed in, they went no further, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer-time, and all the inhabitants being in the fields gathering in the harvest, they left off the labour of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart; and taking the ark off it, and the box that had the images and the mice in it, they set it upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered up the cart and kine as a burnt-offering: and when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

§ 4. And now it was, that the wrath and anger of God overtook them, and struck seventy persons dead in the village of Bethshemesh, who, not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached it. The people of the village wept for these that thus suffered, and made such lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune sent by God, and everyone mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public authorities of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; and when they knew this, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim,<sup>2</sup> a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh. In this city

<sup>1</sup> *'Ain Shems.*

<sup>2</sup> Kirjathjearim, or Baalab, was on the boundary between Benjamin and Judah, and belonged to the latter tribe. It is now probably *Khurbet 'Erma*, about four miles west of *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh.

lived one Abinadab, a Levite by birth, who was greatly esteemed for his righteous and religious life; so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did abide a righteous man. His sons also took care of the ark, and were the custodians of it for twenty years, for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

## CHAP II.

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

### § 1.

NOW, while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and manifested much concern and zeal about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and the blessings that would accompany the same. Accordingly, he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious and friendly, it behoves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper means to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get rid of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them: but be righteous and cast wickedness out of your souls and cure it, and by your worship supplicate the divine majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honour you pay to him. For if you act thus you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies; which blessings it is not possible you should attain, either by weapons of war, or by the strength of your bodies, or by the multi-



tude of allies. For God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by your being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises. When Samuel had said this, the multitude applauded him, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh,<sup>1</sup> which signifies in the Hebrew tongue watch-tower, where they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

§ 2. This assembly of theirs did not escape the notice of the Philistines, and when they learned of their gathering together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty force, hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, and were unprepared. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said, that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and that was why they kept quiet, lest they should excite the power of their enemies. "And now that you have brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices and take oaths, our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by means of you, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon your prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Thereupon Samuel bade them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking-lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to suffer them to undergo a second misfortune. And God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting the sacrifice with a gracious intention, and as one disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice to God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and

<sup>1</sup> Not identified; possibly *Neby Samwil*.

drew up in order of battle, in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were intercepted in disadvantageous circumstances,<sup>1</sup> neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, as would hardly have been credited, if they had been foretold by anybody; for in the first place, God disturbed the Philistines with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble and shake, insomuch that by its trembling some were unable to keep their feet, and others were swallowed up in its chasms. Next he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, as to scorch their faces, and so shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them flee unarmed. And Samuel, with the multitude, pursued them to a place called Bethcar,<sup>2</sup> and there he set up a stone as a land-mark of their victory and their enemies' flight, and called it the Stone of Power,<sup>3</sup> as a token of the power God had given them against their enemies.

§ 3. The Philistines after this reverse made no more expeditions against the Israelites, but were quiet, from fear and remembrance of what had befallen them; and the courage which the Philistines formerly had against the Hebrews was, after this victory, transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their pride, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, namely, the country that extended from the borders of Gath<sup>4</sup> to the city of Ekron.<sup>5</sup> The rest of the Canaanites were at this time friendly to the Israelites.

<sup>1</sup> This is the first place, so far as I remember, in these Antiquities, where Josephus begins to call his nation 'Jews,' he having hitherto usually, if not constantly, called them either 'Hebrews' or 'Israelites.' The second place soon follows, chap. iii. § 5.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> The stone Eben-ezer was set up between Mizpeh and Shen, 1 Sam. vii. 12. The site is not known.

<sup>4</sup> *Tell es-Sâf.*

<sup>5</sup> 'Akir.

## CHAP. III.

*How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old Age, that he could not take care of Public Affairs, intrusted them to his Sons; and how, upon the evil Administration of the Government by them, the Multitude were so angry, that they demanded a King to reign over them, although Samuel was much displeas'd thereat.*

## § 1.

NOW Samuel the prophet ordered the affairs of the people well, and appointed a city for every district, and commanded them to come to such cities to have their controversies with one another decided in them, he himself visiting all those cities twice a year, and doing justice; and so he kept everything in good order for a long time.

§ 2. After that, being oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, he committed the government and the care of the multitude to his sons: the elder of whom was called Joel, and the younger Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city Bethel,<sup>1</sup> and the other at Beersheba,<sup>2</sup> and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these sons of Samuel give us an evident example and proof that some children are not of the same disposition as their parents, but sometimes, perhaps, good and virtuous, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves wicked, though born of good parents. For they, turning aside from their father's good course, and taking a way that was contrary, perverted justice for gifts and filthy lucre, and gave their sentences not according to truth, but according to gain, and gave themselves up to luxury and a costly way of living, so that, as in the first place, they practised what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care and pains that the multitude should be righteous.

<sup>1</sup> *Beitin.*<sup>2</sup> *Bir es-Seb'a.*

§ 3. But the people, upon these outrages offered to their former polity and government by the prophet's sons, were very vexed at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah,<sup>1</sup> and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and as he was himself old already, and too infirm because of age to manage their affairs in the manner he used to do, they begged and entreated him to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them on the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppression. These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as making those under its rule of a divine and happy disposition: nor could he think either of eating or sleeping, from his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but continued awake all the night long, and revolved these things in his mind.

§ 4. As he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, "That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude demanded, because it was not Samuel but himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be their only King; that they had been contriving these things from the very day they came out of Egypt; however in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance however could not undo what was thus done for futurity; for they would be sufficiently punished for their contemptuous and ungrateful conduct towards me and your prophetic office. So I command you to appoint one I shall name to be their king, when you have first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testified to them what a great change of affairs they are in a hurry to bring about."

§ 5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews together early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to appoint them a king, but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they

<sup>1</sup> Ramah, or Ramathaim-zophim of Mount Ephraim has not yet been identified.

would receive from their kings, and with how many evils they would become familiar. "For know," said he, "in the first place, that they will take your sons away from you, and will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen and body-guards, and others to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots, and of instruments; they will make them their husbandmen also, and tillers of their fields, and diggers of their vineyards; nor will there be anything which they will not have to do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also make your daughters to be perfumers, and cooks, and bakers; and they will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves in fear of stripes and torments submit to. They will also take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs and body-guards, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants. And to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king and his household; and when you suffer this, you will remember what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, and beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings, he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your ill-advisedness has deserved."

§ 6. But the multitude were still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them; and too discontented to suffer a determination which they had once made to be put out of their minds. For they could not be turned from their purpose, nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and demanded him to appoint them a king immediately, and not to trouble about the future. For they said it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them on their enemies, and it was no way absurd, as their neighbours were under kingly government, that they should have the same polity also. So as Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said,

“Go you every one home for the present; at the fitting season I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God who it is that he will give you for your king.”

#### CHAP. IV.

*The Appointment of a King over the Israelites, whose name was Saul, at the Command of God.*

##### § 1.

THERE was a man of the tribe of Benjamin, of good family and of a virtuous disposition, whose name was Kish. He had a son, a young man of comely countenance, and tall of body, but his understanding and his mind were even better than his externals. His name was Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that had strayed from the pasture where they fed, and he was more delighted with them than with any other cattle he had; so he sent his son with one servant to search for them. And when he had travelled over his own tribe in search of these asses, he went to the other tribes, and when he found them not there either, he determined to go home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him told him, as they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for they would know from him what had become of the asses, he replied, that if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their journey-money was spent. The servant answered that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that, for they did not know in their ignorance that the prophet took no reward. So they went to him, and when they were before the gates, they lit upon some maidens that were going to fetch water, and they asked them which was the prophet's house? They showed them which it was, and bade them make haste to consult him before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and his

habit was to sit down before his guests. Now Samuel had gathered many together to feast with him because, as he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for he said he would send him a certain young man of the tribe of Benjamin about that hour of the day; and he sat on the top of his house in expectation of the time being come. And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper, and met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was the future king. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house? for he said he was a stranger, and did not know it. When Samuel told him that he was himself the prophet, and led him into supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been sent to seek, and that blessings of all kinds were assured to him, he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such things, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family humbler than other families; but you tell me this in jest, and make me an object of laughter, when you discourse with me of greater matters than my present need." However, the prophet led him in to the feast, and made him and his servant that followed him sit down above the other guests that were invited, who were seventy in number; and he gave orders to his servants to set the royal portion before Saul. And when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and went home every one of them, but Saul and his servant stayed with the prophet, and slept at his house.

§ 2. And as soon as it was day, Samuel made Saul get up out of his bed, and conducted him on his way, and when he was out of the city, desired him to cause his servant to go on, but to stay behind himself, for he had something to say to him, when nobody else was present. So Saul sent on the servant that followed him, and the prophet took a vial of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him, and said, "Be thou a king by the ordination of God against the Philistines, and to avenge the Hebrews on them. Of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of. As soon as

thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of whom thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them, carrying a wine-skin. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves, which thou shalt accept of. After that thou shalt come to a place called Rachel's Tomb,<sup>1</sup> where thou shalt meet with a man who will tell thee thy asses are found. After this, when thou reachest Gabatha,<sup>2</sup> thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and shalt be seized with the divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till everyone that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, 'Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness?' And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee; and salute thy father, and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal,<sup>3</sup> that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. And all things happened to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

§ 3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than any other of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what had happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, either his going to Samuel the prophet, or how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought when heard would procure him envy and unbelief; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, as human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend either among our intimates or kindred, or preserves his kind disposition when God advances men to great pros-

<sup>1</sup> Rachel's tomb, on the border of Benjamin, is near Bethlehem, by the side of the road between that place and Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> The same place as Gibeah of Saul.

<sup>3</sup> *Jiljulia*, three miles east of Jericho.



perity, but all are still ill-natured and envious at their successes.

§ 4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mizpeh, and spoke to them in the following words, which he said he was to speak by the command of God. He said that though God had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they had forgotten his benefits, and rejected God for their King, not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of beings; for God was the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings would use their subjects as beasts, according to their will and caprice and other passions, being wholly carried away by the lust of power, and would not endeavour to preserve the race of mankind as their own workmanship and creation, which God for that very reason would take care of. "But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this intention to outrage God has quite mastered you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and families and cast lots."

§ 5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken, and when the lot was cast for the individuals of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he immediately went away and hid himself, I suppose because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the kingdom. Nay, he showed such a degree of self-control and modesty, that while most people are not able to contain their joy even when they gain small advantages, but are eager to exhibit themselves publicly to all men, he did not only show nothing of that nature, though he was appointed lord of so many and so great tribes, but stole away and concealed himself from the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So as the people were in bewilderment and anxious at Saul's disappearance, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. And when he had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, he sent men to fetch him, and when he was come he set him in the midst of the

multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and in stature looked every inch a king.

§ 6. Then said the prophet, "God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of the dominion." And as soon as the people had shouted with acclamation, God save the king! the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. And when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and returned himself to the city of Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah,<sup>1</sup> where he was born: and many good men accompanied him and paid him the honour due to the king, but there were several bad men, who despised him, and derided the others, and did neither bring him presents, nor in word or deed try to please him.

## CHAP. V.

*Saul's Expedition against the Nation of the Ammonites, his Victory over them, and the Spoil he took from them.*

### § 1.

**B**UT one month afterwards the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people. This Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond the Jordan, by an expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities to slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present by force and violence, but weakening them by subtilty and cunning, that they might not be able afterwards to get rid of their slavery to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either surrendered to him upon conditions, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that as

<sup>1</sup> Gibeah apparently lay between Geba, *Jeb'a*, and Jerusalem; it is placed by Robinson at *Tuleil el-Fil*, but the identification is doubtful; it is regarded by some writers as a district name.

their left eyes would be covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war.<sup>1</sup> Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond the Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites; and having pitched his camp near the chief city of his enemies, which was Jabesh,<sup>2</sup> he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to surrender and have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege and have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small member of their body, or utterly perish. And the Gileadites were so terrified that they had not courage to say anything to either of these proposals, either that they would deliver themselves up, or that they would fight. But they asked Nahash to give them seven days' truce, that they might send envoys to their countrymen and entreat their assistance, and if assistance came to them, they would fight, but if it were impossible to get that from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he was pleased to inflict upon them.

§ 2. And Nahash, despising the multitude of the Gileadites, and the answer they gave, allowed them a truce, and gave them leave to send to whomever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to all the cities of the Israelites, and informed them what Nahash had threatened to do to them, and of the hopeless condition they were in. And the people fell into tears and grief on hearing what the envoys from Jabesh said, but the terror they were in permitted them to do nothing more. And when the messengers came to the city of king Saul, and revealed the danger in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of their kindred. And when Saul returned from his farm to the

<sup>1</sup> Take here Theodoret's note, cited by Dr. Hudson: "He that exposes his shield to the enemy with his left hand, thereby hides his left eye, and looks at the enemy with his right eye: he therefore that plucks out that eye makes men useless in war."—W.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius places Jabesh Gilead six Roman miles from Pella, on the road to Gerasa, *Jerash*. The name survives in *Wādy el-Yābis*, and the town was probably at *ed-Deir*.

city, he found the citizens weeping, and when, upon inquiry, he learned the cause of their confusion and dejection, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent home the envoys from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rise, that the rising sun might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from their fears. He also bade some of them stay to show him the way to Jabesh.

§ 3. And wishing to excite the people to war against the Ammonites by fear of punishment, and that they might concentrate with greater celerity, he cut the sinews of his yoke of oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come armed to the Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet wherever they should lead them. So they mustered in fear of the punishment they were threatened with at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city of Bezek.<sup>1</sup> And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides those of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he crossed over the Jordan, and marched all that night some thirty-seven miles, and got to Jabesh before sun-rise. Then he divided the army into three companies, and fell upon the enemy on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing: and joining battle with them, he slew a great many of the Ammonites, as also their king Nahash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for valour: for although there were some that despised him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of them all. For he did not content himself with having expunged the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites, and laid it all waste, and took much spoil, and returned to his own country in glory. And the people were greatly pleased at this success of Saul, and rejoiced that they had made such a one their king. They also clamoured against

<sup>1</sup> *Khurbet Ibzik*. Thirteen miles north-east of *Nāblus*, Shechem.

those that had said he would be no good to their affairs, and said, "Where now are these men, let them be brought to punishment," with all the similar things that multitudes usually say, when they are elated with prosperity, against those that lately held cheap the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good-will and affection of these men very kindly, swore that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, for it was monstrous to mix the victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same race as themselves, and that it was more fitting to be friendly disposed to one another and to feast together.

§ 4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second inauguration, they all assembled at the city of Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. Then the prophet anointed Saul again with the holy oil, in the sight of the multitude, and proclaimed him king the second time. And so the polity of the Hebrews was changed into a regal one, for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued an aristocracy, and after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were an anarchy; after which they returned to their former polity, permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best and most courageous warrior, so they called this period of their government the era of Judges.

§ 5. Then did Samuel the prophet convene an assembly, and said, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brothers, I mean Moses and Aaron, into the world, and rescued our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the slavery they endured under them, that you will not yield to modesty, or suppress anything out of fear, or give way to any other passion, but say out what I have ever done that was bad or unjust, for gain or in covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, though, when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use to the grief of anyone? Lay one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, that

nothing of the kind had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation in a holy and just manner.

§ 6. Thereupon Samuel, as this testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come now, and hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God in asking you a king. It behoved you to remember that our ancestor Jacob went down into Egypt, because of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many myriads, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery and hard oppression, and that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brothers, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and that without a king, and they brought you into this very land which you now possess. Yet though you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion. Nevertheless, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, and next by making you to overcome the Ammonites, and the Moabites, and last of all, the Philistines. And these things were achieved under the lead of Jephthah and Gideon, and not of a king. What madness therefore possessed you to flee from God, and to desire to be under a king? Yet have I appointed him king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so contrive that he shall declare this very plainly to you by a miracle, for I will entreat of God that he will now manifest to you, what none of you ever saw here before, a storm in the midst of harvest." Now, as soon as he had said this to the people, God attested the truth of all that the prophet had said by thunder and lightning and the descent of hail, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed that they had sinned, and had fallen into this sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him, and transgressed against

him. So he promised them, that he would beseech God, and urge him to forgive them this sin. However, he advised them to be righteous and good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also, to remember the signs God had showed them, and the laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved, and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come from God both upon them and their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews, he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

## CHAP. VI.

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

## § 1.

NOW Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them for his own body-guards, and dwelt himself in the city of Bethel,<sup>1</sup> but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son to be his body-guards, and sent him to Gibeah.<sup>2</sup> And Jonathan took by storm a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal. For the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places in the country, and had forbidden the Jews to carry any instrument of iron, or to make use of iron at all. And on account of this prohibition, if their husbandmen required to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were coulter, or spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they had to come to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of the slaughter of their garrison, they were in a great rage about it, and looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they marched against the Jews with three hundred thousand foot, and

<sup>1</sup> *Beitln.*

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 369.

thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horse, and pitched their camp near the city of Michmash.<sup>1</sup> When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city of Gilgal,<sup>2</sup> and made proclamation over all the country, and called on the people to try to regain their liberty by fighting against the Philistines. And he made light of their forces, and depreciated them as not very considerable, and as not so great but that they might hazard a battle with them. But when the army of Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were in great consternation, and some of them hid themselves in caves and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond the Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

§ 2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and summoned him to consult with him about the war and public affairs. And he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him after six days, that they might offer sacrifice on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he waited,<sup>3</sup> as the prophet ordered him to do, but he did not entirely obey the command that was given him, for when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was being deserted by his soldiers, he took the victims and offered sacrifice. And when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. And the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent him, and by not staying till his coming, which, though

<sup>1</sup> Now *Mukhmās*.

<sup>2</sup> *Jiljūlia*.

<sup>3</sup> Saul seems to have stayed till near the time of the evening sacrifice, on the seventh day, which Samuel the prophet of God had appointed him, but not till the end of that day, as he ought to have done; and Samuel appears, by delaying to come to the full time of the evening sacrifice on that seventh day, to have tried him (who seems to have been already, for some time, declining from his strict and bounden subordination to God and his prophet, to have taken life-guards for himself and his son, which was entirely a new thing in Israel, and savoured of a distrust of God's providence, and to have affected more than he ought that independent authority which the pagan kings took to themselves); Samuel, I say, seems to have here tried Saul, whether he would stay till the priest came, who alone could lawfully offer the sacrifices, or would boldly and profanely usurp the priest's office, which he venturing upon, was justly rejected for his profaneness.—W.



according to the will of God, he had anticipated by offering up those prayers, and those sacrifices, that he should have made for the multitude, thereby performing sacred rites informally and hastily. Thereupon Saul made apology for himself, and said, that he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been induced to offer sacrifice from the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, from their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report having spread that they were coming down upon him to Gilgal. To which Samuel replied, "If you had been a righteous man, and not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me in the present state of affairs, by acting more hastily than the case required, you would have been permitted to reign a long time, and your posterity after you." Then Samuel, grieved at what had happened, returned home, and Saul went to the city of Gibeah with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and most of these had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons, for, as I showed a little before, the Philistines had prohibited the manufacturing of weapons. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, as no more than six hundred men were with them. And as he and his son, and Abiah the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and stir up a tumult and panic among them. And when the armour-bearer readily promised to follow him wherever he should lead him, though he should die in the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and made his way to the enemy. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice, which had three peaks ending in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like bulwarks to prevent the attack of an enemy. It so happened that

the camp there was carelessly guarded, because of the security that was felt from the situation of the place, and because it was thought altogether impossible for anyone not only to ascend to the camp in that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him. "Let us attack the enemy, and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, let us take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing and invite us not, let us return back again." And as they were approaching the enemy's camp, just after break of day, the Philistines saw them, and said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves:" and they said to Jonathan and to his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt." So Saul's son accepted the invitation, as signifying to him victory, and immediately left the place whence they were seen by their enemies, and changed his place, and came to the rock which had none to guard it because of its strength; and there they crept up with great difficulty, but so far overcame the natural difficulty of the ground that they climbed up to the enemy. And they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and panic, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled, but most of them, not knowing one another because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies (for they did not imagine it was only two Hebrews that had climbed up), and so they fought one against another: and some of them died in battle, and some, as they were fleeing away, were thrown headlong down the rock.

§ 3. And when Saul's watchmen told the king that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion, he inquired whether anybody had gone from the army. And when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bade the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they would have; and he said, that they would get the victory, and prevail over their enemies. So he went out after the Philistines, and fell upon them as they were in

disorder and slaying one another. Those who had fled to dens and caves came running to him, on hearing that Saul was gaining a victory. When therefore the number of Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy who were scattered all over the country; but then he did an unfortunate thing, and one liable to be much blamed, whether unwittingly, or from joy at a victory gained so strangely, for it frequently happens that persons so fortunate are not able to act with reason. For wishing to avenge himself, and exact due punishment from the Philistines, he denounced a curse on the Hebrews, that if anyone stopped slaughtering the enemy, and ate anything, and left off the slaughter or pursuit before night came on and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed. Now after Saul had uttered this curse, when they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father utter that curse, nor the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of a honeycomb and ate part of it. But meantime he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste anything before sunset, so he left off eating, and said that his father had not done well in this prohibition, for had they taken some food, they would have pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and both taken and slain many more of them.

§ 4. When therefore they had slain many myriads of the Philistines, they turned to spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of spoil, and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. And it was told to the king by the scribes, that the multitude was sinning against God, as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh made clean. Then Saul gave orders that a great stone should be rolled into the midst, and made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built.

§ 5. And Saul wishing to lead his men to the enemy's camp, in order to plunder it before it was day, and the soldiers not hesitating to follow him, but indeed showing great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant him permission to go against the enemy's camp, to destroy those that were in it. And when the high priest said, that God did not give any answer, "It is not without some cause," said Saul, "that God refuses to answer what we inquire of him, as only a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even anticipated us in his answer. Surely there is some sin against him, that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and so appease the anger of God, just as I would punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." And as the multitude cried out to him so to do, he forthwith set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. And the lot fell upon Jonathan himself. And when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of? and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed guilt or profaneness? his answer was this, "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath you had pronounced, when I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted a honeycomb." But Saul swore that he would slay him, and prefer keeping his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself nobly and magnanimously, said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, since it proceeds from your piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Thereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan, and they swore that they would not see Jonathan die, who was the author of their victory. So they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his

father's curse, while they also made their prayers to God for the young man, that he would forgive his sin.

§ 6. So Saul, having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily. He also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines,<sup>1</sup> and Edomites, and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three sons, Jonathan, and Ishui, and Melchishua, and two daughters, Merab and Michal. And Abner, his uncle's son, was captain of his host, the uncle's name was Ner. For Ner and Kish, the father of Saul, were brothers, and the sons of Abiel. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen, and against whomever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations. And he made such of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness his body-guards.

## CHAP. VII.

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

#### § 1.

NOW Samuel came to Saul, and said to him, that he was sent by God to remind him that God had preferred him above all others and appointed him king, that he ought therefore to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet God had the dominion over him, and over all things. He then said that God said to him, "Since the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief when they were in the wilderness, when on their coming out of Egypt they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin you to punish the Amalekites, by making war upon them, and when you have subdued them, you are to leave none of them alive,

<sup>1</sup> An Aramean state situated to the east of Coelesyria, and extending north-east and east to the Euphrates.

but to slay every age indiscriminately, beginning with the women and infants, and to exact this as a punishment upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. You are to spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them all to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek<sup>1</sup> entirely.

§ 2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only by making war against the Amalekites, but also by the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal,<sup>2</sup> he found them to be about four hundred thousand Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah, which contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only injure them by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly when on the march, and might surround them and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy he beat them, and, pursuing them as they fled, destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded according as God had foretold, he attacked the cities of the Amalekites, and besieged them, and took them by storm, some by warlike machines, some by mines dug under ground, some by building walls on the outside, some by famine, and some by other methods, and proceeded to slay women and children, and thought he did not therein act either barbarously or inhumanly, first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and in

<sup>1</sup> The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam. xv. 18: "Go, and utterly destroy the sinners, the Amalekites." Nor, indeed, do we ever meet with these Amalekites but as very cruel and bloody people, and particularly seeking to injure and utterly to destroy the nation of Israel, Exod. xvii. 8-16; Numb. xiv. 45; Deut. xxv. 17-19; Judges vi. 3, 6; 1 Sam. xv. 33; Psalm lxxxiii. 7; and above all the most barbarous of all cruelties, that of Haman the Agagite, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, Esther iii. 1-16.—W.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 Sam. xv. 4, the place of assembly is said to have been Telaim; the reading of the Lxx., however, agrees with Josephus.

the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemy's king, captive; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of saving alive, no longer acting according to the will of God, but giving way to private feeling, and gratifying an unseasonable pity, in a case where it was not safe for him to indulge it. For God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity even on those infants whom we by nature especially commiserate, howbeit Saul preserved their king, though the instigator of all the miseries of the Hebrews, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude also were guilty as well as Saul, for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them all their substance and wealth, but if there was anything that was not worthy of their attention, that they destroyed.

§ 3. And when Saul had conquered all the Amalekites that reached from Pelusium<sup>1</sup> in Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's country; but for the nation of the Shechemites,<sup>2</sup> he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the land of Midian;<sup>3</sup> for, Saul had sent to them before the battle, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the ruin of the Amalekites, for his reason for saving them was that they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses' father-in-law.

§ 4. Then Saul returned home with joy at his success against the enemies, as though he had not neglected anything which the prophet had enjoined him to do, when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done.

<sup>1</sup> The Sin of Ezek. xxx. 15; the ruins are to be found at *Tineh*, not far from *Port Said*.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 Sam. xv. 6, the name is given as 'the Kenites.'

<sup>3</sup> The land of Midian appears in this passage to include the desert *et-Tih*, and not to be confined to the country east of the Gulf of *'Akabah*.

But God was angry that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because it was done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing, that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by the power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man, that was a king, would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented he had made Saul king, as he did nothing that he commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that he was very troubled, and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him: but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, not deeming it fit to grant forgiveness of sins at his entreaties, for they grow by nothing so much as the indulgence of those that are wronged, for while people hunt after the reputation of being gentle and good-natured, before they are aware, they produce the very sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, Samuel at break of day came to Saul to Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran up to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God who has given me the victory, and have done everything that he commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of sheep, and the lowing of cattle in the camp?" Saul made answer that the people had reserved them for sacrifice, but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had been ordered, and that no one was left, but that he had saved the king alive alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said they would advise together what should be done with him. But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that anything is well done by them, but when they do it as God has commanded them: for he looks upon himself as affronted, not when anyone does not sacrifice, but when anybody appears to be disobedient to him. And from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty



which is the only true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer never so many and fat, and be the presents they make him never so ornamental,—nay, though they be made of gold and silver, he will reject them, and esteem them arguments of wickedness, and not piety. And he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do whatever God tells or commands them to do, and to choose rather to die than transgress any of those commands, nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when such do sacrifice, though it be but a mean oblation, he better accepts of the honour than such oblations as come from the richest men. Know then that you are under the wrath of God, for you have despised and neglected what he commanded you. How do you suppose that he will accept a sacrifice of such things as he has doomed to destruction? unless perchance you imagine that it is all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Expect therefore that your kingdom will be taken from you, as well as the authority which you so relied on as to neglect the God who bestowed it upon you.” Then did Saul confess that he had acted wrong, and did not deny that he had sinned in transgressing the injunctions of the prophet, but he said, that it was out of dread and fear of the soldiers that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. “But forgive me,” said he, “and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come.” He also entreated the prophet to go back with him, and offer thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

§ 5. And now Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because Samuel’s eagerness to depart made the tugging violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that the kingdom should be rent from him in the same manner, and that a good and just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; for to be mutable and changeable in what was determined consorted with human passion only, not with the divine power. Then Saul said that he had done wrong, but that

what was done could not be undone, he therefore begged him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag, also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when he asked, how death was bitter, Samuel said: "As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail their children, so shalt thou by thy death cause thy mother to lament thee also." And he gave orders to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and himself returned to the city of Ramah.

### CHAP. VIII.

*How, upon Saul's Transgressing of the Prophet's Commands, Samuel anointed privately another Person to be King, whose name was David, as God commanded him.*

#### § 1.

THEN Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, went up to his royal palace at Gibeah,<sup>1</sup> which name denotes a hill, and after that day came no more into the presence of the prophet. And as Samuel continued mourning for him, God bade him leave off his concern for him, and take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem<sup>2</sup> to Jesse, the son of Obed, and anoint the one of his sons he should show him as the future king. But Samuel said, he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it, should kill him, either privately or openly. But upon God's promising him safety in going there, he went to the forementioned city, and when they all saluted him, and asked, "What was the cause of his coming?" he told them, he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had sacrificed, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of the sacrifice, and when he noticed that his eldest son was tall and handsome, he guessed by his comeliness that he was to be the future king. But he was mistaken

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit Lahm.*

in judging of God's purpose, for when he inquired of God whether he should anoint with oil this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom? God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. You indeed regard only the fine appearance of the youth, and so esteem him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I seek one that is perfectly comely in that respect, one who is adorned with piety, and righteousness, and bravery, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bade Jesse show him all his sons. So he made five other of his sons come to him, of whom Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammah the third, Nathanael the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their looks, he inquired of God, which of them it was whom he chose as the king? And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse, whether he had any other sons besides these? and when he said he had one more, named David, but that he was a shepherd and took care of the flocks, Samuel bade them call him immediately, for till he was come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a ruddy complexion, of keen sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make king.—So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth next him, and then Jesse and his sons; after which he took oil, in the sight of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him that God had chosen him to be king: and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for so his kingdom would continue for a long time, and his house would be of great splendour and celebrated, and he would overthrow the Philistines, and against whatever nation he made war, he would be conqueror, and survive the fight, and while he lived would enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

§ 2. And Samuel, when he had given him these instructions, went away, and the Spirit of the Lord departed

from Saul, and removed to David ; who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange disorders and evil spirits came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him, for which the physicians could devise no other remedy but that, if any person could charm those evil spirits away by singing and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these evil spirits came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand near him and play on the harp, and recite hymns to him. And Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a person. And when one of those that were present said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was no more yet than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one deserving of regard, who was skilful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, and an excellent soldier in war, he sent to Jesse and ordered him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he wished to see him, having heard of his comeliness and valour. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and held him in very great esteem, for he charmed his passion, and was his only physician against the trouble he had from the evil spirits whenever they came upon him, and that by reciting of hymns and playing upon the harp, and making Saul himself again. So he sent to Jesse the father of the lad, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for he was delighted with his sight and company, which stay, not to contradict Saul, he granted.

## CHAP. IX.

*How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, in the Reign of Saul, and how they were overcome by David's slaying Goliath in single Combat.*

## § 1.

NOW the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time after, and having got together a great army, marched against the Israelites: and having occupied a place between Socoh<sup>1</sup> and Azekah,<sup>2</sup> pitched their camp there. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them, and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp upon another similar hill, over against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps. Now there came down a man from the camp of the Philistines, whose name was Goliath, of the city of Gath,<sup>3</sup> a man of vast bulk, for he was four cubits and a span in height, and had weapons proportioned to the largeness of his body, for he had a breastplate on that weighed five thousand shekels; he had also a helmet and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear also was not a light thing to be carried in his right hand, but he carried it lying on his shoulders. His lance also weighed six hundred shekels: and many followed him carrying his armour. So this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and cried out in a loud voice, and said to Saul and to the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of yours that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall end the war; for that army to which the conqueror belongs shall be lord over the

<sup>1</sup> *Khurbet Shuweikeh.*

<sup>2</sup> Now *Zakariya*, S.S.W. of *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh. The valley between the two armies is now called *Wady es-Sunt*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tell es-Sâfi.*

other, and certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again and used the same words, and did not leave off forty days together challenging the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified. And they put themselves in array as if for a fight, but did not come to close quarters.

§ 2. Now at the commencement of this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines, Saul sent David home to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance to share in the dangers of the war; and at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but no long time after he went to the camp of the Hebrews, being sent by his father to carry provisions to his brothers, and to know what they were doing. And as Goliath came again and challenged them, and reproached them with having no man of valour among them that durst come down to fight him, David, who was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and was indignant, and said to his brothers that he was ready to fight a single combat with this adversary. Thereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reprov'd him, and said that he spoke too rashly for one of his age, and ignorantly, and bade him return to his flocks and to his father, And he was abashed at his brother's words and went away, but still told some of the soldiers that he wished to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul of the desire of the young man, the king sent for him, and when he asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down or afraid, for I will take down the insolence of this adversary, and will go and fight with him, and subdue him under me, tall and big as he is, till he shall be a laughing-stock, and your army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one that is not yet of man's estate, nor fit for fighting, or being intrusted with the marshalling of an army, or ordering of a battle, but one that looks like a lad, and is really no older."

§ 3. And Saul wondered at the boldness and stout-

heartedness of David, but had not confidence in his ability by reason of his age; but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilful in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise," said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued and caught a lion that had attacked my flocks and carried off a lamb, and I snatched the lamb out of the beast's mouth, and when it rushed at me, I took it by the tail, and dashed it against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also. Let therefore this adversary of ours be esteemed as one of those wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who will yet reduce him under my own power."

§ 4. Then Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, as the alacrity and boldness of the lad promised, and said, "Go to the fight." And he put about him his own breast-plate, and girded on him his own sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with the king's armour, for he had not learned or been used to wear armour, so he said, "Let this armour deck you out, O king, seeing you are able to bear it, but give me leave to fight as your servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly, he laid down the armour, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into his shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the enemy, seeing him coming in such a manner, disdained him, and jeered at him for not having such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and keeping off dogs, and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn to pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest against me with a sword and with a spear, and with a breast-plate, but I, in coming against thee, have God for my armour, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands. For I will this day

cut off thy head, and cast the rest of thy body to dogs like thee, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and strength is his care, and that, without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power are useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armour from advancing to meet David quickly, came on but slowly, despising him and feeling confident that he should slay him, as he was not only unarmed, but a lad also, without any trouble at all.

§ 5. But the youth met his antagonist accompanied by an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones out of the brook that he had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slung it against the Philistine's forehead, and it penetrated to his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned and fell upon his face. Then David ran, and stood over his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword, for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath the Philistines were beaten and fled: for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of utter ruin, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and disorderly flight, and so endeavoured to extricate themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews raised a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ascalon,<sup>1</sup> and thirty thousand of the Philistines were slain, and twice as many were wounded. And Saul returned from the pursuit to the camp of the Philistines, and broke down and set on fire its works, and David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God.

<sup>1</sup> 'Askalân.



## CHAP. X.

*Saul envies David for his glorious Success, and takes an Occasion of entrapping him, from the Promise he made him of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, on Condition of his bringing six hundred Heads of the Philistines.*

## § 1.

NOW the women stirred up Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet the victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and every demonstration of joy, and the wives sang, "Saul has slain his thousands of the Philistines," while the virgins replied, "David has slain his ten thousands." Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and noticed that he had himself the smallest share in their praises, and that the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself, that there was nothing more wanting to David after such a mighty acclamation but the kingdom, he began to be afraid and suspicious of him. So he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armour-bearer, which out of his fear seemed too near a station to himself, so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but as he thought, more dangerous for him, for he had a mind to send him against the enemy and into battles, hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

§ 2. But David had God going along with him wherever he went, and accordingly it was visible that he greatly prospered in his undertakings, insomuch that not only the people, but Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him on account of his eminent bravery, and her affection so far mastered her that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard of it gladly, intending to make use of it as a snare against David, and hoping that it would prove the cause of destruction and danger to him, so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I pledge

myself to give my daughter in marriage to him, if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies. For, as so great a prize is offered him, wishing to get great glory by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he will immediately set about it, and so perish by the hand of the Philistines, and my designs against him will succeed finely, for I shall be rid of him and get him slain, not by myself, but by others." So he gave orders to his servants to try how David relished this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly, they began to tell him, that king Saul loved him, as did all the people, and was desirous of affinity with him by his marrying his daughter. To which he gave this answer, "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially as I am in a lowly condition, and without any glory or honour." Now when Saul was informed by his servants of the answer David had made, he said, "Tell him, that I do not want any money or dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage, but I desire a son-in-law who has valour and all other kinds of virtue, of which I see David is possessed. And my desire is to receive from him, on account of his marrying my daughter, neither gold nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and, indeed, six hundred of their heads. For no more desirable or glorious present could be brought me than this, and it is far more desirable than any of the accustomed dowries for my daughter, that she should be married to a man of David's character, who had a reputation for having conquered his enemies."

§ 3. When these words of Saul were repeated to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him, so that, without waiting to deliberate or cast about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible or difficult, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. And, as God made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many of the Philistines, and cut off the heads of six hundred of them, and returned to the king, and,

showing him these heads, asked the hand of his daughter in marriage. And Saul having no way of getting off his promise, thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar, or to appear to have acted treacherously to David, in putting him upon what was impossible, to try and get him slain, gave him his daughter in marriage. Her name was Michal.

## CHAP. XI.

*How David, upon Saul's laying Snares for him, escaped the Danger he was in, by the Affection and Care of Jonathan, and the Contrivance of his Wife Michal : and how he went to Samuel the Prophet.*

## § 1.

HOWEVER, Saul was not disposed to let things continue long in the state in which they were, for when he saw that David was in great esteem both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid; and being unable to conceal his fear as it was about great things, his kingdom and his life, to be deprived of either of which was a dreadful calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan, and his most faithful servants, to kill him. But Jonathan wondered at his father's immense change with respect to David, from showing him no small good-will, to want to have him killed, and as he loved the young man and revered him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret orders his father had given, and of his intentions concerning him. And he also advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for he would visit his father; and, if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about David, and learn the cause of his dislike, and show how little ground there was for it, and that he ought not for it to kill a man that had done so much for the people, and had been a benefactor to himself, on which account he ought in reason to obtain pardon, even had he been guilty of the greatest crimes. "I will inform you," he added, "of my father's state of mind." And David complied with such good advice, and kept himself out of the king's sight.

§ 2. The next day Jonathan went to Saul, and finding him cheerful and gay, began to introduce conversation about David. "What crime, father, either small or great, have you found in David, to induce you to order us to slay a man who has been of great use as regards your own preservation, and of still greater as a scourge to the Philistines?—a man who has delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, as he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had, as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; so that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation to him, for your daughter is wronged by his death, who will experience widowhood by it before she has enjoyed much advantage from marriage. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do no mischief to a man, who, in the first place, has done us the greatest kindness in preserving you, for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon you, he cast them out, and procured peace to your soul from them; and in the second place, he avenged us of our enemies; and it is a base thing to forget such benefits." Now Saul was talked over by these words, and swore to his son that he would do David no harm, for justice and reason overcame the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good and reassuring messages from his father. Jonathan also took David to Saul, and he continued with the king as before.

§ 3. About this time the Philistines made a second expedition against the Hebrews, and Saul sent David with an army to fight against them; and joining battle with them, he slew many of them, and after his victory returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not what he expected after such success, for the king was grieved at his victory, because he thought David would be more dangerous to him after so glorious an exploit, and when the evil spirit came next upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into the chamber wherein he lay, having a spear in his hand, and ordered him to drive the evil

spirit away by playing on his harp, and singing hymns, and when David did so at his command, he threw the spear with great force at him, but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

§ 4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till morning, lest he should get quite away, that he might be tried and condemned and put to death. But when Michal, David's wife and the king's daughter, heard what her father designed, she went to her husband, having small hopes of his deliverance, and greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find you here when it rises, for if it does it will be the last time it will see you. Flee away while the night gives you opportunity; and may God lengthen it for your sake! for know that, if my father find you, you are a dead man." And she let him down by a cord from the window, and saved him; and after she had done so, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver, and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to the officers that he had not been well that night, and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David lay there and breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought just as he was, for he intended to kill him. And when they came, and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon himself, she invented a plausible defence for herself, and said, that David threatened to kill her, and she lent him her assistance to save him out of fear; for which she ought to be forgiven, because it was not of her own free choice, but from necessity. "For" (she added) "I do not suppose that you were as zealous to kill your enemy, as that I should be saved alive." So Saul forgave the damsel, and David, when he had escaped this danger, went to the prophet Samuel to Ramah,

and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very nearly killed by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty in his dealings with him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all by God's assistance: which was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

§ 5. When the prophet heard of the unjust dealing of the king, he left the city of Ramah,<sup>1</sup> and took David with him, to a certain place called Galbaath,<sup>2</sup> and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to arrest David, and bring him to him: but when they came to Samuel, and found there a company of prophets, they became partakers of the divine Spirit, and began to prophesy. And when Saul heard of this, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others, which third company prophesying also, he was at last angry, and went there in great haste himself; and when he was near the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he was troubled in mind and agitated, and stripped off his garments, and fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

§ 6. And David went thence to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and complained to him of the snares that were laid for him by his father, and said that though he had been guilty of no evil, and had not offended against him, yet he was very anxious to get him killed. Then Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to attend to him and take courage, for his father had no such intention against him, for he would have acquainted him with the matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 Sam. xix. 19, the place is called Naioth in Ramah. It is evident that Naioth, or Galbaath, was not actually in Ramah, though close to it. Naioth, the 'house of instruction,' was probably the 'school of the prophets' in which Samuel taught.

all other affairs. But David swore to him that it was so, and asked him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to disbelieve the actual truth, but he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed, or hear of his being killed. He said also that the reason why his father did not tell Jonathan of all this was that he knew of the friendship and affection that he had to him.

§ 7. Then Jonathan, being sad that this intention of Saul's was so clearly proved, asked him, "What he would have him do for him." To which David replied, "I know that you are willing to gratify me in everything, and to do whatever I desire. Now to-morrow is the new moon, and I am accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper. Now, if it seem good to you, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately in the plain; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep the festival with my own tribe, and add also that you gave me leave to do so. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of absent friends, "He did well to go," then be sure that no latent mischief or enmity is to be feared at his hands; but if he answer otherwise, it will be a sure sign that he has some design against me. So you shall inform me of your father's state of mind, out of pity to my case and friendship for me, of which friendship we have mutually taken and given pledges, though you are master, I servant. But if you find any wickedness in me, anticipate your father by killing me yourself."

§ 8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what David asked of him, and to inform him if his father's answer implied any savage intention or enmity against him. And that he might the more depend upon him, he took him out into the open, into the pure air, and swore that he would neglect nothing that would be for the safety of David, and said, "I appeal to that God, who, as you see, is everywhere, and knows this intention of mine before I put it into words, to witness my covenant with you, that I will not leave off making frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any mischief brewing in the secret parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not

conceal it from you, but will discover to you whether he be favourably or evilly disposed to you. For God knows that I pray he may always be with you, for he is with you now, and will not forsake you, and will make you superior to your enemies, whether my father be one of them, or I myself. Do you only remember this, and if I die, preserve my children alive, and requite the kindness you have now received to them." When he had thus sworn he dismissed David, and bade him go to a certain place in the plain where he used to take exercise, for as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come there to him with one servant only: and "if (added he) I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant carry those three darts away, for they are before him, know that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if you hear me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king. Anyhow you shall gain security through me, and shall suffer no harm, but do not forget me in the time of your prosperity, but befriend my children." And David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

§ 9. On the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself as the custom was, went to supper, and there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, and he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had companied with his wife, and so was too late. But when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month either, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse had not come to the supper and the feast either the day before or that day. Then Jonathan said, according to the agreement between them, that he was gone to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: and that he had also invited him to go to their sacrifice: and Jonathan added, "If you will give me leave, I will go thither, for you know my good-will to him." Then it was that Jonathan perceived his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition to him, for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of runagates and an enemy, and



said that he was a partner with David and his ally, and that by his behaviour he showed he had no regard to him or his mother, and would not be persuaded of the fact, that while David was alive, the kingdom was not secure to them. Furthermore he bade him send for David, that he might be punished. And when Jonathan said in answer, "What has he done, that you will punish him for?" Saul no longer contented himself with showing his anger in mere words and abuse, but snatched up his spear, and rushed at Jonathan, wishing to kill him. He did not, indeed, do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends, but it appeared plainly to his soul that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

§ 10. Then the king's son rose hastily from supper: and not being able to eat anything for grief, he wept all that night, not only because he himself had been near destruction, but because the death of David was determined on. But as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as if going to take exercise, but in reality to inform his friend of the disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed to do. And when Jonathan had done all that had been agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him to return to the city, but he himself went into the desert to meet David and commune with him. And he appeared and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his life; but Jonathan lifted him up from the ground, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented the loss of their companionship and intimacy which envy would now deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. At last, recovering with difficulty from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted.

## CHAP. XII.

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

## § 1.

BUT David fled from the king, and death at his hands, and went to the city of Nob<sup>1</sup> to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming alone, and neither friend nor servant with him, wondered at it, and wished to know the reason why there was nobody with him? To which David answered, "That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, for which he had no occasion for anyone to accompany him; however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at this place." And he asked him to let him have something to eat; and in case he supplied him, he would act the part of a friend, and assist him in his projects; and when he had obtained this, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear? Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, who kept the king's mules. The high priest said that he had no such weapons, but he added that there was the sword of Goliath, which, when David had slain the Philistine, he had himself dedicated to God.

§ 2. And David took that sword, and fled from the country of the Hebrews to Gath which belonged to the Philistines, where Achish reigned. And the king's servants recognized him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many ten thousands of the Philistines. So David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him for which he had fled from Saul; he therefore pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth, and he did other like actions before the king of Gath,

<sup>1</sup> Nothing remains to indicate the site of Nob. It was within sight of Jerusalem, and possibly near *Sh'afit*, on the road from the north.

which might make him believe that they proceeded from madness. And the king was very angry with his servants for bringing him a madman; and he gave orders that they should immediately turn David out of the city.

§ 3. When David had got safe out of Gath in this manner, he went to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave near the city of Adullam.<sup>1</sup> And he sent to his brothers and informed them where he was. And they came to him with all their kindred, and as many others as were either in want, or in fear of king Saul, repaired to him, and told him they were ready to obey his orders. They were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him, so he removed thence and went to the king of the Moabites, and begged him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs was in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him this favour, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

§ 4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and go into the portion of the tribe of Judah and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city of Hareth,<sup>2</sup> which belonged to that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble, for as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that something extraordinary would soon be done by him, which would make him mourn, and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends and commanders, and the tribe from which he himself sprung, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called Arura,<sup>3</sup> his courtiers and body-guards being with him, he spoke thus to them: "Men of my own tribe, I know that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you,

<sup>1</sup> Now *Khurbet 'Aid el-Mâ*, about eight miles north-east of *Beit Jibrin*. Eleutheropolis.

<sup>2</sup> The name Hareth appears to be preserved in *Kharâs*, a village in the mountains of Hebron, between *'Aid el-Mâ*, Adullam, and *Halhâl*. Halhul.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus here follows the Septuagint. The Authorised Version has, "Saul abode in Gibeah under a tree in Ramah" (1 Sam. xxii. 6).

how I have made some of you owners of land, and bestowed posts of honour upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers. I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? For I know that you are all inclined to him, even my son Jonathan himself is of his party, and persuades you to be of the same. For I am not ignorant of the oaths and covenants between him and David, or that Jonathan is a counsellor and an assistant to those that conspire against me; and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence, and wait to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had finished his speech, none of the rest of those that were present made any answer, but Doeg the Syrian, who fed the king's mules, said that he saw David when he went to the city of Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he had learned future events by his prophesying, and had received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and had been conducted by him in safety to those whom he desired to go to.

§ 5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred, and said: "What cruelty or ingratitude have you suffered from me, that you received the son of Jesse, and bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was plotting against my kingdom? And furthermore, why did you deliver oracles to him concerning the future? For you could not be ignorant that he had fled away from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did not attempt to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David but Saul himself, and said, "I did not know he was your enemy, but a very faithful servant of yours, and captain over a thousand of your soldiers, and, what is more than these, your son-in-law and connexion. Men do not usually confer such favours on their enemies, but on those who are thought to bear the highest good-will and regard to them. Nor is this the first time that I have prophesied for him, but I have done so often, at other times as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by you in great haste on a private errand, if I had not furnished him with what he asked for, I should

have thought that I was rather rejecting your suit than his. Wherefore, do not entertain any ill opinion of me, nor be suspicious of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told you of David's attempt against you, for I regarded him as your friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as your enemy.

§ 6. The high priest's words did not persuade Saul; his fear was so great, that he could not give credit to a true apology. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill Ahimelech and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. And he took to his assistance wicked men like himself, and slew Ahimelech and his family, who were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to Nob,<sup>1</sup> the city of the priests, and slew all that were therein, sparing neither women nor children, nor any age, and burnt it; only one son of Ahimelech escaped, whose name was Abiathar. Now these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed on account of the transgressions of his two sons.

§ 7. Now king Saul,<sup>2</sup> by perpetrating so barbarous a

<sup>1</sup> This city of Nob was not a city allotted to the priests, nor had the prophets, that we know of, any particular cities allotted to them. It seems the tabernacle was now at Nob, and probably a school of the prophets was here also. It was full two days' journey on foot from Jerusalem, 1 Sam. xxi. 5. The number of priests here slain in Josephus is 385, and but 85 in our Hebrew copies, but they are 305 in the Septuagint: I prefer Josephus's number, the Hebrew having, I suppose, only dropped the hundreds, the other the tens. This city of Nob seems to have been the chief, or perhaps the only seat of the family of Ithamar, which here perished according to God's former terrible threatenings to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27-36, iii. 11-18. See 14, § 9, hereafter.—W.

<sup>2</sup> This section contains an admirable reflection of Josephus concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in of rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to divine providence and the fear of God, which they either really had, or pretended to have, while they were in a lower condition. It can never be too often perused by kings and great men, nor by those who expect to obtain such elevated dignities among mankind. See the like reflections of our Josephus, Antiq. vii. 1, § 5, at the end, and viii. 10, § 2, at the beginning. They are to the like purport with one branch of Agur's

crime and murdering the whole family of the high priest, and having no pity on infants nor reverence for the aged, and overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the dwelling-place and support of the priests and prophets there, and had allotted as the only city for the rearing of such men, makes everyone understand and see the disposition of men, how while they are private persons and in low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, or to dare to do what they wish, they are equitable and moderate, and follow only what is right, and bend their whole minds and labours to that. They then believe that God is present in all the circumstances of their lives, and that he not only sees the actions that are done, but clearly knows the thoughts also, whence those actions are sure to arise. But when once men are advanced to power and authority, they then put off all such notions, and, as if they were no other than actors upon a theatre, lay aside their former characters and manners, and assume boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and divine laws, and that at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think and all they say are in the view of all men; then it is that they become as insolent in their actions, as if God saw them no longer, or was afraid of them because of their power. And whatever they are either afraid of from what they have heard, or hate from inclination, or love without reason, these ideas seem to them to be settled, and sure, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God. And as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it, but they raise those to honour who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after raising them to honour they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, such as, on account of their extravagance, are incredible. They also punish men for actions that do not deserve punishment, because of

prayer, "One thing have I required of thee, deny me not before I die; give me not riches, lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord?" Prov. xxx. 7, 8, 9.—W.

calumnies and accusations not examined into, and not only punish such as deserve to be punished, but as many as they are able to kill. This is made clear to us by the conduct of Saul, the son of Kish (the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under judges), in his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets from suspicion of Ahimelech, and moreover by the overthrow of their city, as if he were anxious in some sort to render the temple destitute both of priests and prophets, by slaying so many of them, and by not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that others might succeed them.

§ 8. But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could escape out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befallen his family, and of the slaughter of his father. And he thereupon said, that he was not ignorant of what would happen to them when he saw Doeg there, for he had a suspicion then that the high priest would be calumniated by him to the king, and he blamed Doeg as the cause of this misfortune. He also desired Abiathar to stay there and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than anywhere else.

## CHAP. XIII.

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

### § 1.

ABOUT this time David heard that the Philistines had made an inroad into the region about Keilah,<sup>1</sup> and laid it waste, and he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and made a great

<sup>1</sup> Now *Khurbet Kila*, in the Hebron district, six miles west of Halhul.

slaughter of them, and carried off much spoils, and stayed with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. And it was told king Saul that David was with the men of Keilah; for what he had done and his great success did not confine itself to Keilah, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of everybody, and both the exploit and its hero came to the king's ears. And Saul was glad when he heard that David was in Keilah; and he said, "God has now put him into my hands, since he has obliged him to come into a city that has walls, and gates, and bars." And he commanded all the people to march upon Keilah, and when they had besieged and taken it, to kill David. But when David knew of this, and learned of God, that if he stayed there, the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men, and retired from that city into the desert above a place called Engedi.<sup>1</sup> And when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

§ 2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the New Place, belonging to Ziph,<sup>2</sup> where Jonathan the son of Saul met him and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his future condition, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but that such things usually come with great labour and pains. He also swore that he would continue all his life long in good-will and fidelity to him, and he called God to witness the curses he invoked on himself, if he should violate his covenant, and change to a contrary behaviour. So Jonathan left him there, having made his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and said if he would come to them they would deliver him up, for if the king occupied the narrow passes of Ziph, David

<sup>1</sup> Now *'Ain Jidy*, on the west shore of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Tell ez-Zif*, south of Hebron; in 1 Sam. xxiii. 16, the place of meeting with Jonathan is said to have been a wood in the Wilderness of Ziph, which lay to the east of the town.



could not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he was obliged to them, because they had given him information of his enemy, and he promised them that it should not be long before he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness, and he said that he himself would follow them. So they were the king's guides to hunt and catch David, being anxious not only to show their good-will to Saul by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But they failed in their unjust and wicked desire, for, while they underwent no danger by not revealing this to Saul, they did yet calumniate and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, who was unjustly sought for to be put to death, and who might otherwise have lain concealed, and that out of flattery, and desire of gain, and expectations from the king. For when David learnt of the malignant intention of the men of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the narrow passes in that neighbourhood, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3. And Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for as he was on the march he learnt that David was gone away from the narrow passes of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul into another direction from the pursuit of David, when he was just about to be caught. For the king returned back to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, judging it more necessary to avenge himself on them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravaging of the land.

§ 4. And so David unexpectedly escaped from the danger he was in, and came to the passes of Engedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers who told him that David was in the neighbourhood of Engedi: so he took three thousand

<sup>1</sup> The rough country to the east of Maon, now *Khurbet M'ain*, south of Ziph.

chosen men that were armed, and hasted after him, and when he was not far from the spot, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the way side, which was very spacious both in length and breadth, and there David, with his four hundred men, lay concealed. As therefore Saul had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David's companions, who told David that he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself on his adversary, and advised him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself from his tedious wandering condition and its distresses, David rose up, and only cut off the skirt of the garment which Saul had on. But soon he repented of what he had done, and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom. "For even if he is wickedly disposed towards me, yet it does not behove me to be so disposed towards him." And when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him. Whereupon the king turned round, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed down to him, and said, "O king, you ought not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of all men by their actions. For calumny deludes men, but people's actions are a clear demonstration of their good-will. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By my deeds, therefore, it will be well for you to believe me as to my regard to you and to your house, and not to believe those that accuse me of things that never came into my mind, and are impossible to be done, and to cease pursuing after my life, and having no concern either day or night but how to murder me, which you now unjustly strive after. For how comes it that you have formed this false opinion about me that I desire to kill you? Or how are you not impious to God in wishing to kill, and deeming as your adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself and to punish you, but would not do it,

nor make use of such an opportunity, though, if it had fallen out to you against me, you would not have let it slip; for when I cut off the skirt of your garment, I could as easily have cut off your head?" Then he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby proved to him that what he said was true; and he added, "I, indeed, have abstained from taking a just revenge upon you, yet you are not ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God judge between us, and test each of our dispositions." But Saul was amazed at his unexpected deliverance, and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposition of the young man, he groaned aloud, and when David had done the same, the king answered that he had the most cause to groan, "for," said he, "you have been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of evil to you. And you have shown this day that you possess the old-fashioned justice of those who ordered people to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for you, and that you will have the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurances upon oath that you will not root out my family, nor destroy my posterity, in remembrance of the evil I have done you, but save and preserve my house." And David swore as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom, but he, and those that were with him, went up to the passes of Mastheroth.<sup>1</sup>

§ 5. About this time Samuel the prophet died, a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree; for the long mourning which the people made for him manifested his virtue and the affection which the people had to him, as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and the celebration of the customary rites. They buried him in his own city of Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not sorrowing as for the death of a stranger, but as for one who was a relation. He was a righteous man, and good in his nature, and therefore was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone twelve years after the death of Eli the high priest, and eighteen years

<sup>1</sup> From 1 Sam. xxiii. 29, and xxiv. 1, 2; these are evidently near En-gedi.

together with Saul the king: and thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

§ 6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon,<sup>1</sup> who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle; for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and a thousand goats. Now David had charged his men to see that these flocks were without hurt or damage, and to do them no mischief, either from covetousness, or because they were in want, or because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be caught, but to value wronging nobody above everything, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as a horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that he had a good man to deal with, and one that deserved to have such care taken of him. But this Nabal, for that was his name, was a harsh man and of bad manners, being like a cynic in his behaviour, but had obtained for his wife a good woman, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, then, David sent ten of his men at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them greeted him, and expressed a wish for his prosperity for many years to come, and asked him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he would learn from his shepherds, that he and his men had done them and their flocks no injury, but had been their guardians a long time while they continued in the wilderness; and he should never repent of giving anything to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them in a very uncourteous and rough manner, for he asked them, who David was? and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, he said, "Nowadays runagates grow insolent and haughty, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth, and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him, and left two hundred to take care of the stuff (for he had by now six hundred),<sup>2</sup> and went against Nabal; he

<sup>1</sup> Now *Khurbet M'ain*, south of Hebron.

<sup>2</sup> The number of men that came first to David, are distinctly in Josephus, and in our common copies, but 400. When he was at Keilah, still but 400, both in Josephus and in the LXX.; but 600 in our Hebrew copies, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xxx. 9, 10. Now the 600 there mentioned are here intimated by Josephus to have been so many, only by

also swore, that he would that night utterly destroy the house and all the possessions of Nabal. For he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to him and his men, without making any return for the great kindness they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used bad language to them, though he had received no injury from them.

§ 7. Then one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal told his mistress, Nabal's wife, that when David sent to her husband, he had received no civil answer from him at all, but had been insulted in very reproachful language, though David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and added that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master. When the servant had told her this, Abigail, for that was the wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents, and without telling her husband anything of what she was about (for he was insensible from drunkenness), she went to David, who met her as she was descending a mountain pass, and was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman saw him, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on her face, and bowed down to the ground, and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name (for Nabal, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies folly). And she excused herself as not having seen the messengers whom he sent. "Forgive me, therefore (said she), and thank God who has hindered you from shedding human blood; for as long as you keep yourself innocent, he will avenge you on wicked men. As for the miseries that await Nabal, may they fall upon the heads of your enemies! But be gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept these presents from me, and remit out of regard to me the wrath and anger which you have against my husband and his house; for mildness and humanity become you, especially as you are to be our king." And David accepted her presents, and said, "Certainly, lady, it was God's mercy that brought you to me to-day, for else you would not have seen another day, as I swore to destroy Nabal's house this very night, and an augmentation of 200 afterwards, which, I suppose, is the true solution of this seeming disagreement.—W.

to leave alive not one of you, since you belonged to a man so wicked and ungrateful to me and my companions. But as it is you have arrested my intention, and mollified my anger, being yourself under the care of God, and as for Nabal, although for your sake he shall now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice, for his evil conduct on some other occasion will be his ruin."

§ 8. When David had said this, he dismissed Abigail. And when she returned home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and already stupefied with wine, she said nothing then to him about what had happened, but on the next day, when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body paralysed and like that of a dead man by her words, and by the grief which arose from them. And Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said that God had well avenged him on him, for Nabal had died of his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, though he had kept his own hands clean. At that time David recognized that the wicked are punished by God, who does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is good, and inflicts speedy punishment on the wicked. And he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to live with him, and to be his wife. And she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet, however, she came with all her handmaids, and became his wife, having received that honour on account of her wise and just character, and partly also on account of her beauty. Now David had taken another wife before, whom he married from the city of Abisar;<sup>1</sup> for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti, the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.<sup>2</sup>

§ 9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul that David was come again into their country; and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. And Saul marched against David with three thousand

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Sam. xxv. 43, Abinoam is said to have been of Jezreel, a town of Judah, mentioned in Josh. xv. 56, between Juttah and Jokdeam, not yet identified.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Beit Jāla*, near Bethlehem.

armed men, and pitched his camp, upon the approach of night, at a certain place called Hachilah.<sup>1</sup> And when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bade them let him know to what part of the country Saul had already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he secretly passed the night apart from his men, and went to Saul's camp, taking with him Abishai, his sister Zeruah's son, and Ahimelech the Hittite. Now Saul was asleep, and his armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle, and David entered into the king's tent, but did neither himself kill Saul, though he knew where he lay from the spear stuck in the ground at his head, nor did he allow Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon doing so: for he said it was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, even though he was a wicked man, for he who gave him the dominion, would in time inflict punishment upon him. So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might be clear that it was in his power to have killed him though he refrained from it, he took the spear and the cruse of water which were by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any in the camp, who were all asleep, and went safely away, having performed everything among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. And when he had passed over a brook, and had got up to the top of a hill, from which he might be easily heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner their commander, and awoke them out of their sleep, and shouted both to him and the people. And when the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him, David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, your fugitive. But why ever do you, who are so great a man, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of your master's body? Is sleep of more consequence to you than his preservation, and the due care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death or condign punishment, since none of you perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, as far as the king himself and all the rest of you. If

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the ridge *el-Kolah*, in the wilderness east of *Tell ez-Zif*, Ziph.

you look for the king's spear and cruse of water, you will learn how great a misfortune might have come upon you in your very camp without your knowing of it." Now, when Saul recognized David's voice, and learned that, though he had him in his power when he was asleep, and his guards took little care of him, he yet did not kill him, but spared him when he might justly have cut him off, he said that he owed him thanks for his preservation, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of any harm from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was beloved by him, though he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good-will to him, and had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great anxiety for his life, being bereft of his friends and kindred. And yet he had saved the king's life several times, and spared it when it was evidently in great danger. Then David bade them send for the spear and cruse of water, and take them back, adding that God would judge them both according to their nature and the actions that flowed from the same. "For he knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed you, I abstained from doing so."

§ 10. Saul, having thus escaped the hands of David twice, went his way to his royal palace and his own city, but David was afraid, that if he stayed there he would be arrested by Saul, so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines and abide there. Accordingly he went with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of the five Philistine cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to dwell in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath.<sup>1</sup> And when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him or going after him, because he had been twice nearly undone by him, when he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but asked the king, as he had received him with such kindness, that he would grant

<sup>1</sup> *Tell es-Sâfi.*



him another favour, and bestow upon him some place in that country for his habitation, for he was ashamed to be grievous and burdensome to him by living in Gath. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag,<sup>1</sup> which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned as their own. But about that I shall say more elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in Ziklag, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And he privately attacked those Geshurites<sup>2</sup> and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much spoil of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but he abstained from capturing any men, fearing they would discover him to king Achish, but he sent part of the spoil to him as a gift. And when the king inquired whom he had attacked when he brought off the spoil, he said, those Jews that lay to the south, and inhabited the plain. So he got Achish to believe him, who now hoped that David hated his own nation, and that he would now have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

## CHAP. XIV.

*How Saul, on God's not answering him concerning the Fight with the Philistines, asked the Witch of Endor to bring up the Soul of Samuel to him; and how Saul died with his Sons on the Overthrow of the Hebrews in Battle.*

### § 1.

ABOUT the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent round to all their allies asking them to go along with them to the war to Reggan [near the city of Shunem<sup>3</sup>], where they might concentrate, and rush at the Hebrews. And Achish, the king of

<sup>1</sup> Possibly 'Aslûj, south of Beersheba.

<sup>2</sup> An ancient tribe dwelling in the desert south of Philistia, see Josh. xiii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Sôlam*, north of *Zerin*, Jezreel. Reggan is not mentioned in the Bible, and the site is not known.

Gath, asked David to assist him with his own armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised, and said that the time was now come that he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality, and the king promised to make him the captain of his body-guard after the victory, if the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind, which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

§ 2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had banished out of the country all wizards and witches, and all such as practised the like arts, except the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already at hand, and had pitched their camp near the city of Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called Gilboa,<sup>1</sup> he pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And as God did not answer him, Saul was in still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreboding, as was but likely, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him. And he bade his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a witch, and called up the souls of the dead, that so he might know if affairs would succeed to his mind. For this sort of witches, that bring up the souls of the dead, foretell by them future events to those who ask them. And one of his servants having told him, that there was such a woman in the city of Endor,<sup>2</sup> without the knowledge of anybody in the camp, he put off his royal apparel, and took two of his servants with him whom he knew to be most faithful, and went to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a wizard, and to bring up to him whatever soul he should name to her. And when the woman objected, and said she could not despise the king, who had banished this sort of wizards, and that he did not do well, as she had

<sup>1</sup> The name Gilboa survives in *Jelbón*, a village on the range of hills, Mount Gilboa, east of the great plain of Esdraelon.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Endûr*, south of *Jebel et-Tûr*, Mount Tabor.

done him no harm, to endeavour to lay a snare for her and to discover that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to get her punished, he swore that nobody should know what she did, and he would not tell anyone of her divination, and that she should incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bade her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him up out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw a venerable and god-like man, she was afraid and astonished at the sight, and said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel informed her who he was. When he owned that to be true, and asked her whence her fear arose? she said, that she saw a certain person come up, who in his appearance was like a god. And when he bade her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was? she told him, he was an old man, and a glorious person, and had on a sacerdotal mantle. And the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel, and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted him, and prostrated himself before him. And when the soul of Samuel asked Saul why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up? he lamented the necessity he was in, for he said that his enemies pressed heavily upon him, and that he knew not what to do in his present circumstances, that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming either by prophets or dreams; and that these were the reasons why he had recourse to him, for he would take care of him. But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is idle for you to desire to learn of me anything further, as God has forsaken you. However, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success, and you are to lose your throne and life, because you did not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and did not keep his commandments, as I foretold you while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that you and your sons shall fall in the battle to-morrow, and you shall be with me."

§ 3. When Saul heard this, he was speechless for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether from the sorrow that

arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day or night. And when he had with difficulty recovered himself, the woman tried to force him to eat, begging it of him as a favour on account of her dangerous exhibition of magic, which was unlawful, because of fear of the king, though she knew not who he was, yet had she undertaken it, and gone through with it. So she entreated him to allow a table and food to be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and get safe to his own camp. And when he resisted her wish, and absolutely refused in his dejection, she urged him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had a calf that she was very fond of, and that she took a great deal of care of, and fed herself, for she was a woman that got her living by the labour of her hands, and had no other possession but this one calf; this she killed, and cooked its flesh, and set it before the king and his servants. And Saul returned to the camp while it was yet night.

§ 4. Now it is but right to commend the generosity of this woman, because though the king had forbidden her to use that art by which her circumstances were bettered and improved, and though she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her calling, and did not reject him as a stranger, and one that she had no acquaintance with, but had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only thing she had, being a poor woman, and that earnestly and with great humanity, though she had no requital made to her for her kindness, nor had in view any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas people are naturally ambitious to please those that have bestowed some benefit upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It is well therefore to imitate the example of this woman, and to do kindnesses to all such as are in need, and to think that nothing is better, or more becoming mankind than this, or will sooner make God favourable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to say concerning this woman. But I shall speak now upon another subject, which will

afford me an opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and peoples, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue, and is capable of showing them the method of acquiring glory and everlasting fame, and of inspiring in the kings of nations and rulers of cities great inclination and desire to do well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible things. And I have a good reason for such a discourse in the person of Saul, king of the Hebrews. For, although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he determined not to flee from death, nor from love of life to betray his own people to the enemy, nor to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity, but exposing himself as well as all his family and children to dangers, he thought it a noble thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better that his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave it uncertain what they would be afterwards, for instead of succession and posterity they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such a one alone seems to me to be a just, courageous, and sensible man, and whoever has arrived at this state of mind, or shall hereafter arrive at it, is the man that ought to be honoured by all with a testimony for virtue. For as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and likely to return home safe, when they have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians and other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess they justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversity, who imitate Saul. For as for those who do not know what the event of war will be to themselves, though they do not play the coward in it, but deliver themselves up to an uncertain future and its chances, this is not so great a proof of nobility of mind, although they may happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo death in

battle also, after this neither to be afraid nor dismayed at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go to meet it, when they know it beforehand, this I judge a proof that a man is truly courageous. And this Saul did, and so proved that all men who desire fame after they are dead are so to act to obtain the same, and especially kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high station that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but should be more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording sufficient matter, but that I may not appear to launch out improperly in his commendation, I return again to my narrative from which I made this digression.

§ 5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and reviewed their forces according to their nations and kingdoms and provinces, king Achish came last of all with his own army, and after him came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king, whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered, that it was David, who had fled from his master Saul, whom he had entertained when he came to him, and who now therefore wished to make him a requital for his favour, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become their confederate. The commanders complained of his having taken for a confederate one who was an enemy, and advised sending him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief, for he had an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing mischief to their army. They therefore urged Achish, foreboding this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation, for he was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spoke well, so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself, I can bear witness that you have shown great zeal and kindness to me, and that was why I took you for my confederate, however, what I have done does not please the commanders. Go therefore within a day's time to the

place I have given you, without suspecting any harm, and there guard my country, lest any of our enemies should make a raid upon it, this shall be your portion of assistance." So David went to Ziklag,<sup>1</sup> as the king of Gath bade him: but it so happened, while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, that the Amalekites had made a raid, and taken Ziklag by storm and burnt it; and when they had taken a great deal of various spoil from that place, and from the rest of the Philistines' country, they departed.

§ 6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that everything was plundered, and that his two wives, as well as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he at once rent his clothes, wailing and lamenting with his friends, and indeed he was so cast down with this misfortune, that even tears failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid all the blame of what had happened upon him. But when he had recovered from his grief, and raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and prophesy to him, "Whether God would grant, if he pursued after the Amalekites, that he should overtake them, and rescue the wives and children, and avenge himself on the enemies." And when the high priest bade him pursue after them, he marched apace, with his six hundred men, after the enemy; and when he was come to a certain brook called Besor,<sup>2</sup> and lit upon a man wandering about, an Egyptian by race, who was almost dead with want and famine (for he had continued wandering about in the wilderness without food three days), he first of all gave him both meat and drink and so refreshed him, and then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came? Then the man told him he was an Egyptian by race, and had been left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak that he could not follow him. He also informed him that he was one of those that

<sup>1</sup> Possibly 'Aslúj.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Robinson identifies the brook Besor, which lay to the south of Ziklag, with *Wády 'Ar'arah*, the south-western branch of *Wády es-Seb'a*.

had burnt and plundered, not only other parts of Judæa, but Ziklag itself also. So David make use of him as a guide to the Amalekites, and when he had come up with them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered and entirely unnerved with wine, and in the fruition of their spoil and prey, he suddenly fell upon them and made a great slaughter of them, for they were unarmed, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily killed. Some of them were surprised as they reclined at table, and were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with it their food. Others of them they slew as they were pledging one another in their cups, and some whom their debauch had sent fast to sleep; and as for those who had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword with no less ease than they did those that were unarmed. And David and his men continued the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left, and they only escaped by getting on swift camels. And David recovered not only all the spoil which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. And when they had returned to the place where they had left the two hundred men who were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred did not think fit to divide among them any of what they had got, or of the spoil, since they did not accompany them, but were slack in the pursuit of the enemy, and they said they should be content with having got back their wives safe. But David pronounced this view of theirs as wrong and unjust, and said that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to them, they should make an equal distribution of what they had got to all who shared in the expedition, because the rest had tarried behind only to guard the stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff should receive an equal share with those that fought in a battle. And when David had returned to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoil to all his acquaint-



tances and friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affair of the plundering of Ziklag in the slaughter of the Amalekites.

§ 7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle with Saul, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies, but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, fought courageously, and with the utmost zeal, knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy (for they had nothing else to hope for), so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were surrounded and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Melchishua; and when they fell, the rank and file of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder and confusion and slaughter, as the Philistines pressed hard upon them. And Saul himself fled, accompanied by a strong body of soldiers, but on the Philistines sending after him some javelinmen and bowmen, he lost all this force except a few; as for himself, he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to hold out or resist any longer, and was too weak to kill himself, he bade his armour-bearer draw his sword and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But as his armour-bearer did not dare to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself opposite its point, threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor by leaning against it make it pass through him, he turned round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was, and when he heard that he was an Amalekite, he besought him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and so to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly, and stripped off the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and the royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's body-guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa.

And when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond the Jordan, and those that had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that their whole army was destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were best fortified and most secure, and the Philistines, finding those cities deserted, went and dwelt in them.

§ 8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they found the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads, and sent messengers all over the country to acquaint them that their enemies had fallen. And they hung up their armour as a votive offering in the temple of Astarte,<sup>1</sup> but put their bodies on crosses near the walls of the city of Bethshan, which is now called Scythopolis.<sup>2</sup> But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead<sup>3</sup> heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and bold among them (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in mind and body) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached the enemy's walls, and taking down the bodies of Saul and of his sons, carried them to Jabesh, the enemy not being able or bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage. And the people of Jabesh had a public mourning, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was called Arura;<sup>4</sup> and mourned for them seven days with their wives and children, beating their breasts and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink.

§ 9. To this sad end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and because he slew the

<sup>1</sup> According to 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 'the house of Ashtaroth;' it was probably at Ashtaroth Carnaim, now *Tell 'Asherah*, on the south side of the river *Yarmuk*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Beisân*.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2, p. 361.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Ant. vi. 12, § 4. In 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, the place of burial is said to have been 'under a tree' or 'under the tamarisk' at Jabesh.

family of Ahimelech the high priest, and Ahimelech himself, and destroyed the city of the high priests. Now Saul reigned eighteen years while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty,] and ended his life as I have recorded.

END OF VOLUME I.







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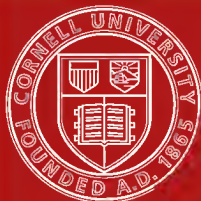
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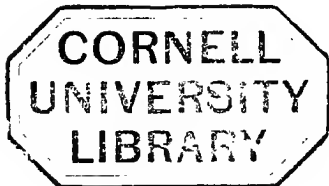
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# ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

## BOOK VII.

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

### CHAP. I.

*How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the Son of Saul reigned over the rest, and how in the Civil War which arose Asahel and Abner were slain.*

#### § 1.

THIS fight happened to be on the same day on which David got back to Ziklag, after his victory over the Amalekites. And when he had been already two days at Ziklag, there came to him the man who slew Saul, on the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and ashes upon his head. And when he made his obeisance to David, he inquired of him whence he came. He replied from the battle of the Israelites: and informed him that the end of it was unfortunate, many myriads of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul and his sons slain. He also said, that he could give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he fled, and admitted that he had himself slain the king, when he was about to be taken by the enemy, as he asked him to do, because, when he fell on his sword, his many wounds had

made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced, as tokens that the king was slain, the golden bracelets that had been on the king's arms, and the crown which he had taken off Saul's dead body to bring to him. And David being no longer able to doubt the truth of what he said, but seeing most evident tokens that Saul was dead, rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions weeping and lamenting. This grief was augmented by his regret for Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the author of his own safety. He also showed such virtue and kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by him, but also to punish him that slew him: for he told him that he was his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and when he learned that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral panegyrics on Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own time.

§ 2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, and left off mourning, he inquired of God by the prophet which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he bestowed upon him to dwell in? And he answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron.<sup>1</sup> So he left Ziklag, and went to Hebron, and took with him his two wives and his armed men. And all the people of the fore-mentioned tribe came to him, and elected him as their king. And when he heard that the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead had buried Saul and his sons, he sent to them and commended them, and took what they had done kindly, and promised to repay them for their kindness to those that were dead; and at the same time he informed them, that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

§ 3. But as soon as Abner (the son of Ner), who was general of Saul's army, and a very active man and of good character, knew that the king and Jonathan and his two other sons had fallen, he made haste to the camp, and taking off with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was

<sup>1</sup> *el-Khull.*



Ishbosheth, took him to the people over the Jordan, and made him the king of the whole nation, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim,<sup>1</sup> but in the language of the Greeks The Camp; from whence Abner made haste with a picked force to fight with the tribe of Judah, for he was angry that that tribe had set up David for their king. And Joab, (whose father was Suri, and his mother David's sister Zeruah,) the general of David's army, met him according to David's order, having with him his brothers Abishai and Asahel, as also all David's armed men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibeon,<sup>2</sup> he drew up his men in order of battle. And when Abner said to him that he had a mind to know which of them had the most valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them that twelve soldiers should fight on each side. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight, came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, drew their swords, and catching one another by the head, they held one another fast, and ran their swords into each other's sides and groins, until they all, as if by mutual agreement, perished together. When these had fallen down dead, the rest of the army engaged, and after a sharp contest Abner's men were beaten; and as they fled, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but pressed hard upon them, and urged his men to follow them close, and not to grow weary of killing them. His brothers also pursued them with great alacrity, and especially Asahel, the younger, who was the most eminent of them, and very famous for swiftness of foot, for he could not only outrun men, but is reported to have outrun a horse that raced with him. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn the least out of his course, either to the one side or to the other. Then Abner turned back, and attempted cunningly to elude his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of one of his soldiers, and again, when he could not persuade him to do so, he exhorted him to restrain

<sup>1</sup> Now apparently *Khurbet Mahneh*, fourteen miles south-east of *Beisán*, Bethshean.

<sup>2</sup> Now *el-Jib*, close to and to the north of *Neby Samwíl*.

himself, and not to pursue him any longer, lest he should force him to kill him, and then he would not be able to look his brother Joab in the face. But as Asahel would not be persuaded, but still continued to pursue him, Abner turned round as he fled, and stabbed him with his spear, and mortally wounded him, so that he died immediately. And those that had been pursuing Abner with him, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, stood round his dead body, and left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself and his brother Abishai ran past the dead corpse,<sup>1</sup> and making their anger at the death of Asahel an occasion of greater activity against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammah,<sup>2</sup> and it was now about sunset. Then Joab ascended a certain hill, and stood there with the tribe of Benjamin, and took a view of Abner and his men. Then Abner cried aloud, and said, that it was not right that they should irritate men of the same nation to fight so bitterly against one another, and as for Joab's brother Asahel, he was himself in the wrong, as he would not be persuaded not to pursue him any further, which was the occasion of his wound and death. And Joab consented to what he said, and accepted his words as an apology for the killing of Asahel, and called his men back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and put a stop to any further pursuit. And Joab encamped there that night, but Abner marched all night, and crossed over the river Jordan, and went to Ishbosheth Saul's son, to Mahanaim. On the next day Joab counted the dead, and had them all buried. Of Abner's soldiers there were slain about three hundred and sixty, but of David's only nineteen, besides Asahel, whose body Joab and Abishai carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulchre of their fathers, they returned to Hebron to David. From that time there began a civil war, which lasted a long

<sup>1</sup> It ought here to be noted, that Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were all three David's nephews, the sons of his sister Zeruiah, as 1 Chron. ii. 6, and that Amasa was also his nephew by his other sister, Abigail, verse 17.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified; it was a hill facing Giah, by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon (2 Sam. ii. 24).

while, in which the followers of David grew stronger and came off best in the dangers they underwent, and the house and subjects of Saul almost every day became weaker.

§ 4. About this time David had six sons, by as many mothers. The eldest was by Abinoam and was called Amnon; the second was Daniel by his wife Abigail; the third was Absalom by Maacah, the daughter of Talmi, king of Gêhur; the fourth, by his wife Haggith, he called Adonijah; the fifth was Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth, by Eglah, he called Ithream. Now while this civil war went on, and the subjects of the two kings had frequent encounters and fights, Abner, the general of the army of Saul's son, by his ability and great popularity with the people, made them all continue with Ishbosheth, and indeed for a considerable time they continued in fidelity to him. But afterwards, when Abner was blamed and accused of having gone in to Saul's concubine, the daughter of Aiah, whose name was Rizpah, and when he was censured for it by Ishbosheth, he was very vexed and angry because he had not justice done him by Ishbosheth, to whom he had shown the greatest kindness, and he threatened to transfer the kingdom to David, and to show that Ishbosheth did not rule over the people beyond the Jordan by his own strength and wisdom, but by his (Abner's) warlike skill and fidelity. And he sent to Hebron to David, and asked him to give him security upon oath that he would esteem him his companion and his friend, on condition that he should persuade the people to revolt from Saul's son, and choose David king of the whole country. And when David agreed to the terms of Abner, for he was pleased with his message to him, he asked him as the first proof he meant to fulfil the conditions to restore his wife Michal to him, as he had purchased her with great risk with those six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father for her hand. So Abner took Michal from Phaltiel, who was now her husband, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself offering his assistance, for David had written to him that he ought to have his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the people, and the commanders of divisions, and captains of thousands, and said to them that he had dissuaded them from their intention when they were in-

clined to forsake Ishbosheth and to join themselves to David, but now he gave them leave to do so, if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had by Samuel the prophet appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews, and had foretold that he should punish the Philistines, and overcome them, and bring them under. Now when the elders and commanders heard this, and saw that Abner had come over to that view of public affairs which they had held before, they changed their party and came over to David. And Abner called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all the body-guards of Ishbosheth were of that tribe, and he spoke to them to the same purpose. And when he saw that they did not in the least oppose what he said, but assented to his view, he took about twenty of his friends and went to David, to receive himself security upon oath from him, for we esteem those things more sure which we do ourselves than those which we do by proxy. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the commanders, and to the whole tribe of Benjamin. And when David had received him in a gracious manner, and had treated him with great hospitality for many days, Abner, when he was dismissed, asked for leave to bring the tribes with him, that he might hand over the kingdom to David when he could see and be seen.

§ 5. Directly David had sent Abner away, Joab, the general of his army, came to Hebron, and when he learnt that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before, on conditions and agreements that the kingdom should be handed over to David, he feared lest David should place Abner, who would assist him to gain the kingdom, in the first rank and dignity, especially as Abner was a clever man in other respects in understanding affairs and in taking occasion by the hand, and that he himself should be put lower, and be deprived of the command of the army, so he took a knavish and wicked course. In the first place he endeavoured to calumniate Abner to the king, urging him to be on his guard against him, and not to pay attention to what he had engaged to do for him, because all he did tended to confirm the kingdom to Saul's son: that he came to him deceitfully and with guile, and was gone away in hopes of gaining his purpose by subtilty.

But as he could not persuade David, and saw that he was not at all exasperated, he betook himself to a project bolder than the former. He determined to kill Abner, and sent some messengers after him, and ordered them, when they should overtake him, to recall him in David's name, who had some matters to tell him about his affairs, which he had not remembered to speak of when he was with him. Now when Abner heard what the messengers said (for they overtook him in a certain place called Besira,<sup>1</sup> which was twenty furlongs from Hebron), he suspected nothing of what was going to happen, and returned. And Joab met him in the gate, and received him in the kindest manner, as if he were Abner's greatest well-wisher and friend; for those who undertake vile actions, in order to prevent any suspicion of their intention, frequently pretend to be really good. And he took him aside from his own followers, as if he would speak with him in private, and led him to a solitary part of the gate, having nobody with him but his brother Abishai, and he drew his sword and smote him in the groin. Thus Abner died by Joab's treachery, which was, he said himself, to avenge his brother Asahel, whom Abner smote and slew as he was pursuing after him in the battle of Hebron, but really from fear of losing his command of the army, and his position with the king, and that Abner would obtain the first place in David's court. By this anyone may learn how much and great wickedness men will venture upon for ambition and power, and not to be behind anyone else. For as when they are desirous of power, they acquire it by ten thousand evil practices, so when they are afraid of losing it, they get it secured to them by much worse practices than the former, as if they thought no more terrible calamity could befall them than not to gain exalted authority, or when they have got it, and by long custom found the sweetness of it, to lose it again; and since this last would be the heaviest of all afflictions, they all of them contrive and venture upon the most desperate actions from fear of losing it. But let these few reflections suffice on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Sam. iii. 26, the place is called 'the well of Sirah.' It is now 'Ain Sârah, near Hebron.

§ 6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved his soul, and he called all men to witness, stretching out his right hand to God, and crying aloud, that he was not partaker of the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or wish. He also imprecated the heaviest curses on him that slew him, and on his whole house, and on all accessories in the murder. For he was anxious not to seem to have had any hand in the murder, contrary to the assurances he had given, and the oaths he had taken to Abner. And he commanded all the people to weep and lament for him, and to honour his dead body with the usual solemnities by rending their garments and putting on sackcloth, and so attired to go before the bier, which he followed himself, with the elders and those that were in authority, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not murdered with his consent. And he buried him at Hebron in a magnificent manner, and composed funeral elegies for him: and stood next to the tomb weeping, and caused others to do the same. Nay, so deeply did the death of Abner trouble him, that his companions could by no means force him to take any food, for he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This behaviour gained him the good-will of the people; for such as had an affection for Abner were mightily pleased with the respect he paid him now he was dead, and his observation of the faith he had plighted to him, which was showed in his vouchsafing to him all the usual funeral ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman and friend, and not suffering him to be insulted by a neglected and dishonourable burial, as if he had been his enemy; and the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, everyone thinking that the king would have paid the same respect to him in the like circumstances as he showed in the burial of Abner. And indeed in this David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and so took care to do what was proper in the case, so none suspected him as the author of Abner's death. He said also to the people, that he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man, and that the affairs of the He-

brews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him who was competent to preserve them by his excellent advice, and by the strength of his hands in war. And he added, "God, who observes everything, will not suffer Abner to die unavenged; but know ye, that I am not able to do anything to these sons of Zeruah, Joab and Abishai, who have more power than I have, but God will requite their wickedness on their own heads." Such was the death of Abner.

## CHAP. II.

*How, upon the Murder of Ishbosheth by the Treachery of his Friends, David received the whole Kingdom.*

### § 1.

WHEN Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, heard of the death of Abner, he took it greatly to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and had indeed given him the kingdom, and he was grievously afflicted, for Abner's death very much troubled him. Nor did he himself survive any long time, but was treacherously slain by the sons of Hieremmon, Banaotha and Thannus, who being Benjamites of the first rank, thought if they should slay Ishbosheth, they would obtain great presents from David, and get some military command, or some other post. So finding him alone asleep at noon in his bed-chamber, when none of his guards were there, and when the woman that kept the door was not awake, but had fallen asleep also, partly on account of the labour she had undergone, partly from the heat, they went into the room in which Saul's son lay asleep, and slew him; they also cut off his head, and travelled all that night, and the next day, supposing themselves flying away from those they had injured, to one that would take their action as a favour, and give them security. So they came to Hebron, and showed David the head of Ishbosheth, and introduced themselves to him as his well-wishers, who had killed his rival for the kingdom. But David did not approve of what they had done, as they had expected, but said to them, "Vilest of wretches, you shall immediately

receive the punishment you deserve. Did not you know how I punished him that murdered Saul, and brought me his crown of gold, and that though he slew him as a favour, that he might not be taken alive by his enemies? Or did you imagine that I am altered in my disposition, and not the same man I was, to be pleased with evil-doers, and to be grateful to you for your vile murder of your master, having slain a righteous man upon his bed, who never did evil to anybody, and treated you with great good-will and honour? Wherefore you shall suffer the punishment due on his account, and also that you owe me for supposing that I should take Ishbosheth's death kindly at your hands, for you could not lay a greater blot on my reputation than by such a suspicion." When David had said this, he had them tormented with all sorts of torments, and then put to death; and with all accustomed rites he laid the head of Ishbosheth in the grave of Abner.

§ 2. When these things were brought to this conclusion, all the principal men of the Hebrew people came to David to Hebron, as the captains of thousands and other rulers, and delivered themselves up to him, reminding him of the good-will they had borne him in Saul's lifetime, and the honour they had not ceased to pay him when he was captain of a thousand, as also that he was chosen by God as king through Samuel the prophet, he and his sons after him, and pointing out besides, how God had given him power to save the land of the Hebrews by overcoming the Philistines. And he received graciously their zeal on his behalf, and exhorted them to continue in it, for they should have no reason to repent of being thus disposed to him. So when he had feasted them, and treated them graciously, he sent them home to bring all the people to him; upon which there came to him about six thousand eight hundred armed men of the tribe of Judah, who had shields and spears for their weapons, who had adhered hitherto to Saul's son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah chose David for their king. There came also seven thousand one hundred from the tribe of Simeon. From the tribe of Levi there came four thousand seven hundred, with Jehoiada for their leader. After these came Zadok the high priest, with twenty-two captains of his kindred. Of the tribe of Benjamin came four



thousand armed men, for the rest of the tribe held aloof, hoping that some one of the house of Saul would yet be king over them. Of the tribe of Ephraim were twenty thousand eight hundred mighty men of valour eminent for their strength. Of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand of the strongest men. Of the tribe of Issachar came two hundred who foreknew what was to come hereafter, and twenty thousand armed men. Of the tribe of Zebulun came fifty thousand chosen warriors. This was the only tribe that came entirely in to David, and all these had the same weapons as the tribe of Gad. Of the tribe of Nephthali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being innumerable. Of the tribe of Dan there were twenty-seven thousand six hundred chosen men. Of the tribe of Asher were forty thousand. Of the two tribes that were beyond the Jordan, and half the tribe of Manasseh, armed with shields and spears and helmets and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn and wine and all other sorts of food, and established David in the kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced and feasted for three days in Hebron, David and all the people removed and came to Jerusalem.

## CHAP. III.

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

## § 1.

NOW the Jebusites, who inhabited Jerusalem, and were Canaanites by race, shut their gates, and placed the blind and the lame and all their maimed persons upon the walls to mock at the king, and said that even these would hinder his entrance into it. This they did contemptuously relying on the strength of their walls. And David was enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem,

and employed his utmost diligence and energy, intending by the taking of this place to prove his strength, and to awe all others that might exhibit a similar spirit to him, and he took the lower city by storm, but the citadel held out still, so the king, knowing that the offer of honour and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater energy, promised that he who should first cross the moat beneath the citadel, and should ascend to the citadel itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they were all eager to ascend, and thought no pains too great to get up there, from their desire of the chief command. But Joab, the son of Zeruiah, got up first, and as soon as he had got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

§ 2. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he rebuilt Jerusalem, and called it the City of David,<sup>1</sup> and abode there all the time of his reign. But the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only at Hebron was seven years and six months. And after he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs prospered more and more by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and wax greater. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and alliance with him. He also sent him presents of cedar-trees, and artificers carpenters and builders, to build him a royal palace at Jerusalem. Now David built round about the lower city, and also joined the citadel to it, and made it one work, and when he had surrounded it with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. [It was David therefore who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it after himself the City of David, for in the days of our forefather Abraham it was called Solyma, and after that time some say that Homer mentions it by the name of Solyma. And he called the temple Solyma,<sup>2</sup> which in the Hebrew language denotes security.] Now the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from the war in which he overcame them, and dis-

<sup>1</sup> The 'City of David,' or 'stronghold of Zion,' 2 Sam. v. 7, was on the eastern hill between the Kedron and the Tyropæon valleys.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Jewish War, vi. 10.

tributed their land among the Hebrews, was five hundred and fifteen years. Nor could the Israelites ever cast the Canaanites out of Jerusalem until David took it by siege.

§ 3. I shall here mention Araunah, who was a wealthy Jebusite, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and because of a certain affection and zeal he had to the king himself, which I shall speak of as occasion offers. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he also kept concubines. And he begat eleven sons, whose names were Amnon, Emnos, Eban, Nathan, Solomon, Jebar, Elien, Phalna, Ennaphen, Jenæ, Eliphale, and also a daughter Tamar. Of these sons nine were born of legitimate wives, but the two last-named of concubines, and Tamar had the same mother as Absalom.

#### CHAP. IV.

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

##### § 1.

WHEN the Philistines understood that David was made king by the Hebrews, they led an army against him to Jerusalem, and when they had occupied the valley called the valley of the Giants,<sup>1</sup> a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein. But the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do anything without prophecy,<sup>2</sup> and the command of God, and without relying on him as a security for the time to come, bade the high priest

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Sam. v. 19, the 'valley of Rephaim;' according to Ant. vii. 12, § 4, the valley extended from Jerusalem to Bethlehem; it is now called *el-Bukeï'a*.

<sup>2</sup> It deserves here to be remarked, that Saul very rarely, and David very frequently, consulted God by Urim, and that David aimed always to depend, not on his own prudence, or abilities, but on the divine direction, contrary to Saul's practice. And when Michal laughed at David's dancing before the ark, it is probable she did so because her father Saul did not use to pay such a regard to the ark, to the Urim there inquired by, or to God's worship before it, and because she thought it beneath the dignity of a king to be so religious.—W.

foretold to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of the battle. And when the high priest foretold that he should gain victory and dominion, David led his army out against the Philistines; and when the battle began he suddenly fell upon the enemy's rear, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, conjecturing so from the suddenness of their defeat, and from their having performed no great action worth recording, or from the slowness of their march and want of courage; but let him know that all Syria and Phœnicia, with many other warlike nations besides, fought with them and had a share in the war. And this was the only reason why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many ten thousands of their men, they still attacked the Hebrews with a greater force. Indeed, when they failed in their purpose in these battles, they came against David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle, and the high priest prophesied to him that he should keep his army in the groves called the Groves of Weeping,<sup>1</sup> which were not far from the enemy's camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the groves should be in motion without the wind's blowing, and as soon as these trees moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should without delay go out to gain a certain and evident victory. For the columns of the enemy did not wait his attack, but retreated at the first onset, and he closely followed and slew them, and pursued them to the city of Gazar,<sup>2</sup> which is the border of their country, and spoiled their camp, in which he found great riches, and destroyed their gods.

§ 2. When this proved the issue of the battle, David thought good, upon a consultation with the elders and

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Sam. v. 23, 'the mulberry (or balsam) trees.' It is possibly the same place as the 'Valley of Baca,' Ps. lxxxiv. 6, and perhaps the Valley of Hinnom.

<sup>2</sup> Gezer, now *Tell Jezar*, four miles west of 'Amwās, Emmaus-Nicopolis.

commanders and captains of thousands, to send for those of all his countrymen that were in the flower of their age from the whole land, and also for the priests and the Levites, to go to Kirjathjearim,<sup>1</sup> to bring up the ark of God out of that city and carry it to Jerusalem, and there to keep it, and to offer those sacrifices and other honours with which God was well pleased. For had they done thus in the reign of Saul, they would not have undergone any great misfortunes at all. So when all the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Aminadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brothers and children to draw it as well as the oxen. Before it went the king and the whole people with him, chanting praises to God, and singing all sorts of national songs, with the varied sound of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sound of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But when they reached the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God, for as the oxen stumbled, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of the ark to steady it. And as he was not a priest, and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. And both the king and people were displeased at the death of Uzzah, and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah<sup>2</sup> to this day. And David was afraid, and imagined that if he received the ark to himself into his own city, he would suffer as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his mere putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, so he did not receive it to himself into his own city, but carried it aside to a certain place, belonging to a righteous man, whose name was Obededom, by race a Levite, and deposited the ark with him. And it remained there three entire months, and benefitted the house of Obededom, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, and how

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Khurbet 'Erma*, four miles west of the hill overlooking 'Ain Shems, Bethshemesh.

<sup>2</sup> Perez-Uzzah; the place is not known; in 2 Sam. vi. 6, the owner of the threshing floor is called Nacon.

from a poor man in a low estate he was become exceedingly wealthy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he felt confident that he should meet with no misfortune, and transferred the ark to his own city, the priests carrying it, while seven companies of singers marshalled in order by the king went before it, and he himself played on the harp and danced, insomuch, that when his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul our first king, saw him so doing, she jeered at him. And when they had brought in the ark, they placed it in the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and feasted the whole people, and dealt out to women and men and infants a loaf of bread and a cake, and another cake baked in a pan, with a portion of the sacrifice. And when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and himself returned to his own house.

§ 3. And when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all happiness, and prayed that whatever he should desire might be given him to the utmost by God, and that he would be favourable to him; but she blamed him, that so great a king as he was should dance in an unseemly manner, and in his dancing uncover himself among the slaves and handmaidens. But he replied, that he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father and all others, and that he would frequently play and dance without any regard either to what the handmaidens or she herself thought of it. So this Michal had no children by David, but when she was afterwards married to him to whom Saul her father had given her (for at this time David had taken her away from him and kept her himself), she bore five children. But concerning these matters I shall speak in their place.

§ 4. Now, when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day by the will of God, he thought it a sin that, while he himself dwelt in stately houses made of cedar, and beautifully furnished, he should suffer the ark to be laid in a tabernacle, and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had foretold. And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and been bidden

by him to do whatever he had a mind to do, having God with him as his helper in all things, he was the more ready to set about the building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to tell David that he took his purpose and his desires kindly, since nobody had before taken it into their head to build him a temple, although in spite of his notion he would not permit him to build him a temple, because he had made many wars, and was defiled with the slaughter of his enemies; however, after his death in old age, when he had lived a long life, there should be a temple built by a son of his, who should succeed to the kingdom after him, and should be called Solomon, whom he promised to befriend and take care of, as a father takes care of his son, by preserving the kingdom to his son's posterity, and delivering it to them, but he would punish him, if he sinned, with disease and barrenness of land. When David understood this from the prophet, he was very joyful at this sure knowledge of the continuance of the kingdom to his posterity, and that his house should be splendid and very famous, and he went to the ark and fell down on his face, and began to adore God and return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in raising him from a low state and the employment of a shepherd to so great extent of dominion and glory, as for those also which he promised to his posterity, and for the providence by which he had procured the Hebrews the liberty they enjoyed. And when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

## CHAP. V.

*How David subdued the Philistines, and the Moabites, and the Kings of Sophene, and of Damascus, and of the Syrians, as also the Idumaeans, in War; and how he made a League with the King of Hamath; and was mindful of the Friendship that Jonathan, the Son of Saul, had had to him.*

## § 1.

A LITTLE while after this he considered that he ought to make war against the Philistines, and not to allow any idleness or slackness in his rule, that when he had overthrown his enemies, as God had foretold to him, he might leave his posterity to reign in peace afterwards. So he called together his army again, and charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he started from Jerusalem, and marched against the Philistines. And when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country and annexed it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had cut to pieces two parts of their army in battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. He then made war against Adrazar, the son of Araus, king of Sophene,<sup>1</sup> and when he had joined battle with him at the river Euphrates, he cut to pieces twenty thousand of his foot, and about seven thousand of his horse. He also took about a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed most of them, and ordered that only one hundred should be kept.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ant. viii. 7, § 6. In 2 Sam. viii. 3, Hadadezer is called 'King of Zobah,' that is of Aram Zobah, which lay eastward of Cœlesyria, and extended north-east to the Euphrates. Sophene was a district of Armenia lying between the Antitaurus and Mount Masius, that is the region round *Kharpût*.

<sup>2</sup> David's reserving only 100 chariots for himself out of 1,000 he had taken was most probably done in compliance with the law of Moses, which forbade a king of Israel to 'multiply horses to himself,' Deut. xvii. 16, one of the principal uses of horses in Judæa at that time being for drawing their chariots. See Josh. xii. 6, Antiq. v. 1, § 18.—W.



§ 2. Now when Hadad, king of Damascus and Syria, heard that David fought against Adrazar, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, hoping to rescue him, but when he joined battle with David at the river Euphrates, he came off not as well as he expected, for he lost the battle and a great number of his soldiers; for there were twenty thousand slain in the army of Hadad, and all the rest fled. Nicolaus [of Damascus] also makes mention of this king, in the fourth book of his histories, where he speaks as follows: "A great while after these things had happened, there was one of the natives of that country whose name was Hadad, who became very powerful, and reigned over Damascus, and the rest of Syria, excepting Phœnicia. He made war against David, the king of Judæa, and tried his fortune in many battles, and particularly in the last battle at the Euphrates, wherein he was beaten. He seemed to have been the most notable of all their kings for strength and bravery." And besides this he says of his posterity, that after his death they succeeded one another in his kingdom and name, for he thus speaks: "When Hadad was dead, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each of his successors receiving from his father both his dominions and name, as was the case with the Ptolemies in Egypt. But the third was the most powerful of them all, and wished to avenge the defeat his forefather had received, so he made an expedition against the Jews, and laid waste the region which is now called Samaritis." Nor did he err from the truth, for he means that Hadad who made an expedition against Samaria in the reign of Ahab king of Israel; about whom I shall speak in due place hereafter.

§ 3. Now when David had made an expedition against Damascus, and the rest of Syria, and had brought it all into subjection, and had placed garrisons in the country, and ordered that they should pay tribute, he returned home. He also dedicated to God at Jerusalem the golden quivers and the entire armour which the guards of Hadad used to wear, which Shishak the king of Egypt took away afterwards, when he fought with David's grandson Rehoboam, with a great deal of other wealth which he carried out of Jerusalem. However, I shall narrate all this when

I come to the proper place. As for the king of the Hebrews, he was assisted by God, who gave him great success in his wars, and made an expedition against the best cities of Adrazar, Betah<sup>1</sup> and Machon,<sup>2</sup> which he took by storm, and plundered. There was found in them a very great quantity of gold and silver, besides that sort of brass which is said to be more valuable than gold, of which brass Solomon made the large vessel which was called the [brazen] sea, and those most beautiful lavers, when he built the temple to God.

§ 4. But when the king of Hamath<sup>3</sup> was informed of the ill success of Adrazar, and had heard of the destruction of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him, so he sent to him his son Adoram, and professed that he owed him thanks for his fighting against Adrazar who was his enemy, and offered him a league of mutual alliance and friendship. He also sent him as presents vessels of ancient workmanship, both in gold and silver and brass. And when David had made this league of mutual alliance with Thaenus (for that was the name of the king of Hamath), and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with the honour that was due on both sides, and took the presents that were sent by Thænus, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken from the cities he had captured and the nations whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give him victory and success only when he went to war in person and led his own army, but he also gave victory over the Idumæans to Abishai, the brother of Joab the commander-in-chief of the army, and by him to David who had sent him with an army into Idumæa, for Abishai cut to pieces eighteen thousand of them in battle. And David placed garrisons through all Idumæa,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Correctly 'Bettæa,' the Betah of 2 Sam. viii. 8, called Tibhath in 1 Chr. xviii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The Berothai of 2 Sam. viii. 8, not identified.

<sup>3</sup> *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.

<sup>4</sup> Edom, that is the country south of Moab, of which Petra was the capital.

received tribute from the country, and from every person in it. He was in his nature just, and dispensed justice with strict regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab, and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Phinehas, to be high priest with Abiathar (for he was his friend). He also made Seisan the scribe, and gave the command over his body-guards to Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his person and had the care of it also.

§ 5. He also remembered the covenants and oaths he had made with Jonathan the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of the excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was exceedingly mindful of such as had at any time bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore gave order that inquiry should be made, whether any of Jonathan's family were living, to whom he might make due return for the great friendship of Jonathan for him. And when one of Saul's freedmen was brought to him, called Ziba, who was acquainted with those of the family that were still living, he asked him, "Whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and able to receive a return of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan?" And he told him that a son of Jonathan was left, whose name was Mephibosheth, who was lame in his feet, for when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child had fallen in battle, she snatched him up and fled away, and dropped him from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed. And when the king learned where and by whom he was brought up, he sent messengers to the city of Lodebar<sup>1</sup> to Machir, at whose house the son of Jonathan was brought up, and sent for him to come to him. And when Mephibosheth came to the king, he fell on his face and prostrated himself before him, but David bade him be of good cheer and expect better times. And he gave him his father's house, and all the substance that his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and eat with him at his own table,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the same as Debir, or Lidebir, Josh. xiii. 26, a frontier town of Gad, not yet identified.

and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had prostrated himself before him on account of his words and gifts, the king called for Ziba, and told him that he had given the youth his father's house and all Saul's possessions. He also ordered that Ziba should cultivate the land, and look after it, and bring Mephibosheth the profits of all to Jerusalem. And David entertained him at his table every day; and bestowed upon the youth Ziba and his fifteen sons, and his twenty servants. When the king had made these arrangements, Ziba prostrated himself before him, and promised to do all that he had bidden him, and went his way. And this son of Jonathan dwelt at Jerusalem, and fed at the king's table, and had the same care taken of him that a son would get. He had also a son, whom he called Micha.

## CHAP. VI.

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

### § 1.

SUCH were the honours that those who were left of Saul's and Jonathan's family received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David, and when his son succeeded his father in the kingdom, David sent ambassadors to him to comfort him, and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that the same kindness would continue to himself as had been showed to his father. But the princes of the Ammonites took this message in bad part, and not as David intended it, and excited the king to resent it, and said that David had sent men to spy out the country and its strength, under the pretext of kindness. They further advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him, and so fall into irreparable disaster. So Nahash's son, the king of the Ammonites, thought these princes spoke what was more probable than the real truth, and

abused the ambassadors in a very sharp manner, and shaved off half their beards, and cut off half their garments, and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he was moved with indignation, and it was plain that he would not overlook this injurious and contumelious treatment, but would make war on the Ammonites, and would avenge this shameful treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that king's intimate friends and commanders, understanding that they had violated their league, and were bound to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail with him to assist them for that money, and to Shobach. Now these kings had twenty thousand foot. They also subsidized the king of the Amalekites, and a fourth king called Ishtob, and these had twelve thousand armed men.

§ 2. But David was under no consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites, but putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause on account of the injurious treatment he had met with, he at once despatched Joab, the captain of his host, against them, and gave him the flower of his army. And he pitched his camp by Rabbah,<sup>1</sup> the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy sallied out, and set themselves in array, not all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites was at the gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he opposed one stratagem against another, and picked out the bravest of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria and the kings that were with him, and handed over the rest of his army to his brother Abishai, and bade him set them in opposition to the Ammonites, and told him, that in case he should see that the Syrians pressed him (Joab) hard, and were too much for him, he should order his troops to turn about and assist him, and promised that he would do the same by him if he saw him hard

<sup>1</sup> Rabbah, or Rabbath Ammon, afterwards Philadelphia, one of the cities of Decapolis, was east of Jordan, in the highlands of Gilead; it is now *'Ammân*.

pressed by the Ammonites. So he sent his brother forward, and encouraged him to do everything courageously and with zeal, which would make them afraid of disgrace and fight manfully, and so dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he himself fell upon the Syrians. And though they stoutly resisted for a while, Joab slew many of them, and compelled the rest to betake themselves to flight; and when the Ammonites saw this, and were also afraid of Abishai and his division, they stayed no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and fled to the city. And Joab, when he had thus overcome the enemy, returned in triumph to Jerusalem to the king.

§ 3. Still this defeat did not induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor did finding the Hebrews the better men make them peaceful, but they sent to Chalaman, the king of the Syrians beyond the Euphrates, and subsidized him as an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Now when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, so he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army; and when he met them he joined battle with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their foot, and seven thousand of their horse. He also mortally wounded Shobach, the general of Chalaman's forces. And the people of Mesopotamia, upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents. And he at winter-time returned to Jerusalem, but at the beginning of the spring he sent Joab, the captain of the host, to fight against the Ammonites; and he over-ran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rabbah, and besieged them therein.

## CHAP. VII.

*How David fell in love with Bathsheba, and slew her husband Uriah, for which he was reproved by Nathan.*

## § 1.

BUT David fell now into a very grievous sin, though he was by nature a righteous and religious man, and one that strictly observed the laws of our fathers. Late one evening taking a view from the roof of his royal palace, on which he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman taking a cold bath in her own house; she was of extraordinary beauty, and therein surpassed all other women, her name was Bathsheba. He was so overcome by her beauty, that he was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. And she conceived, and sent to the king, that he might contrive some way of concealing her sin (for according to the laws of our fathers a woman guilty of adultery ought to be put to death). So the king sent for the woman's husband, whose name was Uriah, and who was Joab's armour-bearer, from the siege; and when he was come, the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege. And when he had made answer that everything went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper and gave them to him, and bade him go home to his wife, and take his rest with her. But Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king with the rest of the armour-bearers. When the king was informed of this next day, he asked him why he had not gone home to his house and wife after so long an absence? for that was the natural custom of all men, when they came off a journey. He replied that it was not right, while his fellow soldiers and the general of the army slept upon the ground in camp in the enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest and disport himself with his wife. When he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that day too, and he would dismiss him next day to the general. And the king invited Uriah to supper, and in a cunning and dexterous manner plied him with

drink at supper, till he was drunk, yet did he nevertheless sleep at the king's doors, without any desire for his wife. Upon this the king was very vexed, and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he told him that he had offended him, and he suggested the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be discovered that he was himself the author of his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against that part of the enemy's army where the attack would be most dangerous, and where he might be in the greatest jeopardy by being left, for he bade Joab order Uriah's fellow soldiers to retire from the fight. When he had written this, and sealed the letter with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in the place where he knew the enemy would be most troublesome to him, and gave him some of the best soldiers in the army, and said that he would come to his assistance with the whole army, if they could break down some part of the wall and enter the city. And he desired him to be glad of the opportunity of exposing himself to such danger and not to be displeased at it, since he was a valiant soldier, and had a great reputation for his valour both with the king and with his countrymen. And when Uriah undertook the work he was set upon with alacrity, Joab gave private orders to those who were to be his companions, that when they saw the enemy make a sally, they should retire. When, therefore, the Hebrews made an assault upon the city, the Ammonites were afraid that the enemy might be too quick for them, and get into the city at the very place where Uriah was posted, so they put their best soldiers in the front, and opened their gate suddenly, and fell upon the enemy with great vehemence at the double. And when those that were with Uriah saw this they all retreated, as Joab had told them beforehand; but Uriah, being ashamed to run away and leave his post, waited the attack of the enemy, and bore the brunt of their onset, and slew many of them, but being surrounded and intercepted by them he was slain, and a few of his companions were slain with him.

§ 2. When this had happened, Joab sent messengers to



the king, and ordered them to tell him that he had done what he could to take the city soon, but that, as they made an assault on the wall, they had been forced to retire with great loss; and he bade them, if they saw the king was angry, to add that Uriah was slain. When the king heard the messengers, he was displeased at their news, and said that they had done wrong to make an assault on the wall, whereas they ought to have endeavoured to take the city by undermining and other stratagems of war, especially as they had the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who would needs attempt to take the tower of Thebez<sup>1</sup> by storm, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman, and although he was a man of great prowess, died ignominiously from the dangerous manner of his assault. He said that they should have remembered this, and not gone near the enemy's wall, for the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the incidents of former wars, and what good or bad success had attended them in the like dangers, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. As the king was in this disposition, the messenger told him that Uriah was slain also, whereupon he was pacified, and bade the messenger go back to Joab, and tell him that this misfortune was a common one, and one to be naturally expected in war, in which sometimes one side would have success, sometimes another, and he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in it again; let them raise bulwarks, and use machines in besieging the city; and when they had captured it, let them overturn its very foundations, and destroy all those that were in it. And the messenger carried the king's message with which he was charged, and hastened back to Joab. And when Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, was informed of the death of her husband, she mourned for his death many days; and when her mourning was over, and the tears which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife at once, and had a son by her.

§ 3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, but was angry with David, and appeared to Nathan the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Now *Túbás*, north-east of *Náblus*, Shechem.

phet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a discreet and prudent man, and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by that passion than by justice, he resolved to conceal the threats that proceeded from God, and made a useful discourse to him in the following manner. He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following case. "There were (he said) two men in one city, the one rich and the other poor; the rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, sheep, and kine, but the poor man had but one ewe lamb, which he brought up with his children, and let it eat its food with them, and had the same natural affection for it as one might have for a daughter. Now on the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and feast his friend thereon, but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took it away from him, and dressed it for food, and thereon feasted the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly, and he declared to Nathan that the man was a wicked man who had the heart to do such a thing, and that it was but just that he should restore the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death also. Upon this Nathan immediately said that he was himself the man that ought to suffer that punishment by his own sentence, for it was he who had perpetrated this great and horrid crime. He also revealed to him and laid open before him the anger of God, who had made him king over all the Hebrews, and lord of all those many and great nations round about him; who had formerly delivered him out of the hands of Saul, and had given him wives whom he had justly and legally married; but now God was despised by him, and affronted by his impiety, since he had married and now lived with another man's wife; and, by exposing her husband to the enemy, had really slain him. He added that God would inflict punishment upon him on account of his wickedness, and that his own wives should be forced by one of his own sons; and that he should be plotted against by the same son; and that, although he had perpetrated his wickedness secretly, yet that punishment which he was to undergo should be inflicted publicly upon him. Moreover he told him that the boy born to

him by Bathsheba should soon die. When the king was troubled and very confounded at this, and said with tears and sorrow that he had sinned (for he was without doubt a pious man, and guilty of no sin at all in his whole life except in the matter of Uriah), God had compassion on him, and was reconciled to him, and promised that he would preserve to him both his life and his kingdom: for he said he was no longer displeased with him seeing he repented of what he had done. And Nathan, when he had delivered this prophecy to the king, returned home.

§ 4. However, God sent a dangerous sickness on the child that David had by the wife of Uriah; at which the king was troubled, and took no food for seven days, although his servants almost forced him to take it, but clothed himself in a black garment, and lay prostrate upon the ground in sackcloth, entreating God for the recovery of the child, for he passionately loved the child's mother. And when on the seventh day the child died, the king's servants durst not tell him of it, supposing that, when he knew it, he would still less take food or any care of himself, because of his grief at the death of his son, since, when the child was only sick, he so greatly grieved for him. But when the king perceived that his servants were troubled, and seemed to be affected as people very desirous to conceal something, he understood that the child was dead, and when he had called one of the servants to him, and discovered that it was so, he rose up and had a bath, and put on a white garment, and went into the tabernacle of God. He also commanded them to set food before him, and so greatly surprised his kindred and servants, as he did nothing of the kind when the child was sick, but did all these things now he was dead. So having first begged leave to question him, they besought him to tell them the reason of his conduct. And he called them stupid, and explained to them how he hoped for the recovery of the child while it was alive, and accordingly did all that was proper for him to do, thinking by such means to render God propitious to him, but that now the child was dead, there was no longer any occasion for idle grief. When he had said this, they com-

mended the king's wisdom and understanding. He then went in unto Bathsheba his wife, and she conceived and bare a son, who by the command of Nathan the prophet was called Solomou.

§ 5. Meantime Joab sorely distressed the Ammonites in the siege, by cutting off their water, and depriving them of other means of subsistence, till they were in the greatest want of meat and drink; for they depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink too freely, lest it should entirely fail them. So he wrote to the king, and informed him thereof; and urged him to come himself and take the city, that he might have the honour of the victory ascribed to himself. Upon this letter from Joab, the king was pleased with his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the capture of Rabbah, and when he had taken it by storm, he gave it up to his soldiers to sack. And he himself took the king of the Ammonites' crown, whose weight was a talent of gold, and which had in its middle the precious stone called a sardonyx. And this crown David wore on his own head frequently. He also found in the city much splendid and costly spoil. As for the inhabitants, he tortured them to death; and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by storm, he treated them in the same manner.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forced his Sister, and how he was banished, and afterwards recalled by David.*

### § 1.

WHEN the king returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the following occasion. He had a daughter, who was still a virgin, and very handsome, insomuch that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar, and she had the same mother as Absalom. Now Amnon, David's eldest son, fell in love with her, and not being able to obtain his desires, on account of her virginity and the care taken of her, got into

a bad way, and his grief so consumed his body, that he grew lean, and lost his colour. And one Jonathan, a kinsman and friend of his, discovered what ailed him, for he was an extraordinarily wise man, and of great sagacity. When therefore he saw every morning that Amnon was not in body as he ought to be, he came to him and desired him to tell him what was the cause of it: however he said he guessed it came from the passion of love. And when Amnon confessed his passion, and said that he was in love with a sister of his, who had the same father as himself, Jonathan suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he advised him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to see him, to beg of him that his sister might come and minister to him, for if that were done he would be better, and would quickly recover from his illness. So Amnon lay down on his bed, and pretended to be ill, as Jonathan had suggested. When his father came, and inquired how he did, he begged of him to send his sister to him, and David ordered her to be fetched at once. And when she was come Amnon bade her make cakes for him, and fry them in a pan, and do it all with her own hands, because he should fancy them better from her hands. So she kneaded the flour in the sight of her brother, and made him cakes, and cooked them in a pan, and brought them to him. But he would not taste them then, but gave orders to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose free from noise and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he asked his sister to bring the cakes into the inner chamber, and when the damsel had done so, he took hold of her, and endeavoured to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out and said, "Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon yourself dreadful shame. Curb this unrighteous and impure lust, from which our house will get nothing but reproach and ill-fame." She also advised him to speak to their father about it, for he would permit him to marry her. This she said being desirous to avoid her brother's violent passion at that moment. But he would not be persuaded, but being inflamed with love, and

carried away by the vehemence of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as he had satisfied his lust, he hated her and insulted her, and bade her rise up and be gone. And when she said that this was more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the evening, but bade her go away in the daytime while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be witnesses of her shame, he commanded his servant to turn her out. And she was sorely grieved at the injury and outrage that had been done to her, and rent her tunic (for the virgins of old time wore such tunics tied at the hands and going down to the ankles, that the petticoats might not be seen), and sprinkled dust on her head, and went through the city, crying out and bewailing the violence that had been done her. And her brother Absalom happened to meet her, and asked her what sad thing had befallen her, that she was in that plight? and when she had told him the injury that had been done her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet and to take it patiently, and not to esteem her being outraged by her brother as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off crying out, and discovering her outrage to the multitude, and she continued desolate with her brother Absalom a long time.

§ 2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the action of Amnon, but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he felt compelled not to punish him; but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of avenging this crime on him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year had elapsed after Amnon's wicked behaviour to his sister, and Absalom was about to shear his sheep at Belsephon,<sup>1</sup> a city in the portion of Ephraim, and asked his father and brothers to come and feast with him. And when David excused himself, as not wishing to be burdensome to him, Absalom begged he would send his brothers, whom he did send accordingly. And Absalom charged his servants, that when they should see Amnon disordered and

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Sam. xiii. 23, Baal-Hazor. The name has survived in *Tell 'Asir*, northward from Jerusalem, and not far from *Taiyibeh*, Ephraim. The site of the town is unknown.

drowsy with wine, and he should give them a nod, they should fear nobody but kill him.

§ 3. When they had done as they were commanded, the other brothers were alarmed and confounded, and afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but someone got there first, and told David they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow at so many of his sons being killed at once, and that by their brother also, for the consideration that it was their brother that appeared to have slain them intensified his sorrow for them. And being completely unnerved by the tragedy, he neither inquired what was the reason for this slaughter, nor stayed to hear anything else, which yet it was but reasonable to have done, when so very great, and by its greatness so incredible, a misfortune was related to him, but he rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground and there lay, mourning for all his sons, both those who, as he was informed, were slain, and him who slew them. But Jonathan, the son of his brother Shimeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons, he did not believe they were slain, for he found no ground for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had done to Tamar. In the mean time, a great galloping of horses, and a noise of people coming, attracted attention. It was the king's sons, who had fled away from the feast. So their father met them as they were in their grief, and he himself grieved with them, for it was more than he expected to see his sons again, as he had a little before heard that they had perished. So there were tears and lamentation on both sides; they lamenting their brother who was dead, and the king lamenting his son who was slaughtered. And Absalom fled to Geshur,<sup>1</sup> to his maternal grandfather who was king of that place, and he remained with him three whole years.

§ 4. Now David wished to send for Absalom, not to return to be punished, but that he might be with him, for his

<sup>1</sup> A small principality of Aram, in the north-east corner of Bashan.

anger was abated by time. And Joab, the captain of his host, stirred him up to this even more; for he suborned a woman that was stricken in age to go to the king in mourning apparel, and she told him that two of her sons in clownish way had some difference, and in the progress of that difference came to an open quarrel, and nobody appearing to part them, one was smitten by the other and was dead, and she begged him to interpose in the case, and to do her the favour to save her son from her kindred, who were very desirous to have him that had slain his brother put to death, that she might not be deprived of the hopes she had of being taken care of in her old age by him, and he could do this for her by preventing the slaughter of her son by those that wished to kill him, and her kindred would not be restrained from their purpose by anything else than fear of him. And when the king had given his consent to what the woman begged of him, she made this reply to him, "I owe you thanks for your kindness to me in pitying my old age and almost entire childlessness, but in order to assure me of your kindness, be first reconciled to your own son, and cease to be angry with him. For how shall I persuade myself that you have really bestowed this favour upon me, while you yourself continue to be angry for a similar offence with your own son? for it is a foolish thing to lose wilfully another son, when the death of one has come about against your wish." And now the king perceived that this pretended story was a subornation of Joab, and of his contrivance, and when, upon inquiry of the old woman, he understood it to be so in fact, he called for Joab, and told him he had obtained what he wanted, and bade him bring Absalom back, for he was not now displeased, but had already ceased to be angry with him. So Joab bowed himself down to the king, and was glad at his words, and went immediately to Geshur, and brought back Absalom with him to Jerusalem.

§ 5. However, the king sent a message to his son beforehand, when he heard he was coming, and commanded him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet disposed to see him at once. Accordingly, upon his father's command, he avoided coming into his presence, and contented



himself with the respect paid him by his household. Now his beauty was not impaired either by the grief he had undergone, or by the want of such care as was proper to be taken of a king's son, for he still surpassed and excelled all men in the beauty and tallness of his body, and outshone those that lived most luxuriously, and indeed such was the thickness of the hair of his head, that it was with difficulty that he was polled every eighth day, and his hair weighed two hundred shekels, which are equal to five minæ. And he dwelt in Jerusalem two years, having become the father of three sons and one daughter; the daughter was of very great beauty, and Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, took her to wife afterwards, and had by her a son named Abias. And Absalom sent to Joab, and desired him to pacify his father entirely towards him, and to beseech him to give him leave to come and see him and speak with him. But as Joab neglected to do so, Absalom sent some of his servants, and set fire to Joab's field, which was near him, and when Joab heard of it he went to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done, and asked him the reason why he had done so? To which Absalom replied, "I have found out this stratagem to bring you to me, as you have taken no care to perform the injunctions I laid upon you, which were to reconcile my father to me: and I beg of you now you are here to pacify my father's anger against me, for I esteem my return here more grievous than my banishment, as my father's wrath against me continues." Then Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and interceded to the king for him. And when he talked with David, he soon brought him to that friendly disposition towards Absalom, that he at once sent for him to come to him; and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and begged for forgiveness for his offences, the king raised him up, and promised to forget what he had done.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Insurrection of Absalom against David ; and concerning Ahitophel and Hushai ; and concerning Ziba and Shimei ; and how Ahitophel hanged himself.*

## § 1.

NOW Absalom, after his reconciliation with his father the king, got for himself a great many horses and chariots in a very little time. He had, moreover, fifty armour-bearers about his person, and came early every day to the king's palace, and spoke agreeably to such as came for justice and lost their cases, as if it happened for want of good counsellors about the king, or perhaps because the judges gave unjust sentences. So he gained the good-will of all, and told them, that had he the authority committed to him, he would dispense justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself in this way popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him, so when four years had elapsed since his father's reconciliation to him,<sup>1</sup> he went to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, which he vowed when he fled from the country. So when David had granted his request, he went there, and great multitudes came flocking together to him, for he had sent to many to do so.

§ 2. Among them came Ahitophel the Gilonite,<sup>2</sup> a counsellor of David, and two hundred men from Jerusalem itself, who knew not his intentions, but were sent for as to a sacrifice. And Absalom was appointed king by all of them

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the best corrections that Josephus's copy affords us of a text that in our ordinary copies is grossly corrupted. They say, that this rebellion of Absalom was forty years after what went before (of his reconciliation to his father), whereas the series of the history shows it could not be more than 'four' years after it, as here in Josephus ; whose number is directly confirmed by that copy of the Septuagint version, whence the Armenian translation was made, which gives us the small number of four years.—W.

<sup>2</sup> That is a native of Giloh, a town in the mountainous part of Judah, near Debir, and now possibly *Khurbet Jāla*.

through this stratagem. As soon as the news was brought to David, and he was informed of what he did not expect from his son, he was alarmed at this his impious and bold undertaking, and wondered that he was so far from remembering how lately his offence had been forgiven, that he undertook much worse and more wicked enterprises still, first, to deprive him of the kingdom which was given him by God, and secondly, to take away his own father's life. He therefore resolved to flee to the parts beyond the Jordan, and he called his most intimate friends together, and communicated to them all that he heard of his son's desperate conduct. He committed himself to God to judge all his actions, and left the care of his royal palace to his ten concubines, and fled from Jerusalem, being willingly accompanied by the rest of the people, and by those six hundred armed men who had been with him in his first flight in the days of Saul. But he persuaded Abiathar and Zadok, the high priests, who had determined to go away with him, as also all the Levites, to stay with the ark, hoping that God would deliver him without its removal, and he charged them to let him know privately how all things went on : and he took with him Ahimaaz the son of Zadok and Jonathan the son of Abiathar as his faithful ministers in all things. Ittai the Gittite also went out with him, though David would have had him to stay, and on that account he appeared more friendly to him. And as the king was ascending the mount of Olives barefooted, and all his company were in tears, it was told him that Ahitophel was with Absalom and on his side. This news augmented his grief, and he besought God earnestly to alienate the mind of Absalom from Ahitophel, for he was afraid that he would persuade him to follow his pernicious counsel, for he was an able man and very keen in seeing what was advantageous. When David had reached the top of the mount, he looked back at the city, and prayed to God with abundance of tears, as if he had already lost his kingdom : and here it was that a faithful friend of his met him whose name was Hushai. When David saw him with his clothes rent, and dust on his head, and in lamentation for the great change of affairs, he comforted him and exhorted him to leave off grieving, and at last besought

him to go back to Absalom, and appear as one of his party, and so fish out the secretest counsels of his mind, and oppose the advice of Ahitophel, for he could not do him as much good by going with him as he might by being with Absalom. So he was prevailed on by David, and left him, and went to Jerusalem, where Absalom himself came also a little while afterwards.

§ 3. When David was gone a little further, Ziba the servant of Mephibosheth (whom he had sent to take care of the possessions which had been given to the son of Jonathan and grandson of Saul), met him with a couple of asses laden with provisions, and desired him to take as much of them as he and his followers stood in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth? he said he had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confusion, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had conferred upon the nation. At this the king was greatly indignant, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth; for he decided that it was much more right that he should have them than the other. At this Ziba greatly rejoiced.

§ 4. And when David was at Bahurim,<sup>1</sup> a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, who threw stones at him, and uttered reproachful words: and as his friends stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of evils. He bade him also go out of the land as an impure and accursed wretch, and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished by his own son for the injuries he had done his master Saul. Now when they were all provoked to anger against him, and particularly Abishai, who wished to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger, "Let us not," said he, "bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for indeed I have not the least regard or concern for this dog that raves at me: I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a savage manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these

<sup>1</sup> A place on the old road from Jerusalem to Jericho, and apparently not far from *el-Aisâwiyeh*.

abuses from him, since I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some compassion upon us, and if it be his will we shall overcome our enemies." So he went on his way without troubling himself about Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abuse plentifully. And when David reached the Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves, for they were weary.

§ 5. But when Absalom and Ahitophel his counsellor were come to Jerusalem with all the people, David's friend Hushai came to them, and prostrated himself before Absalom, and prayed that his kingdom might last for ever and continue for all time. And Absalom said to him, "How comes it that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very clever and prudent, for he said, "We ought to follow God and all the people. As therefore they, my lord and master, are with you, it is fit that I should follow them, for you have received the kingdom from God. I will therefore, if you believe me to be your friend, show the same fidelity and kindness to you which you know I have showed to your father: nor is there the least reason to be dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred to another family, but remains still in the same, by son succeeding father." This speech persuaded Absalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahitophel, and consulted with him what he should do; and he advised him to go in unto his father's concubines; for he said that the people would know and believe by this action that his difference with his father was irreconcilable, and would therefore fight with greater zeal against his father, for hitherto they were afraid of taking up open enmity against him, from the expectation that they would be reconciled again. And Absalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent on the top of the royal palace, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in to it and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan,

when he prophesied and told David that his son would rise up in rebellion against him.

§ 6. And when Absalom had done what he was advised to do by Ahitophel, he desired his opinion, in the second place, about the war against his father. Now, Ahitophel asked him to let him have ten thousand picked men, and he undertook to slay his father, and bring the soldiers back again in safety, and said that the kingdom would be secure to him only when David was dead. Absalom was pleased with this suggestion, and sent for Hushai, David's friend (for so did he call him), and informing him of the opinion of Ahitophel, he asked further what was his view on the matter? Now Hushai saw that if Ahitophel's counsel was followed, David would be in danger of being taken and slain, so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said: "You are not unacquainted, O king, with the valour of your father, and of those that are now with him, for he has made many wars, and has always come off with victory over his enemy. It is likely that he now stays in camp, for he is very skilful in stratagems, and in foreseeing the wiliness of his enemies, and will leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock: so that when our army joins battle with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, being encouraged by the king's being near them; and meantime your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will infuse courage into his own people when they are in danger, and bring consternation to yours. Consider therefore my advice and reason upon it, and if you acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahitophel. And send round to the entire country of the Hebrews, and bid them come and fight against your father; and do you yourself take over the army, and be your own general in the war, and do not trust its management to another. And expect to conquer him with ease, when you take him in the open with his few followers, having yourself many myriads desirous of showing to you their zeal and energy. And if your father shall shut himself up in some city and stand a siege, we will overthrow that city by machines of war and

undermining." When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahitophel, for his opinion was preferred by Absalom to the other's: but it was God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Absalom.

§ 7. Then Hushai hastened to the high priests Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the counsel of Ahitophel and his own, and that it had been decided to follow his. He therefore bade them send to David and tell him of it, and inform him of what had been resolved upon, and exhort him further to pass quickly over the Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so get the start of him and take him before he could be in safety. Now the high priests had their sons concealed outside the city on purpose, that they might carry news to David of what was going on. So they sent a maid-servant whom they could trust, to carry them the news of Absalom's determination, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed. And they lost no time and made no delay, but taking with them their fathers' injunctions, became pious and faithful ministers, and judging quickness and speed the best mark of faithful service, made haste to meet David. But certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Absalom of them, who immediately sent some men to take them; but when the sons of the high priests perceived this, they left the high road at once, and betook themselves to a certain village not far from Jerusalem called Bahurim; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and give them security. And she let the young men down by a rope into a well, and laid fleeces of wool over them, and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she had seen them, she did not deny that she had seen them, for they had stayed with her some time, she said, and then gone away, and she foretold them that if they would follow them directly, they would catch them. But when after a long pursuit they did not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman saw that they had returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bade them go on their errand. And they

used great diligence in the prosecution of their journey, and got to David, and informed him accurately of all the plans of Absalom. And he commanded those that were with him to pass over the Jordan while it was night, and not to delay at all on that account.

§ 8. But Ahitophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass and rode away to his own city, Gilon;<sup>1</sup> and calling his family together, he told them in detail the advice he had given Absalom, and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would certainly perish, and that in no long time, for David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again. So he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Absalom. When he had thus discoursed to them, he went into the innermost room of his house, and hanged himself. Such was the death of Ahitophel, who was self-condemned, and when his relations had cut him down from the rope, they took care of his funeral. As for David, he passed over the Jordan, as I have said already, and came to Mahanaim,<sup>2</sup> a very fine and very strong city. And all the chief men of the country received him with great pleasure, both from the shame they had that he should have been forced to flee away [from Jerusalem], and from the respect they bore him when he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler of the Ammanites, and Machir the principal man in Gilead; and they furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, insomuch that they wanted neither beds nor blankets, nor loaves of bread, nor wine; they brought them also a great many cattle for slaughter, and offered them whatever they wanted for their refreshment and food when they were weary, in plentiful supply.

<sup>1</sup> The Giloh of 2 Sam. xv. 12. See note 2, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Mahneh*, fourteen miles south-east of *Beisân*, Bethshean; but the identification is uncertain.



## CHAP. X.

*How Absalom was beaten, and caught in a Tree by his Hair, and slain by Joab.*

## § 1.

SUCH was the state of David and his followers. But Absalom mustered together a large army of the Hebrews against his father, and crossed over the river Jordan, and encamped not far from Mahanaim in the region of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his army, instead of Joab his kinsman. The father of Amasa was Ithra, and the mother Abigail: both she and Zeruah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But when David had numbered his followers, and found them to be about four thousand, he resolved not to wait till Absalom attacked him, but set over his men captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, and divided his army into three parts: one part he committed to Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third to Ittai, David's companion and friend, though he came from the city of Gath.<sup>1</sup> And when he was desirous of fighting himself among them, his friends would not let him, checking him on very wise grounds. "For," (said they,) "if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all our good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he has another army with him." And David was pleased with this advice, and resolved himself to tarry at Mahanaim. And as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible zeal and fidelity, and to bear in mind what benefits they had received from him; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest he should do himself some mischief if he should be killed. And thus did he send out his army to battle, and prayed for their victory therein.

<sup>1</sup> *Tell es-Sâf.*

§ 2. And Joab put his army in battle array over against the enemy in the great plain, which had a wood behind it. Absalom also brought his army into the field to oppose him. On the opening of the battle both sides displayed great valour and boldness; the one side exposing themselves to the greatest hazards, and exhibiting the utmost zeal, that David might recover his kingdom, and the other side being no way deficient either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of the kingdom, and brought to punishment by his father for his impudent attempt against him. Those also that were the most numerous were anxious that they should not be conquered by the few that were with Joab and his under officers, for that would be the greatest disgrace to them, while David's soldiers strove greatly to overcome so many myriads of the enemy. So the battle was stoutly contested, but David's men were the conquerors, being superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through coppices and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the flight than in the battle, for there fell about twenty thousand that day. And all David's men hotly pursued Absalom, for he was easily known by his beauty and height. He was himself also afraid that his enemies would capture him, so he got upon the royal mule and fled; but as he was borne with rapidity and unsteady motion, being himself light, he entangled his hair in the large boughs of a knotty tree that spread a great way, and there hung in a marvellous manner; and as for the beast, it went on swiftly as if its master had been still upon its back, but he, hanging in the air upon the boughs, was taken by his enemies. And when one of David's soldiers saw him, he informed Joab, and when the general said, that if he had shot at and killed Absalom, he would have given him fifty shekels, he replied, "I would not have killed my master's son if you would have given me a thousand shekels, especially as he begged that the young man might be spared in the hearing of us all." But Joab bade him show him where it was that he saw Absalom hanging, and shot him to the heart and slew him, and Joab's armour-bearers stood round about the tree, and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a large

obscure pit, and threw stones upon him till it was filled up, when it had both the appearance and dimensions of a grave. Then Joab sounded the retreat, and recalled his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy's army, wishing to spare his fellow-countrymen.

§ 3. Now Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar<sup>1</sup> in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand, saying, if his children were killed, that his name would remain by that pillar. Now he had three sons, and one daughter named Tamar, as I said before, who was married to David's grandson Rehoboam, and bore a son, Abias by name, who succeeded his father in the kingdom: but of these I shall speak in a part of my history which will be more proper. And after the death of Absalom the people returned every one to their own homes.

§ 4. And now Ahimaaz the son of Zadok the high priest went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded him his assistance and care. However, he did not grant his request, but said to him, "Will you, who have always been the messenger of good news, go now and acquaint the king that his son is dead?" So he desired him to stay, and called Cushy, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had himself seen. But when Ahimaaz again desired him to let him go as a messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, and would say nothing about the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. And he took a short cut which nobody knew but himself, and got before Cushy. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting for somebody to come to him from the battle and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Ahimaaz running, and before he could discern who he was, he told David that he saw somebody coming to him, and the king said he was a good

<sup>1</sup> Josephus appears here to place Absalom's pillar in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where there is now a monument known by his name. In 2 Sam. xiii. 18, the position of the 'King's dale' is not indicated; but it is believed by many writers to be the same place as the 'King's dale' or valley of Shaveh of Gen. xiv. 17.

messenger. A little while after he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the king said that he also was a good messenger. But when the watchman recognized Ahimaaz, who was now very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest who came running. Then David was very glad, and said he was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him news from the battle such as he would be glad to hear.

§ 5. While the king was saying this, Ahimaaz appeared and prostrated himself before the king, and when the king inquired of him about the battle, he said he brought him good news of victory and dominion. And when he inquired if he had any news about his son, he said that he came away directly the enemy was defeated, and that he heard a great shouting of those that pursued Absalom, but that he could learn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform the king of the victory. But when Cushai was come, and had prostrated himself, and informed the king of the victory, he asked him about his son, and he replied, "May the like misfortune befall your enemies as has befallen Absalom." That word did not permit either David or his soldiers to rejoice for the victory, though it was a very great one; but David went up to the highest part of the city,<sup>1</sup> and called his son by name, and beat his breast, tearing [the hair of] his head, and tormenting himself all manner of ways, and crying out, "O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with you!" For David was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary love for this son in particular. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned so for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the guise of conquerors, and all came in

<sup>1</sup> Since David was now in Mahanaim, and in the open place of that city gate, which seems still to have been built the highest of any part of the wall, and since our other copies say, he 'went up to the chamber over the gate,' 2 Sam. xviii. 23, I think we ought to correct our present reading in Josephus, and for 'city' should read 'gate,' *i. e.* instead of the highest part of the 'city,' should say the highest part of the 'gate.' Accordingly, we find David presently in Josephus, as well as in our other copies, 2 Sam. xix. 8, sitting as before in the 'gate' of the city. —W.

dejected and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now, while the king covered his face, and grievously lamented his son, Joab went in to him, and talked him round, and said, "My lord the king, you are not aware that you do yourself wrong by what you now do : for you seem to hate those that love you, and undergo dangers for you, nay, even yourself and your family, and to love those that are your bitter enemies, and to regret those that are no more, who have been justly slain. For had Absalom got the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there would have been no vestige of us left, but all of us, beginning with yourself and your children, would have miserably perished, while our enemies would not have wept over us, but rejoiced over us, and punished those that pitied us in our misfortunes. And you are not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been your bitter enemy, who, though he was your son, has proved so wicked. Leave off, therefore, your unreasonable grief, and come abroad and show yourself to the soldiers, and return them thanks for the zeal they showed in the fight; for I will myself this day persuade the people to leave you, and to give the kingdom to another, if you continue to act thus; and then I shall make you grieve bitterly and in earnest." Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he made the king leave off his sorrow, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. And David changed his behaviour, and showed himself so as to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

## CHAP. XI.

*How David, when he had recovered his Kingdom, pardoned Shimei and Mephibosheth; and showed great Affection to Barzillai; and how, upon the Rise of a Sedition, he made Amasa Captain of his Host, in order to pursue Sheba; and how Amasa was slain by Joab.*

## § 1.

NOW those Hebrews that had belonged to Absalom's party, and had escaped from the battle, when they had all returned home, sent messengers to every city to put them in mind of the benefits which David had bestowed upon them, and of the liberty which he had procured them, by delivering them from many and great wars. But they complained, that whereas they had ejected him out of his kingdom, and offered it to another, and this other whom they had set up was now dead, they did not beseech David to leave off his anger, and to become friends with them, and as before to resume the care of their affairs, and take over the kingdom again. This was often reported to David, notwithstanding he sent to Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, telling them to say to the rulers of the tribe of Judah that it would be a reproach upon them to permit the other tribes to choose David for their king before their tribe, and that as they were akin to him and of the same blood. He commanded them also to say the same to Amasa, the captain of their forces, and to tell him that though he was his sister's son, and yet had not persuaded the multitude to restore the kingdom to David, yet he might expect from him not only reconciliation, for that was already granted but the supreme command of the army also, which Absalom had bestowed upon him. Accordingly, the high priests, when they had discoursed with the rulers of the tribe, and said what the king had ordered them, persuaded Amasa to undertake the care of the king's affairs. And he persuaded his tribe to send immediately messengers to beseech the king to return to his

kingdom. The same did all the Israelites, at the persuasion of Amasa.

§ 2. When the messengers went to the king, he returned to Jerusalem, and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan. And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men of the tribe of Benjamin whom he brought with him, and Ziba the freedman of Saul came with his fifteen sons and twenty servants. All these, with the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge over the river, that the king and those that were with him might cross over with ease. And as soon as he was come to the Jordan, the tribe of Judah saluted him. Shimei also went upon the bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him to forgive his offence against him, and not to be bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example in his new authority, but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had taken care to come first to him. While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Joab's brother Abishai said, "And shall not this man die for having cursed him whom God appointed to be king?" But David turned to him, and said, "Will ye never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not, I pray, raise new troubles and seditions among us, now the former are over; for it is not right for you to be ignorant that I this day begin my reign, and therefore swear to remit all offenders their punishments, and not to proceed against any one that has sinned. Be you therefore, (said he,) Shimei, of good courage, and do not at all fear being put to death." Then Shimei prostrated himself before the king, and went on before him.

§ 3. Saul's grandson Mephibosheth also came to meet David, clothed in a dirty garment, and having his hair long and neglected; for after David fled away, he was in such grief, that he had not polled his head, nor washed his clothes, dooming himself to such neglect on occasion of the change in the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba his steward. So when he had greeted the king, and prostrated himself before him, the king began to ask him, "Why ever he had not gone out of Jerusalem with him, and accompanied him during his flight?" He replied that it was all Ziba's

fault, for when he was ordered to get things ready for his setting out, he paid no attention to him, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave. "And indeed, had I had my feet sound and strong, I should not have been left behind you, for I could have made use of them in flight. But this is not all the injury that Ziba has done me, as to my duty to you, my lord and master; but he has calumniated me besides, and told lies about me to injure me, but I know your mind will not believe such calumnies, being just and loving the truth, which God also wishes to prevail. For when you were in the greatest danger of suffering at the hand of my grandfather, and when on that account our whole family deserved to perish, you were moderate and merciful, and quite forgot all those injuries, when, if you had remembered them, you had the power of punishing us for them. And you judged me to be your friend, and set me every day at your table, nor did I want anything which one of your own kinsmen held in highest honour could have expected." When he said this, David resolved neither to punish Mephibosheth, nor to condemn Ziba as having belied his master, but said to him, that as he had granted all his estate to Ziba, because he had not come along with him, so he now promised to forgive him, and ordered that half his estate should be restored to him. Whereupon Mephibosheth said, "Nay, let Ziba take all, it is enough for me that you have recovered your kingdom."

§ 4. Then David besought Barzillai the Gileadite, that great and good man, who had made a plentiful provision for the king at Mahanaim, and conducted him as far as the Jordan, to accompany him to Jerusalem, for he promised to treat him in his old age with all manner of honour, to take care of him as if he were his father, and provide for him. But Barzillai was so desirous to live at home that he entreated him to excuse him from attendance on him; and said that his age was too great to enjoy the pleasures [of a court,] for he was fourscore years old, and had therefore to make provision for his death and burial, so he begged him to gratify him in this desire, and dismiss him, for he had no relish of his meat or drink by reason of his age, and his ears were deaf to



the sound of pipes, or the melody of other musical instruments, such as those that lived with kings delighted in. As he entreated for this so earnestly, the king said, "I dismiss you then, but you shall leave with me your son Chimham, and upon him will I bestow all sorts of good things." So Barzillai left his son with him, and prostrated himself before the king, and prayed for a prosperous conclusion of all his affairs according to his mind, and returned home. Then David went to Gilgal,<sup>1</sup> having already with him half the people of Israel, and all the tribe of Judah.

§ 5. Now the principal men of Israel came to him to Gilgal with a great multitude, and complained that the tribe of Judah had come to him secretly, whereas they ought all to have met him conjointly and unanimously. But the rulers of the tribe of Judah desired them not to be displeased at their having come first, for, said they, "We are David's kinsmen, and on that account we took more care of him, and loved him, and came first to him, but we did not for our early coming receive any gifts from him, to give them who came last any cause for vexation." When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not content, but said, "O brothers, we cannot but wonder at you calling the king your kinsman alone, for he that has received from God the power over all of us, ought to be esteemed a kinsman of us all: for which reason, the whole people have eleven parts in him, and you but one part, we also are older than you, so you have not done justly in coming to the king in his stealthy and secret manner."

§ 6. While these rulers were disputing thus with one another, a certain wicked man who took pleasure in sedition, whose name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin, stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud, and spoke thus to them: "We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had spoken these words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king, and all Israel left David and followed him; the tribe of Judah alone remained

<sup>1</sup> *Jiljulia*.

with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for the concubines, with whom Absalom his son had lain, he removed them to another house, and ordered those that had the care of them to supply them with all things necessary, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa as the captain of his forces, and gave him the post that Joab had before, and bade him muster out of the tribe of Judah as great an army as he could, and come to him within three days, that he might put his entire army into his hands, and send him to fight against the son of Bichri. Now, when Amasa was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so had not returned on the third day, the king said to Joab, "It is not fit we should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our affairs more than Absalom did. Do not therefore wait any longer, but take what force you have at hand, and the six hundred, and your brother Abishai, and pursue after the enemy, and make him fight wherever you find him. Make haste to anticipate him, lest he seize upon some fortified cities, and cause us great labour and pains to dislodge him."

§ 7. And Joab resolved to make no more delay, but taking with him his brother and the six hundred, and giving orders that the rest of the army which was at Jerusalem should follow, he marched against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon,<sup>1</sup> a village forty furlongs from Jerusalem, Amasa met him with a great army. Now Joab was girded with a sword and had his breastplate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out of the scabbard as if spontaneously. Then he took it up from the ground, and approached Amasa, who was then near him, as though he would kiss him, and took hold of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and stabbed him in the belly when he did not expect it, and slew him. This impious and altogether unholy action Joab did to a good young man, and his kinsman, and one that had done him no injury, merely out of

<sup>1</sup> *el-Jib.*

jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and have equal rank with himself about the king, and it was for the same reason that he had killed Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed to revenge, afforded him a decent pretext, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in this murder of Amasa there was no such excuse. And when Joab had killed his fellow-general, he pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim aloud to the army that Amasa was justly slain and deservedly punished, and to say to them, "If you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and Abishai Joab's brother." But as the body lay in the road, and all the multitude came running up to it, and, as is usual with a crowd, gaping and staring a great while at it, he that guarded it removed it thence, and carried it to a place very remote from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, a certain person told him that he was in a strong city called Abel-macheah,<sup>1</sup> so Joab went there, and besieged it with his army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to overthrow them; and since the people in the city would not admit him, he was greatly displeased at them.

§ 8. Now there was a woman in the city both wise and intelligent, who seeing her native place lying at the last extremity, climbed upon the walls, and through the armed men called for Joab; and when he came near, she began to say, "God gave us kings and generals of armies to drive out the enemies of the Hebrews, and to introduce universal peace among us, but you are endeavouring to overthrow and depopulate a metropolis of the Israelites, which has been guilty of no offence." But he replied, "God continue to be merciful unto me: I desire to avoid killing any of the people, much less would I destroy such a city as this: and if they will deliver me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who has rebelled against the king, I will raise the siege, and withdraw the army." Now as soon as the woman

<sup>1</sup> Abel Beth-Maacah; now *Abi*, west of *Bāniās*.

heard what Joab said, she desired him to intermit the siege for a little while, for he should have the head of his enemy thrown out to him at once. So she went down to the citizens, and said to them, "Will you be so wretched as to perish miserably, with your children and wives, for the sake of a vile fellow, and one whom nobody knows anything about? And will you have him for your king instead of David, who has been so great a benefactor to you, and will you oppose one city to such a mighty and strong army?" So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it into Joab's army. When this was done, the king's general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege. And when he had returned to Jerusalem, he was again appointed general of all the people. The king also made Benaiah captain of the body-guards and of the six hundred. He also set Adoram over the tribute, and Sabathes and Achilauus over the records, and made Susa the scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abiathar as the high priests.

## CHAP. XII.

*How the Hebrews were delivered from a Famine, when the Gibeonites had caused punishment to be inflicted for those of them that had been slain: as also what great Actions were performed against the Philistines by David and the Men of Valour with him.*

### § 1.

AFTER this, when the country was grievously afflicted with a famine, David besought God to have mercy on the people, and to discover to him what was the cause of it, and how a remedy might be found for it. And the prophets answered, that God would have the Gibeonites avenged, whom king Saul had been so wicked as to betray to slaughter, violating the oath which the general Joshua and the senate had sworn to them. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to be taken for those that were slain, as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he would be reconciled to them, and

free the people from the famine. As soon therefore as the king learned from the prophets that it was this which God sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them, What they would have? and when they asked to have seven sons of the race of Saul delivered up to them to be punished, he delivered them up, but spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan. And when the Gibeonites had received the men, they punished them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain at once, and to make the earth again bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the previous drought, so that the country of the Hebrews flourished again. Not long afterwards the king made war against the Philistines, and when he had joined battle with them, and put them to flight, he was left alone as he was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite tired out, he was descried by one of the enemy, whose name was Acmon, the son of Araph; he was one of the sons of the giants. He had a spear, the handle of which weighed three hundred shekels, and a breastplate of chain work, and a sword. He turned and rushed violently to slay David, who was quite tired out, but Abishai, Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, and protected the king with his shield as he lay down, and slew the enemy. Now the people were very uneasy at this danger and near escape of the king, and the rulers made him swear that he would no more go out with them to battle, lest he should come to some great misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they now enjoyed through him, and those they might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time with them.

§ 2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city of Gazar,<sup>1</sup> he sent an army against them, when Sobacches the Hittite, one of David's most courageous men, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation, for he slew many of those who bragged that they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on their bravery, and so was the occasion of victory to the Hebrews. And after that defeat the Philistines made war again: and when David sent an

<sup>1</sup> Gezer, now *Tell Jezar*, see note 2, p. 14; in 2 Sam. xxi. 18, the place is called Gob.

army against them, Nephan his kinsman won great renown, for he fought in single combat with the stoutest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put the rest to flight. Many of them also were slain in the flight. And a little while after this the Philistines pitched their camp at the city of Gath,<sup>1</sup> which lay not far off the borders of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now Jonathan, the son of Shimea, out of the army sent against them by David, fought this man in single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage therein. This Philistine also vaunted himself to be of the sons of the giants. But after this fight the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

§ 3. And now David being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the rest of his reign profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God in several kinds of metre: some of those which he made were trimeters, and some pentameters. He also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on the Sabbath-day, and on the other festivals. Now this was the construction of the instruments: the lyre was an instrument of ten strings played upon with a plectron, the psaltery had twelve musical notes and was played upon by the fingers, the cymbals were broad and large instruments made of brass. And so much shall suffice to say about these instruments, that the reader may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

§ 4. Now all the men that were about David were men of courage. Those of them that were most illustrious and famous for their actions were thirty-eight; of five of whom only I will relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First then was Jessamus, the son of Achemæus, who frequently rushed upon the ranks of the enemy, and did not leave off fighting till he overthrew

<sup>1</sup> *Tell es-Sâfi.*

nine hundred of them. The second was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, who was with the king at Arasam.<sup>1</sup> This man once, when the Israelites were in consternation at the multitude of the Philistines, and were running away, stood his ground alone, and fell upon the enemy, and slew many of them, till his sword stuck to his hand from the blood he had shed, and till the Israelites, seeing the Philistines routed by him, came down from the mountains and pursued them, and at that time won a surprising and famous victory, for Eleazar slew the men, and the multitude followed and spoiled their dead bodies. The third was Cesabæus, the son of Ilus. Now this man, when, in the wars against the Philistines, they pitched their camp at a place called Lehi,<sup>2</sup> and when the Hebrews were again afraid of the enemy and fled, stood his ground alone as if an army and body of men, and some of them he slew, and others who were not able to abide his strength and force, but fled away, he pursued. These were the works of their hands, and of fighting, which these three performed. And once, when the king was at Jerusalem, and the army of the Philistines came against him to fight him, David went up to the top of the citadel, as I have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy's camp lay in the valley that extends to the city of Bethlehem,<sup>3</sup> which is twenty furlongs from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, "We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate," wondering if anyone would bring him some of it to drink: for he said he would rather have it than a great deal of money. When these three men heard what he said, they ran off immediately, and burst through the midst of the enemy's camp, and went to Bethlehem, and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy's camp to the king, and the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and stout-heartedness, that they kept quiet, and did nothing against them, as if they despised their

<sup>1</sup> Arasamos; in 1 Chr. xi. 13, it is Pas-dammim; in 1 Sam. xvii. 1, Ephes-dammim; a place not yet identified between Socoh and Azekah.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Jaw-bone*. Apparently the same place as the scene of Samson's exploit with the jawbone (Judg. xv. 9, 14, 19); the site is unknown.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Valley of the Giants,' see note 1, p. 13.

small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, for he said that it was got by the danger and blood of the men, and that it was not right on that account to drink it. So he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the safety of the men. The fourth was Abishai, Joab's brother, who in one day slew six hundred of the enemy. The fifth was Benaiah, by lineage a priest; who, being challenged by [two] eminent brothers in the country of Moab, overcame them by his valour. And again, when an Egyptian of vast size challenged him, though he was unarmed, he killed him with his own spear which he threw at him, for he snatched his javelin, and took away his weapons, while he was alive and fighting, and slew him with them. One might also add the following to the forementioned actions of the same man, either as the bravest of them, or equal to the rest. When God sent a snow, a lion slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow, it was evident the lion would perish, being enclosed in the snow, so as it saw no way to get out and save itself, it roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, for he was passing by at the time, at the roaring it made, he went down to the mouth of the pit, and smote it as it struggled with a club that was in his hand, and immediately slew it. The other thirty-three were like these in valour also.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How, when David numbered the People, they were punished, and how the Divine Compassion stopped their Punishment.*

#### § 1.

NOW king David was desirous to know how many myriads of the people there were, but he forgot the commands of Moses, who had said beforehand, that if the multitude were numbered, they were to pay half a shekel to God per head. And the king commanded Joab, the captain of his host, to go and number the whole multitude: but though he said there was no necessity for such a census,



the king was not persuaded, but enjoined him to make no delay, but to go about the numbering of the Hebrews at once. Then Joab took with him the heads of the tribes, and the scribes, and went over the country of the Israelites, and took a census of the people, and returned to Jerusalem to the king nine months and twenty days after, and gave in to the king the number of the people, with the exception of the tribe of Benjamin, for he did not number that tribe, or the tribe of Levi, for the king repented of his having sinned against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites was nine hundred thousand men able to bear arms and go to war, and the tribe of Judah by itself was four hundred thousand men.

§ 2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry with him, he began to entreat and beseech him to be merciful to him and forgive him his sin. Then God sent Gad the prophet to him to offer him the choice of three things, that he might select which he liked best: whether he would have famine come upon the country for seven years? or would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or whether God should send a pestilence and plague upon the Hebrews for three days? But as he was reduced to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was sorely troubled and confounded; and when the prophet said he must make his choice, and ordered him to answer quickly, that he might report his choice to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in case he should ask for famine, he would appear to do it for others, and without risk to himself, since he had a great deal of corn hoarded up, but to the harm of his people, and in case he should choose to be conquered by his enemies for three months, he would appear to have chosen war because he had valiant men about him and strongholds, and so feared nothing therefrom, therefore he chose that affliction which is common to kings and their subjects, and in which the fear was equal to all, and observed that it was much better to fall into the hands of God than into those of the enemy.

§ 3. When the prophet received this answer, he reported it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and mortality upon the Hebrews. But they did not die after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what

their malady was, for the miserable disease was one indeed, but it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were stricken could not understand. For one died after another, and the terrible malady seized them before they were aware, and brought them quickly to their end, some giving up the ghost suddenly with very great and sharp pains, and some being worn away by their sufferings, and having very little left to be buried, being as soon as ever they fell sick entirely macerated; some were choked, and wailed aloud, being also stricken with sudden darkness; and some there were, who fell down dead as they were burying a relation, without finishing the funeral. And there perished by this pestilence, which began in the morning and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. And the angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem, to send this terrible judgment upon it. But David put on sackcloth and lay on the ground, begging and entreating God that the plague might now cease, and that he would be satisfied with those that had already perished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel borne along thereby towards Jerusalem with his sword drawn, he said to God that he, the shepherd, might justly be punished, but that the sheep ought to be preserved not having sinned at all, and he implored God that he would send his wrath upon him and upon all his family, but spare the people.

§ 4. And God heard his supplication and caused the pestilence to cease, and sent the prophet Gad to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build there an altar to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not disobey, but hastened at once to the place appointed him. Now Araunah was threshing wheat, and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran up to him, and prostrated himself before him: he was by race a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David, who for that reason did him no harm when he overthrew the city, as I pointed out a little back. And when Araunah inquired, "Wherefore is my lord come to his servant?" David answered that he came to buy of him his threshing-floor, that he might build thereon an altar to God, and

offer a sacrifice. Araunah replied, that he freely gave him both the threshing-floor and ploughs and oxen for a burnt-offering, and he prayed that God would graciously accept his sacrifice. But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his goodwill, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for it was not right to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said he might do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when the king had built an altar, he performed divine service, and offered a burnt-offering and peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious again. Now it happened that Abraham came to offer up his son Isaac for a burnt-offering at this very place,<sup>1</sup> and when the youth was about to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as I have before related. Now when king David saw that God had heard his prayer, and had graciously accepted of his sacrifice, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there. This word he uttered very appositely to what was to be done afterwards, for God sent the prophet to him, and told him, that the son who was to succeed him in the kingdom should there build him a temple.

<sup>1</sup> What Josephus adds here is very remarkable, that this mount Moriah was not only the very place where Abraham offered up Isaac long ago, but that God had foretold to David by a prophet, that here his son should build him a temple; which is not directly in any of our copies, though very agreeable to what is in them, particularly to 1 Chron. xxi. 26-28, and xxii. 1, to which places I refer the reader.—W.

## CHAP. XIV.

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

## § 1.

AFTER the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered, and they were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand. He appointed fourscore thousand of these to be hewers of stone, and the rest of the multitude to carry the stones, and of them he set three thousand five hundred over the workmen. He also prepared a great quantity of iron and brass for the works, and many exceeding large cedar trees, the Tyrians and Sidonians sending them to him, for he had asked them for a supply of those trees. And he told his friends that these things were now prepared, that he might leave materials ready for the building of the temple to his son who was to reign after him, and that he might not have to provide them then, as he was very young, and unskilful in such matters because of his youth, but might have them lying by him to complete the work.

§ 2. Then David called his son Solomon, and charged him, when he received the kingdom, to build a temple to God, and said, "I intended to build to God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and wars, but he foretold that Solomon, my youngest son, who should be called by that name, over whom he has promised to take the care that a father takes over his son, should build him a temple; and that he would make the country of the Hebrews happy in his days, not only in other respects, but by giving it peace and freedom from wars and from internal dissensions, which is the greatest of all blessings. Since, therefore, you were designed king by God himself before you were born, endeavour to make yourself worthy of his providence, as in other respects, so particularly in being religious and righteous and courageous. Keep also his commandments and laws, which he

has given us by Moses, and do not permit others to break them. Be zealous also to dedicate to God the temple which he hath chosen to be built in your reign, and be not dismayed at the vastness of the work, nor set about it timorously, for I will make all things ready for you before I die: and take notice, that there are already ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, collected together. I have also stored up brass and iron without number, and an immense quantity of timber and stones. Moreover, you have many myriads of stone-cutters and carpenters; and if you want anything more, you yourself will add it. And if you carry through this work, you will be acceptable to God, and have him for your patron." David also further exhorted the rulers of the people to assist his son in the building, and to attend to the divine service, when they should be free from all evils, for so they would enjoy instead of them peace and order, blessings with which God rewards such as are religious and righteous. He also gave orders, that when the temple should be built, they should put the ark in it, and the holy vessels; and he told them, that they would have had a temple long ago, if their fathers had not been negligent of God's commands, who had given it in charge, that when they had got the possession of this land, they should build him a temple. Thus did David discourse to the chiefs of the people and to his son.

§ 3. David was now in years, and his body was become by time cold and numb, insomuch that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes; and when the physicians consulted together, they recommended that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and communicate heat to him, and remedy his numbness. Now a woman of superior beauty to all other women was found in the city (her name was Abishag), who, sleeping with the king, only communicated warmth to him, for he was so old that he could not have sexual intercourse with her. But of this virgin I shall speak more presently.

§ 4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful and tall young man, born to him by his wife Haggith. He was called Adonijah, and in disposition resembled

Absalom, and exalted himself hoping to be king, and told his friends that he ought to succeed David. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and had fifty men as outriders. When his father saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, nor did he go even so far as to ask why he did so. Now Adonijah's partisans were Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar the high priest; and the only persons that opposed him were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah who was captain of the body-guards, and Shimei David's friend, and all the most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a feast outside the city, near the fountain that was in the king's park,<sup>1</sup> and had invited all his brothers except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar, and the chiefs of the tribe of Judah; but had not invited to this feast either Zadok the high priest, or Nathan the prophet, or Benaiah the captain of the body-guards, or any of the opposite party. The matter was told to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, by Nathan the prophet, how Adonijah was king and David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go alone to David and remind him that he had sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but meantime Adonijah had already usurped the kingdom. He added that he would himself come after her, and when she had told the matter to the king, would confirm what she said. And Bathsheba hearkened to Nathan, and went in to the king, and prostrated herself before him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things as Nathan had suggested to her; and related the feast Adonijah had made, and who were invited by him, as Abiathar the high priest, and Joab the general, and all David's sons, except Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said, that all the people had their eyes upon him, to know whom he would choose for their king. She begged him also to consider how, after his death, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her, and her son Solomon.

§ 5. Now, as Bathsheba was still speaking, the keepers

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Kings i. 9, the spring is called En-rogel; it is now known as the Virgin's Fountain, in the Kedron Valley.

of the king's chambers told him that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him, whether he had that day made Adonijah king, and delivered the kingdom to him, for he had made a splendid feast, and invited all the king's sons except Solomon, as also Joab the captain of the host [and Abiathar the high priest], "who are feasting with shouting and merriment, and praying that his kingdom may last for ever; but he has not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the body-guards; and it is but right that all should know whether this be done with your approbation." When Nathan had said this, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet went in. And when Bathsheba returned, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly swore, and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day." Then Bathsheba prostrated herself before him, and wished him a long life, and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and for Benaiah the captain of the body-guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the armed men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain [called Gihon,<sup>1</sup>] and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to declare him king. This he charged Zadok the high priest and Nathan the prophet to do, and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and to cry aloud, "May Solomon the king sit upon the royal throne for ever," that so all the people might know that he was declared king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning the kingdom, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews and the tribe of Judah religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah had prayed that God would be favourable to Solomon, they set Solomon without delay upon the royal mule, and escorted him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him back to the city

<sup>1</sup> Gihon is probably to be identified with Siloam.

again with acclamations and prayers that his kingdom might continue a long time; and when they had brought him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Thereupon all the people betook themselves to merriment and feasting, dancing and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and air echoed with the numerous instruments of music.

§ 6. Now when Adonijah and his guests heard this noise, they were greatly alarmed, and Joab, the captain of the host, said he was not pleased with that music nor the sound of the trumpets. And when the feast was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtful and grave. And Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and hailed him as a good messenger, he declared to them the whole matter about Solomon, and the determination of King David; and both Adonijah and all his guests rose hastily from the banquet, and fled everyone to their own homes. Adonijah also, being afraid of the king for what he had done, became a suppliant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was told Solomon that he had so done, and that he desired to receive assurances from him, that he would not bear malice against him for what he had done, nor inflict a severe punishment. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently, that he forgave him this offence, but said that if he were detected again in any attempt at revolution, he would be the author of his own punishment. So he sent and raised him up from his place of supplication. And when he went to the king, and prostrated himself before him, the king bade him go away to his own house, and have no suspicion of any harm, and desired him to show himself henceforward a good man, as it would be for his advantage.

§ 7. And David, wishing to declare his son king over all the people, called together to Jerusalem their rulers, and the priests and Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand from thirty years old to fifty, of whom he appointed twenty-three thousand to take care of the building of the temple, and six thousand to be judges of the people and their



scribes, and four thousand as porters of the house of God, and as many as singers, to sing to the instruments which David had provided, as I said before. He divided them also into families, and when he had separated the priests from the tribe, he found of those priests twenty-four families, sixteen of the house of Eleazar, and eight of that of Ithamar; and he ordained that one family should minister to God eight days, from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the families distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and all the rulers; and the family which came up first was written down first, and that which came up second as second, and so on to the twenty-fourth: and that settlement has remained to this day. He also made twenty-four divisions of the tribe of Levi, and when they cast lots, they came up in the same manner for their courses of eight days. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the offerings of the kings. He also ordained that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

§ 8. After this he divided the entire army into twelve parts, each with its leaders and captains of hundreds and commanders. Now every part had twenty-four thousand, who were ordered to wait on Solomon thirty days at a time, from the first day till the last, with the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also set over every part as rulers such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He also set others to take charge of the treasures, and of the villages, and of the fields, and of the cattle, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention.

§ 9. When David had ordered all these offices in the manner just mentioned, he convoked the rulers of the Hebrews, and their heads of tribes, and the officers over the several divisions, and those that were set over every work or property, and standing upon a very high platform, spoke to the multitude as follows. "My brothers and fellow-countrymen, I would have you know that I intended to build a house for God, and got together a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God forbade me by the prophet Nathan, because of the wars I had had

on your account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, to build him a temple. Now, therefore, since you know that of the twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brothers, and received the kingdom from God, and that none of them were uneasy at it, so do I also desire that my sons be not factious, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but accept him cheerfully for their lord, knowing that God has chosen him. For it is not a grievous thing to obey even a foreigner as a ruler, if it be God's will, but it is matter for rejoicing when a brother has obtained that dignity, since the other brothers partake of it with him. And I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled, and that this happiness which he has promised to bestow upon king Solomon may spread over all the country, and continue therein for all time to come. And these promises will be sure, my son, and come to a happy end, if you show yourself to be a religious and righteous man, and an observer of the laws of your country; but if not, expect adversity upon disobedience to them."

§ 10. Now when the king had said this he left off, but gave to Solomon in the sight of them all the description and pattern of the building of the temple, of the foundations and of the lower and upper chambers, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; he also determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels. Moreover, he earnestly urged them with his words to show the utmost zeal in the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist Solomon, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to superintend the building of the temple and the government of the kingdom. He also showed that the work would be easy and not very laborious to them, because he had already prepared for it many talents of gold and more of silver, and timber, and a great many carpenters and stone-cutters, and a large quantity of emeralds and all sorts of precious stones; and he said, that he would now give out of his own private income two hundred talents, and three hundred talents besides

of pure gold, for the most holy place, and cherubims for the chariot of God, to stand over and cover the ark. And when David had done speaking, there appeared great zeal among the rulers and priests and the tribe of Levi, who now contributed, and made great and splendid promises for a future contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand staters, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many myriad talents of iron. And if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and had it put among the treasures; of which Ialus, one of the posterity of Moses, had the care.

§ 11. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as well as David, who, when he saw the zeal and emulation of the rulers and priests and all the rest, began to bless God with a loud voice, calling him the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned him as the ruler and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of the kingdom which he had given him. Besides this, he prayed for happiness for all the people, and for Solomon his son a sound and just mind, strengthened by all sorts of virtue, and then he commanded the people to bless God. Upon which they all fell down upon the ground, and worshipped God, and also gave thanks to David, on account of all the blessings which they had received ever since he had had the kingdom. On the next day he presented as sacrifices to God a thousand calves, and as many rams and lambs, which they offered for burnt offerings. They also offered peace-offerings, slaying many myriad victims. And the king feasted all day with all the people, and they anointed Solomon the second time with the holy oil, and declared him king, and Zadok high priest of the whole people. And when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

## CHAP. XV.

*The Charge David gave his Son Solomon on the Approach of his Death ; also David's Death and Character.*

## § 1.

A LITTLE time afterwards David fell ill by reason of old age, and perceiving that he was going to die, he called his son Solomon, and addressed him as follows : “ I am now, my son, going to my grave, and to my fathers, by the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go, from which it is impossible to return, or to know anything that is going on in this world. On which account I exhort you, as I am still alive, though very near to death, in the same manner as I formerly advised you, to be just to your subjects, and religious towards God, who has given you the kingdom, and to observe his commandments and laws, which he sent to us by Moses, and disregard them neither from favour nor flattery nor lust nor any other passion. For if you transgress the laws, you will lose the favour of God, and turn away his good providence from you in all things ; but if you behave as you ought, and as I exhort you, you will preserve the kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews, but we ourselves shall for all ages. But remember the iniquity of Joab, the captain of the host, who slew two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner and Amasa the son of Jether, whose death avenge as shall seem good to you, for Joab has been too much for me, and more powerful than myself, and so has escaped punishment hitherto. I commend also to you the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom to gratify me you shall hold in great honour, and take great care of ; for we do not begin the kindness, but only repay the debt which we owe their father, for what he did to me in my flight. As to Shimei the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after having cast many reproaches upon me in my flight, when I

was going to Mahanaim, met me at the Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing, seek now for some just occasion to punish him."

§ 2. When David had given these instructions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem over all the country. He was an excellent man, and endowed with all virtue necessary for a king, who had the safety of so many tribes committed to him. And he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and rushed foremost of all into dangers on behalf of his subjects, animating his soldiers to action by his own energy in fighting, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He had also very great ability in understanding and comprehending the present and future. He was prudent and moderate, and kind to such as were in calamities, he was just and humane, which are good qualities peculiarly fit for kings, nor was he guilty of any crime in the exercise of such great authority except in the affair of the wife of Uriah. He also left behind him greater wealth than any other king, either of the Hebrews or of other nations, ever did.

§ 3. He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, with great magnificence, and with all the funeral pomp which kings are wont to be buried with: moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him; the quantity of which may be easily conjectured by what I shall now record. One thousand three hundred years afterwards Hyrcanus the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, surnamed the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and wished to give him money to get him to raise the siege and draw off his army, having no other means of getting the money, opened a chamber in David's tomb, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and so caused the siege to be raised, as I have stated elsewhere. And many years after him Herod the king opened another chamber, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the coffins of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth

so artfully, that they did not appear even to those that entered their tomb. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

## BOOK VIII.

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

### CHAP. I.

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

#### § 1.

I HAVE already treated in the preceding book of David and his virtue, and of the benefits he conferred upon his countrymen, of his wars also and battles which he managed with success, and then died an old man. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age (whom David had declared while he was alive lord of the people according to God's will), had taken over the kingdom and sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a happy conclusion, and that he might arrive at a great age, with his kingdom in the most prosperous condition possible.

§ 2. Now Adonijah, who had, even while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the kingdom, went to the king's mother Bathsheba, and saluted her with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her because he desired her assistance in anything, and bade him tell her if that were the case, for she would cheerfully afford it him, he began to say, that she herself knew that the kingdom was rightfully his, both on account of his priority of age and the wish of the multitude, though i

had been transferred to Solomon her son according to the will of God. He also said that he was contented to be a servant under him, and acquiesced in the present state of affairs, but he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favour from his brother for him, by persuading him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but because his father was too old, he had not lain with her, and she was still a virgin. And Bathsheba very readily promised to afford him her assistance to bring this marriage about, both because the king would be willing to gratify him, and because she would press it upon him very earnestly. Accordingly, he went away hopeful of compassing this match, and Solomon's mother went at once to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised Adonijah upon his request to her. And when her son came forward to meet her and embraced her, and led her into the chamber where the royal throne was set, he sat down thereon, and bade them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. And when Bathsheba was sat down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I ask of thee, and do not treat me disagreeably or peevishly by a refusal." And when Solomon bade her lay her commands upon him, because it was his duty to grant her everything she should ask, and first complained somewhat that she did not speak with a firm expectation of obtaining what she asked, but seemed to have some fear of a denial, she entreated him to grant that his brother Adonijah might marry Abishag.

§ 3. But the king was greatly offended at this request, and sent away his mother, saying that Adonijah aimed at great things, and that he wondered that she did not ask him to yield up the kingdom to him as his elder brother, since she asked that he might marry Abishag, for he had potent friends in Joab the captain of the host and in Abiathar the priest. So he sent for Benaiah, the captain of the body-guards, and ordered him to slay his brother Adonijah. He also called for Abiathar the priest, and said to him, "I will not put you to death, because of the various hardships you endured with my father, and because of the ark which you removed with him, but I inflict the following punishment upon you, because you were one

of Adonijah's followers, and one of his party. Do not continue here, nor come any more into my sight, but go to your own town, and live in your own fields all your life, for you have offended so greatly, that it is not just that you should retain your office any longer." For the fore-mentioned cause therefore the house of Ithamar was deprived of the high priesthood, as God had foretold to Eli the grandfather of Abiathar, and it was transferred to the family of Phinehas, to Zadok. Now those that were of the family of Phinehas, who lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar (of which family Eli was the first that received it), were as follows: Boccias, the son of Joseph the high priest, his son was Joatham, Joatham's son was Meraioth, Meraioth's son was Arophæus, Arophæus' son was Ahitub, and Ahitub's son was Zadok, who was first made high priest in the reign of David.

§ 4. Now when Joab the captain of the host heard of the death of Adonijah, he was greatly afraid, for he was a greater friend to him than to king Solomon; and suspecting, not without reason, that he was in danger on account of his good will to Adonijah, he fled to the altar, supposing that he might so get safety to himself because of the king's piety towards God. But when some told the king what Joab's idea was, he sent Benaiah, and commanded him to remove Joab from the altar, and bring him to the judgment-seat to make his defence. However, Joab said he would not leave the altar, but would die there rather than in another place. And when Benaiah reported his answer to the king, Solomon commanded him to cut off his head there, as he wished, and to inflict that punishment for those two captains of the host whom he had wickedly murdered, and to bury his body, that his sins might never leave his family, but that he himself and his father might be guiltless by Joab's death. And when Benaiah had done what he was commanded to do, he was himself appointed to be captain of the whole army. The king also made Zadok high priest alone in the room of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

§ 5. As to Shimei, Solomon commanded that he should build a house and dwell at Jerusalem, and live near



him, and should not have authority to go over the brook Cedron, and if he disobeyed that command, death should be his punishment. And, not content with this threat, he compelled him to take an oath that he would obey. And Shimei said that he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an order, and swore that he would do as he bade him, and he left his own city and made his abode in Jerusalem. But three years afterwards, when he heard that two of his servants had run away from him, and were in Gath, he set out to bring them back. And when he returned back with them, the king heard of it, and was much displeased that he had neglected his commands, and what was more, had had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, "Didst thou not swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to another? thou shalt not therefore escape punishment for thy perjury; but I will punish thee, thou wicked wretch, both for this crime, and for thy abuse of my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately for their crimes, but that during all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier upon them than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes." Then Benaiah at the king's command slew Shimei.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the Wife of Solomon, and his Wisdom and Riches, and what he obtained of Hiram for the building of the Temple.*

### § 1.

**S**OLOMON, having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, married the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and made the walls of Jerusalem much larger and stronger than they had been before, and thenceforward managed

public affairs very peaceably; nor was his youth any hindrance to justice or the observation of the laws, or the remembrance of the charges his father had given him at his death, but he discharged every duty with great exactness, such as might have been expected from aged men of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hebron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses, and he offered there a thousand burnt-offerings, and when he had done this, it seemed he had paid great honour to God, for that very night as he was asleep God appeared to him, and commanded him to ask what gifts he should give him as a reward for his piety. And Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, and what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not ask to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things generally esteemed by most men, as alone of the greatest worth, and as the best gifts of God; but, he said, "Give me, O Lord, a sound mind and good understanding, whereby I may judge the people according to truth and righteousness." With this prayer God was well pleased, and promised to give him all those things besides that he had not mentioned in his choice, riches, glory, and above all victory over his enemies, and understanding and wisdom, such as no other, either king or ordinary person, ever had. He also promised to preserve the kingdom to his posterity for a very long time, if he continued righteous and obedient to him, and imitated his father in those things wherein he was excellent. When Solomon heard this from God, he at once leaped out of his bed, and when he had worshipped him he returned to Jerusalem, and after he had offered great sacrifices before the tabernacle, he feasted all his household.

§ 2. In these days a difficult case came before him, which it was very hard to determine. I think it necessary to state the matter about which the judgment was, that such as light upon my writings may know what a difficult case Solomon had to determine, and those that are concerned in such matters may take this sagacity of the

king's for a pattern, that they may the more easily give sentence on such questions. Two women who were professional harlots came to him, of whom she that seemed to have been wronged began to speak first, and said, "O king, I and this other woman dwell together in one room: now it came to pass that we both bore a son at the same hour on the same day, and on the third day this woman overlaid her son and killed it, and then took my son out of my bosom, and removed him to herself, and as I was asleep laid her dead son in my arms. Now when in the morning I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I carefully looked at it and found it was so. Then I demanded my son, and as I could not obtain him, I have had recourse, my lord, to your assistance; for as we were alone, and there was nobody there that could convict her, she impudently perseveres in the stout denial of the fact." When she had told her story, the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to what had been stated. And when she denied that she had done what she was charged with, and said that it was her child that was living, and her antagonist's child that was dead, and when no one could devise what judgment should be given, and the whole court were blind in their understanding, and could not tell how to find out this riddle, the king alone contrived the following way to discover it. He bade them bring in both the dead child and the living child, and sent for one of his bodyguards, and commanded him to draw his sword, and to cut both the children into halves, that each of the women might have half the living and half the dead child. Hereupon all the people privately laughed at the king, as no more than a youth. But mean time she that was the real mother of the living child cried out, and begged that he would not do so, but deliver the living child to the other woman as her own, for she would be satisfied with the life and sight of it, although it should be esteemed the other's child: but the other woman was ready to see the child divided, and was desirous moreover that the first woman should be tormented. When the king understood that both their words proceeded from truth, he adjudged the

child to her that cried out to save it, for she was the real mother of it, and he condemned the other as a wicked woman, who had not only killed her own child, but was anxious to see her friend's child destroyed also. Now the multitude looked on this decision as a great sign and proof of the king's sagacity and wisdom, and, after that day, attended to him as to one that had a divine mind.

§ 3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers appointed over the whole country, were as follows. Over the lot of Ephraim<sup>1</sup> was Ures; over the region of Bethlehem was Dioclerus; and Abinadad, who married Solomon's daughter, had the region of Dora<sup>2</sup> and the sea coast under him. The great plain<sup>3</sup> was under Benaiah, the son of Achilus, who also governed all the country as far as the Jordan. Gabares ruled over Gilead<sup>4</sup> and Gaulanitis,<sup>5</sup> as far as Mount Lebanon, and had under him sixty great and fenced cities. Achinadab managed the affairs of all Galilee as far as Sidon, and he also had married a daughter of Solomon, whose name was Basima. Banacates had the sea coast about Arce,<sup>6</sup> and Shaphat had mount Tabor, and Carmel, and Lower Galilee [as far as the river Jordan.] And one man was appointed over them throughout all this country. And Shimei was intrusted with the lot of Benjamin, and Gabares had the country beyond the Jordan. And over these again there was one governor appointed. Now the people of the Hebrews and the tribe of Judah wonderfully increased when they betook themselves to husbandry and the cultivation of the land; for as they enjoyed peace, and were not distracted with wars and troubles, and also enjoyed abundantly the most desirable liberty, they were all busy in augmenting the product of their own lands, and making them worth more than they had formerly been.

§ 4. The king appointed also other rulers, who were over the land of Syria and of the strange nations, which reached from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and they collected his

<sup>1</sup> The hill country south of *Náblus*, Shechem. Compare the list of Solomon's officers in 1 Kings iv. 8-19, where some of the names are given in a different form.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Tantárah*.

<sup>3</sup> The plain of Esdrælon, now *Merj ibn 'Âmir*.

<sup>4</sup> Mount Gilead, east of the Jordan, see note, vol. i. p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Now *Jaulán*.

<sup>6</sup> Now *Tell 'Arka*, not far from Tripoli.

tribute from the nations. Now they contributed to the king's table for his dinner every day thirty cors of fine flour, and sixty of meal, ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred fat lambs; besides what was taken by hunting, as harts and buffaloes, birds and fishes, which were brought to the king by the foreigners every day. Solomon had also so great a number of chariots, that the stalls of his horses for those chariots were forty thousand. And besides these he had twelve thousand horsemen, half of whom waited upon the king in Jerusalem, and the rest were dispersed about and dwelt in the royal villages: and the same officer who provided for the king's expenses, supplied also the fodder for the horses, and carried it to the place where the king abode.

§ 5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients and was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to be beyond all men in understanding; nay, indeed, it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to that of the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for ability, whose names I will not omit, as Ethan and Æman and Chalceus and Dardanus, the sons of Emaon. He also composed books of odes and songs, a thousand and five; of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he spoke a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar; and in like manner also about beasts, and all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor did he omit inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and showed his exquisite knowledge of their several properties. God also enabled him to learn the art which expels demons, which is useful and works cures for men. He composed charms also by which diseases are alleviated. And he left behind him forms of exorcisms, by which people drive away demons so that they never return: and this method of cure is of very great value unto this day; for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, curing people possessed by demons in the presence of Vespasian and his sons and

captains and the whole of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was as follows: he put a ring that had under its seal one of those sorts of roots mentioned by Solomon to the nostrils of the demoniac, and then drew the demon out through his nostrils as he smelt it: and when the man fell down immediately, he adjured the demon to return into him no more, still making mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he had composed. And Eleazar, wishing to persuade and show to the spectators that he had such a power, used to set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and so to let the spectators know that he had left the man. And when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was showed very manifestly; and that all men may know the vastness of Solomon's abilities, and how he was beloved of God, and that the extraordinary virtues of every kind with which this king was endowed may not be unknown to any people under the sun, I have been induced to speak about these matters.

§ 6. Now when Hiram king of Tyre had heard that Solomon had succeeded to his father's kingdom, he was very glad at it, for he was a friend of David. So he sent ambassadors to him, and saluted him, and congratulated him on the present happy state of his affairs. Upon which Solomon sent him a letter, the contents of which are as follows.

#### SOLOMON TO KING HIRAM.

“KNOW that my father would have built a temple to God, but was hindered by wars and continual expeditions; for he did not leave off overthrowing his enemies till he made them all subject to tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God foretold to my father that such a house should be built by me. Wherefore I desire you to send some of your subjects with mine to mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in cutting wood. As for wages to the woodmen, I will pay whatever price you shall fix.”

§ 7. When Hiram had read this letter he was pleased with it: and wrote back the following answer to Solomon.

#### KING HIRAM TO KING SOLOMON.

“It is right to bless God, that he has committed your father’s government to you, who are a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition you are in, and will supply you with all things you write to me about; for when I have had cut down by my subjects many and large cedar and cypress trees, I will send them to the sea, and will order my subjects to make rafts, and to sail with them to whatever place in your country you shall desire, and leave them there, and then your subjects can carry them to Jerusalem. But take care in return for this timber to supply us with corn, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit an island.”

§ 8. The copies of these letters are extant at this day, and are preserved not only in our books, but also among the Tyrians, insomuch that if anyone would know the certainty about them, he may ask the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what I have narrated. I have said so much from a desire that my readers may know that I speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of plausible materials to deceive and please men at the same time; nor do I attempt to avoid examination, or desire men to believe me immediately; nor am I at liberty to depart from speaking truth (which is the proper commendation of an historian), and yet be blameless: but I insist upon no admission of what I say, unless I am able to manifest its truth by demonstration and cogent testimony.

§ 9. Now as soon as this letter was brought him from the king of Tyre, king Solomon commended the readiness and good-will he declared therein, and bartered with him as he asked, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cors of wheat, and as many baths of oil. The bath contains seventy-two sextarii. He also sent him the same measure of wine. And the friendship between Hiram and Solomon increased through this more and more; and they swore

to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people of thirty thousand labourers ; whose work he rendered easy to them by skilfully dividing it among them ; for he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Lebanon for a month, and then return home and rest for two months, until the time when the remaining twenty thousand had finished their month each ; and so it came to pass that each ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month. And Adoram was over this tribute. There were also of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones and other materials, seventy thousand ; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand. Of these three thousand three hundred were overseers over the rest. He also enjoined them to hew large stones for the foundations of the temple, and to shape and unite them together in the quarry first, and then bring them to the city. This was done not only by the workmen of our own country, but by the artificers whom Hiram sent also.

### CHAP. III.

#### *Of the Building of the Temple.*

##### § 1.

SOLOMON began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisius, and the Hebrews Jar, five hundred and ninety-two years after the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and one thousand and twenty-two years after Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and one thousand four hundred and forty years after the deluge. And from Adam, the first man created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. And the year in which the temple began to be built, was just the eleventh year of the reign of king Hiram ; and from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.



§ 2. Now king Solomon laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, such as would resist the force of time, which were to fit in with the earth, and become a basis and sure foundation for the structure which was to be erected upon it; they were to be so strong in order to sustain with ease that vast pile and precious ornaments, whose own weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and heavy buildings which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnificent. They erected it of white stone quite up to the roof; its height was sixty cubits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its proportions, so that the entire height of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. It faced east. As to the porch, they built it in front of the temple; its length was twenty cubits to match the breadth of the house; and it was ten cubits in breadth, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cubits. He also built round about the temple thirty small rooms, which might include the whole temple, by their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that one might pass from one into another. Every one of these rooms was five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but twenty in height. Above these there were other rooms, and others above them, equal both in their proportions and number; so that they reached a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and indeed every one of these rooms had a roof of its own, not connected with the other rooms; but for the other parts there was a covered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams, that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, so that the middle walls being strengthened by the same beams of timber, might be thereby made firmer; and as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and was all made smooth, and had ornaments proper for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, and had them gilt

over, so that the whole temple shone, and dazzled the eyes of such as entered by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them. And the whole structure of the temple was with great skill wrought of polished stones, laid together so very harmoniously and smoothly, that to the spectators there appeared no sign of any hammer or other instrument of architecture, but it seemed as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, that the fitting in of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural than to have arisen from the action of tools. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the upper room over the temple by a spiral staircase in the thickness of the wall; for it had no large door at the east end as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple both within and without with boards of cedar, that were fastened together by thick iron clamps, so as to be of the nature of a support and strength to the building.

§ 3. And when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house, which was twenty cubits square, to be the most holy place, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place in the wall, he put therein doors of cedar, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold that had various carvings upon it. He also had veils of blue and purple and scarlet, of the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers wrought upon them, to hang before those doors. He also dedicated for the most holy place, whose breadth was twenty cubits and length the same, two cherubims of solid gold; the height of each of them was five cubits: and they had each of them two wings stretched out five cubits; he so set them up not far from each other, that with one wing they might touch the south wall of the most holy place, and with another the north wall; their other wings, which joined each other, were a covering to the ark, which was placed between them; but nobody can tell, or even conjecture, what was the shape of these cherubims. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates of gold, and he added doors to the gate of the temple in proportion to the height of the wall, and in breadth twenty cubits, and to

them he attached gold plates. And, to say all in one word, he left no part of the temple, either internal or external, not overlaid with gold. He had also curtains drawn over these doors in like manner as they were drawn over the inner doors of the most holy place. But the door of the porch had nothing of the kind.

§ 4. And Solomon sent for an artificer from Tyre, whose name was Hiram, who was of the tribe of Naphtali on the mother's side (for she was of that tribe), but his father was Uriah, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skilful in all sorts of work, but his chief skill lay in working in gold and silver and brass, and he did all the curious work about the temple as the king wished. This Hiram also made two pillars of brass, and the thickness of the brass was four fingers, and the height of the pillars was eighteen cubits, and their circumference twelve cubits, and there was cast with each of their chapters lily work, that stood upon the pillars, and was elevated five cubits, round about which there was net-work, interwoven with small palms made of brass, which covered the lily work. To this also were hung two hundred pomegranates in two rows. One of these pillars he set at the entrance of the porch on the right, and called it Jachin, and the other he set at the left, and called it Boaz.

§ 5. He also cast a brazen sea whose figure was that of a hemisphere. This brazen vessel was called a sea from its size, for the laver was ten feet in diameter, and cast of the thickness of a palm: its middle part rested on a short pillar, that had ten spirals round it, and the pillar was one cubit in diameter. There stood round about it twelve oxen facing the four winds of heaven, three towards each wind, having their hinder parts so depressed that the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which itself was also depressed round about inwardly. Now this sea was capable of containing three thousand baths.

§ 6. He also made ten brazen quadrangular bases for as many lavers: the length of every one of these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four cubits, and the height six cubits. The work was turned, and contrived as follows: there were four small quadrangular pillars that stood one at each corner, that had the sides of the base fitted to them on each

quarter: they were parted into three parts; every interval had a border fitted to support [the laver], upon which was engraven, sometimes a lion, sometimes a bull or an eagle. The small pillars had the same animals engraven that were engraven on the sides. The whole work was elevated upon four wheels, which were also cast, and had naves and felloes, and were a foot and a half in diameter. Anyone who saw the spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and with what harmony they fitted to the felloes, would wonder at them. Their construction was as follows: certain shoulders of hands stretched out held the corners above, upon which rested a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow part of the laver, resting upon the fore part of the eagle and the lion, which were so skilfully joined that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between these were engraved palm-trees. Such was the construction of the ten bases. He also made ten large round brass lavers, each of which contained forty baths, and its height was four cubits, and its edges were equi-distant from each other. He also placed these lavers upon the ten bases that were called Mechonoth; and he set five of the lavers on the left side of the temple, which was the side towards the north, and as many on the right side towards the south, but facing east: the same way he also set the brazen sea, which he filled with water and assigned for washing the hands and feet of the priests when they entered into the temple, and were to ascend to the altar, and the lavers were to cleanse the entrails and feet of the beasts that were to be burnt-offerings.

§ 7. Hiram also made a brazen altar, whose length was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and its height ten, for the burnt-offerings. He also made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, and besides these, the snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels, and of such brass as was in brightness and beauty like gold. The king also dedicated a great number of tables, and one that was large and made of gold, upon which they set the loaves of God: and he made ten thousand more that resembled them, but were made in another manner, upon which lay the vials and the cups; those of

gold were twenty thousand, and those of silver were forty thousand. He also made ten thousand candlesticks according to the command of Moses, one of which he dedicated for the temple, that it might burn in the day-time according to the law; and one table with loaves upon it on the north side of the temple over against the candlestick; for this he set on the south side, but the golden altar stood between them. All these vessels were contained in the house which was forty cubits long, before the veil of the most holy place wherein the ark was to be set.

§ 8. The king also had eighty thousand pouring vessels made, and a hundred thousand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials; and of golden dishes, to offer kneaded fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand, and twice as many of silver. Of large basons also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil, there were sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures of Moses called Hin and Assaron, there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense into the temple, were twenty thousand: the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar within the temple, were fifty thousand. The sacerdotal garments which belonged to the high priests, with the long robes, and the oracle, and the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote the name of God, was only one, and has remained to this very day. He also made ten thousand sacerdotal garments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest, and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses: and two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers that were Levites. And he made forty thousand musical instruments such as were invented for singing hymns, called Nablæ and Cinyræ [psalteries and harps], which were made of a compound of gold and silver.

§ 9. Solomon had all these things made for the honour of God, with great expenditure and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicated to the treasures of God. He also placed round about the temple a partition, which in our tongue we call Gison, but it is called *θρυγκός*

by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits; it was to keep the multitude from coming into the temple, and to signify that it was a place that was open only to the priests. He also built outside this a temple, in figure quadrangular, and erected for it great and broad porticoes entered by very high gates, each of which faced one of the four winds, and was shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure and observant of the laws. But he made this outside temple a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, it is hardly credited when seen; for when he had filled up with earth great valleys (which, on account of their immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bent down to see them, without pain,) and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits, he made it on a level with the top of the mountain on which the temple was built, and by this means the outmost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed it also with a building of a double row of porticoes, which stood on high pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were polished with fret-work; and he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Solomon removed the Ark to the Temple, and made Supplication to God and offered public Sacrifices to him.*

##### § 1.

WHEN king Solomon had finished these works and large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and accomplished all this in seven years, and had given proof of his riches and zeal, insomuch that anyone who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time ere it could have been finished, and would be surprised that so much could be finished in so short a time, short, I mean, if com-

pared with the greatness of the work, he wrote to the rulers and elders of the Hebrews, and ordered all the people to gather themselves together to Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he had built, and to remove the ark of God to it. And when this invitation to the whole body of the people to come to Jerusalem was carried round to everybody, it was the seventh month before they assembled together, which month is by our countrymen called Thisri, but by the Macedonians Hyperberetæus. The feast of tabernacles happened to fall at the same time, which was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and important feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration in the sacrifices to God, and removed them to the temple. The king himself and all the people and the Levites went before, rendering the ground moist with drink-offerings and the blood of a great many victims, and burning an immense quantity of incense; and that till the very air itself everywhere round about was so full of these odours, that it reached in a most agreeable manner persons at a great distance, and was a token of God's presence, and, as men thought, of his habitation in this newly built and consecrated place; and they did not grow weary either of singing hymns or of dancing until they reached the temple. And in this manner did they bring the ark. But when they were to transfer it to the most holy place, the rest of the multitude went away, and only the priests that carried it set it between the two cherubims, which embraced it with their wings, for so were they framed by the artificer, and covered it as under a tent or dome. Now the ark contained nothing else but those two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai, and which were inscribed upon them; but they set the candlestick and table and the golden altar in the temple before the most holy place, in the very same positions which they occupied till that time in the tabernacle, when<sup>1</sup> they offered the daily sacrifices. And Solomon set the brazen altar

<sup>1</sup> For *καὶ* I read *ὡς*. It is well known how frequently these two words are transposed in Greek MSS. This arises from an abbreviation for both, which is very similar.

before the temple over against the door, that when the door was opened it might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities, and the costliness of the sacrifice, might be thence descried. And they gathered together all the rest of the vessels and put them within the temple.

§ 2. Now, as soon as the priests had put all things in order about the ark and had gone out, there came down suddenly a thick cloud, which stood there, and spread itself in a gentle manner through the temple; it was a cloud diffused and temperate, not a rough one such as we see full of rain in the winter season. This cloud so darkened the place that the priests could not discern one another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and glorious token of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. And those present were intent upon this thought. And king Solomon rose up, (for he was sitting before,) and used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the divine nature to receive and fit for him to give. "Thou hast [he said] an eternal house, O Lord, and such an one as thou hast created for thyself out of thine own works; we know thou pervadest the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, nor art thou contained within these limits. I have indeed built this temple to thee, and called it by thy name, that from thence, when we sacrifice and perform sacred rites, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present and not far off. For as thou seeest and hearest all things, when it pleases thee to dwell here, thou dost not fail to be very near to all men, but especially art thou present to those that pray to thee by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he turned his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented to them the power and providence of God, how he had showed all things that were come to pass to David his father, and most had indeed already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter; and how he had given him his name, and foretold what he should be called before he was born, and how, when he should be king after his father's death, he should build him a temple. And as they saw this accomplished according to his prediction,



he asked them to bless God, and believing in him from what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of anything that he had promised for the future for their happiness, as if it would not come to pass.

§ 3. When the king had thus discoursed to the multitude, he looked again towards the temple, and, lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not indeed possible by what men can do to return thanks to God for his benefits bestowed upon them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such requital; but as we have been made superior, O Lord, to all other living creatures by thee, it is our bounden duty to bless thy majesty, and return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people. For with what other thing can we better appease thee, when thou art angry with us, or more properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice; which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards. I therefore now return my thanks thereby in the first place for my father, whom thou didst raise from obscurity unto so great glory, and in the next place for myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised me up to this very day. And I beseech thee, for the time to come, to afford us whatever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem, and to augment our house for all time, as thou didst promise David my father, both in his lifetime and at his death, that our kingdom should continue, and that his posterity should inherit it for ten thousand generations. Do not therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on my offspring that virtue in which thou delightest. And besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy spirit come down and dwell in this temple, that thou mayest appear to be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the entire heavens and the immensity of the things that are therein are but a small habitation for thee, much more is this poor temple so: but I entreat thee to keep it as thine own house, so that it shall never be sacked by our enemies, and to take care of it as thine own possession. And if ever this people be found to have sinned, and be thereupon afflicted by thee with any plague because of their sin, as

with dearth or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou wilt inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if they gather themselves together and take refuge all of them in this temple, beseeching thee and begging of thee to deliver them, then do thou, being within this house, hear their prayers, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions. Moreover I implore this help of thee, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither even from the ends of the world, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, do thou then pardon them and hear their prayer. For so all shall learn that thou thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for thee, and that we are not ourselves of an unhumane nature, nor hostile to such as are not of our own people, but are willing that thy help should be given to all men in common, and that the enjoyment of thy benefits should be bestowed upon them."

§ 4. When Solomon had said this, and prostrated himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar. and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most clearly discovered that God had with pleasure accepted all his sacrifice. For a fire came running out of the air, and darting with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, which licked up and consumed all the sacrifice. Now, when this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a proof that God would abide in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped. And the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having tokens of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like from him, and that he would preserve in them a mind pure from all wickedness, owing to their righteousness and religious worship and keeping the commandments which God had given them by Moses, because so the Hebrew nation would be happy, indeed the most blessed of all mankind. He exhorted them also to remember, that by what means they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and

make them greater and more than they were at present ; for they ought not to suppose only that they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but also that they had no other way of preserving them for the time to come, for it is not so great a thing for men to acquire something that they want, as to keep what they have acquired, and to be guilty of no sin whereby it may be lost.

§ 5. When the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he broke up the assembly, having completed the sacrifices both for himself and for the Hebrews, for he sacrificed twenty-two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. For the temple did then first taste of victims, and all the Hebrews with their wives and children feasted therein ; moreover the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles before the temple for twice seven days, feasting together with all the people.

§ 6. When all these solemnities were abundantly performed, and nothing omitted that concerned the worship of God, the king dismissed the people, and they went every one to their homes, giving thanks to the king for the care he had taken of them, and the works he had done for them, and praying God to preserve Solomon as their king for a long time. They also took their journey home with rejoicing and merrymaking, and singing hymns to God, so that the pleasure they enjoyed took away the sense of the tediousness of their journey home. For when they had brought the ark into the temple, and had seen its greatness and how fine it was, and had been partakers of the many sacrifices and festivals, they returned every one to their own cities. And a dream appeared to the king in his sleep, and informed him that God had heard his prayers, and that he would not only preserve the temple, but would always abide in it, if his posterity and all the people should be righteous. As for the king himself, if he abode by the advice of his father, he would advance him to an immense degree of happiness, and his posterity of the tribe of Judah should be kings of that country for ever : but if he should be found a betrayer of the ordinances of the law, and forget them and turn away to

the worship of strange gods, he would cut him off root and branch, and would neither suffer any remnant of his family to continue, nor would preserve the people of Israel any longer from afflictions, but would utterly destroy them with ten thousand wars and misfortunes; and would cast them out of the land which he had given their fathers, and make them sojourners in strange lands; and deliver that temple, which was now built, to be burnt and spoiled by their enemies, and their city to be utterly overthrown by the hands of their enemies; and would make their miseries deserve to be a proverb, and such as should hardly be credited for their stupendous magnitude, so that their neighbours, when they should hear of them, should wonder at their calamities, and very earnestly inquire why the Hebrews, who had before been advanced by God to such glory and wealth, should be then so hated by him; and the answer that should be made by the remnant of the people should be their confessing their sins and transgression of the laws of their country. We have it transmitted to us in writing, that God did thus speak to Solomon in his sleep.

#### CHAP. V.

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

##### § 1.

AFTER the building of the temple, which, as I have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years. For he was not equally zealous in the building of his palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated in the work, that it was finished in the forementioned number of years; but the palace, which was a building much inferior in dignity to the temple, not only because its materials had not been got ready so

long beforehand, nor so carefully prepared, but because it was only an habitation for kings and not for God, took longer time to finish. However, it was a magnificent edifice, and one that suited the prosperity of the Hebrews and their king; but it is necessary for me to describe the entire structure and arrangement of it, that so those that light upon this book may conjecture and form some idea of its magnitude.

§ 2. The house was a large and handsome building, supported by many pillars, and Solomon built it to contain a great many persons for hearing cases, and taking cognizance of suits, for it was large enough to hold a great many men, who might assemble to hear cases determined. It was an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars which were all of cedar, and its roof was of the Corinthian order, with doors of equal size, and three-grooved panels, so that the building was at once strong and ornamental. There was also another house placed in the middle, it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, and there was a temple opposite to it raised upon massive pillars; in which temple there was a magnificent hall, where the king sat in judgment, to which was joined another house, that was built for the queen. There were other smaller edifices for food and sleep after public affairs were over, and these were all floored with boards of cedar. Some of these Solomon built with stones of ten cubits, and wainscoted the walls with other stone that was sawn and of great value, such as is dug out of the earth to ornament temples, and to add to the show of royal palaces, making the mines whence it is dug famous. Now the curious workmanship of this stone was in three rows, and the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, wherein were represented trees and all sorts of plants, with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from them. Those trees and plants covered the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so wonderfully fine, that you would think they moved. But the other part up to the roof was plastered over, and embroidered with colours and pictures. Solomon built moreover other edifices for pleasure, as also very long porticoes situated in an agree-

able part of the palace, and among them a most glorious dining-room for feastings and revellings, full of gold and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the convenience of the guests, and all the vessels were made of gold. Indeed it is hard to reckon up the magnitude and variety of the royal apartments, how many rooms there were of the largest sort, how many of a size inferior to those, how many that were underground and secret, the beauty of those that enjoyed the fresh air, and groves with the most delightful landscapes for avoiding heat and for refreshment of the body. And to say all in brief, Solomon made the whole building entirely of white stone and cedar wood and gold and silver, and adorned the roofs and walls with stones set in gold, and beautified them thereby in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with similar stones. He also made himself a throne of prodigious size of ivory, constructed on a dais, with six steps to it; on every one of which stood at each end of the step two lions, two other lions standing above also; and at the seat of the throne, hands came out and received the king; and when he reclined in it, he rested on half a bullock, that looked towards his back, and all was fastened together with gold.

§ 3. When Solomon had completed both temple and palace in twenty years' time, as Hiram king of Tyre had contributed a great deal of gold and more silver to these buildings, as also cedar wood and pine wood, he himself requited Hiram with rich presents; sending him annually corn and wine and oil, which were the principal things that he stood in need of, because he inhabited an island, as I have already said. And besides these, he granted him certain cities of Galilee, twenty in number, that lay not far from Tyre; and when Hiram went to them, and looked at them, and did not like the gift, he sent word to Solomon, that he did not want the cities, and from that time those cities were called the land of Cabul,<sup>1</sup> which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phœnicians, denotes what does not please. Moreover, the king of Tyre sent hard and

<sup>1</sup> The 'land of Cabul' was probably near the modern *Kābūl*.

enigmatical sayings to Solomon, and desired he would solve them, and free them from the ambiguity that was in them. Now so sagacious and intelligent was Solomon, that none of these problems were too hard for him, but he conquered them all by reasoning, and discovered their hidden meaning, and brought it to light. Menander also, who translated the Tyrian archives out of the dialect of the Phœnicians into the Greek language, makes mention of these two kings, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram succeeded him in the kingdom, and lived fifty-three years and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank in the large place, and dedicated the golden pillar which is in the temple of Zeus. He also went and cut down timber on the mountain called Libanus for the roofs of temples; and when he had pulled down the ancient temples, he built both the temple of Hercules and that of Astarte: and he first set up the temple of Hercules in the month Peritius; he also made an expedition against the Iycaei who did not pay their tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned. Under this king lived Abdemon's younger son, who always conquered the difficult problems which Solomon, king of Jerusalem, commanded him to explain." Dios also makes mention of him, where he says thus: "When Abibalus was dead, his son Hiram reigned. He raised the eastern parts of the city higher, and made the city itself larger. He also joined the temple of Olympian Zeus, which before stood by itself, to the city, by raising a bank in the middle between them, and he adorned it with donations of gold. Moreover, he went up to mount Libanus, and cut down timber for the building of temples." He says also, that "Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to receive the like from him, and he who could not solve them should pay money to him that did, and that Hiram accepted the conditions, and when he was not able to solve the riddles [proposed by Solomon], he paid a great deal of money for his fine: but that afterwards he did solve the proposed riddles by means of Abdemon,<sup>1</sup> a man of Tyre:

<sup>1</sup> Dios and Menander state Hiram's riddle-guesser a little differently. Their accounts will be harmonized if we consider that Abdemon's son had the same name as his father. But the matter is of little moment.

and that Hiram proposed other riddles, which, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram." This is the account of Dios.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Solomon fortified the City of Jerusalem, and built great Cities: and how he brought some of the Canaanites into Subjection, and entertained the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.*

### § 1.

NOW when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of towers and other defences for their security (for he thought the walls that surrounded Jerusalem ought to correspond to the dignity of the city), he repaired them, and made them higher by great towers. He also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, as Hazor<sup>1</sup> and Megiddo,<sup>2</sup> and the third Gazar,<sup>3</sup> which had indeed belonged to the Philistines, but Pharaoh the king of Egypt had made an expedition against it, and besieged it, and taken it by storm, and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he razed it to the ground, and gave it as a present to his daughter who had married Solomon. So the king rebuilt it, as a city that was naturally strong, and might be useful in wars, or any reverses such as sometimes happen. Moreover, he built two other cities not far from it; Beth-horon<sup>4</sup> was the name of one of them, and Baalath<sup>5</sup> was the name of the other. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these for enjoyment and pleasure, such as had naturally a good temperature of air, and were agreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went as far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there

<sup>1</sup> Probably the northern Hazor, near Kedesh Napthali.

<sup>2</sup> Now *el-Lejjûn*, on the plain of Esdraelon.

<sup>3</sup> *Tell Jazar.*

<sup>4</sup> According to 1 Kings ix. 17. Beth-horon the nether, now *Beit 'Ur et-Tahta.*

<sup>5</sup> Now *Bel'atn*, about two and a quarter miles north of Beth-horon the nether.



a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from Upper Syria, and one day's journey from the Euphrates, and six days' journey from the great Babylon. Now, the reason why this city lay so remote from the inhabited parts of Syria was that below there is no water to be had, and that in that place only are there springs and wells of water. When he had therefore built this city, and thrown round it very strong walls, he gave it the name of Tadmor, and that is the name it is still called by to this day among the Syrians, but the Greeks call it Palmyra.

§ 2. So Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. Now if any people should ask why all the kings of Egypt from Minaeus, who built Memphis, and lived many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, during an interval of more than one thousand three hundred years, were called Pharaohs, and took that title from one Pharaoh who lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them, to cure their ignorance, and to make the reason of that name manifest. Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies a king.<sup>1</sup> I suppose they had other names in their childhood, but that, when they became kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authority. Thus also the kings of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom, were called Ptolemies from their first king. The Roman emperors also are from their birth called by other names, but are called Cæsars because their empire and dignity imposes that name upon them, and so they do not

<sup>1</sup> This signification of the name Pharaoh appears to be true. But what Josephus adds presently, that 'no king of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father-in-law,' hardly agrees with our copies, which have long afterwards the names of 'Pharaoh-nechah,' and 'Pharaoh-hophrah,' 2 Kings xxiii. 29, Jer. xlv. 30, besides the frequent mention of the name Pharaoh in the prophets. However, Josephus himself, in his own speech to the Jews, Jewish War, v. 9, § 4, speaks of Nechao, 'who was also called Pharaoh,' as the name of the king of Egypt with whom Abraham was concerned: of which name Nechao we have elsewhere no mention till the days of Josiah, but only of Pharaoh. And indeed it must be confessed, that here, and § 5, we have more mistakes made by Josephus, relating to the kings of Egypt, and to the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia whom he supposes to have come to see Solomon, than almost anywhere else in all the Antiquities.—W.

continue in the names which their fathers gave them. I suppose also that Herodotus of Halicarnassus,<sup>1</sup> when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Minaeus, who built Memphis,<sup>2</sup> did not tell us their names, because they were all in common called Pharaoh; for when after their death a queen reigned, he calls her by her name Nicaulis, thereby declaring, that as the male kings had the same name, while a woman could not have the same, he did therefore set down the name which she could not by nature have. As for myself, I have discovered from our own books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any longer use that name, and that it was after that time when the fore-mentioned queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon. As to her I shall inform the reader presently; but I have now made mention of these things to prove that our books and those of the Egyptians agree together in many things.

§ 3. King Solomon also subdued the remnant of the Canaanites that had not before submitted, those, I mean, that dwelt in mount Lebanon and as far as the city of Hamath,<sup>3</sup> and ordered them to pay tribute. He also chose out of them every year such as were to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his domestic work, and till the ground. For none of the Hebrews were slaves, (nor was it reasonable, when God had brought so many nations under their power, that they should depress their own people to such mean offices of life rather than them,) but all went armed to war with chariots and horses rather than lead the life of slaves. He appointed also five hundred and fifty overseers over those Canaanites who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who received the entire care of them from the king, and instructed them in those labours and operations wherein he wanted them.

§ 4. Moreover the king built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, at a certain place called Ezion-Geber:<sup>4</sup> it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the

<sup>1</sup> The largest city of Caria, now *Búdrám*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Mitrahamy*, on the left bank of the Nile above Cairo. <sup>3</sup> *Hama*.

<sup>4</sup> The exact position of Ezion-Geber at the head of the gulf of *Akabah* is not known.

city of Eloth.<sup>1</sup> This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping in consequence of the donations of Hiram king of Tyre; for he sent there a sufficient number of pilots and men skilful in navigation, to whom Solomon gave command that they should sail with his stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Land of Gold, (which belongs to India,) to fetch him gold. And when they had collected there four hundred talents, they returned to the king again.

§ 5. There lived in those days a woman who was queen of Egypt and Ethiopia,<sup>2</sup> a great student of philosophy, and on other accounts also one to be admired. When this queen heard of the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, she had a great mind to see him, and the reports that went every day abroad induced her to go to him. For being desirous to be satisfied by her own experience, and not by bare hearsay (for reports thus heard are likely enough to be false, as they wholly depend on the credit of the relators), she resolved to visit him, especially in order to test his wisdom by propounding questions of very great difficulty, and entreating that he would solve their hidden meaning. So she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and rich equipage; for she brought with her camels laden with gold and with several sorts of sweet spices and precious stones. Now the king in his kind reception of her showed a great desire to please her, and easily comprehending in his mind the meaning of the curious questions she propounded to him, he resolved them sooner than anybody could have expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of Solomon, and discovered that it was more excellent upon trial than she had heard by report beforehand; and especially was

<sup>1</sup> Eloth or Elath is the present 'Ailah or 'Akabah, at the head of the gulf of 'Akabah.

<sup>2</sup> That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Sabæa in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose, now generally agreed. And since Sabæa is well known to be a country near the sea, south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judæa also; and since our Saviour calls this queen, 'the queen of the south,' and says, 'she came from the utmost parts of the earth,' Matth. xii. 42; Luke xi. 31, which descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubt in the matter.

she surprised at the fineness and largeness of the royal palace, and not less at the good order of the apartments, for she observed that the king had shown great wisdom therein. But she was beyond measure astonished at the house which was called the forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnificence of the king's daily table, and its preparation and serving, and at the apparel of his servants that waited, and their skilful and decorous attendance: nor was she less affected with those daily sacrifices which were offered to God, and the careful diligence which the priests and Levites displayed in connection with them. As she saw all this happening every day, she was in the greatest wonder imaginable, insomuch that she was not able to contain the surprise she was in, but openly confessed how wonderfully she was affected; for she proceeded to discourse with the king, and owned in her speech that she was overcome with wonder at the things I have related, and said; "All things indeed, O king, that come to our knowledge by report, come with uncertainty; but as to those good things that are yours, both what you yourself possess, I mean wisdom and prudence, and what your kingdom gives you, certainly the fame that came to us was no falsity, it was not only a true report, but it described your happiness as much less considerable than I now see it to be before my eyes. For report only attempted to persuade our hearing, but did not so much make known the value of the things themselves as does the sight of them, and the being present among them. I indeed, who did not believe what was reported, because of the multitude and grandeur of the things I heard, do see them to be much more numerous than they were reported to be. Accordingly I deem the Hebrew people, as well as your servants and friends, happy, who enjoy your presence, and hear your wisdom every day continually. One would therefore bless God, who has so loved this country, and those that dwell therein, as to make you king over them."

§ 6. When the queen had thus shown by her words how deeply the king had affected her, her disposition was also made known by various presents, for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an immense quantity of spices, and precious stones. They say also that we owe the root

of the balsam, which our country still produces, to this lady's gift. Solomon also gave her in return many good things, especially bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was nothing that she asked for which he denied her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own disposition, so did he show the greatness of his soul by bestowing on her whatever she herself desired of him. And when this queen of Egypt and Ethiopia had obtained what I have already given an account of, and had given as presents to the king what she had brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Solomon grew rich, and fell madly in love with Women, and how God, being incensed at it, raised up Hadad and Jeroboam against him. Concerning the Death of Solomon.*

## § 1.

ABOUT the same time there were brought to the king from the country called the Land of Gold precious stones and pine trees, and these trees be made use of for propping up the temple and the palace, and also as the materials of musical instruments, harps and psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their hymns to God. The wood that was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and which get that name from the merchants, who so call them to dazzle purchasers; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig-tree, but whiter and more shining. I have said thus much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference of these sorts of wood, or unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine-tree, and I thought it both seasonable and kind to mankind, when I mentioned the uses the king made of it, to explain this difference.

§ 2. Now the weight of gold that was brought the king was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that

sum what was brought by the merchants, or what the governors and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred shields, every one weighing three pounds of gold, and had them taken and put into the house which was called the forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold and precious stones for the entertainment of his guests, and had them adorned in the most artificial manner; and he contrived that all his other numerous vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing then sold or bought for silver. For the king had many ships which lay in the sea of Tarsus;<sup>1</sup> these he commanded to carry all sorts of merchandise to the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold was brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians, and apes. The voyage, going and returning, took three years.

§ 3. And there went a great fame all round the neighbouring countries, proclaiming the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, insomuch that all kings everywhere were desirous to see him, not giving credit to what was reported on account of its seeming almost incredible; they also showed the regard they had for him by the presents they made him; for they sent him vessels of gold and silver, and purple garments, and many sorts of spices, and horses and chariots, and as many mules for his carriages as they could find likely to please the king's eyes from their strength and beauty. This addition that he made to the chariots and horses which he had before by those that were sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred (for he had a thousand before), and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand (for he had twenty thousand before). These horses also were so trained to make a fine appearance and run swiftly, that no others could upon comparison with them appear either finer or swifter; but they were at once the most beautiful of all, and their swiftness was incomparable. Their riders also were a further ornament to them, being in the first place young men in the most delightful flower of their age,

<sup>1</sup> Tarsus in Cilicia, now *Tersüs*. According to 1 Kings x. 22, Solomon "had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram."

and being also eminent for their stature and far taller than other men. They had also very long heads of hair hanging down, and were clothed in garments of Tyrian purple. They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the gold in the sun. The king himself rode upon a chariot in the midst of these men (who were in armour and fitted with bows) dressed in a white garment, and so used to go out of the city in the morning. There was a certain place about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem called Etham,<sup>1</sup> very pleasant from its fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water;<sup>2</sup> there did he use to go out in the morning perched aloft in his chariot.

§ 4. Now Solomon had divine sagacity and zeal in all things, and was very fond of having things done in an elegant manner: so he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a highway of black stone along the road that led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, both to make the road very easy for travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government. He also divided his chariots and disposed them in a regular order, that a certain number of them should be in every city, (still, however, keeping a few about his own person,) and those cities he called the cities of his chariots. And the king made silver as plentiful in Jerusalem as stones in the street; and so multiplied cedar-trees, which did not grow there before, in the plains of Judæa, that they were like sycamore-trees for abundance. He also commissioned the Egyptian merchants that brought him their merchandise to sell him chariots with a pair of horses for six hundred drachmæ of silver each, and he sent

<sup>1</sup> Whether these fine gardens and rivulets of Etham, about seven miles from Jerusalem, where Solomon rode so often in state, be not those alluded to, Eccles. ii. 5, 6, where he says, "He made him gardens and orchards, and planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits; he made him pools of water, to water the wood that bringeth forth trees;" and to the finest part whereof he seems to allude, when, in the Canticles, he compares his spouse to a 'garden enclosed;' to a 'spring shut up;' to a 'fountain sealed,' chap. iv. 12 (part of which fountains are still extant, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, pages 87, 88), cannot now be certainly determined, but may be very probably conjectured.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the village *Urtâs*, in the valley of the same name, south of Bethlehem. The name is retained in *'Ain 'Atân*, not far from the village.

them as presents to the kings of Syria, and to those kings that were beyond the Euphrates.

§ 5. But although Solomon was become the most glorious of kings and the best beloved of God, and exceeded in wisdom and riches those that had been rulers of the Hebrews before him, yet he did not persevere in this happy state till he died, but forsook the observation of the law of his fathers, and came to an end no way suitable to my foregoing account of him. For he grew mad in his love of women, and laid no restraint on his sexual appetite, nor was he satisfied with the women of his own country alone, but he married many wives out of foreign nations, as Sidonians, and Tyrians, and Ammonites, and Edomites, and transgressed the laws of Moses, which forbade Jews to marry any but those that were of their own people, and also began to worship their gods, which he did to gratify his wives, and out of affection for them. Our legislator suspected this very thing when he admonished us beforehand that we should not marry women of other countries, lest we should be entangled with foreign customs and apostatize from our own, and should leave off to honour our own God, and should worship their gods. But Solomon was fallen headlong into blind passion, and regarded not these admonitions. For when he had married seven hundred wives,<sup>1</sup> the daughters of princes and eminent persons, besides the king of Egypt's daughter, and had also three hundred concubines, he was soon governed by them till he came to imitate their practices. He was forced to give them this proof of his kindness and affection to them, namely to live according to the laws of their countries. And as he grew in years, and his reason became too weak in process of time to recall to his mind the institutions of his own country, he still more neglected his own God, and continued to regard the gods of his strange wives. Nay, even before this happened, he sinned and fell into error about the observation of the law, when he made the images of brazen

<sup>1</sup> These 700 wives, or the daughters of great men, and the 300 concubines, the daughters of the ignoble, make 1,000 in all; and are, I suppose, those very 1,000 women, intimated elsewhere by Solomon himself, when he speaks of his not having found one [good] woman among that very number, Eccles. vii. 28.—W.



oxen that supported the brazen sea,<sup>1</sup> and the images of lions about his own throne, although it was impious so to do; and this he did, notwithstanding that he had in his father a most excellent and domestic pattern of virtue, and knew what a glorious character he had left behind him because of his piety towards God, nor did he imitate him, although God had twice appeared to him in his sleep, and exhorted him to imitate his father, so he died ingloriously. For a prophet came soon to him, who was sent by God, and told him that his wicked actions were not concealed from God, and threatened him that he should not long rejoice in what he had done, that the kingdom indeed should not be taken from him while he was alive, because God had promised his father David that he would make him his successor, but that he would take care that this should befall his son when he was dead; not that he would withdraw all the people from him, but he would give ten tribes to a servant of his, and leave only two tribes to David's grandson, for David's sake, because he loved God, and for the sake of the city Jerusalem, wherein he wished to have a temple.

§ 6. When Solomon heard this he was grieved, and greatly confounded at this change into so bad a state from almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired. Nor did much time elapse after the prophet had foretold what was coming, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Hadad, who had the following reason for his enmity against him. He was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land

<sup>1</sup> Josephus is here certainly too severe upon Solomon, who, in making the cherubims, and these twelve brazen oxen, seems to have done no more than imitate the patterns left him by David, which were all given David by divine inspiration. And although God gave no direction for the lions that adorned his throne, yet Solomon does not seem thereby to have broken any law of Moses; for although the Pharisees and latter rabbins have extended the second commandment to forbid the very making of any image, though without any intention to have it worshipped, yet I do not suppose that Solomon so understood it, or that it ought to be so understood. The making any other altar for worship, but that at the tabernacle, was equally forbidden by Moses, Antiq. iv. 8, § 5, yet did not the two tribes and a half offend, when they made an altar for a memorial only, Josh. xxii., Antiq. v. 1, § 26, 27.—W.

of Edom for six months, and destroyed all the men that were grown and able to bear arms, this Hadad alone escaped, and went to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and gave him a house to dwell in, and land to supply him with food, and when he was grown up, loved him exceedingly, insomuch that he gave him his wife's sister, whose name was Tahpenes, to wife, by whom he had a son who was brought up with the king's children. When Hadad heard in Egypt that both David and Joab were dead, he went to Pharaoh, and begged that he would permit him to return to his own country; upon which the king asked him what it was that he wanted, and what hardships he had met with, that he was so desirous to leave him. And though he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to let him go, he did not then, but at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow worse on account of his forementioned transgressions, and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad went to Edom by Pharaoh's permission. And as he was not able to make the people revolt from Solomon, for Edom was kept under by many garrisons, and a rising could not take place with safety, he removed thence and went into Syria; and there he lit upon one Rezon, who had run away from Adrazar, king of Sophene,<sup>1</sup> his master, and was become a robber in that country, and joined friendship with him, as he had already a band of robbers about him. Then he went up the country, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and plundered it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered at the hand of Hadad.

§ 7. One also of Solomon's own nation rose up against him, namely Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was full of ambition, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother, and when Solomon saw that he was of a noble and bold disposition, he made him the overseer of the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he superintended those works so well, that the king

<sup>1</sup> Aram-Zobah, to the eastward of Cœlesyria.

approved of his behaviour, and gave him as a reward for the same the military command over the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet from the city of Shiloh,<sup>1</sup> whose name was Ahijah, met him, and saluted him, and when he had taken him a little aside to a place out of the way, where there was no other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bade Jeroboam take ten of them, and prophesied to him, "This is the will of God, he will break up the dominion of Solomon, and give one tribe with that which is next it to his son, because of the promise made to David, and will give ten tribes to you, because Solomon has sinned against him, and given himself up to women and their gods. As, therefore, you know the reason why God has changed his mind and is alienated from Solomon, try to be righteous, and keep the laws, because the greatest of all rewards is proposed to you for your piety and honour to God, namely, to be as greatly exalted as you know David was."

§ 8. So Jeroboam was elated by the words of the prophet, and being a young man of warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet; and when he had his military command, and called to mind what had been revealed to him by Ahijah, he endeavoured to persuade the people to revolt from Solomon, and to make a disturbance, and transfer the kingdom to himself. But when Solomon understood his intention and treachery, he sought to arrest and kill him; but Jeroboam was informed of this beforehand, and fled to Shishak the king of Egypt, and there abode till the death of Solomon, by which means he gained these two advantages, that he suffered no harm from Solomon, and was preserved for the kingdom. And Solomon died when he was already an old man, having reigned eighty years, and lived ninety-four, and he was buried at Jerusalem, having been superior to all other kings in happiness and riches and wisdom, excepting that, when he was growing into years, he was deluded by women and transgressed the law; concerning which transgressions, and the miseries which befell the Hebrews thereby, I propose fully to enter into on another occasion.

<sup>1</sup> *Seilún.*

## CHAP. VIII.

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

## § 1.

NOW when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam, (who was by an Ammonitish wife, whose name was Naamah,) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately to Egypt, and recalled Jeroboam; and when he was come to them to the city Shechem,<sup>1</sup> Rehoboam went to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, while they were gathered together there. So the rulers of the people and Jeroboam went to him and besought him to relax the servitude imposed on them, and to be milder than his father, for they had borne under his father a heavy yoke, and said they would then be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under a milder despotism more out of love than fear. But Rehoboam told them to come to him again in three days' time, when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to suspicion at once, since he had not given them a favourable answer immediately, for they thought he should have given them a kind and gentle answer off-hand, especially as he was but young. However, they thought that his deliberation about it, and the fact that he did not give them a denial on the spot, afforded them some good hope of success.

§ 2. Rehoboam now called his father's friends, and considered with them what sort of answer he ought to give to the people; upon which they gave him the advice which became friends, and such as knew the temper of multitudes. They advised him to speak kindly to the people, and more in a popular way than with the grandeur of a king, because he would thereby make them submit to him with good-will, it being most agreeable to subjects that their

<sup>1</sup> *Náblus*.

kings should be affable and put themselves almost upon the level with them. But Rehoboam rejected this so good, and in general so profitable advice, (it was so at least at this time, when he was to be made king,) God himself, I suppose, causing what was most advantageous to be rejected by him. So he called for the young men, who were brought up with him, and told them what advice the elders had given him, and bade them say what they thought he should do. They advised him to give the following answer to the people, (for neither their youth, nor God himself, suffered them to discern what was best,) that his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins; and if they had met with hard usage from his father, they should experience much rougher treatment from him, for if his father had chastised them with whips, they must expect that he would chastise them with scorpions.<sup>1</sup> The king was pleased with this advice, and thought it agreeable to the dignity of his kingdom to give them such an answer. Accordingly, when the people were come together to hear his answer on the third day, all were in great expectation, and very intent to hear what the king would say to them, and supposed they should hear something of a kind nature, but he neglected the advice of his friends, and answered as the young men had counselled him. Now this happened according to the will of God, that what Ahijah had foretold might come to pass.

§ 3. By these words the people were struck as it were by iron, and were as grieved at what was said as if they had already felt the effects of it, and felt great indignation at the king, and all cried out aloud and said that they had no longer any relation to David or his posterity after that day. And they said further that they would leave to Rehoboam only the temple which his father had built, and they threatened to forsake him. Nay they were so bitter and retained their wrath so long, that when he sent Adoram, who was over the tribute, to pacify them and render them milder, and

<sup>1</sup> By scorpions is not here meant that small animal so called, which was never used in correction, but either a shrub with sharp prickles like the stings of scorpions, such as our furze bush, or else some terrible sort of whip of the like nature. See Hudson's and Spanheim's notes here.—W.

urge them to forgive him if he had said to them anything that was rash or peevish owing to the impetuosity of youth, they would not listen to him, but threw stones at him and killed him. When Rehoboam saw this, he thought himself aimed at by the stones with which they had killed his servant, and feared lest he should actually lose his life too, so he got immediately into his chariot and fled to Jerusalem, where the tribes of Judah and Benjamin elected him king: but the rest of the tribes revolted from the house of David from that day, and appointed Jeroboam to be their ruler. Upon this, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, assembled a great meeting of the two tribes that had submitted to him, and intended to take a hundred and eighty thousand chosen men of his army, to make an expedition against Jeroboam and his people, that he might force them by war to be his servants; but he was forbidden by God through the prophet [Shemaiah] to go to war, for he said that it was not right that fellow-countrymen should fight against one another, and that this revolt of the people was according to the purpose of God. So he did not set out. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which I shall relate the actions of Rehoboam the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the order of the history throughout.

§ 4. Jeroboam then built him a palace in the city of Shechem, and dwelt there. He also built him another at a city called Penuel.<sup>1</sup> And as the feast of tabernacles was now near at hand, Jeroboam considered that, if he should permit the people to go and worship God at Jerusalem, and celebrate the festival there, they would possibly repent of what they had done, and be enticed by the temple and worship of God there performed, and would leave him and return to their first king; and if so, he would run risk of losing his own life. So he invented the following contrivance. He made two golden calves, and built two little temples for them, one in the city of Bethel,<sup>2</sup> and the other in Dan,<sup>3</sup> which last was at the fountains of the lesser Jordan, and he put the calves into the little temples in the fore-

<sup>1</sup> On the east side of Jordan, probably on the northern slope of *Jebel Osh'a*; the exact site is not known.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit'n*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tell el-Kâdy*.

mentioned cities. And when he had called the ten tribes together, over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in the following words:—"I suppose, my fellow-countrymen, that you know this, that every place has God in it, nor is there any one definite place in which he is, but he everywhere hears and sees those that worship him; on which account I do not think it right to force you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy's city, to worship him. It was a man that built the temple: I have also made two golden calves to represent God; one of them I have consecrated in the city of Bethel, and the other in Dan, that those of you that dwell nearest those cities may go to them and worship God there. And I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no need of the tribe of Levi or of the sons of Aaron; and let him that is desirous among you of being a priest, bring to God a calf and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest did." Jeroboam in saying this deluded the people, and made them revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and transgress their laws. This was the beginning of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners and fell into captivity. But I shall relate these things in their proper place.

§ 5. When the feast was just at hand in the seventh month, Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as the two tribes celebrated it in Jerusalem. Accordingly, he built an altar before the calf, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but as he was going to offer the sacrifices and the burnt-offerings in the sight of all the people, a prophet sent by God, whose name was Jadon, came to him from Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing of the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, spoke as follows: "God foretells that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall sacrifice upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and shall burn upon thee the bones of these deceivers of the people, these impostors and wicked wretches. However, that this people may believe that these things shall be

so, I foretell a sign to them that shall soon come to pass. This altar shall be rent in pieces immediately, and all the fat of the victims shall be poured upon the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and bade them arrest Jadon; but the hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in to him again, for it was become withered, and hung down as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was rent in pieces, and all that was upon it was poured out, as the prophet had foretold should come to pass. Then the king understood that he was a man of truth and had a divine foreknowledge, and entreated him to pray to God that he would restore his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. And the king having his hand restored to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to dine with him; but Jadon said that he dare not come into his house, nor taste of bread or water in that city, for that was a thing God had forbidden him to do, as also to go back by the way which he came, for he said he was to return by another way. And the king wondered at the self-control of the man, but was himself in fear, suspecting a change of his affairs for the worse from what had been predicted to him.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Jadon the Prophet was persuaded by a lying Prophet, and returned to Bethel, and was afterwards slain by a Lion. Also what words the wicked Prophet made use of to persuade the King, and thereby alienated his Mind from God.*

### § 1.

NOW there was a certain wicked old man in that city who was a false prophet, whom Jeroboam held in great esteem, though deceived by him and his flattering words. This man was bed-ridden at this time by reason of the infirmities of old age; however, he was informed by his sons of the prophet that had come from Jerusalem,



and of the signs done by him ; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been withered, at the prophet's prayer he had it restored again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger would be held in better esteem by the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him, and he gave order to his sons to saddle his ass at once, and to make all ready that he might go out. And as they made haste to do what they were commanded, he got upon the ass, and followed after the prophet, and overtook him as he was resting under a very large oak tree that was thick and shady, and first saluted him, and then blamed him because he had not come to his house and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said that God had forbidden him to taste food with any one in that city, he replied, "Certainly God did not forbid you to dine at my table, for I am a prophet as you are, and worship God in the same manner as you do, and am now come sent by him to bring you to my house, and make you my guest." And Jadon gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner and merry together, God appeared to Jadon, and said that he should suffer punishment for transgressing his commands, and told him what that punishment should be ; for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by whom he should be torn in pieces, so that he should not be buried in the sepulchres of his fathers. And this came to pass, I suppose, according to the will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadon, as one that had been convicted of lying. And as Jadon was returning to Jerusalem, a lion attacked him, and pulled him off his beast, and slew him, yet did not at all hurt the ass, but sat by him and guarded him, as also the prophet's body. This continued till some travellers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his sons, and brought the body back to Bethel, and made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him, for he said that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true: and that, if he were buried with him, he would receive no injurious treatment after his death, as their

bones would not then be distinguishable apart. And when he had performed those funeral rites to the prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and impious man, he went to Jeroboam, and said to him, "Why ever were you disturbed at the words of that silly fellow?" And when the king had related to him what had happened to the altar and his own hand, and gave Jadon the name of a truly divine man and excellent prophet, he endeavoured by a wicked trick to weaken that opinion of his, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, to shake their reality. For he attempted to persuade him that his hand was numbed by the labour it had undergone in lifting the sacrifices, and that upon its resting awhile it returned to its usual condition again; and that, as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne a great many heavy sacrifices, and was accordingly rent in pieces, and had fallen down from the weight of what had been laid upon it. He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he was slain by a lion, so that he had not any thing in him of a prophet, nor spoke like one. By speaking thus he persuaded the king, and entirely alienated his mind from God, and from works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to go on in his impious practices; and accordingly, he to that degree outraged God, and was so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day, but how he might be guilty of some new wickedness more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

## CHAP. X.

*Of Rehoboam, and how God Punished him for his Impiety, through Shishak, King of Egypt.*

## § 1.

NOW Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who was, as I said before, king of the two tribes, built the strong and large cities of Bethlehem,<sup>1</sup> and Etam,<sup>2</sup> and Tekoa,<sup>3</sup> and Bethsur,<sup>4</sup> and Socho,<sup>5</sup> and Adullam,<sup>6</sup> and Ipan,<sup>7</sup> and Maresha,<sup>8</sup> and Ziph,<sup>9</sup> and Adoram,<sup>10</sup> and Lachish,<sup>11</sup> and Azekah,<sup>12</sup> and Saraim,<sup>13</sup> and Elom<sup>14</sup> and Hebron.<sup>15</sup> These he built first of all in the tribe of Judah. He also built other large cities in the tribe of Benjamin. And he walled them about, and put garrisons in them all, and captains, and a great deal of corn and wine and oil, and furnished every one of them plentifully with other provisions that were necessary for sustenance; moreover, he put therein shields and spears for many myriads. The priests also and Levites that were in all Israel, and any other of the people that were good and righteous men, gathered themselves together to him, having left their own cities, that they might worship God in Jerusalem: for they were not willing to be forced to worship the calves which Jeroboam had made; and they swelled the population of the kingdom of Rehoboam for three years. And after Rehoboam had married a woman of his own kindred, and had by her three children, he married also another of his own kindred,

<sup>1</sup> *Beit Lahm.*<sup>2</sup> See note 2, p. 105.<sup>3</sup> *Tekū'a*, south of Bethlehem.<sup>4</sup> *Beit Sūr*, four miles north of Hebron.<sup>5</sup> *Khurbet Shuweikeh*, on the edge of the valley of Elah.<sup>6</sup> *Aid el-Mā.*<sup>7</sup> In 2 Chron. xi. 8, Gath, *Tell es-Sāfi*, is named instead of Ipa, the site of which is not known.<sup>8</sup> *Khurbet Mer'ash*, near *Beit Jibrin*.<sup>9</sup> *Tell Zif.*<sup>10</sup> *Dūra*, five miles west of Hebron.<sup>11</sup> *Umm Lâkis.*<sup>12</sup> *Tell Zakariya.*<sup>13</sup> *Sur'ah*, on the north side of the valley of Sorek, opposite Beth-sbemesh.<sup>14</sup> For Aijalon, now *Yâlô.*<sup>15</sup> *el-Khulil.*

whose name was Maachah, who was daughter of Absalom by Tamar, and by her he had a son whom he called Abijah. He had also many children by other wives, but he loved Maachah above them all. Now he had eighteen legitimate wives, and thirty concubines: and he had twenty-eight sons, and threescore daughters: but he appointed Abijah, his son by Maachah, to be his successor in the kingdom; and intrusted him with his treasures and strongest cities.

§ 2. Now I think that success in affairs and a change for the better often becomes the cause of mischief and transgression in men. For when Rehoboam saw his kingdom so much increased, he lapsed into unrighteous and irreligious practices, and despised the worship of God, till the people themselves under him imitated his wicked actions. For the manners of subjects get corrupt simultaneously with those of their governors, for they then lay aside their own sober way of living as if it would be a reproof of their governors' intemperate courses, and follow their wickedness as if it were virtue, for it is not possible for men to seem to approve of the actions of their kings, unless they act in the same way. So it happened now to the subjects of Rehoboam, for when he was grown impious and a transgressor himself, they were studious not to offend him by resolving still to be righteous. But God sent Shishak king of Egypt to punish them for their outrages against him, concerning whom Herodotus was mistaken in attributing his actions to Sesostris. This Shishak then in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam made an expedition into Judæa with many myriads, for he had one thousand two hundred chariots with him, and sixty thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. Of this army he brought with him most were Libyans and Ethiopians. Now, therefore, when he invaded the country of the Hebrews, he took the strongest cities of Rehoboam's kingdom without fighting, and when he had put garrisons in them, he went last of all to Jerusalem.

§ 3. Now when Rehoboam and the people with him were shut up in Jerusalem by the army of Shishak, and when they besought God to give them victory and deliverance, they could not persuade God to be on their side; but

Shemaiah the prophet told them, that God threatened to forsake them, as they had forsaken his worship. When they heard this, they were immediately in great consternation of mind, and seeing no way of deliverance, they all earnestly set themselves to confess that God might justly neglect them, since they had been guilty of impiety towards him, and had violated his laws. And when God saw them in that disposition, and that they acknowledged their sins, he told the prophet that he would not destroy them, but that he would, however, put them into the hands of the Egyptians, that they might learn whether they would suffer less by serving men or God. And when Shishak had taken the city without fighting, because Rehoboam was afraid and received him into it, he did not stand to the covenants he had made, but spoiled the temple, and emptied the treasures of God and the king, and carried off innumerable myriads of gold and silver, and left nothing at all behind him. He also took away the golden bucklers and shields, which Solomon the king had made; nay, he did not leave the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Sophene,<sup>1</sup> and had dedicated to God. And when he had thus done, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only made mistake in the king's name, and [in saying that] he made war upon several other nations also, and brought Palestinian Syria into subjection, and took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by the king of Egypt; for he says that "he left behind him pillars in the land of those that delivered themselves up to him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women." And our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. Herodotus says also<sup>2</sup> that "the Ethiopians learned circumcision from the

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, as here quoted by Josephus, and as this passage still stands in his present copies, b. ii. chap. civ. affirms, That "the Phœnicians and Syrians in Palestine [which last are generally supposed to denote the Jews] owned their receiving circumcision from the Egyptians;" whereas, it is abundantly evident, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii. 9-14, John vii. 22, 23, as I conclude the Egyptian priests did also. It is not therefore very un-

Egyptians; for the Phœnicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned the practice from the Egyptians." Yet it is evident, that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us are circumcised. But as to such matters, let everyone say what is agreeable to his own opinion.

§ 4. When Shishak had gone away, Rehoboam the king made bucklers and shields of brass instead of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace; and, instead of warlike expeditions, and the glory which results from those actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, being always an enemy to Jeroboam. And he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a proud and foolish man, and lost most of his dominions by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried at Jerusalem in the sepulchres of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes. And this was the conclusion of these affairs. It is now our business to relate the affairs of Jeroboam, and how he ended his life: for he ceased not nor rested from being outrageous to God, but every day raised up altars upon high mountains, and went on making priests of the common people.

likely that Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did therefore think they had learned circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manetho, the famous Egyptian chronologer and historian, who knew the history of his own country much better than Herodotus, complains frequently of his mistakes about their affairs, as does Josephus more than once in this chapter; nor indeed does Herodotus seem at all acquainted with the affairs of the Jews; for as he never names them, so little or nothing of what he says about them, their country, or maritime cities, two of which he alone mentions, Cadytns and Jenysus, proves true; nor indeed do there appear to have ever been such cities on their coast.—W.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning the Death of a Son of Jeroboam. How Jeroboam was beaten by Abijah, who died a little afterwards and was succeeded in his Kingdom by Asa. Also how, after the Death of Jeroboam, Baasha destroyed his son Nadab, and all the House of Jeroboam.*

## § 1.

HOWEVER, God intended at no late date to recompense Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved, upon his own head, and upon the head of all his house. As a son of his, who was called Abijah, was ill at that time, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to put on the dress of a private person, and to go to Ahijah the prophet, for Jeroboam said he was a wonderful man in foretelling future things, it having been he who told him that he would be king. He also enjoined her, when she got to him, to inquire concerning the lad, whether he should recover, as if she were a stranger. And she did as her husband bade her, and changed her dress, and went to the city of Shiloh, for there did Ahijah live: and as she was going into his house, as his eyes were then dim with age, God appeared to him, and informed him of two things, first that the wife of Jeroboam was come to him, and secondly what answer he should make to her inquiry. Accordingly, as she was entering into the house like a private person and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam! Why concealest thou thyself? Thou art not concealed from God, who hath appeared to me, and informed me that thou wast coming, and hath commanded me what to say to thee." Then he told her to return to her husband, and speak to him as follows from God: "As I made thee a great man when thou wast little, or rather wast nothing, and rent the kingdom from the house of David and gave it to thee, and thou hast been unmindful of these benefits, and hast left off my worship, and hast made thee molten gods and honoured them; I will in like manner cast thee down again, and will destroy all thy house, and

make them food for dogs and birds; for a certain king shall be raised up by me over all this people, who shall leave none of the family of Jeroboam remaining. The people also shall themselves partake of the same punishment, and shall be cast out of this good land, and shall be scattered into regions beyond the Euphrates, because they have followed the wicked practices of their king, and have worshipped the gods that he made, and forsaken my sacrifices. And do thou, lady, make haste back to thy husband, and tell him this message; but thou shalt find thy son dead, for as thou enterest the city he shall depart this life: yet shall he be buried with the lamentation of all the people, and honoured with a general mourning, for he is the only good person in Jeroboam's family." When the prophet had foretold these events, Jeroboam's wife went away hastily with a troubled mind, and greatly grieved at the death of the forenamed lad. So she was in lamentation as she went along the road, and mourned for the impending death of her son, and was indeed in a wretched condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and hastened on in circumstances very unfortunate as to her son, for the greater despatch she made, the sooner would she see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. And when she had returned, she found that her son had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said, and she told everything to the king.

§ 2. However, Jeroboam did not lay any of these things to heart, but he got together a numerous army, and made a warlike expedition against Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father as king over the two tribes, for he despised him because of his age. But when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not dismayed at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth and the hopes of his enemy; for he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called Mount Semaron,<sup>1</sup> and pitched his camp near him, and made all necessary preparations

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Chron. xiii. 4, the place is called Mount Zemaraim, in the hill country of Ephraim; it was perhaps in the neighbourhood of *Khurbet es-Samrah*.



for the fight. His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double that. Now, as the armies stood in battle array, ready for action and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoned with his hand, and desired the people and Jeroboam himself to hear first with silence what he had to say. And when silence was made, he began to speak as follows. "That God gave David and his house the kingdom for all time you yourselves are not ignorant; so I cannot but wonder how you should revolt from my father, and join yourselves to his servant Jeroboam, and come now with him here to fight against those who by God's own will are to reign, and to deprive them of that dominion which still belongs to them; for as to the greater part of it Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it much longer, but when he has paid God the penalty for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he has been guilty of, and the outrages he has offered to him, and which he still continues to offer, and has persuaded you to do the same; yet when you were not any further unjustly treated by my father than that he did not speak to you so as to please you, in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in anger seemingly forsook him, but in reality you withdrew yourselves from God and his laws. And yet it would have been well for you to have forgiven a man young in age, and not used to court popularity, not only some disagreeable words, but also if his youth and unskilfulness in affairs had led him into some unfortunate action, for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him; for men ought to excuse the sins of the children on account of the good deeds of the parents. But you considered nothing of all this then, neither do you consider it now, as you are come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? is it upon the golden calves, and the altars that you have on high places, which are proofs of your impiety, and not of religious worship? Or is it the exceeding multitude of your army that makes you so sanguine? But certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many myriads when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hopes of success against our

enemies in righteousness alone, and in our piety towards God, which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hands out of corruptible matter, nor devised by a wicked king to deceive the multitude, but who is his own work, and the beginning and end of all things. I therefore counsel you even now to repent, and to take better advice, and to leave off the prosecution of the war, and to call to mind the laws of your country, and to reflect what it is that advanced you to so great a position."

§ 3. This is the speech which Abijah made to the people. But while he was still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers secretly to cut off Abijah in certain parts of the camp that were not visible; and when he was thus in the reach of the enemy, his army was dismayed and their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes in God, for he could not be cut off by the enemy. So they all at once implored the divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and shouted and fell upon their enemies, and God broke the courage and impaired the strength of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them. And God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory; and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army, as is never recorded to have happened in any other war,<sup>1</sup> whether of Greeks or Barbarians, for they slaughtered five hundred thousand of their enemies, and they took their strongest cities by storm, and spoiled them; and they also did the same to Bethel and her towns, and to Jeshanah<sup>2</sup> and her towns. And

<sup>1</sup> By this terrible, and perfectly unparalleled slaughter of 500,000 men of the newly idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes, God's high displeasure and indignation against that idolatry and rebellion fully appeared; the remainder were thereby seriously cautioned not to persist in them, and a kind of balance or equilibrium was made between the ten and two tribes for the time to come; for otherwise the perpetually idolatrous and rebellious ten tribes would naturally have been too powerful for the two tribes; which were pretty frequently free both from such idolatry and rebellion; nor is there any reason to doubt of the truth of the prodigious number slain upon this occasion.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Ain Sbia*, in the valley north of Bethel.

Jeroboam never recovered this defeat during the life of Abijah, who did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the sepulchres of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters; and he had all these children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded him in the kingdom, a young man whose mother was Maachah. During his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

§ 4. So much for Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, as his history has come down to us. As for Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, he died when he had governed them two-and-twenty years; and his son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. And Jeroboam's son reigned two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In those two years he made an expedition against Gabatho,<sup>1</sup> a city of the Philistines, and sat down to take it by siege; but he was conspired against while he was there by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Machel, and was slain; and Baasha seized the kingdom after his death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam. It also came to pass, according as God had foretold, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, and others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by birds. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety and wicked actions.

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Kibbieh*, to the west of Timnathah, *Tibneh*.

## CHAP. XII.

*How Zarah King of the Ethiopians was beaten by Asa ; and how Asa, upon Baasha's making war against him, invited the King of the Damascenes to assist him ; and how, on the Destruction of the House of Baasha, Omri got the Kingdom, and his Son Ahab after him.*

## § 1.

NOW Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, and had a regard to God, and neither did nor designed anything but what was pious and had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. And he had an army of chosen men armed with targets and spears, of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand, and of the tribe of Benjamin two hundred and fifty thousand that bore shields and drew bows. And when he had just reigned ten years, Zarah king of Ethiopia made an expedition against him, with a great army of nine hundred thousand foot and one hundred thousand horse, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Mareshah,<sup>1</sup> a city that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zarah had come so far with his own army Asa met him, and put his army in battle array over against him, in a valley called Saphtha,<sup>2</sup> not far from the city, and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill many myriads of the enemy. "For," said he, "I depend on nothing else but the assistance which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewer superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger, in venturing to meet Zarah and fight him."

§ 2. While Asa was saying this, God signified that he should be victorious, and joining battle cheerfully on ac-

<sup>1</sup> *Khurbet Mer'ash.*

<sup>2</sup> In 2 Chron. xiv. 10, it is called the valley of Zephathah, and it is now *Wady Sif-h.*

count of what God foretold about the issue of it, he slew a great many of the Ethiopians, and when he had put them to flight, he pursued them to the country near Gerar.<sup>1</sup> And when he and his army left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoiling them (for the city Gerar was now taken), and to spoiling their camp, so that they carried off much gold and silver, and a great deal of spoil, and camels and beasts of burden and flocks of sheep. And when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now, as they were near the city, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to tell them that the reason why they had obtained this victory from God was that they had shown themselves righteous and religious men, and had done everything according to the will of God. He said also that, if they persevered therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies and live happily: but that, if they left off his worship, all things should fall out contrary; and a time should come, when no true prophet should be left in the whole nation, nor a priest who should give good advice, but their cities should be overthrown, and their nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and vagabonds. So he advised them, while they had time, to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favour of God. When the king and the people heard this they rejoiced, and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves righteously. The king also sent some to take care that the people should observe the laws also throughout the country.

§ 3. Such was the behaviour of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the people of the Israelites, who slew Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and seized his kingdom. He dwelt in the city of Tirzah,<sup>2</sup> having made that city his capital, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked and impious than Jeroboam or his son. He ground down the people, and outraged God, who sent the prophet Jehu to him, and told him beforehand,

<sup>1</sup> *Khurbet Umm Jerrar*, six miles south of Gaza.

<sup>2</sup> Now apparently *Teiásir*, eleven miles north of Shechem, *Náblus*.

that he would destroy his whole family and bring the same miseries on his house as had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin, because, though he had been made king by him, he had not requited his kindness by governing the people righteously and religiously, (which things in the first place tended to their own happiness, and were in the next place pleasing to God,) but had imitated that very wicked king Jeroboam; and although that man's soul had perished, yet did he express to the life his wickedness; and he said that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity as him, as he had been guilty of the like wickedness. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for his audacious behaviour, yet did not leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died, nor did he repent of his past actions, nor endeavour to obtain pardon of God for them, but (as those who have rewards proposed to them, when they have once in earnest set about their work, do not leave off their labours), so did Baasha, when the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the ruin of his family and destruction of his house, (which are really among the greatest of evils,) were good things; and, as if he were an athlete for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains about it. And at last he took his army, and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ramah,<sup>1</sup> which was forty furlongs from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it he fortified it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, and make it a *point d'appui* from whence they might make raids and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

§ 4. And Asa being afraid of this hostile move of the enemy, and reflecting how much mischief this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascenes with gold and silver, begging for his assistance, and reminding him of their old mutual friendship in the times of their forefathers. And he gladly received that sum of money, and made a league with Asa, and broke off his

<sup>1</sup> Now *er-Râm*, five miles north of Jerusalem.

friendship with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces to the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and ordered them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them and spoiled others, as Ijon,<sup>1</sup> and Dan,<sup>2</sup> and Abellane,<sup>3</sup> and many others. Now when the king of Israel heard this, he left off building and fortifying Ramah, and returned in haste to assist his own people in their distress. So Asa made use of the materials that Baasha had prepared for building Ramah, for building in the same place two strong cities, one of which was called Geba,<sup>4</sup> and the other Mizpah.<sup>5</sup> And after this Baasha had no leisure to make an expedition against Asa, for he was prevented by death, and was buried in the city of Tirzah, and Elah his son succeeded him, who died when he had reigned two years, being treacherously slain by Zimri the captain of half his army. For as Elah was feasting in the house of his steward Olsa, Zimri persuaded some of the horsemen that were under him to attack him, and so he slew him, when he was without his armed men and his captains, for they were all occupied in the siege of Gabatho, a city of the Philistines.

§ 5. When Zimri, the general of the cavalry, had killed Elah, he seized the kingdom himself, and according to Jehu's prophecy, slew all the house of Baasha; for it came to pass that Baasha's house utterly perished, on account of his impiety, in the same manner as I have already described the destruction of the house of Jeroboam. But the army that was besieging Gabatho, when they heard what had befallen the king, and that Zimri when he had killed him had seized the kingdom, made Omri their general king, who drew off his army from Gabatho, and went to Tirzah<sup>6</sup> where the royal palace was, and assaulted that city and took it by storm. And when Zimri saw that the city had none to defend it, he fled into the inmost part of the palace, and set it on fire, and burnt himself with it, having been

<sup>1</sup> Apparently *el-Khiam*, in the *Merj 'Ayûn*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tell el-Kâdy*.

<sup>3</sup> The same as Abel Beth-Maacah, now *Abl*.

<sup>4</sup> Now *Jeb'a*, near Michmash.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified; possibly *Neby Samwil*.

<sup>6</sup> Now *Teiâsir*.

king only seven days. Upon which the people of Israel were at once divided, for part of them would have Tibni to be king and part Omri; but when those that were for Omri's ruling had beaten Tibni, Omri reigned over all the people. Now it was in the thirtieth year of the reign of Asa that Omri began to reign, and he reigned for twelve years; six of those years he reigned in the city of Tirzah, and the rest in the city called Semareon,<sup>1</sup> known by the Greeks as Samaria; but Omri called it Semareon from Semar, who sold him the mountain whereon he built it. Now Omri was no way different from those kings that reigned before him, except that he was worse than they; for they all sought how they might turn away the people from God by their daily wicked practices; and so it was that God made them to be slain by one another, and that none of their families remained. Now this Omri died at Samaria, and Ahab his son succeeded him.

§ 6. Now by these events we may learn what regard God pays to the affairs of mankind, and how he loves good men, but hates the wicked and destroys them root and branch; for many of these kings of Israel, they and their families, were miserably destroyed and taken off by one another, in a short time, for their transgressions and wickedness; but Asa, who was king of Jerusalem and of the two tribes, attained, by God's blessing, a long and happy old age, for his piety and righteousness, and died happily, when he had reigned forty-one years: and when he was dead, his son Jehoshaphat succeeded him in the kingdom. He was the son of Asa, by his wife Abidah. And all men allowed that he followed David his forefather both in courage and piety, but I am not obliged now to speak any more of the affairs of this king.

<sup>1</sup> Now *Sebustieh*, west of *Náblus*.



## CHAP. XIII.

*How Ahab, when he had taken Jezebel to Wife, became more wicked than all the Kings that had been before him. Of the Actions of the Prophet Elijah, and what befell Naboth.*

## § 1.

NOW Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and reigned for twenty-two years; and made no alteration in his conduct from that of the kings that were his predecessors, except for the worse in such things as were of his own invention, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated them in their wicked courses, and in their outrageous behaviour towards God, and more especially did he rival the sin of Jeroboam: for he worshipped the calves that he had made, and contrived other absurd objects of worship besides them. He also took to wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, from whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of wantonness and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, whom they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. The king himself also had many such about him, and so exceeded in folly and wickedness all his predecessors.

§ 2. And a prophet of the most high God, a native of Thesbon,<sup>1</sup> a town in Gilead, came to Ahab and told him that God foretold he would not send rain nor dew for several years upon the country till he himself should appear again. And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into the southern parts, and made his abode by a torrent, out of which he had water to drink, for as for his food ravens brought it him every day. And when the river was dried up for want of rain, he went to Zarephath,<sup>2</sup> a city not far from Sidon and Tyre (for

<sup>1</sup> Not identified; in the Bible Elijah is called 'the Tishbite,' as if the name were Tishbi.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Sarafend*, on the coast.

it lay between them), at the command of God, for God told him that he would find there a woman who was a widow, that would give him sustenance. And when he was not far from that city, he saw a woman that laboured with her own hands gathering sticks; and God informed him, that this was the woman who was to give him sustenance; so he went up and greeted her, and asked her to bring him some water to drink; and as she was going to do so he called her back, and bade her bring him a loaf of bread also. Thereupon she affirmed with an oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal and a little oil, and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it and make bread for herself and her son; after which she said they must perish, and be consumed by famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Then he said, "Depart with good courage, and hope for better things: and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to you that the vessel of meal and cruse of oil shall not fail, until God send rain." When the prophet had said this, she went home<sup>1</sup> and did as he told her, and had part of the cake for herself, and gave the rest to her son and the prophet, nor did the meal or oil fail until the drought ceased. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal king of the Tyrians, where he says as follows: "In his reign there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetæus till the month Hyperberetæus of the following year. And when he made supplication there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city of Botrys<sup>2</sup> in Phœnicia, and the city of Auza<sup>3</sup> in Libya." By these words Menander designed this want of rain that was in the days of Ahab, for it was at that time that Ethbaal also reigned over the Tyrians.

§ 3. Now the woman of whom I said before that she sustained the prophet, when her son fell so ill, that he gave up the ghost and appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weeping and beating her breast with her hands, and sending out such expressions as her grief suggested

<sup>1</sup> I read *παραγενομένη πρὸς αὐτήν*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Batrûn*, north of *Jebeil*, *Byblos*.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Sûr Rezlan*, near *Hamza*, in *Algeria*.

to her, and complained to him that he had come to her to convict her of her sins, and that was why her son was dead. But he bade her be of good cheer, and deliver her son to him, for he would restore him to her alive. And when she had delivered her son up to him, he carried him into the chamber where he himself lived, and laid him down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said that God had not done well in rewarding the woman who had entertained him, and sustained him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that he would send again the soul of the child into him, and bring him to life again. And God took pity on the mother, and was willing also to gratify the prophet, that he might not seem to have come to her to do her a mischief, and the child came to life again beyond all expectation. Then the mother returned the prophet thanks, and said she was now clearly satisfied that God was with him.

§ 4. A little while after this Elijah, according to God's will, went to king Ahab, to inform him that rain was coming. Now the famine had seized upon the whole country, and there was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance, insomuch, that it was not only men that were in distress, but the earth itself also did not produce enough for horses and other beasts of what was good for them to feed on, by reason of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah, who was steward over his cattle, and told him that he would have him go to fountains of water and brooks, that if any grass could be found by them, they might mow it down, and reserve it for the beasts. And when he had sent persons all over the land to discover the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him, he bade Obadiah accompany him on the search, and it was resolved they should start and divide the roads between them, and Obadiah should take one road, and the king another. Now it happened, when Queen Jezebel slew the prophets, that this Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets in underground caves, and had fed them at his own expense with bread and water. And when Obadiah was alone and apart from the king, the prophet Elijah met him; and Obadiah asked him who he was, and when he had learned from him, he prostrated himself before him. Elijah then bade

him go to the king, and tell him that he was ready to wait on him, but Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh to kill thee, and hath sought all over the land for thee?" He asked also if he was so ignorant as not to know that the king had left no place untried, unto which he had not sent persons to bring him back, in order, if they could take him, to have him put to death? And he told him he was afraid that God would appear to Elijah again, and he would go away to another place, and that when the king should send him for Elijah, and he should miss of him, and the king not be able to find him anywhere upon earth, he would be put to death. He begged him therefore to think of his safety, reminding him how diligently he had provided for those of his own profession, for he had saved a hundred prophets, when Jezebel slew the rest of them, and had kept them concealed and fed them. But Elijah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king, assuring him upon oath that he would certainly show himself to Ahab that very day.

§ 5. And when Obadiah had informed the king that Elijah was there, Ahab met him, and asked him in anger, if it was he that afflicted the people of the Hebrews, and was the occasion of the drought. But Elijah, without any flattery, said that Ahab himself and his house had brought such sad afflictions upon them, by introducing strange gods into their country and worshipping them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and paying no longer any kind of regard to him. However he bade him now go his way, and gather together to him to Mount Carmel<sup>1</sup> all the people and his own prophets and those of his wife, telling him how many there were of them, as also the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in number. And when all the men whom Ahab sent for hastened to the forenamed mountain, the prophet Elijah stood in the midst of them, and said, "How long will you live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinion?" He also exhorted them, that in case they esteemed their own national God to be the true and only God, they would

<sup>1</sup> Now *Jebel Kurnul*, south of *Acre*.

follow him and his commandments, but in case they esteemed him to be nothing, but thought they ought to worship the strange gods, his counsel was that they should follow them. And when the multitude made no answer to this, Elijah asked, as a trial of the power of the strange gods and of his God, that he, who was his only prophet, while they had four hundred, might take a heifer and offer it as a sacrifice, and lay it on a pile of wood, and not kindle any fire, and they should do the same, and call upon their gods to set the wood on fire, for if that were done they would then learn the true nature of God. This proposal pleased the people, so Elijah bade the prophets choose out a heifer first and sacrifice it, and call on their gods; but when there appeared no effect from the prayer and invocation of the prophets upon their sacrifice, Elijah derided them, and bade them call upon their gods with a loud voice, for they were peradventure on a journey, or asleep; and when these prophets had done so from morning till noon, and cut themselves with swords and lancets,<sup>1</sup> according to the custom of their country, and he was about to offer his sacrifice, he bade the prophets go away, but bade the people draw near and observe what he did, lest he should privately hide fire among the cleft wood. Then, upon the approach of the multitude, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the people of the Hebrews, and built an altar with them, and dug a very deep trench round it; and when he had laid the cleft wood upon the altar, and had laid upon them his sacrifice, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over it, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to call on him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in error a long time. And as he was still speaking, fire came on a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the place became dry.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Spanheim takes notice here, that in the worship of Mithra (the god of the Persians) the priests cut themselves in the same manner as did these priests in their invocation of Baal (the god of the Phœnicians). —W.

§ 6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground, and worshipped the one God, and called him the greatest and only true God, while they called the others mere names framed by the vile and foolish opinion of men. And they took their prophets and slew them at the command of Elijah. Elijah also told the king that he might go to dinner without any further anxiety, for in a little time he would see God would send them rain. Ahab accordingly went his way, but Elijah went up to the top of Mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go up to a certain look-out-place, and look towards the sea, and when he should see a cloud rising anywhere to give him notice of it, for till then the sky had been clear. When the servant had gone up, and had said several times that he saw nothing, at the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and recommended him to get down to the city before the rain came down in torrents. So he went to the city Jezreel,<sup>1</sup> and in a little time the sky was obscured and covered with clouds, and a strong wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain. And the prophet was seized with a divine enthusiasm, and ran along by the king's chariot to Jezreel, a city belonging to Issachar.

§ 7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what wonders Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was angry and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was terrified, and fled to the city called Beersheba,<sup>2</sup> which is situated on the extreme borders of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die (for he was not better than his fathers, that he should be very desirous to live since they were dead), and he lay down and slept under a certain tree; and when somebody awoke him, he rose up and found food set by him and water. And when he had eaten and recovered his strength by that food,

<sup>1</sup> *Zer'in.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bir es-Seb'a.*

he went to the mountain which is called Sinai, where Moses is said to have received his laws from God; and finding there a certain hollow cave, he entered into it, and continued to make his abode in it. But when a certain voice came to him, whence he knew not, and asked him, "Why he was come thither, and had left the city?" he said that because he had slain the prophets of the foreign gods, and had persuaded the people that he alone whom they had worshipped from the beginning was God, he was sought for by the king's wife to be punished for so doing. And when he had heard another voice, telling him to come out the next day into the open air, and he should then know what he was to do, he came out of the cave the next day, and not only heard an earthquake but saw the bright light of a fire; and after an interval of silence a divine voice exhorted him not to be dismayed by the circumstances he was in, for none of his enemies should have power over him. The voice also commanded him to return home, and to appoint Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over the people, and Hazael of Damascus to be king over the Syrians, and Elisha, of the city Abel,<sup>1</sup> to be prophet in his room; and said also that some of the impious multitude should be slain by Hazael, and others by Jehu. And Elijah, upon hearing this, returned into the land of the Hebrews. And he found Elisha, the son of Shaphat, ploughing, and some other persons with him driving twelve yoke of oxen, and he went to him, and cast his own garment upon him; upon which Elisha began to prophesy at once, and leaving his oxen, he followed Elijah. And when he desired leave to salute his parents, Elijah bade him do so: and when he had taken his leave of them, he followed him, and became the disciple and attendant of Elijah all the days of his life. Such were the affairs in which this prophet was concerned.

§ 8. Now there was one Naboth in the city of Jezreel, who had a field adjoining the king's property: and the king asked him to sell him that field, which lay so near his own land, at whatever price he pleased, that he might join them together, and make one estate of them; and if he would

<sup>1</sup> Abel-Meholah, now 'Ain Helweh, nine and a half miles south of Beisân, Bethshean.

not accept of money for it, he gave him leave to choose any of his other fields instead. But Naboth said he would not do so, but would keep the possession of that land of his own, which he had by inheritance from his father. Upon this the king was grieved, as if he had received an outrage, since he could not get another man's possession, and he would neither take a bath nor any food: and when Jezebel his wife asked him what it was that troubled him? and why he would neither bathe nor eat either dinner or supper? he related to her the perverseness of Naboth, and how, though he had made use of gentle words to him, and such as were beneath the royal authority, he had been affronted in not obtaining what he asked for. But she urged him not to be cast down at this, but to leave off his grief, and return to the usual care of his body, for she would see that Naboth was punished. And she immediately sent a letter to the rulers of the Jezreelites in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast and call a solemn assembly, and to set Naboth at their head, for he was of an illustrious family, and to have three audacious men ready to bear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and so to dispose of him. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus convicted, as the queen had enjoined in her letter, of blasphemy against God and Ahab the king, he was stoned to death by the people. And when Jezebel had heard this, she went in to the king, and bade him take possession of Naboth's vineyard at free cost. And Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from the bed whereon he lay, to go and see Naboth's vineyard. But God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to meet Ahab and to ask him why he had slain the true owner of that field unjustly. And when he came to him, and the king had said that he had done with him what he pleased (for he thought it a reproach to be thus caught by him in his sin) Elijah said, that in the very place in which the dead body of Naboth was eaten by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife should be shed, and that all his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly and contrary to the laws of his country. Then Ahab began to be



sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them, and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot, and would not touch any food:<sup>1</sup> he also confessed his sins, and endeavoured thus to appease God. So God said to the prophet, that he would put off the punishment of his family during Ahab's lifetime, because he repented of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that he would still fulfil his threatening in the reign of Ahab's son. And this message the prophet delivered to the king.

## CHAP. XIV.

*How Benhadad, King of Damascus and of Syria, made two Expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten.*

### § 1.

WHEN the affairs of Ahab were in this condition, at that very time Benhadad the son of Hadad, who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond the Euphrates as his allies, and made an expedition against Ahab. And because Ahab's army was not equal to that of Benhadad's, he did not draw up his men in battle array to fight him, but having shut up everything in the strongest cities he had in the country, he abode in Samaria himself, for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared in other respects also not easy to be taken. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and went to Samaria, and placed his army round about the city, and besieged it. He also sent a herald to Ahab, and asked him to receive the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. And upon the king of Israel's per-

<sup>1</sup> "The Jews weep to this day (says Jerome, here cited by Reland), and roll themselves upon sackcloth, in ashes, barefoot, upon such occasions." To which Spanheim adds, "That after the same manner, Berenice, when her life was in danger, stood at the tribunal of Florus barefoot." Jewish War, ii. 15, § 1. See the like of David, 2 Sam. xv. 30, Antiq. vii. 9, § 2.—W.

mission for him to send, those ambassadors came, and, by their king's command, said that Ahab's riches, and his children and wives, were Benhadad's, and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of them as he pleased, he would withdraw his army and raise the siege. Upon this Ahab bade the ambassadors go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he had were his possessions. And when these ambassadors had told this to Benhadad, he sent to Ahab once more and asked, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his whom he should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those whom he should send, whatever, upon their searching his palace and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent, but what did not please them they would leave to him. Ahab was angry at this second message of the king of Syria, and gathered together the multitude in assembly, and told them, that for himself he was ready for their safety and peace to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was what the Syrian king required at his first embassy. "But now he has demanded to send his servants to search all our houses, and to leave in them nothing that is most excellent, seeking an occasion of fighting, knowing that I would not spare what is mine own for your sakes, but taking a handle from the disagreeable terms he offers you to bring on a war. However, I will do what you shall think good." Then the multitude advised him to hearken to none of Benhadad's proposals, but to despise him, and be in readiness to fight him. Accordingly, when he had given the ambassadors the following answer to take back, that he still continued in the mind to comply with the terms at first asked, for the safety of the citizens, but as for Benhadad's second demands he could not submit to them, he dismissed them.

§ 2. Now when Benhadad heard this, he was indignant, and sent ambassadors to Ahab the third time, and threatened that his army would raise a bank higher than those walls, relying upon whose strength he despised him, and that by each man of his army merely taking a handful

of earth, thus making a show of the great number of his army, and endeavouring to frighten him. Ahab answered, that he ought not to vaunt himself when he had only put on his armour, but when he had conquered his enemies in the battle. Then the ambassadors went back, and found Benhadad at supper with his thirty-two kings, and informed him of Ahab's answer; and Benhadad immediately gave orders for proceeding to draw lines round the city, and raise earth-works, and to prosecute the siege in every way. Now while this was being done, Ahab was in great agony, and all his people with him; but he took courage, and was freed from his fears, by a certain prophet coming to him, and saying to him, that God had promised to subdue so many myriads of his enemies under him. And when he inquired by whom the victory was to be obtained, he said, "By the sons of the nobles, but under thy conduct as their leader, by reason of their inexperience." Upon this he called for the sons of the nobles, and found them to amount to two hundred and thirty-two persons, and when he was informed that the king of Syria had betaken himself to feasting and repose, he opened the gates and sent out the nobles' sons. Now when the sentinels had informed Benhadad of this, he sent some to meet them, and commanded them, that if these men were come out for fighting, they should bind them, and bring them to him; and if they came out peaceably, they were to do the same. Now Ahab had another army ready within the walls, and the sons of the nobles fell upon the out-posts, and slew many of them, and pursued the rest of them to the camp; and when the king of Israel saw that they were victorious, he sent out all the rest of his army, which falling suddenly upon the Syrians, beat them, for they did not think they would have come out; on which account it was that they assaulted them when they were naked<sup>1</sup> and drunk, insomuch that they left

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Reland notes here very truly, that the word 'naked,' does not always signify entirely naked, but sometimes without men's usual armour, or without their usual robes or upper garments; as when Virgil bids the husbandman plough naked and sow naked; when Josephus says, *Antiq. iv. 3, § 2*, that God had given the Jews the security of armour when they were naked; and when he here says, that Ahab fell on the Syrians when they were both naked and drunk; and when, *Antiq. xi. 5, § 8*, he says that Nehemiah commanded those Jews that

all their armour behind them when they fled out of the camp, and the king himself only escaped with difficulty on a swift horse. And Ahab went a great way in pursuit of the Syrians, slaying them. And when he had spoiled their camp, which contained a great many treasures, and also a large quantity of gold and silver, he took Benhadad's chariots and horses, and returned to Samaria. And as the prophet told him that he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another expedition against him the next year, Ahab made provision accordingly.

§ 3. Now Benhadad, when he had saved himself and as much of his army as he could out of the battle, consulted with his friends how he might make another expedition against the Israelites. And those friends advised him not to fight with them on the hills, because their God was strong in such places, and so it had come to pass that they had lately been beaten; but they said, that if they joined battle with them in the plain, they would beat them. They also gave him this further advice, to send home those kings whom he had brought as his allies, but to retain their army, and to set satraps over it instead of them, and to raise an army out of their country in place of the former army which perished in battle, as also to get horses and chariots. And he thought their counsel good, and marshalled his host accordingly.

§ 4. At the beginning of spring Benhadad took his army with him, and led it against the Hebrews, and when he was come to a certain city which was called Aphek,<sup>1</sup> he pitched

were building the walls of Jerusalem, to take care to have their armour on upon occasion, that the enemy might not fall upon them naked. I may add, that the case seems to be the same in the Scripture, where it says, that Saul lay down naked among the prophets, 1 Sam. xix. 24, when it says, that Isaiah walked naked and barefoot, Isa. xx. 2, 3, and when it says, that Peter, before he girt his fisher's coat to him, was naked, John xxi. 7. What is said of David also gives light to this, who was reproached by Michal for "dancing before the ark, and uncovering himself in the eyes of his handmaids, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself," 2 Sam. vi. 14-20; yet it is there expressly said, v. 14, that "David was girded with a linen ephod," *i. e.* he had lain aside his robes of state, and put on the sacerdotal, Levitical, or sacred garments, proper for such a solemnity.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Now *Fik*, to the east of the Sea of Galilee.

his camp in the great plain.<sup>1</sup> Ahab also went to meet him with his army, and pitched his camp opposite him, although his army was a small one in comparison to that of the enemy. And the prophet came again to him, and told him, that God would give him the victory, to prove that his own power was not only on mountains but on plains also; which, it seems, was contrary to the opinion of the Syrians. Both armies lay quiet in their respective camps seven days, but on the last of those days, as the enemy came out of their camp at daybreak, and put themselves in battle-array, Ahab also led out his own army against them, and when the battle was joined, and obstinately contested on both sides, Ahab put the enemy to flight, and pursued them, and pressed them hard, and kept slaying them. Many indeed were destroyed by their own chariots, and by one another, nor could any but a few of them escape to the city of Aphek. And twenty-seven thousand were killed by the walls falling upon them, and there were slain in the battle a hundred thousand also. But Benhadad, the king of the Syrians, fled away, with some of his most faithful servants, and hid himself in a cave under ground. But when they told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication and obtain safety from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. And they went to Ahab, clothed in sack-cloth, with ropes about their heads,<sup>2</sup> (for that was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said that Benhadad begged Ahab would save him, and promised he would ever be a servant to him for that favour. Ahab replied that he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle, and also promised him the same honour and kindness that a man would exhibit to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from Ahab, that when Benhadad came to him, he should receive no harm, and then went and fetched him out of the cave wherein he lay hid, and brought him to Ahab who was sitting in his chariot. And

<sup>1</sup> That is the 'Mishor,' or upland plain, east of Jordan.

<sup>2</sup> This manner of supplication for men's lives among the Syrians, with ropes or halters about their heads, or necks, is, I suppose, no strange thing in latter ages, even in our country.—W.

Benhadad prostrated himself before him ; and Ahab gave him his hand, and bade him come up to him into the chariot, and kissed him, and bade him be of good cheer, and not to expect that any harm should be done to him. And Benhadad returned him thanks, and declared that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life : and promised he would restore those cities of the Israelites which the kings his predecessors had taken from them, and grant Ahab leave to come to Damascus, as his own forefathers had had leave to go to Samaria. So they confirmed their covenant by oaths, and Ahab made Benhadad many presents, and sent him back to his own kingdom. Such was the conclusion of the war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

§ 5. But a certain prophet, whose name was Micaiah,<sup>1</sup> came to one of the Israelites, and bade him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would act according to the will of God ; but as he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion and be destroyed by it. When this had befallen the man, the prophet went again to another, and gave him the same injunction, and he smote him, and broke his head, upon which he bound it up, and went to the king, and told him that he had been a soldier of his, and had had the custody of one of the prisoners committed to him by an officer, and that the prisoner having run away, he was in danger of losing his own life at the hands of that officer, who had threatened him, if the prisoner escaped, that he would kill him. And when Ahab had said that he would justly die, he took off the bandage on his head, and was recognized by the king to be Micaiah the prophet, who made use of that artifice as a prelude to his subsequent

<sup>1</sup> It is here remarkable, that in Josephus's copy, this prophet whose severe denunciation of a disobedient person's slaughter by a lion had lately come to pass, was no other than Micaiah the son of Imlah, who, as he now denounced God's judgment on disobedient Ahab, seems directly to have been that very prophet whom the same Ahab, in 1 Kings xxii. 8-18, complains of, "as one whom he hated, because he did not prophesy good concerning him, but evil," and who in that chapter openly repeats his denunciations against him : all of which came to pass accordingly : nor is there any reason to doubt but this and the former were the very same prophet.—W.

words. For he said that God would punish Ahab for suffering Benhadad, a blasphemer against him, to escape punishment; and that he would so bring it about, that he should be killed by Benhadad, and his people by Benhadad's army. Upon this Ahab was very angry at the prophet, and commanded that he should be put in prison and there kept; but for himself, he returned to his own house confounded by the words of Micaiah.

## CHAP. XV.

*Concerning Jehoshaphat, the King of Jerusalem; and how Ahab made an Expedition against the Syrians, and was assisted therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in Battle, and perished therein.*

## § 1.

SUCH were the circumstances in which Ahab was. I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who augmented his kingdom, and put garrisons in the cities of the country belonging to his subjects, and no less into those cities which had been taken from the tribe of Ephraim by his grandfather Abijah, when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes. And he had God's gracious assistance, as he was both righteous and religious, and sought to do every day what would be agreeable and acceptable to God. The kings also that were round about him honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches he acquired were immensely great, and the glory he gained was of a most exalted nature.

§ 2. Now in the third year of his reign he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, city by city, the laws of Moses, and to observe them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole people were so pleased, that they were not so eager about or so much in love with anything as the observation of the laws. The neighbouring nations also continued to love Jehoshaphat and to be at peace

with him. The Philistines paid him their appointed tribute, and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of the goats. He also fortified several great and important cities, and prepared also a mighty army of soldiers and weapons against his enemies. Now his army consisted of three hundred thousand armed men of the tribe of Judah, of whom Ednah was the chief; and John was chief of two hundred thousand, and was in command of the tribe of Benjamin, and had two hundred thousand archers under him. There was another chief, whose name was Ochobatus, who had a hundred and eighty thousand armed men under him. This host was ready for the king's service, besides those soldiers whom he had distributed among the best fortified cities.

§ 3. Jehoshaphat married his son Jehoram to the daughter of Ahab, the king of the ten tribes, whose name was Athaliah. And some time after when he went to Samaria, Ahab received him courteously, and entertained the army that accompanied him in a splendid manner with plenty of corn and wine and slain beasts, and begged Jehoshaphat to join him in war against the king of Syria, that he might recover from him the city of Ramoth in Gilead;<sup>1</sup> for though it had belonged to his father, yet had the king of Syria's father taken it away from him. And upon Jehoshaphat's promise to afford him assistance (and indeed his army was not inferior to Ahab's), and sending for his army from Jerusalem to Samaria, the two kings went out of the city, and each of them sat on his own throne, and each gave their orders to their own army. And Jehoshaphat bade them call some of the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning this expedition against the king of Syria, whether they would advise to make the expedition at that time. For there was peace and friendship then between Ahab and the king of Syria, which had lasted three years, from the time Ahab had taken him captive till that day.

§ 4. And Ahab called his own prophets, who were in

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. iv. 7, § 4.



number about four hundred, and bade them inquire of God whether he would grant him the victory, if he made an expedition against Benhadad, and enable him to overthrow that city,<sup>1</sup> for which he was going to commence war. And these prophets counselled his making this expedition now, and said that he would beat the king of Syria, and would get him as before into his power. But Jehoshaphat, who saw by their words that they were false prophets, asked Ahab, whether there was not some other prophet that belonged to the true God, that they might have sure information concerning the future. Then Ahab said that there was indeed such a one, but that he hated him, as he had prophesied evil to him, and had foretold that he should be overcome and slain by the king of Syria, and that for that cause he had him now in prison, and that his name was Micaiah, the son of Imlah. But upon Jehoshaphat's desire that he might be produced, Ahab sent an eunuch who brought Micaiah to him. Now the eunuch had informed him on the way, that all the other prophets had foretold that the king should gain the victory; but he said that it was not lawful for him to lie against God, but that he must speak whatever God should tell him about the king. When therefore he came before Ahab, and the king adjured him upon oath to speak the truth to him, he said that God had showed to him the Israelites running away, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as flocks of sheep are dispersed when their shepherd is slain. He said further, that God signified to him, that they should return in peace to their own home, and that he only should fall in battle. When Micaiah had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told you a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he is wont to prophesy evil concerning me." Upon this Micaiah replied, that he ought to hear all, whatever it was, that God foretold, and that they were false prophets that encouraged him to make this war in hope of victory, whereas he must fall in the battle. Thereupon the king was in suspense, but Zedekiah, one of the false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hearken

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Ramoth in Gilead.

to Micaiah, for he did not at all speak the truth. As a proof of this he instanced what Elijah had said, who was better in foreseeing the future than Micaiah.<sup>1</sup> For he had foretold that dogs would lick Ahab's blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they had licked the blood of Naboth, who owing to him was there stoned to death by the people. It was plain therefore that this Micaiah was a liar, as he contradicted a greater prophet than himself, and said that Ahab would be slain in three days. He added, "You shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and has the power of the divine spirit; for I will smite him, and let him then hurt my hand, as Jadon caused the hand of Jeroboam the king to wither when he would have arrested him; for I take it you have certainly heard of that event." So when, upon his smiting Micaiah, no harm happened to Zedekiah, Ahab took courage, and readily led his army against the king of Syria. For I suppose fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spoke truer than the true one, that it might get an opportunity of bringing him to his end. Moreover Zedekiah made horns of iron, and told Ahab that God signified by them that he should overthrow all Syria. But Micaiah replied that Zedekiah, in a few days, should go from one inner chamber to another to hide himself, that he might escape the punishment of his lying. Then did the king give orders that they should take Micaiah away, and give him to Amon the governor of the city to guard, with orders to supply him with nothing but bread and water.

§ 5. Then did Ahab and Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem take their forces, and march to the city of Ramoth in Gilead; and when the king of Syria heard of this expedition, he led out his army against them, and pitched his camp not far from Ramoth. Now Ahab and

<sup>1</sup> These reasonings of Zedekiah the false prophet, in order to persuade Ahab not to believe Micaiah the true prophet, are plausible, but being omitted in our copies, we cannot now tell whence Josephus got them. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micaiah is very likely, otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelieve all such false prophets, could never have been induced to accompany Ahab in these desperate circumstances.—W.

Jehoshaphat had agreed, that Ahab should lay aside his royal robes, and that the king of Jerusalem should put them on, and stand in front of the army, in order by this artifice to prevent what Micaiah had foretold. But Ahab's fate found him out though he was without his robes; for Benhadad the king of Syria had charged his army, by their commanders, to kill nobody else but only the king of Israel. Now when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat standing in front of the army, they conjectured that he was Ahab, and rushed violently at him, and surrounded him; but when they got near, and discovered that it was not he, they all returned back. And though the fight lasted from daybreak till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them, seeking to kill Ahab only, but being unable to find him. But a young servant of king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman, drew his bow against the enemy, and wounded the king through his breast-plates in the lungs. Upon this Ahab resolved not to make known to his army what had happened, lest they should run away, but bade the driver of his chariot to turn it back and carry him out of the battle, for he was sorely and even mortally wounded. However, he stayed in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then he fainted away and died.

§ 6. And the Syrian army at nightfall retired to their camp, and when a herald gave notice that Ahab was dead, they returned home. And they took the dead body of Ahab to Samaria and buried it there, and when they had washed his chariot, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, in the fountain of Jezreel,<sup>1</sup> they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood, and harlots continued thenceforwards to wash themselves in that fountain. But still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. Now as what was foretold by the two prophets should happen to Ahab came to pass, we ought thence to have high notions of God and everywhere to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is more worthy of belief

<sup>1</sup> The spring below *Zer'in*.

than what is true, and to esteem nothing more advantageous than the gift of prophecy and the foreknowledge of future events which is derived from it, since God shows men thereby what they ought to avoid. We may also from what happened to this king guess and infer as to the power of fate, that there is no way of avoiding it, even when we know it beforehand, for it creeps upon human souls, and flatters them with pleasing hopes, till it leads them on to where it will be too hard for them. Thus Ahab appears to have been deceived thereby, so that he disbelieved those that foretold his defeat, and by giving credit to those who foretold what was pleasant to him, was slain. And his son Ahaziah succeeded him.

## BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS—FROM THE DEATH OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

### CHAP. I.

*Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he appointed Judges, and by God's assistance overcame his Enemies.*

#### § 1.

WHEN Jehoshaphat the king returned to Jerusalem, after the assistance he had afforded Ahab, the king of Israel, when he fought with Benhadad king of Syria, the prophet Jehu met him, and found fault with him for assisting Ahab, a man both impious and wicked; and told him that God was displeased with him for so doing, but had delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own disposition which was good. Thereupon he betook himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God: after which he went all round the country which he ruled, to teach the people thoroughly both the law which God gave them by Moses and the piety due to God. He

also appointed judges in every one of the cities of his kingdom, and charged them to have regard to nothing so much in judging the people as to do justice, and not to be moved by bribes, nor by the dignity of men eminent for either their riches or birth, but to dispense justice equally to all, knowing that God is cognizant of every secret action. When he had himself instructed them thus, and gone over every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem. He there also appointed judges selected from the priests and Levites and principal persons of the community, and admonished them to pass all their sentences with care and justice. And if any of the people of his country had differences of great consequence, they were to send them from the other cities to these judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such cases; and that with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences given in that city where the temple of God is, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care, and the utmost justice. And he set over them Amariah the priest and Zabariah, both of the tribe of Judah. Thus the king ordered affairs.

§ 2. About the same time the Moabites and Ammonites made an expedition against Jehoshaphat, and took with them a great body of Arabians, and pitched their camp at Engedi,<sup>1</sup> a city situate near the lake Asphaltitis, three hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. In that place grows the best kind of palm-trees, and the opobalsamum. Now when Jehoshaphat heard that the enemies had crossed over the lake, and had made an irruption already into the country which belonged to his kingdom, he was dismayed, and called the people of Jerusalem to an assembly in the temple, and standing over against the holy place, called upon God to give him power and strength to inflict punishment on those that made this expedition against them (for those who built this temple of God had prayed that he would protect their city, and take vengeance on those that were so bold as to come against it), for they were come to take away that land which God had given them for a possession. When he had prayed thus he wept, and the

<sup>1</sup> Now *'Ain Jidy*, on the western shore of the Dead Sea.

whole multitude, together with their wives and children, made their supplications also. And a certain prophet, Jehaziel by name, came into the midst of the assembly, and cried out, and told both the multitude and the king that God heard their prayers, and promised to fight against their enemies. He also gave order that the king should draw out his forces next day to meet the enemies, and he would find them between Jerusalem and the ascent of Engedi, at a place called the Eminence,<sup>1</sup> and that he was not to fight against them, but only stand still, and see how God would fight against them. When the prophet had said this, both the king and the multitude fell upon their faces, and gave thanks to God, and worshipped him, and the Levites continued singing hymns to God with their instruments of music.

§ 3. As soon as it was day, and the king was come into that wilderness which is under the city of Tekoa,<sup>2</sup> he told the multitude that they ought to give credit to what the prophet had said, and not to set themselves in array for fighting, but to set the priests with their trumpets, and the Levites with the singers of hymns, to give thanks to God, as having already delivered their country from the enemies. This opinion of the king pleased the people, and they did what he advised them to do. And God caused a terror and panic to arise among the Ammonites, who thought one another to be enemies and slew one another, insomuch that not one man escaped out of so great an army; and when Jehoshaphat looked upon the valley where their enemies had encamped, and saw it full of dead men, he rejoiced at so surprising an event as this assistance of God, for he himself by his own power and without their labour had given them the victory. He also gave his army leave to plunder the enemies' camp, and to spoil their dead bodies; and indeed so they did for three days together, till they were weary, so great was the number of the slain; and on the fourth day all the people gathered together in a certain hollow place or valley, and blessed God for his

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Chron. xx. 16, "The end of the valley before the wilderness of Jeruel," it must have been near 'the ascent of Ziz,' *Wādý Husásah*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Khurbet Tekû'a*, five miles south of Bethlehem.

power and assistance, from which circumstance the place had this name given it, the Valley of blessing.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. And when the king had brought his army back thence to Jerusalem, he betook himself to festivals and sacrifices for many days. And indeed, after this destruction of their enemies came to the ears of foreign nations, they were all greatly dismayed, supposing that God would openly fight for Judah hereafter. And Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and piety towards God. He was also friendly with Ahab's son who was king of Israel, and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Pontus,<sup>2</sup> and the merchant cities of Thrace; but he failed of his gains, for the ships were destroyed by being so big and unwieldy, so he no longer concerned himself about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem.

## CHAP. II.

*Of Ahaziah, the King of Israel, and again of the Prophet Elijah.*

### § 1.

AND Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and in all respects like both his parents, and Jeroboam,

<sup>1</sup> The *Wady 'Arrúb*; a trace of the name, Berachah, is found in the ruin *Breikút*.

<sup>2</sup> What are here Pontus and Thrace, as the places whither Jehoshaphat's fleet sailed, are in our copies Ophir and Tarshish, and the place whence it sailed is in them Eziongeber, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace; so that Josephus's copy differed from our copies, as is farther plain from his own words, which render what we read, that the ships were broken at Eziongeber, 'from their unwieldy greatness.' But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one Ophir to be somewhere in the Mediterranean, and not in the South Sea, though perhaps there might be another Ophir in that South Sea also, and that fleets might then sail both from Phœnicia and from the Red Sea, to fetch the gold of Ophir.—W.

who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. In the second year of his reign the king of Moab revolted from him, and left off paying the tribute which he before paid to his father Ahab. Now it happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from it, and in his illness sent to Ekron<sup>1</sup> to the goddess Fly, for that was the goddess' name, to inquire about his recovery. But the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and ask them whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery, and to bid them return and tell the king that he would not recover. And when Elijah had done what God commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to the king immediately; and when the king wondered how they could return so soon, and asked them the reason of it, they said, that a certain man met them and forbade them to go any further; "but to return and tell you, at the command of the God of Israel, that your illness will be fatal." And when the king bade them describe the man that said this to them, they replied that he was a hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather. And the king understood by this that the man who was described by the messengers was Elijah; so he sent a captain to him with fifty soldiers, and commanded him to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah sitting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come down and to go with him to the king, for so he had enjoined, for if he refused, they would take him by force. Then Elijah said to him, "That you may know whether I be a true prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heaven, and destroy both the soldiers and yourself." So he prayed, and a whirlwind of fire fell from heaven, and destroyed the captain and those that were with him. And when the king was informed of the destruction of these men, he was very angry, and sent another captain with the same number of armed men as were sent before. And when

<sup>1</sup> *Akir.*



this captain also threatened the prophet, that unless he came down of his own accord, he would seize him and take him away; upon Elijah's prayer against him, fire from heaven slew this captain and his company just as the other. And when, upon inquiry, the king was informed of what had happened to him, he sent out a third captain. But when this captain, who was a wise man and of a mild disposition, came to the place where Elijah happened to be, he spoke courteously to him, and said that Elijah knew that it was against his own will, and only in submission to the king's command, that he came unto him, as also those that came before had not come willingly, but for the same reason. He therefore begged him to have pity on those armed men that were with him, and to come down and follow him to the king. And Elijah liked his discreet words and courteous behaviour, and came down and followed him. And when he came to the king, he prophesied to him, and told him that God said, "Since thou hast despised me as if I were not God, and so unable to foretell the truth about thy illness, and hast sent to the goddess of Ekron to inquire of her what will be the end of this illness, know that thou shalt die."

§ 2. And the king in a very little time died, as Elijah had foretold; and Joram his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, as he died childless. And this Joram was like his father Ahab in wickedness, and reigned twelve years, indulging himself in all sorts of wickedness and impiety towards God; for, leaving off his worship, he worshipped foreign gods: but in other respects he was an active man. Now it was at this time that Elijah disappeared from among men, and no one knows of his death to this day. And he left behind him a disciple Elisha, as I have formerly declared. However, as to Elijah, and as to Enoch, who was before the deluge, it is written in the sacred books that they disappeared, and nobody knows of their death.

## CHAP. III.

*How Joram and Jehoshaphat made an Expedition against the Moabites : as also concerning the Miracle of Elisha ; and the Death of Jehoshaphat.*

## § 1.

WHEN Joram had succeeded to the kingdom, he determined to make an expedition against the king of Moab, whose name was Misa ; for, as I said before, he had revolted from his brother Ahaziah, though he paid as tribute to their father Ahab two hundred thousand sheep with their fleeces. When therefore he had gathered his own army together, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and entreated him, since he had been from the beginning a friend to his father, to assist him in the war that he was entering upon against the Moabites, who had revolted from him.. And he not only promised himself to assist him, but said he would also oblige the king of Edom, who was under his authority, to make the same expedition also. When Joram had received these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he took his army with him and went to Jerusalem, and when he had been sumptuously entertained by the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by them to march against their enemies through the wilderness of Edom, for they would not expect them to take that road. So the three kings set out from Jerusalem, namely, the kings of Judah and Israel and the king of Edom. And when they had taken a circuitous route for seven days, they were in distress from want of water for the cattle and for the army, owing to their guides mistaking the roads, so that they were all in an agony, especially Joram, and cried to God by reason of their sorrow, and [desired to know] what wickedness had been committed by them, that induced him to deliver three kings together without fighting into the hand of the king of Moab. But Jehoshaphat, who was a righteous man, encouraged Joram, and bade him send to the camp to know whether any prophet of God was come along with them, “ that we might

by him learn from God what we should do." And when one of the servants of Joram said that he had seen there Elisha, the son of Shaphat, the disciple of Elijah, the three kings went to him, at the entreaty of Jehoshaphat; and when they were come to the prophet's tent, which tent was pitched outside the camp, they asked him, "What would become of the army?" and Joram especially. And when Elisha replied to him, that "he should not trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophets, for they were true prophets," he still begged him to prophesy and to save them. But he swore by God, that he would not answer him unless on account of Jehoshaphat, who was an holy and righteous man; and when, at his desire, they brought him a man that could play on the harp, the divine spirit came upon him as the music played, and he commanded them to dig many trenches in the bed of the torrent: for he said, "Though there appear neither cloud nor wind nor storm of rain, ye shall see the river full of water, so that the army and the cattle shall be saved for you by drinking of it. Nor will this be all the favour that you shall receive from God, but you shall also overcome your enemies, and take the best and strongest cities of the Moabites, and shall cut down their fruit-trees, and lay waste their country, and stop up their fountains and rivers."

§ 2. When the prophet had said this, the next day, before sun-rise, the torrent ran strongly; for God had caused it to rain very plentifully at the distance of three days' journey into Edom; so that the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. And when the Moabites heard that the three kings were advancing upon them, and making their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab concentrated his army at once, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, it might not escape their notice. But when at sun-rise they saw that the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, was of the colour of blood, for at such a time the water looks especially red from the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had

slain one another mad for thirst, and the river ran with their blood. So, supposing that this was the case, they asked their king to send them out to spoil their enemies. And they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, supposing them destroyed. But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies surrounded them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed and fled to their own country. And when the three kings entered the land of Moab, they overthrew the cities that were in it, and ravaged and spoiled their fields, filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their fountains of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations. And the king of Moab, being hard pressed by siege, and seeing his city in danger of being taken by storm, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred horsemen to try and break through the enemies' lines in that quarter where he thought the watch was kept most negligently: but when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he happened on a place that was carefully watched, he returned into the city, and did a thing that showed the utmost despair and distress. For he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him as a whole burnt-offering to God. And when the kings saw his action, they commiserated the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected by humanity and pity, that they raised the siege, and every one returned to his own country. And Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, but outlived this expedition but a very little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

## CHAP. IV.

*Joram succeeds Jehoshaphat : how Joram, his Namesake, King of Israel, fought with the Syrians ; and the Miracles that were done by the Prophet Elisha.*

## § 1.

JEHOSHAPHAT left a good number of children, but he appointed his eldest son Joram to be his successor, who had the same name as his mother's brother, the son of Ahab, who was king of Israel. Now when the king of Israel returned from the land of Moab to Samaria, he had with him Elisha the prophet, whose acts I intend to relate particularly, for they are remarkable and worthy to be recorded, as we have them set down in the sacred books.

§ 2. For they say that the widow of Obadiah,<sup>1</sup> Ahab's steward, came to him ; and said, that he was not ignorant how her husband had saved alive the prophets that were sought to be slain by Jezebel, the wife of Ahab ; for she said that he had hid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance ; and that, after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors ; and she begged him to have mercy upon her on account of what her husband had done, and afford her some assistance. And when he asked her what she had in the house, she said, "Nothing but a very small quantity of oil in a cruse." And the prophet bade her go away, and borrow a great many empty vessels of her neigh-

<sup>1</sup> That this woman who cried to Elisha, and who in our Bible is styled 'the wife of one of the prophets,' 2 Kings iv. 1, was no other than the widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrast, and by the rabbins and others. Nor is that unlikely which Josephus here adds, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those 'hundred of the Lord's prophets, whom he maintained by fifty in a cave,' in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kings xviii. 4, which circumstance rendered it highly fit that the prophet Elisha should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her sons from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Lev. xxv. 39, Matt. xviii. 25, which he did accordingly, with God's help, at the expense of a miracle.—W.

bours, and when she had shut her chamber door, to pour the oil into them all, for God would fill them full. And when the woman had done what she was commanded to do, and bade her children bring every one of the vessels, and all were filled and not one left empty, she came to the prophet, and told him that they were all full: upon which he advised her to go away, and sell the oil, and pay the creditors what was owing to them, and there would be some surplus over from the price of the oil, which she might devote to the maintenance of her children. And thus did Elisha discharge the woman's debts, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

§ 3. Elisha also sent a hasty message to Joram,<sup>1</sup> and exhorted him to take care of that place, for there were some Syrians lying in ambush there to kill him. So the king did as the prophet exhorted him, and avoided going a hunting. And when Benhadad failed in his scheme, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambush to Joram, and sent for them, and said they were the betrayers of his secrets, and threatened that he would put them to death, since his intention, which he had intrusted to none but them, was yet made known to his enemy. And when one of those that were present told him not to be under a false impression, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but to know that it was Elisha the prophet who had discovered all to him, and revealed his plan, he gave order that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. And those that were sent brought word that he

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hudson, with very good reason, suspects that there is no small omission in our present copies of Josephus just before the beginning of this section, and chiefly as to that distinct account which he had given us reason to expect in the first section, and to which he seems to refer, chap. viii. § 6, concerning the glorious miracles which Elisha wrought, which indeed in our Bibles are not a few, 2 Kings iv.-ix., but of which we have several omitted in Josephus's present copies. One of those histories, omitted at present, was evidently in his Bible, I mean that of the curing of Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings v., for he plainly alludes to it, b. iii. chap. xi. § 4, where he observes, that "there were lepers in many nations who were yet held in honour, and not only free from reproach and exile, but who had been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in their commonwealths, and had had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples."—W.

was in Dothan.<sup>1</sup> So Benhadad sent to that city a great army with horses and chariots to take Elisha. And they encompassed the city round about by night, and watched it, and when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he came running and crying out in an alarmed manner to him, and told him of it. But he encouraged him and bade him not be afraid, and besought God, whose assistance prevented his feeling fear himself, to manifest to his servant his power and presence, as far as was possible, in order to inspire him with hope and courage. And God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made his servant see a multitude of chariots and horses surrounding Elisha, so that he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of the army he supposed come to their assistance. After this Elisha entreated God, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and cast a mist before them, whereby they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked whom they came to seek? And when they replied "the prophet Elisha," he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he happened to be. And these men were so blinded by God in their sight and mind, that they followed Elisha very readily. And when he had brought them to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round the Syrians, and prayed to God to clear the eyes of their enemies, and take the mist from before them. Accordingly, when they were freed from the darkness they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies, and the Syrians were strangely amazed and alarmed, as was but likely, at an action so divine and surprising; and when king Joram asked the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot them, Elisha forbade him so to do; for he said, that it was just to kill those that were taken in battle, but that those men had done his country no harm, but, without knowing it, were come there by divine power. And his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at the king's table, and then to send them away without hurting them. And Joram

<sup>1</sup> Now *Tell Dôthân*, north of Samaria.

hearkened to the prophet, and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he sent them back to Benhadad their king.

§ 4. Now when those men were come back, and had showed Benhadad what had befallen them, he wondered at the strangeness of it, and at the appearance and power of the God of Israel, as also at the prophet with whom God so evidently was ; so he determined to make no more secret attempts upon the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war against him, supposing he would be more than a match for his enemies owing to his numerous and powerful army. So he made an expedition with a great force against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for the Syrians, shut himself up in Samaria, relying on the strength of its walls ; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet by reducing the Samaritans by famine and want of necessaries, so he brought up his army and besieged the city. And the supply of necessaries so failed Joram, that from the extremity of want an ass's head was sold in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews bought a pint of dove's dung instead of salt for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was afraid that somebody would betray the city to the enemy because of the famine, and went every day round the walls and the guards, to see whether any such traitor were among them, and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing, and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them. And on a certain woman's crying out, " Have pity on me, my lord," as he thought that she was about to ask for something to eat, he was angry and imprecated God's curse upon her, and said he had neither threshing-floor nor wine-press, whence he might give her any thing at her petition. Upon this she said she did not desire his aid in any such thing, nor wanted to trouble him about food, but desired that he would do her justice on another woman. And when he bade her say on, and let him know what she desired, she said that she had made an agreement with the other woman, who was her neighbour and friend, because the famine and want was intolerable, that they should



kill their children (each of them having a son), and live upon them in turn for two days. "And I killed my son the first day, and we both lived upon him yesterday, but she will not do the same thing, but has broken her agreement, and hid her son." This mightily grieved Joram when he heard it, and he rent his garment, and cried out with a loud voice, and was filled with wrath against Elisha the prophet, and eagerly desired to have him slain, because he had not prayed to God to provide them some way and means of escape from the miseries by which they were surrounded, and he sent some one away immediately to cut off his head. And he hurried off to kill the prophet, but Elisha was not unacquainted with the wrath of the king against him; for as he sat in his house by himself, with none but his disciples about him, he told them, that Joram, the son of a murderer, had sent some one to take off his head; "but," continued he, "when he that is commanded to do this comes, take care that you do not let him come in, but shut the door in his face, and hold it fast, for the king himself will shortly follow him, and come to me, having altered his mind." And they did as they were bidden, when he that was sent by the king to kill Elisha came. Now Joram had repented of his wrath against the prophet, and fearing that he who was commanded to kill him would have done it before he came, he made haste to hinder the murder and to save the prophet. But when he got to him, he accused him of not praying to God for their deliverance from the miseries they now lay under, and of not caring about their perishing so sadly under them. Thereupon Elisha promised that the very next day, at the very same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two measures of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a measure of fine flour should be bought for a shekel. This prediction made Joram and those that were present very joyful, for they did not hesitate to believe what the prophet said, on account of the experience they had had of the truth of his former predictions, and the expectation of plenty made the want and distress they were in that day appear a light thing to them. But the captain of the third band, who was a

friend of the king, and on whom the king then leaned, said, "You talk of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to rain down torrents of barley or fine flour out of heaven, so it is impossible that what you say should come to pass." To which the prophet made this reply, "You yourself shall see these things come to pass, but shall not partake of any of them."

§ 5. Now what Elisha had thus foretold came to pass in the manner following. There was a law at Samaria, that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not clean from it, should abide without the city. Now there were four men that on this account abode before the gates, and nobody gave them any food because of the extremity of the famine: and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and considered that even if they were permitted to enter, they should miserably perish by the famine, while if they remained where they were they should suffer in the same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, for if they spared them they would live, but if they should be killed they would be fortunate in their death. So when they had determined on this resolution, they went by night to the enemies' camp. Now God had begun to frighten and disturb the Syrians, and to bring the noise of chariots and armour to their ears, as though an army were advancing upon them, and had made them suspect that it was coming nearer and nearer to them. In short, they were in such a panic about this army, that they left their tents, and ran together to Benhadad, and said that Joram the king of Israel had hired as allies both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands, and was leading them against them, for they heard the noise of them coming. And Benhadad believed what they said (for there came the same noise to his ears as to theirs), and so they fell into a mighty alarm and panic, and left their horses and beasts and immense riches in their camp, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria and gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom I made mention a little before, when they got to the camp, observed nothing but great quietness and silence: accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily

into one of the tents, and as they saw nobody there, they ate and drank, and carried away garments and a great quantity of gold out of the camp and hid it, after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this they did several times, without the least interruption from anybody. So they inferred thereby that the enemies were departed; whereupon they reproached themselves for not informing Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them about the enemies, and they told the king's guards, through whom Joram came to know of it; and he sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, "I suspect that this departure of the king of Syria is an ambush and piece of treachery, and that he is in despair of ruining you by famine, so, as you imagine the Syrians to have fled away, he tempts you to come out of the city to spoil their camp, that he may then fall upon you on a sudden, and not only kill you, but take the city without fighting. So I exhort you to guard the city carefully, and by no means to go out of it, or proudly to despise your enemies, as though they were really gone away." And a certain person said, that the king did very well and wisely to entertain such a suspicion, but still he advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country as far as the Jordan, and if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy and cut to pieces, they might preserve the army from going out as if they suspected nothing, and suffering the like misfortune: and those horsemen might be added to those that had died by the famine, supposing they were intercepted and slain by the enemy. And the king was pleased with this advice, and sent such as might search out the truth, who journeyed over a road that was without any enemies, and found it full of provisions and of weapons, that they had thrown away and left behind them, in order to be unimpeded and expeditious in their flight. When the king heard this, he sent out the multitude to plunder the camp. And their gains were not things of small value, but they took a great quantity of gold, and a great quantity of silver, and droves of all kinds of cattle. They also got possession of such innumerable quantities of wheat and

barley, as they never in the least dreamed of, and were not only freed from their former miseries, but had such plenty, that two measures of barley were bought for a shekel, and a measure of fine flour for a shekel, according to the prophecy of Elisha. Now a measure is equal to a peck and a half.<sup>1</sup> And the captain of the third band was the only man that received no benefit from this plenty; for as he was appointed by the king in charge of the gate to prevent too great a crowd of the multitude endangering one another and perishing by treading on one another in the press, he suffered himself in that very way, and died in that very manner, as Elisha had foretold his death, when he alone of them all disbelieved what the prophet said concerning that plentiful supply of provisions which they should soon have.

§ 6. Now when Benhadad, the king of Syria, had got safe to Damascus, and understood that it was God himself that had cast all his army into this alarm and panic, and that it did not arise from the invasion of enemies, he was mightily dejected at his having God so greatly for his enemy, and fell ill. Now it happened that Elisha the prophet, at that time, had gone out of his own country to Damascus, of which Benhadad was informed: so he sent Hazael, the most faithful of all his servants, to meet him, and to carry him presents, and bade him inquire of him about his illness, and whether he should recover from it. And Hazael went to Elisha with forty camels, that carried the best and most precious things that the country of Damascus afforded, as well as those that the king's palace supplied, and saluted him kindly, and said that he was sent to him by king Benhadad, to bring him presents and to inquire concerning his illness, whether he would recover from it or no. Whereupon the prophet bade him not tell the king the melancholy news, but said he would die. And the king's servant was troubled to hear it, and Elisha wept also, and his tears ran down plentifully as he foresaw what miseries his people would undergo after the death of Benhadad. And when Hazael asked him what was the reason of his distress, he said,

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "to an Italian modius."

“I weep out of compassion for the multitude of the Israelites, and for the terrible miseries they will suffer by thee. For thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and burn their strongest cities, and destroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child.” And when Hazael said, “How shall I have power enough to do such things?” the prophet replied, that God had informed him that he should be king of Syria. And when Hazael returned to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his illness, but the next day he spread a wet cloth in the nature of a net over him, and so strangled him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had to an eminent degree the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, by whom both Benhadad himself, and Hazael who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods by reason of their benefactions, and their building of temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day have a procession in honour of these kings, and pride themselves on their antiquity, not knowing that these kings are much later than they imagine, and not yet eleven hundred years old. And when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he breathed again from the terror and dread he had been in on his account, and was very glad to live in peace.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the Wickedness of Joram King of Jerusalem. His Defeat and Death.*

## § 1.

NOW Joram the king of Jerusalem, who, as I before said, had the same name as the king of Israel, as soon as he had received the kingdom, betook himself to the slaughter of his brothers and the chief of his father's friends, and so made a beginning and demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who first transgressed the national laws of the Hebrews, and God's worship. And Athaliah, the daughter

of Ahab, whom he had married, taught him to be a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Joram did not leave off the introduction of innovations every day, to the propagation of impiety and the ruin of the national customs. And as the Edomites had about that time revolted from him, and slain their former king, who had been loyal to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Joram fell upon the land of Edom by night with the horsemen and chariots that were about him, and destroyed those Edomites that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed further. However, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, as also those that dwelt in the country of Libnah.<sup>1</sup> He was indeed so mad, as to compel the people to go up to the high places of the mountains and worship strange gods.

§ 2. As he was acting thus, and had entirely cast his own country's laws out of his mind, there was brought him a letter from Elijah the prophet,<sup>2</sup> which declared that God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel, and had compelled the tribe of Judah and the citizens of Jerusalem to leave the holy worship of their national God and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brothers, and the men that were good and righteous. And the prophet predicted in this letter what punishment he should undergo for these crimes,—namely, the destruction of his people and the slaughter of the king's own wives and children, and that he should himself die of a disease in his bowels after long torments, his bowels falling

<sup>1</sup> Not identified; apparently the same place as the Libnah in the lowland of Judah.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, in some copies of Josephus, is said to come to Joram from Elijah, with this addition, "for he was yet upon earth," which could not be true of Elijah, who, as all agree, was gone from the earth about four years before, and could only be true of Elisha: nor, perhaps, is there any more mystery here, than that the name of Elijah has very anciently crept into the text instead of Elisha, by the copiers, there being nothing in any copy of that letter peculiar to Elijah.—W.

out by the excessive inward rottenness of the parts ; inso-much that though he should see his own misery, he should not be able at all to help himself, but should die in that manner. This was what Elijah predicted in that letter.

§ 3. Not long after this an army of those Arabians that lived very near Ethiopia, and of the Philistines, fell upon the kingdom of Joram, and spoiled the country and the king's house, and moreover slew his sons and his wives : one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy ; his name was Ahaziah. After this calamity he himself fell ill of the disease which was foretold by the prophet, and was ill a great while (for God inflicted upon him this punishment in his belly in his wrath against him), and he died miserably, and saw his own bowels fall out. The people also treated his dead body with contempt, I suppose because they thought that such death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to partake of such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly they neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man. And he had lived forty years, and reigned eight ; and the people of Jerusalem delivered the kingdom to his son Ahaziah.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Jehu was anointed King of Israel, and slew both Joram and Ahaziah ; as also what he did for the Punishment of the Wicked.*

### § 1.

NOW Joram the king of Israel after the death of Ben-hadad hoped that he might take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly he made an expedition against it with a great army, but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians, but the wound was not mortal, so he returned to have it healed in Jezreel, but left his whole army in Ramoth, and Jehu the son of Nimshi as its general, for he had already taken the city by storm, and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war on the Syrians again. But Elisha the prophet

sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him the holy oil to anoint Jehu with, and he was to tell him that God had chosen him to be king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and bade him take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape the knowledge of all men. So when he was come to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold to him. So he went up to him, and said that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he rose up and followed him into an inner chamber, the young man took the oil and poured it on his head, and said, that God elected him to be king, to destroy the house of Ahab, and to revenge the blood of the prophets that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, had perished for their wickedness, and that no seed might remain of Ahab's family. And when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

§ 2. Then Jehu came out, and went back to the place where he had before been sitting with the captains. And when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, why it was that this young man came to him, and also added that he was mad, he replied, "You guess right, for the words he spoke were the words of a madman." And as they were very eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, he had chosen him to be king over the people. When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and proclaimed that Jehu was king. And when he had got his army together, he proposed to set out immediately against Joram for the city of Jezreel, where, as I said before, he was getting healed of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, had now come to visit Joram (for he was his sister's son, as I have said already), to see how he did after his wound on account of their kindred. Now as Jehu was desirous to fall upon Joram and those who were with him unexpectedly, he desired that none of the soldiers should escape and tell Joram what had hap-



pened, for to prevent this would be an evident proof of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

§ 3. And they were pleased with what he proposed, and guarded the roads, lest anybody should privately report Jehu's intentions to those that were at Jezreel. And Jehu took with him some chosen horsemen, and sat upon his chariot, and started for Jezreel. And when he was come near, the watchman, whom Joram had put there to spy out such as were coming to the city, saw Jehu advancing, and told Joram that he saw a troop of horsemen advancing. Upon this Joram immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him in what condition the army was; for he said the king wanted to know; but Jehu bade him not to meddle at all with such matters, but to follow him. When the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had joined the company, and was coming along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former had done. And when the watchman told this also to Joram, at last he mounted his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem, who, as I said before, was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, being his relation. So he went out to meet Jehu, who marched slowly,<sup>1</sup> and in good order; and when Joram met him in the field of Naboth, he asked him if all things were well in the camp? But Jehu reproached him bitterly, and ventured to call his mother a witch and harlot. Upon this the king, fearing his intention, and suspecting he meant no good, turned his chariot about as soon as he could and fled, and said to Ahaziah, "We are fought against by deceit and treachery." But Jehu drew

<sup>1</sup> Our copies say, that this "driving of the chariots was like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously;" 2 Kings ix. 20, whereas Josephus's copy, as he understood it, was this, that, on the contrary, Jehu marched slowly, and in good order. Nor can it be denied, that since there was interval enough for king Joram to send out two horsemen, one after another, to Jehu, and at length to go out with king Ahaziah to meet him, and all this after he was come within sight of the watchman, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is greatly on the side of Josephus's copy or interpretation.—W.

his bow, and smote him, the arrow going through his heart; so Joram fell down immediately on his knee, and gave up the ghost. Jehu also gave orders to Bidkar, the captain of the third division of his army, to cast the dead body of Joram into the field of Naboth, reminding him of the prophecy which Elijah prophesied to Ahab his father after he had slain Naboth, that both he and his family should perish in that place, for as they sat behind Ahab's chariot they heard the prophet say so, and now it was come to pass according to his prophecy. Now when Joram had fallen, Ahaziah was afraid for his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing he should not be noticed by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow and wounded him. And he left his chariot, and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo,<sup>1</sup> and though his wound was attended to, in a little time he died there of it, and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried there, after he had reigned one year, and had proved a wicked man and worse than his father.

§ 4. Now when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel adorned herself and stood upon the tower, and said, "he was a fine servant that killed his master." And when he looked up to her, he asked who she was, and commanded her to come down to him. At last he ordered the eunuchs to throw her down from the tower, and being thrown down, she besprinkled the wall with her blood, and was trodden upon by the horses, and so died. When this was done, Jehu went to the palace with his friends, and refreshed himself after his journey both with other things and a meal. He also bade his servants take up Jezebel and bury her, because of the nobility of her race, for she was descended from kings; but those that were bidden to bury her found nothing remaining but the extremities of her body, for all the rest was eaten by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he marvelled at the prophecy of Elijah, for he foretold that she should perish in this manner at Jezreel.

§ 5. Now Ahab had seventy sons who were being brought up in Samaria. So Jehu sent two letters, one to those

<sup>1</sup> Now *el-Lejjûn*, on the south side of the plain of Esdraelon.

who were bringing up the young princes, the other to the rulers of Samaria, and wrote in them that they should set up the most valiant of Ahab's sons for king, for they had abundance of chariots and horses and armour, and a great army and fenced cities, and by so doing they might avenge the murder of Ahab. This he wrote to test the intentions of the people of Samaria. Now when the rulers and those that were bringing up the young princes read the letters, they were afraid, and considering that they were not at all able to oppose Jehu, who had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him answer that they owned him for their lord, and would do whatever he bade them. So he wrote back to them bidding them obey him and cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, the rulers sent for those that were bringing up the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, and cut off their heads and send them to Jehu. So they did what they were commanded, omitting nothing at all, and put the heads in wicker baskets, and sent them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one on each side of the gates, and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that he conspired himself against his master and slew him, but he had not slain all these; and he desired them to take notice that all things had come to pass to Ahab's family according to God's prophecy, and that his house had perished as Elijah had foretold. And when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahaziah, king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whither they were going? And when they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahaziah (for they knew not that he had slain them both), Jehu gave orders that they should take them and kill them, being in number forty-two persons.

§ 6. After these there met him a good and righteous man, whose name was Jonadab, who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, be-

cause he had done everything according to the will of God, in extirpating the house of Ahab. And Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and to make his entry with him into Samaria, and told him that he would show him that he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets and false priests, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almighty, and to worship foreign gods; for it was a most excellent and most pleasing sight to a good and righteous man to see the wicked punished. And Jonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and got up into Jehu's chariot, and went with him to Samaria. And Jehu sought out all Ahab's kindred and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets nor the priests of Ahab's gods should escape punishment, he took them all deceitfully by the following wile. He gathered all the people together, and said that he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that their priests and prophets and servants might be present, for he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's gods, and if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death. Now Ahab's god was called Baal. And when he had appointed a day on which he would offer the sacrifices, he sent messengers throughout all the country of the Israelites to bring the priests of Baal to him. Then Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he went into the temple of Baal with his friend Jonadab, and gave orders to make search, whether there was any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no stranger mix in their sacred rites. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and were beginning their sacrifices, he placed without fourscore of his soldiers whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and bade them slay the false prophets, and vindicate now the laws of their country, which had been a long time neglected. He also threatened, that if any one of them escaped, their own lives should go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the temple of Baal, and so purged Samaria of foreign customs. Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law

Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, had built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshipped him with all sorts of worship. Howbeit, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden calves. But because he had done thus to Baal, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations. Such is the history of Jehu.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem for six Years, when Jehoiada the High Priest slew her, and made Joash, the Son of Ahaziah, King.*

## § 1.

NOW when Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahaziah, and of all the royal family, she was anxious that none of the house of David should be left alive, but that the whole family should be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterwards. And she thought she had actually extirminated them all, but one of Ahaziah's sons was preserved, who escaped death in the following manner. Ahaziah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehosheba, and she was married to the high priest Jehoiada. She went into the king's palace, and found Joash, for that was the little boy's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse, and she took him with her into a secret bedchamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband Jehoiada brought him up privately in the temple six years, during which time Athaliah reigned over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

§ 2. Now in the seventh year Jehoiada communicated the matter to some five of the captains of hundreds, and persuaded them to join him in his attempt against Athaliah, and in procuring the kingdom for Joash. He also exacted such oaths from them as are proper to secure conspirators from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope, that they should depose Athaliah. And those

men whom Jehoiada the priest had taken to be his confederates, went over all the country, and gathered together the priests and Levites and heads of the tribes, and came and brought them to Jerusalem to the high priest. And he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private whatever he should reveal to them, which required both their silence and assistance. And when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced the boy that he had brought up of the family of David, and said to them, "This is your king, of that house which you know God foretold should reign over you for all time to come. I recommend that three divisions of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that a fifth keep guard at the gate which opens and leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple, but the priest only." He also gave them this order besides, that a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the person of the king himself, and guard him with their swords drawn, and kill that man immediately, whoever he was, that should be so bold as to enter armed into the temple; and bade them be afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king. And these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and showed the reality of their resolution by their actions. Jehoiada also opened the armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers and whatever other weapons it contained, and set them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another, by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. Then they brought the boy into the midst, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the holy oil, and proclaimed him king. And the multitude rejoiced, and applauded, and cried out, "God save the king!"

§ 3. When Athaliah unexpectedly heard the tumult and acclamations, she was greatly disturbed in her mind, and came quickly out of the royal palace with her army; and when she was come to the temple, the priests received her,

but as for those that stood round about the temple, as they had been ordered by the high priest to do, they hindered the armed men that followed her from going in. And when Athaliah saw the boy standing on a platform with the royal crown on his head, she rent her clothes, and vehemently cried out, and commanded [her guards] to kill him that had laid snares for her, and endeavoured to deprive her of the kingdom. But Jehoiada called for the captains of hundreds, and commanded them to take Athaliah to the valley of Cedron, and slay her there, for he would not have the temple defiled with the punishment of this abandoned woman; and he gave orders, if any one came near to help her, that he should be slain also. So those that had the charge of her slaughter, took hold of her, and led her to the gate of the king's mules, and slew her there.

§ 4. Now as soon as Athaliah was cunningly despatched in this manner, Jehoiada called together the people and the armed men into the temple, and made them take an oath that they would be loyal to the king, and take care of his safety and the safety of his realm. After that he obliged the king to give security on oath that he would worship God, and not transgress the laws of Moses. They then ran to the temple of Baal, which Athaliah and her husband Joram had built, to the dishonour of the God of their fathers, and to the honour of Ahab, and demolished it, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal. And Jehoiada intrusted the care and custody of the temple to the priests and Levites, according to the appointment of king David, and enjoined them to bring their regular burnt-offerings twice a day, and to offer incense according to the law. He also appointed some of the Levites and porters to be a guard to the temple, that no one that was defiled might enter in.

§ 5. And when Jehoiada had set these things severally in order, he, with the captains of hundreds and the rulers and all the people, brought Joash out of the temple into the king's palace, and when he had set him upon the king's throne, the people shouted for joy, and betook themselves to feasting, and kept a festival for many days; for the city was quiet upon the death of Athaliah. Now Joash

was seven years old when he took the kingdom: his mother's name was Zibiah, of the city of Beersheba.<sup>1</sup> And all the time that Jehoiada lived Joash was very careful that the laws should be kept, and zealous in the worship of God. And when he was of age, he married two wives who were found for him by the high priest, by whom he had both sons and daughters. And thus much shall suffice to have related concerning king Joash, how he escaped the treachery of Athaliah, and took over the kingdom.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Hazael makes an Expedition against the People of Israel, and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jehu dies, and Jehoahaz succeeds him. Joash, the King of Jerusalem, is at first careful about the Worship of God, but afterwards becomes impious, and commands Zachariah to be stoned. When Joash King of Judah was dead, Amaziah his son succeeds him in the Kingdom.*

### § 1.

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

§ 2. Now Joash, king of Jerusalem, had a desire to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bade him send the Levites and priests through all the country to ask half a shekel of silver of every person towards the

<sup>1</sup> *Bir es-Seb'a.*



restoration and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Joram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, concluding that no one would willingly pay that money, but in the twenty-third year of Joash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed what he had enjoined them, and commanded them for the future to see to the restoration of the temple, he used the following stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast on all sides, but opened one hole in it; he then put it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it what he pleased through the hole for the restoration of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they vied with one another in bringing in large quantities of silver and gold; and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and this they did every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much money as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada and king Joash sent to hire masons and carpenters, and to buy large pieces of timber of the finest sort, and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls and basons and cups and other vessels, and continued every day to make the altar fat with costly sacrifices. And these things met with suitable attention as long as Jehoiada lived.

§ 3. But as soon as he was dead (which was when he had lived a hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous and in every respect a good man, and he was buried in the king's sepulchre at Jerusalem, because he had recovered the kingdom to the family of David) king Joash gave up his care about God. The leading men of the people were also corrupt together with him, and offended against their duty, and against what was considered to be most for their good. And God was displeased at this change in the king and the rest of the people, and sent prophets to testify to them how bad their actions were, and to stop them from their wickedness.

But they had got such a strong affection and so violent an inclination to it, that neither could the example of those that had before them offered affronts to the laws and had been so severely punished they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now foretold bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression. But the king even commanded that Zachariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forgot the kindnesses he had received from his father; for when God appointed Zachariah to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the multitude, and gave this counsel to them and to the king, that they should act righteously, and foretold to them that, if they would not hearken to his admonitions, they should suffer a heavy punishment. And Zachariah when dying appealed to God to witness and avenge what he suffered for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished in a most severe and violent manner for the good deeds his father had done to Joash.

§ 4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his lawlessness. For when Hazael, king of Syria, invaded his country, and had overthrown Gath and spoiled it, he made an expedition against Jerusalem. Upon this Joash was afraid, and emptied all the treasures of God, and of the kings before him, and took down the gifts that had been dedicated in the temple, and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor utterly undone, for Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army against Jerusalem. But Joash fell into a severe illness, and was attacked by the friends of Zachariah the son of Jehoiada, in order to revenge his death. They conspired against the king, and slew him. He was indeed buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his impiety. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

§ 5. In the one-and-twentieth year of the reign of Joash, Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, became king of the Israelites at Samaria, and reigned seventeen years. He did not imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked

practices as those who first held God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so reduce his forces, that there remained no more of his great army than ten thousand foot and fifty horse. He also took away from him his great and many cities, and destroyed his army. Now the king of Israel suffered these things according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascenes. But when Jehoahaz was in such extreme miseries, he had recourse to prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not allow him to be reduced by him. And God accepted his repentance as virtue, being desirous rather to admonish the powerful, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, and granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country having obtained peace, returned again to its former condition, and flourished as before.

§ 6. Now after the death of Jehoahaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seventh year of king Joash of the tribe of Judah. This Joash then took the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, and had the same name as the king of Jerusalem, and retained the kingdom sixteen years. He was a good man, and in his disposition not at all like his father. Now at this time the king of Israel came to visit Elisha the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into an illness, and when Joash found him very near death, he began to weep in his sight and lament, and call him his father and protector, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but overcame his adversaries by his prophecies without fighting; but now he was departing this life, and leaving him to the Syrians, that were already armed, and to other enemies of his; and he added that it was not safe for him to live any longer, but that it would be well for him to hasten to his end, and depart out of this life with him. As the king was bemoaning this state of affairs, Elisha comforted him, and bade the king bend a bow that was brought him: and when the king had fitted the bow for shooting, Elisha took hold of his

hands and bade him shoot. And when he had shot three arrows, and then left off, Elisha said, "If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou wouldst have cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more than three times, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the reign of thy father." And when the king heard that he departed, and a little while after the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness, and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were gloriously preserved in memory among the Hebrews. He had a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. Now it happened at that time that certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha's grave, and upon his dead body coming close to Elisha's body, he came to life again. Thus much have I enlarged on Elisha the prophet, both as to what he foretold while he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

§ 7. Now upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, the kingdom came to Adad his son, with whom Joash king of Israel made war, and beat him in three battles, and took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages, which his father Hazael had taken from the kingdom of Israel. Now this came to pass according to the prophecy of Elisha. And when Joash happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the kingdom came to his son Jeroboam.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Amaziah made an Expedition against the Edomites and Amalekites, and conquered them ; but when he afterwards made War against Joash, he was beaten, and not long after was slain, and Uzziah succeeded him in the Kingdom.*

## § 1.

NOW in the second year of the reign of Joash over Israel, Amaziah became king over the tribe of Judah at Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehoadan, and she was born at Jerusalem. He was exceedingly careful in doing what was right, and that though he was very young. And when he came to the management of affairs and into the kingdom, he resolved that he ought first of all to avenge his father Joash, and to punish those friends of his that had laid violent hands upon him ; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death, yet did he execute no severity upon their children, but acted therein according to the law of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old : and when he had collected together about three hundred thousand of them, he set captains of hundreds over them. He also sent to the king of Israel, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver. For he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Gebalites : but as he was preparing for his expedition, and ready to start, a prophet counselled him to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were impious men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as allies, but that he should overcome his enemies, though he fought with but a few soldiers, if God pleased. And when the king was discontented at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what God would have him, because he should thereby obtain much wealth from God.

So he dismissed them, and said that he still freely gave them their pay, and went with his own army alone, and made war with the nations before mentioned. And when he had beaten them in battle he slew ten thousand of them, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia,<sup>1</sup> and threw them down headlong. He also brought away a great deal of spoil and vast riches from all those nations. But while Amaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired and then dismissed were very vexed at it, and taking their dismissal for an affront (supposing it could not have been done to them but out of contempt), they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to plunder the country as far as Bethhoron,<sup>2</sup> and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

§ 2. Now, upon the victory which Amaziah had got, and his great success, he was puffed up, and began to neglect God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the gods he had brought out of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him and said, that he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people who paid them honours, nor had delivered them from his hands, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried away captive, for they had been carried to Jerusalem, in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive and led them there. This reproof provoked the king to anger, and he commanded the prophet to hold his peace, and threatened to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied that he would indeed hold his peace, but also foretold that God would not overlook his innovations. But Amaziah was not able to contain himself in the prosperity which God had given him, but outraged God notwithstanding, and was so elated that he wrote to Joash, the king of Israel, and commanded that he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly

<sup>1</sup> Compare 2 Kings xiv. 7, in which Amaziah is said to have taken Sela, or 'the Rock,' by war, and 2 Chron. xxv. 12, with which Josephus agrees. Sela is the modern Petra.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit 'Ūr el-Foka.*

been obedient to his progenitors, David and Solomon ; and he let him know, that if would not be so wise as to do what he commanded him, he must fight for his throne. To this message Joash wrote back the following answer. " King Joash to king Amaziah. There was a vastly tall cypress tree in Mount Lebanon, as also a thistle : the thistle sent to the cypress tree to ask the cypress tree's daughter in marriage for the thistle's son ; but as the thistle was making this request, there came a wild beast, and trode down the thistle. May this be a lesson to thee not to be so ambitious, and to have a care, lest upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud as to bring reverses upon thyself and upon thy kingdom."

§ 3. When Amaziah had read this letter, he was still more eager for war, I suppose by the incitement of God, that he might be punished for his offences against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Joash, and they were going to join battle, there came such a sudden fear and panic upon the army of Amaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, which discomfited them even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, as they were dispersed by the terror that was upon them, that Amaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy ; and Joash threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. And Amaziah from necessity and fear for his life got the enemy received into the city. And Joash overthrew about four hundred cubits' length of wall, and drove his chariot through the breach into Jerusalem, and led Amaziah captive with him. Thus he became master of Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of God, and carried off all the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, who after this was conspired against by his friends, and fled to the city of Lachish,<sup>1</sup> and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men there to kill him.

<sup>1</sup> *Umm Lákis.*

And they took up his dead body, and carried it to Jerusalem, and made a royal funeral for him. This was the end of the life of Amaziah because of his innovations in religion and contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Uzziah.

## CHAP. X.

*Concerning Jeroboam King of Israel, and Jonah the Prophet: and how, after the Death of Jeroboam, his son Zachariah had the Kingdom. How Uzziah, King of Jerusalem, subdued the Nations that were round about him; and what befell him when he attempted to offer Incense to God.*

### § 1.

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam the son of Joash reigned over Israel in Samaria forty years. This king was guilty of contumely against God, and became very wicked, worshipping idols and undertaking many things that were strange and foreign. He was therefore the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people of Israel. Now one Jonah, a prophet, foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the north as far as the city of Hamath,<sup>1</sup> and on the south as far as the lake Asphaltitis, for these were originally the boundaries of Canaan, as Joshua the general had fixed. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all their country, as Jonah had foretold.

§ 2. Now I cannot but think it necessary, as I have promised to give an accurate account of our affairs, to narrate the history of this prophet, as I have found it written down in the Hebrew books. Jonah had been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Ninus, and when he was there, to publish in the city of Nineveh,<sup>2</sup> how it should lose

<sup>1</sup> *Hama.*

<sup>2</sup> On the Tigris, opposite *Mosul.*



its dominion. But out of fear he went not, nay, he ran away from God to the city of Joppa,<sup>1</sup> and, finding a ship there, went on board and sailed to Tarsus<sup>2</sup> in Cilicia. And upon the rise of a most terrible storm, which was so great that the ship was in danger of sinking, the mariners and the pilot and the master himself made prayers and vows of thank-offerings in case they escaped the sea: but Jonah lay still and covered up without imitating any thing that the others did. Then as the waves grew greater, and the sea became more violent by the winds, they suspected, as is usual in such cases, that some one of the persons that sailed with them was the cause of the storm, and agreed to discover by lot which of them it was; and when they had cast lots, the lot fell upon the prophet. So they asked him, whence he came, and what was his errand? He replied, that he was a Hebrew by nation, and a prophet of Almighty God; and he recommended them to cast him into the sea, if they would escape the danger they were in, for he was the cause of their storm. Now at first they durst not do so, esteeming it a wicked thing to expose a man who was a stranger, and who had committed his life to them, to such manifest destruction; but at last, as their distress overbore them, and the ship was just going to sink, and as they were incited to do so by the prophet himself and by fear for their own safety, they cast him into the sea; upon which the storm ceased. It also related that Jonah was swallowed by a whale, and that when he had been in its belly three days and as many nights, he was vomited out on the coast of the Euxine Sea, and that alive and without any hurt upon his body. And there, on his prayer to God, he obtained pardon for his sins, and went to the city of Nineveh, where he stood in the hearing of all, and proclaimed that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia. And when he had announced this, he returned. I have given the account about him, as I found it written.

§ 3. When Jeroboam the king had passed his life in great happiness, and had ruled forty years, he died, and was buried in Samaria, and his son Zachariah succeeded him

<sup>1</sup> *Jaffa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tersûs*, in the province of *Adana*.

in the kingdom. Similarly Uzziah, the son of Amaziah, began to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. His mother Achiala was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was by nature a good man, and righteous and magnanimous, and energetic in looking after the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took by storm their cities of Gath<sup>1</sup> and Jamnia,<sup>2</sup> and razed their walls to the ground. After this expedition, he attacked the Arabs that were on the confines of Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea,<sup>3</sup> and put a garrison in it. After this he overthrew the Ammonites, and ordered them to pay tribute. He also subdued all the country as far as the confines of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life. For he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the walls which had either fallen down from time or the carelessness of the kings his predecessors, as well as all that had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with him into the city. Moreover, he built a great many towers a hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places and put garrisons into them, and dug many aqueducts. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle, for his country was good for pasture. He was also fond of husbandry, and took great care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of three hundred and seventy thousand chosen men, who were governed by two thousand general officers and captains of thousands, who were men of valour and unconquerable strength. He also divided his whole army into divisions, and armed them, giving every one a sword, and brazen bucklers and breast-plates, and bows and slings. And besides these, he made for

<sup>1</sup> *Tell es-Sâfi*.

<sup>2</sup> The Jabneh of 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, and Jabneel of Josh. xv. 11. The later form, Jamnia, is used in the first book of Maccabees; it is now *Yebnah*.

<sup>3</sup> According to 2 Chron. xxvi. 2, this town was Eloth, now *'Ailah*, at the head of the Gulf of *'Akabah*.

them many engines of war for besieging of cities, such as engines for throwing stones and darts, and grappling-irons, and other instruments of that sort.

§ 4. While Uzziah was making these arrangements and preparations he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became puffed up on account of his perishable abundance, and despised that power which is of eternal duration (which consisted in piety towards God and the observation of his laws), so he fell by reason of the good success of his affairs, and was carried headlong into those sins of his father, which the splendour of the prosperity he enjoyed, and the glorious actions he had done, led him into, as he was not able to moderate himself in them. So upon a high day, when a general festival was to be celebrated, he put on the priestly garment, and went into the temple to offer incense to God upon the golden altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azariah the high priest, who had eighty priests with him, and who told him that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, for none but the posterity of Aaron were permitted to do so. And when they cried out that he must go out of the temple and not sin against God, he was wroth at them, and threatened to kill them, unless they would hold their peace. In the mean time, a great earthquake shook the ground,<sup>1</sup> and a rent was made in the temple, and the bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell upon the king's face, insomuch that leprosy seized him immediately, and before the city, at a place called Eroge,<sup>2</sup> half a mountain broke off on the west, and rolled itself four furlongs, and stopped at the east mountain, till the roads and king's park were obstructed. Now, as soon as the priests saw

<sup>1</sup> This account of an earthquake at Jerusalem at the very time when Uzziah usurped the priest's office, and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the consequences of that earthquake, is entirely wanting in our copies, though it is exceedingly like a prophecy of Jeremiah's now in Zech. xiv. 5, in which prophecy mention is made of "fleeing from that earthquake, as they fled from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah;" so that there seems to have been some considerable resemblance between these historical and prophetic earthquakes.—IV.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the same place as Enrogel, the Virgin's fountain in the Kedron Valley.

that the king's face was infected with leprosy, they told him of his calamity, and commanded him to go out of the city as an unclean person. And he was so confounded with shame at this terrible disease, that he lost all his confidence, and did as he was commanded, and underwent this miserable and terrible punishment for an intention beyond what it befitted a man to have, and for the impiety against God which was implied therein. So he dwelt out of the city for some time and lived a private life, and his son Jotham took over the government; after which he died with grief and dejection at what had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-eight years, and of them reigned fifty-two; and he was buried by himself in his own gardens.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah reigned over the Israelites; and how Pul and Tiglath-Pileser made an Expedition against the Israelites. How Jotham, the Son of Uzziah, reigned over the Tribe of Judah: and what Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians.*

### § 1.

NOW when Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned six months over Israel, he was slain by the treachery of a certain friend of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who usurped the kingdom after him, but kept it no longer than thirty days; for Menahem, the general of the army, who was at that time in the city of Tirzah,<sup>1</sup> and heard of what had befallen Zachariah, marched with all his army to Samaria, and joined battle with Shallum, and slew him, and made himself king, and went thence, and came to the city of Tiphseh.<sup>2</sup> But the citizens that were in it shut their gates, and barred them against the king, and would not admit him; and in order to be avenged on them, he ravaged the country

<sup>1</sup> *Teiásir.*

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Khurbet Tafseh*, six miles south-west of *Náblus*, Shechem.

round about, and took the city by storm after a siege; and being very much displeased at what the inhabitants of Tiphseh had done, he slew them all, and spared not so much as the infants, exhibiting the utmost cruelty and barbarity; for he used such severity to his own countrymen, as would not be pardonable with regard to strangers who had been conquered by him. And this Menahem continued to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years: but when Pul, king of Assyria, made an expedition against him, he did not engage in battle with the Assyrians, but persuaded Pul to accept of a thousand talents of silver and to go away, and so put an end to the war. This sum the multitude collected for Menahem, by exacting fifty drachmæ per head. After this he died, and was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah his successor in the kingdom, who followed the barbarity of his father, and ruled two years only, after which he was slain with his friends at a feast, by the treachery of one Pekah, the son of Remaliah, and captain over a thousand, who had conspired against him. And this Pekah was king twenty years, and proved a wicked man and a transgressor. And when the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, made an expedition against the Israelites, and overran all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond the Jordan, and the adjoining country which is called Galilee, and Kadesh<sup>1</sup> and Hazor,<sup>2</sup> he made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them to his own kingdom. And so much shall suffice to have related here concerning the king of Assyria.

§ 2. Now Jotham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, his mother, whose name was Jerusha, being a citizen thereof. This king was not defective in any virtue, but was religious towards God, and righteous towards men. He was also careful of the condition of the city (for whatever parts wanted to be repaired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and adorned them). He also repaired the porticoes in the temple, and set up the walls that were fallen down, and built very great towers, and such as were almost impregnable; and if any

<sup>1</sup> Now *Kades*, west of the lake *el-Hüleh*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Tell Hâra*.

thing else in his kingdom had been neglected, he took great care of it. He also made an expedition against the Ammonites, and overcame them in battle, and ordered them to pay as tribute a hundred talents, and ten thousand cors of wheat, and as many of barley, every year. And he so augmented his kingdom, that his enemies could not despise it, and his own people lived happily.

§ 3. Now there was at this time a prophet whose name was Nahum, who spoke as follows concerning the overthrow of the Assyrians and Nineveh. "Nineveh shall be a pool of water in motion; <sup>1</sup> so troubled and tossed shall all her people be, and go away by flight, while they say one to another, stand, remain still, seize their gold and silver; for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money: for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and trembling of limbs, and their countenances shall be perfectly black with fear. And where shall be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions? God says to thee, Nineveh, that he will deface thee, and lions shall no longer go out from thee to rule the world." And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nineveh, which I do not think necessary to repeat, and I omit them that I may not appear troublesome to my readers. And all these predicted things happened to Nineveh a hundred and fifteen years afterwards. This much may suffice to have spoken of these matters.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is taken out of the prophet Nahum, chap. ii. 8-13, and is the principal, or rather the only one that is given us almost verbatim, but a little abridged, in all Josephus's known writings: by which quotation, we learn what he himself always asserts, viz. that he made use of the Hebrew original [and not of the Greek version]; as also we learn, that his Hebrew copy considerably differed from ours.—W.

## CHAP. XII.

*How, upon the Death of Jotham, Ahaz reigned in his stead ; against whom Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, made War : and how Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, came to the Assistance of Ahaz, and laid Syria waste, and removing the Damascenes into Media, placed other Nations in Damascus.*

## § 1.

NOW Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings ; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who turned out most impious towards God, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols, to whom also he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites, and did other similar actions. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah the king of Israel, who were now friendly to one another, made war against him ; and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but small progress on account of the strength of its walls. And when the king of Syria had taken the city of Elath<sup>1</sup> near the Red Sea, and had slain its inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians. And when he had slain the Jews in the garrisons and in the neighbourhood, and had carried off much spoil, he returned with his army back to Damascus. Now when the king of Jerusalem knew that the Syrians were returned home, supposing himself a match for the king of Israel, he drew out his army against him, and joined battle with him, and was beaten ; and this happened because God was angry with him on account of his many and great enormities. Accordingly one hundred and twenty thousand of his men were slain that day by the Israelites, whose general

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 188.

Zacharis slew Amaziah, king Ahaz's son, in the battle, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azricam. He also took prisoner Elkanah, the general of the tribe of Judah. They also carried away captive the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin; and when they had got a great deal of spoil, they returned to Samaria.

§ 2. Now there was one Obed, who was a prophet at that time in Samaria, who met the army before the city walls, and with a loud voice told them that they had not got the victory by their own strength, but because of the anger that God had against king Ahaz. And he complained, that they were not satisfied with the good success they had had against Ahaz, but had had the heart to make captives of their kinsmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also counselled them to let them go home without suffering any harm, for if they did not obey God, they should be punished. And the people of Israel came together to their assembly and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Barachiah, who was one of great reputation in the state, stood up, and three others with him, and said they would not suffer the citizens to bring those prisoners into the city, lest they should all be destroyed by God; they had sins enough of their own that they had committed against God, as the prophets assured them, they ought not therefore to introduce the practice of new crimes. When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought expedient. So the forenamed men took the captives and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them necessaries for their journey, and sent them back to their own country, without doing them any harm. Moreover those four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

§ 3. Now king Ahaz, after having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-Pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in the war against the Israelites and Syrians and Damascenes, with a promise to send him much money; he also sent him handsome presents. And he, upon the reception of those ambassadors, came to assist Ahaz, and made war upon the



Syrians, and laid their country waste, and took Damascus by storm, and slew Rezin its king, and transplanted the people of Damascus into upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it. While he was dealing thus with the Syrians, king Ahaz took all the gold and silver that was in the king's treasures, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and carried them off with him to Damascus, and gave them to the king of Assyria according to his agreement. And he confessed that he owed him thanks for all he had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now Ahaz was so sottish, and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by the Syrians, but went on worshipping them, as though they would procure him victory : and when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians ; and he seemed more desirous to honour any gods than his own national and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat. Nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despite and contempt of God, that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade the offering of the appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen ; and he left his son Hezekiah as his successor.

## CHAP. XIII.

*How Pekah died by the Treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmaneser ; and how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz ; and what Actions of Piety and Righteousness he did.*

## § 1.

ABOUT the same time, Pekah, the king of Israel, died by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who retained the kingdom nine years, but was a wicked man, and a despiser of the divine worship. And Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition

against him, and overcame him (which was probably because he had not God favourable or friendly to him), and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay a fixed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abijah, she was a citizen of Jerusalem. His nature was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was more important, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself and his subjects, than to worship God. Accordingly, he called the people together, and the priests and the Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant that, owing to the sins of my father, who neglected the sacred service of God, you have experienced many and great miseries, as you were corrupted in your mind by him, and were induced to worship those whom he approved of as gods. I exhort you, therefore, who have learned by sad experience how awful a thing impiety is, to put it immediately out of your memory, and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions, and to open the temple to these priests and Levites who are here convened, and to cleanse it with the accustomed sacrifices, and to restore all to the ancient honour which our fathers paid to it. For so we shall render God favourable, and he will remit his anger."

§ 2. When the king had said this, the priests opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent throughout his territories, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Unleavened Bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings. He also sent to the Israelites, and exhorted them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate all in one body the feast of Unleavened Bread; and he said this was by way of invitation only, and to be done not out of obedience to him but of their own free will, and for their own advantage, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites, upon the coming of his envoys,

and upon their laying before them the message of their king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the envoys to scorn, and mocked them as fools: they also affronted the prophets who gave them the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer if they did not return to the worship of God, insomuch that at length they arrested them, and slew them. Nor did this degree of transgressing suffice them, but they acted more wickedly still than has been described. Nor did they leave off before God brought them under their enemies as a punishment for their impiety; but of that more hereafter. However, there were many of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to piety. And all these flocked to Jerusalem to Hezekiah, that they might worship God.

§ 3. When they were come, king Hezekiah went up into the temple with the rulers and all the people, and offered for himself seven bulls and as many rams, and seven lambs and as many kids of the goats. The king also himself and the rulers laid their hands on the heads of the victims, and left it to the priests to complete the sacrifices. So they both sacrificed and offered the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their harps, as they were instructed by David to do, while the rest of the priests returned the music with their trumpets. And when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon their faces and worshipped God. The king also sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs, and granted the multitude to feast upon six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle. And the priests performed all things according to the law. And the king was so pleased therewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God. And as the feast of Unleavened Bread was now at hand, when they had offered the sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after that offered the other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sacrificed themselves, two thousand bulls, and seven thousand other cattle, the same thing was done by the rulers:

for they gave them a thousand bulls, and a thousand and forty other cattle. Nor had this festival been so well observed since the days of king Solomon, as it was now first observed with great splendour and magnificence. And when the festival was ended, they went out into the country, and purified it, and cleansed the city of all the pollution of the idols. The king also ordered that the daily sacrifices should be offered at his own expense according to the law; and appointed that the tithes and first-fruits should be given by the multitude to the priests and Levites, that they might constantly attend upon divine service, and never be taken off from the worship of God. Accordingly, the multitude contributed all sorts of fruits to the priests and Levites. The king also made garners and storehouses for these fruits, and distributed them to every one of the priests and Levites, and to their children and wives. And thus did they return to their ancient religion. Now, when the king had settled these matters in the manner already described, he made war upon the Philistines, and beat them, and possessed himself of all the enemies' cities from Gaza<sup>1</sup> to Gath. But the king of Assyria sent to him, and threatened to overthrow all his dominions, unless he would pay him the tribute which his father paid formerly; but king Hezekiah was not concerned at his threatenings, but depended on his piety towards God, and upon Isaiah the prophet, from whom he got accurate knowledge of all future events. And thus much shall suffice for the present concerning king Hezekiah.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*How Shalmaneser took Samaria by Force, and how he transplanted the Ten Tribes into Media, and brought the Nation of the Cuthæans into their Country in their Room.*

##### § 1.

WHEN Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, had it told him, that Hoshea the king of Israel had sent privately to So the king of Egypt, desiring his assistance against

<sup>1</sup> Ghuzzeh.

him, he was very angry, and made an expedition against Samaria, in the seventh year of the reign of Hoshea. But as he was not admitted by the king, he besieged Samaria three years, and took it by storm in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite destroyed the kingdom of Israel, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia, among whom he took king Hoshea alive. And when he had removed these people out of their land, he transplanted other nations from a place called Cuthah<sup>1</sup> (there is a river of that name in Persia) into Samaria and the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed from Judæa, nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers came out of the land of Egypt and possessed themselves of this country, and eight hundred years after Joshua was their leader; and two hundred and forty years seven months seven days after they had, as I have already described, revolted from Rehoboam, the grandson of David, and given the kingdom to Jeroboam. And such an end came upon the Israelites because they transgressed the laws, and would not hearken to the prophets, who foretold that this calamity would come upon them, if they would not leave off their evil doings. What originated their misfortunes was their rebellion against Rehoboam, the grandson of David, when they set up Jeroboam his servant to be their king, who, by sinning against God, and bringing them to imitate his bad example, made God to be their enemy, while Jeroboam underwent that punishment which he justly deserved.

§ 2. And now the king of Assyria invaded all Syria and Phœnicia in a hostile manner. The name of this king is also set down in the archives of Tyre, for he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Elulæus; as Menander testifies, who, when he wrote his Annals, and translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language, gave the following account: "One, whose name was Elulæus, also called Pyas, reigned thirty-six years: this king, upon the revolt of the Cittæans, sailed and reduced them

<sup>1</sup> The position of Cuthah or Cuth is undecided

to submission again. Against these did the king of Assyria send an army, and in a hostile manner overran all Phœnicia, but soon made peace with them all, and returned back; but Sidon and Ace<sup>1</sup> and old Tyre<sup>2</sup> revolted from the Tyrians, and many other cities also, which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. But as the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king of Assyria returned, and attacked them again, and the Phœnicians furnished him with three-score ships and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians sailed against them in twelve ships, and dispersed the enemies' ships, and took five hundred men prisoners, the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased. But the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river and aqueducts to hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians held out, and drank of the water they got from wells which they dug." This is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmaneser the king of Assyria.

§ 3. But now the Cuthæans who removed into Samaria (for that is the name they have been called by to this day, because they were brought out of the country called Cuthah, which is a country of Persia, where there is a river of the same name), each of them, according to their nations, which were five, introduced their own gods into Samaria; and by worshipping them after their national rites they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them, for a plague seized them, by which they were destroyed; and as they found no cure for their miseries, they learned by an oracle that they must worship Almighty God to get deliverance. So they sent messengers to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had taken captive. And when he sent them, and the people were taught by them the laws and the right worship of God, they worshipped him zealously, and the plague immediately ceased. Indeed they continue to make use of the very same rites to this day, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthæans,

<sup>1</sup> Ace, Ptolemais, or Acco, is now 'Akka or *St. Jean d'Acre*.

<sup>2</sup> Palæ Tyrus, or 'Old Tyre,' was that part of the city which lay on the mainland.

but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And as to their relationship with the Jews these people chop and change according to circumstances. When they see the Jews in prosperity, they pretend that they are allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph and so had an original affinity with them: but when they see them in reverses, they say they are no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindred from them, for they then declare that they are resident aliens. But of them I shall have a more seasonable opportunity to speak hereafter.

## BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.—FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS.

### CHAP. I.

*How Sennacherib made an Expedition against Hezekiah; what Threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Sennacherib was gone against the Egyptians; how Isaiah the Prophet encouraged Hezekiah; how Sennacherib, having failed of Success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon his finding his Army destroyed, he returned home; and what befell him shortly afterwards.*

#### § 1.

IT was now the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Sennacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by storm. And when he was about to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and to pay what tribute he should fix. And Senna-

cherib, when he heard the offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept the proposals that were made to him; and if he should receive three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he pledged himself upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do the king no harm, but go away as he came. And Hezekiah believed him, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further anxiety about his kingdom. And the Assyrian king took the money, but paid no regard to what he had promised; for while he himself went to war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsaris.

§ 2. Now as soon as they were come before the walls, they pitched their camp, and sent messengers to Hezekiah, and desired that they might speak with him. But he did not himself come out to them owing to fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends, Eliakim who was administrator of the kingdom, and Shebna, and Joah the recorder; who came out of the city and met the commanders of the Assyrian army. And when Rabshakeh saw them, he bade them go and tell Hezekiah that "Sennacherib the great king<sup>1</sup> desires to know of him, on whom it is that he relies and depends in revolting from his lord, and being unwilling to hear him, or admit his army into the city? Is it on account of the Egyptians, in the hope that Sennacherib's army will be beaten by them? Let him know, if this is what he expects, that he is a foolish man, and like one who leans on a broken reed, who will not only fall down, but will have his hand pierced and hurt by it. He ought also to know that Sennacherib makes this expedition against him by the will of God, who has granted this favour to him, that he shall overthrow the kingdom of Israel, and that in the same manner he

<sup>1</sup> The title of 'Great King,' both in our Bibles, 2 Kings xviii. 19, Isa. xxxvi. 4, and here in Josephus, is the very same that Herodotus gives this Sennacherib, as Spanheim takes notice of in this place.—W.



shall destroy those that are Hezekiah's subjects also." When Rabshakeh had made this speech in the Hebrew tongue, for he was skilful in that language, Eliakim was afraid that the multitude that heard him would be thrown into consternation, so he desired him to speak in the Syrian tongue: but the general understanding what he meant, and perceiving the fear he was in, made his answer in a louder and clear voice, and said, "I speak in the Hebrew tongue, that all may hear the king's commands, and consult their own advantage in delivering themselves up to us, for it is plain that both you and your king dissuade the people from submitting by vain hopes, and so induce them to resist. But if you are confident, and think to drive our forces away, I am ready to supply you with two thousand of the horses that are with me for your use, if you can set as many riders on their backs, and then show your strength. But you cannot produce the men you have not got. Why do you therefore delay to deliver up yourselves to a superior force, who can take you without your consent? although it will be safer for you to deliver up yourselves voluntarily, as a forcible surrender by your being beaten is evidently dangerous, and will bring further calamities upon you."

§ 3. When the people and the messengers had heard what the Assyrian commander said, they reported it to Hezekiah, who thereupon put off his royal apparel, and clothed himself with sackcloth, and took the habit of a mourner; and fell upon his face after the manner of his country and besought God, and entreated him to assist him, for he had no other hope of relief. He also sent some of his friends and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah, and desired that he would pray to God, and offer sacrifices for their common deliverance, and beseech him to have indignation at the hopes of their enemies, and to have mercy upon his own people. And when the prophet had done this, an oracle came from God to him, and encouraged the king and his friends that were about him; and foretold that their enemies should be beaten without fighting, and should go away in an ignominious manner, and not with that insolence which they now showed, for God would take care that they should be destroyed. He also foretold

that Sennacherib the king of Assyria would fail in his expedition against Egypt, and when he came home would perish by the sword.

§ 4. About the same time the king of Assyria also wrote a letter to Hezekiah, in which he said he was a foolish man to suppose that he should escape from being his servant, for he had already reduced many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him, he would utterly destroy him, unless he now opened his gates, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem. When Hezekiah read this letter, he despised it on account of the trust that he had in God, and he rolled it up and laid it in the temple. And as he again prayed to God for the preservation of the city and all the people, the prophet Isaiah told him that God had heard his prayer, and that he should not be besieged at this time by the king of Assyria, and that for the future he might be secure of not being at all disturbed by him, and that the people might peaceably and without fear go on with their husbandry and other affairs. And a little while after the king of Assyria, having failed in his attempt against the Egyptians, returned home without success for the following reason. He had spent a long time in the siege of Pelusium,<sup>1</sup> and when the banks that he had raised near the walls were of a great height, and he intended to make an immediate assault upon them, he heard that Tirhakah, king of the Ethiopians, was coming up with a great force to aid the Egyptians, and intended to march through the desert, and so fall suddenly upon the Assyrians. And king Sennacherib was disturbed at this news, and, as I said before, left Pelusium, and returned home without success. Now concerning this Sennacherib Herodotus also relates in the second book of his histories, that this king came against the Egyptian king, who was the priest of Hephaestus, and that, as he was besieging Pelusium, he raised the siege for the following reason. The Egyptian priest prayed to God, and God heard his prayer, and sent a judgment upon the Arabian king. But Herodotus was mistaken in this, in calling him king

<sup>1</sup> The Sin of Ezek. xxx. 15; now *Tineh*, to the east of *Port Said*.

not of the Assyrians, but of the Arabians. For he says that a multitude of mice gnawed to pieces in one night both the bows and the rest of the armour of the Assyrians, and that it was on this account that the king, as he had no bows left, drew off his army from Pelusium. Herodotus gives us this account; and Berosus also, who wrote of the affairs of Chaldæa, mentions this king Sennacherib, and says that he ruled over the Assyrians, and that he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt, and says thus . . . .<sup>1</sup>

§ 5. Now, when Sennacherib returned from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem, he found his army under Rabshakeh, his general, in danger from a plague, for God had sent a pestilence upon his army; and on the very first night of the siege, a hundred fourscore and five thousand, with their captains and generals, were destroyed. And the king was in great dread and terrible agony at this calamity, and being in great fear for his whole army, he fled with the rest of his forces to his own kingdom, and to his city of Nineveh; and when he had abode there a little while, he was treacherously slain by his elder sons, Adrammelech and Shareser, and was buried in his own temple called Araske.<sup>2</sup> Now these sons of his were driven away by the citizens on account of the murder of their father, and went into Armenia, and Esarhaddon succeeded Sennacherib. And this was the conclusion of this expedition of the Assyrians against the people of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> Hiatus hic defendendus.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the temple which Sennacherib built to the god Nergal at Tarbisi, *Sherif Khan*, about three miles from Nineveh up the Tigris.

## CHAP. II.

*How Hezekiah was sick and likely to die ; and how God bestowed upon him fifteen Years' longer Life, and gave him a sign of it by the Shadow going back ten Degrees.*

## § 1.

NOW king Hezekiah, being thus unexpectedly delivered from the dread he was in, offered thank-offerings to God with all the people, because nothing but the divine assistance had destroyed some of their enemies, and made the rest so fearful of undergoing the same fate that they departed from Jerusalem. But though he was very zealous and diligent about the worship of God, he soon afterwards fell into a severe illness, insomuch that the physicians despaired of his life, and feared the worst, as also did his friends. And besides his illness itself, there was a very melancholy circumstance that troubled the king, which was the consideration that he was childless, and was going to die, and leave his house and kingdom without a legitimate successor. And he lamented and was grieved at the thought of this, and entreated of God that he would prolong his life for a little while till he had some children, and not suffer him to depart this life before he became a father. And God had mercy upon him, and hearkened to his supplication, because the trouble he was in at the idea of death was not because he was soon to lose the advantages he enjoyed as king, nor did he on that account pray that he might have a longer life afforded him, but only in order to have sons to succeed him. And God sent Isaiah the prophet, and commanded him to inform Hezekiah, that within three days' time he should recover from his illness, and should survive it fifteen years, and should have children also. Now upon the prophet's saying this, as God had commanded him, Hezekiah could hardly believe it, both on account of his very sore illness, and because of the surprising nature of what was told him, so he desired that Isaiah would give him some sign and omen, that he might believe what he had said, and be

sure that he came from God : for things that are beyond expectation, and greater than our hopes, are made credible by such signs. And when Isaiah asked him what sign he desired, he asked that he would make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made go down ten degrees in his house, to return again to the same place, and be as it was before. And when the prophet prayed to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his illness, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God, and made vows to him.

§ 2. At this time the empire of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes, but of this I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. And he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of in precious stones and gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Baladan, and sent them back to him. Upon this the prophet Isaiah came to him, and inquired of him, " Whence those ambassadors came ? " To which he replied, that they came from Babylon from the king ; and that he had showed them all he had, that by the sight of his riches and power they might thereby guess at his condition, and be able to inform the king of it. But the prophet rejoined, " Know that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon, and thy posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be slaves of the king of Babylon, for God foretells that such things will come to pass." At these words Hezekiah was troubled, and said that he was unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities at all, yet as it was not possible to alter what God had determined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Berosus also makes mention of this Baladan king of Babylon. Now as to this prophet [Isaiah], he was by the confession of all a divine and wonderful man in revealing the truth, and confiding in his never having spoken what was false, he wrote down all his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of by posterity from the events. Nor did this

prophet alone do so, but the others, who were twelve in number, did the same. And whatever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies. But of every one of these I shall speak hereafter.

### CHAP. III.

*How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah ; and how, when he was in Captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his Kingdom, and left it to his Son Amon.*

#### § 1.

WHEN king Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of life, and reigned twenty-nine. But when his son Manasseh, whose mother, Hephzibah, was a native of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself most wicked in his manners in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites for the commission of which against God they had been destroyed ; for he was so bold as to defile the temple of God and Jerusalem and the whole country. For setting out with a contempt of God, he savagely slew all the righteous men who were among the Hebrews, nor did he spare the prophets, for every day he slew some of them, till Jerusalem flowed with blood. And God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king and to the people, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, which their brethren the Israelites had suffered from upon the like affronts offered to God. But they would not believe their words, though had they done so they might have reaped the advantage of escaping all those miseries, yet did they learn by the events that what the prophets had told them was true.

§ 2. For as they persevered in the same courses, God

raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldæa, who sent an army into Judæa, and laid waste the country; and got possession of king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him in his power to inflict what punishment he pleased upon him. Then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and esteeming himself the cause of all, he besought God to render his enemy humane and merciful to him. And God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and restored to his kingdom. And when he returned to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory his former sins against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purified the city, and for the remainder of his days was intent on nothing but to return thanks to God for his deliverance, and to preserve his favour all his life long. He also instructed the people to do the same, having experienced what calamity he had very nearly fallen into by the contrary conduct. He also rebuilt the altar, and offered the legal sacrifices, as Moses commanded. And when he had re-established the divine worship as it ought to be, he saw to the security of Jerusalem, and did not only repair the old walls with great diligence, but added another wall to the former. He also built very lofty towers, and the out-works before the city he not only strengthened in other respects, but put into them provisions of all sorts. And, indeed, when he had changed his former courses, he so led his life for the time to come, that from the time he began to show piety towards God, he was deemed a happy man, and a pattern for imitation. And when he had lived sixty-seven years, and reigned fifty-five years, he departed this life, and was buried in his own garden; and the kingdom came to his son Amon, whose mother Meshulemeth was a native of the city of Jotbath.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Amon reigned instead of Manasseh; and after Amon Josiah; he was both righteous and religious. Also concerning Huldah the Prophetess.*

## § 1.

THIS Amon imitated the wicked conduct of his father during his youth, and had a conspiracy made against him by his own servants, and was slain in his own house, when he had lived twenty-four years and reigned two. But the multitude punished those that slew Amon, and buried him with his father, and gave the kingdom to his son Josiah, who was eight years old. His mother was of the city of Boscath,<sup>1</sup> and her name was Jedidah. He was of a most excellent disposition and naturally virtuous, and followed the actions of king David, and made him a pattern and rule in the whole conduct of his life. And when he was twelve years old, he gave proof of his religious and righteous behaviour; for he brought the people to a sober way of living, and exhorted them to leave off the opinion they had of their idols, for they were not gods, and to worship the national God. And by reflecting on the actions of his forefathers, he prudently corrected what they did wrong, like a man of ripe years very competent to understand what ought to be done; and whatever he saw was well and seasonably done, he observed and imitated the same. And thus he acted following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and complying with the advice and instruction of the elders; for it was by following the laws that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship, for the iniquity of the former kings was seen no more, but quite vanished away. For the king went about the city and the whole country, and cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gifts dedicated

<sup>1</sup> The Bozkath of Josh. xv. 39, and 2 Kings xxii. 1. A city of Judah, on the plain between Lachish and Eglon, not yet identified.



to them by his forefathers, he treated them contemptuously and plucked them down. And by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God, and they offered the accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon his altar. Moreover, he appointed certain judges and overseers, that they might order matters in their jurisdiction, and have regard to justice above all things, and dispense it with the same concern they would have about their own soul. He also sent over all the country, and bade such as pleased bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclination or ability. And when the money was brought in, he made Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joah the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple and of the contributions thereto. And they made no delay, nor put off the work at all, but prepared architects, and whatever else was wanted for the repairs, and set closely about the work. And so the temple was repaired, and became a public proof of the king's piety.

§ 2. And when Josiah was now in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent to Eliakim the high priest, and gave orders that out of any surplus money he should cast cups and dishes and vials for ministration in the temple; and also that they should bring all the gold and silver that was among the treasures, and similarly expend it in making cups and such kinds of vessels. And as the high priest Eliakim was bringing out the gold, he lit upon the holy books of Moses that were laid up in the temple, and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan the scribe, who, when he had read them, went to the king, and informed him that all which he had ordered to be done was finished. He also read over the books to him, and the king, when he heard them read, rent his garment: and called for Eliakim the high priest, and for [Shaphan] the scribe, and for others of his most particular friends, and sent them to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, a man held in good repute and of an eminent family, and bade them go to her and ask her to appease God, and endeavour to render him propitious to them, for there was reason to fear that, because of the transgression of the laws of Moses by their

forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, and of being cast out of their own country, and of being in want of all things, and so ending their days miserably. When the prophetess heard this from the messengers that were sent to her by the king, she bade them go back to the king, and say that God had already given sentence against them, to ruin the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they now enjoyed; which sentence none could set aside by any prayers, since it was passed on account of their transgressions of the laws, and because of their not having repented in so long a time, though the prophets had exhorted them to amend, and had foretold the punishment that would ensue on their impious practices; which threatening God would certainly execute upon them, that they might be persuaded that he was God, and had not deceived them in any respect as to what he had denounced by his prophets: yet, because Josiah was a righteous man, he would at present delay those calamities, but would after his death send on the multitude the miseries he had determined for them.

§ 3. And these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and reported it to the king; and he sent round to the people everywhere, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should assemble at Jerusalem; and commanded that those of every age should be present also. And when they were gathered together, he first read to them the holy books; after which he stood upon a platform in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God and keep the laws of Moses. And they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king urged upon them, and immediately offered sacrifices, and that in an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest, that if there remained in the temple any vessel that was consecrated to idols or to foreign gods, they should cast it out: and when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes, and slew the priests of the idols, who were not of the family of Aaron.

§ 4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he went

into the country, and utterly destroyed the buildings that had been set up therein by king Jeroboam in honour of the strange gods, and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the altar which Jeroboam first built. So it came to pass as the prophet Jadon,<sup>1</sup> who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, foretold in the hearing of all the people, viz., that a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what I have here mentioned. And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.

§ 5. After these things Josiah went also to all the Israelites who had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, and to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses and villages and cities, suspecting that somebody might have some idols in private. Moreover he took away the chariots [of the sun] that were set up in his royal palace, which his predecessors had made, and whatever else there was besides which they worshipped as God. And when he had thus purified all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the feast of Unleavened Bread called the Passover. He also gave the people, for the Paschal sacrifices, thirty thousand young kids of the goats and lambs, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal Jews also gave to the priests for the Passover two thousand six hundred lambs; the principal Jews also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen. Thus there was great plenty of victims, and they offered the sacrifices according to the laws of Moses, every priest showing the way and ministering to the people. Indeed there had been no other Passover thus celebrated by the Hebrews since the times of Samuel the prophet, and the reason was that all things were performed according to the laws, and according to the national rites. And when Josiah had after this lived in peace, nay, in riches and reputation also among all men, he ended his life in the manner following.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, by a slip of memory, has the prophet Ahijah.

## CHAP. V.

*How Josiah fought with Necho, King of Egypt, and was wounded, and died soon afterwards; as also, how Necho carried Jehoahaz, who had been made King, into Egypt, and transferred the Kingdom to Jehoiakim: also concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.*

## § 1.

NOW Necho, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the empire of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now when he was come to the city of Mendes,<sup>1</sup> which belonged to the kingdom of Judah, Josiah brought an army to hinder him from passing through his country in his expedition against the Medes. And Necho sent a herald to Josiah, and told him that he did not make this expedition against him, but was pushing on to the Euphrates, and bade him not provoke him to fight against him, because he hindered his march to the place where he had resolved to go to. But Josiah did not hearken to this message of Necho, but put himself in a position to hinder Necho from his intended march, fate, I suppose, pushing him on to this conduct, that it might have an opportunity against him. For as he was setting his army in battle-array, and riding about in his chariot from one wing of his army to another, one of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness for fighting; for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army, and returned to Jerusalem, and died of his wound, and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, having lived thirty-nine years, and of them reigned thirty-one. And all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving many days: and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy in lamentation of him which is still extant. This prophet also foretold the

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Chron. xxxv. 22. The town is said to have been Megiddo, now *el-Lejjûn*.

sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and of the taking of Babylon. Nor was he the only prophet who delivered such predictions beforehand to the people, for so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that left behind him in writing two books about these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth, and Jeremiah dwelt in Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. But I shall relate what befell this prophet in its proper place.

§ 2. Upon the death of Josiah, as I have already said, his son, Jehoahaz by name, succeeded to the kingdom, being about twenty-three years old. He reigned in Jerusalem, and his mother was Hamutal, of the city of Libnah.<sup>1</sup> He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life: and when the king of Egypt returned from the war, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him to the city called Hamath, which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bonds, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his on the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, and Jehoiakim paid this sum of money by way of tribute: but Necho carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt where he died, having reigned three months and ten days. Now Jehoiakim's mother was called Zabudah, she was a native of the city of Abuma.<sup>2</sup> He was of a wicked and malevolent disposition, neither religious towards God nor kind towards men.

<sup>1</sup> A town in the 'lowland' of Judah, near Lachish, not yet identified.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Rûmeh*, north of Nazareth.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the King of Egypt, made an Expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made his son Jehoiachin king.*

## § 1.

NOW in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar became ruler over the Babylonians, and at the same time went up with a great army to the city of Carchemish,<sup>1</sup> which was near the Euphrates, intending to fight with Necho king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Necho learnt of the intention of the Babylonian, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not make light of the matter, but started with a great band of men for the Euphrates, to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many myriads in the battle. Then the king of Babylon passed over the Euphrates, and took all Syria as far as Pelusium except Judæa. And when Nebuchadnezzar had already reigned four years, which was the eighth year of Jehoiakim's rule over the Hebrews, he made an expedition with a mighty force against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened on his refusal to make war upon him. Jehoiakim was alarmed at this threatening, and bought peace with money, and for two years brought the tribute he was ordered to bring.

§ 2. But in the third year, upon hearing that the Egyptians were marching against the Babylonian, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they persisted in relying on Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and how Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him. But what he thus spoke proved to be of no advantage to them, because there

<sup>1</sup> *Jerablûs*, on the Euphrates, or *Membij*.

were none that should escape ; for both the multitude and the rulers, when they heard him, paid no attention to what they heard ; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a prophet of evil against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, asked that he should be sentenced and punished. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court, and urged the rest to do Jeremiah no harm ; for they said that he was not the only person who had foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah had announced the same before him, as well as several others, none of whom suffered anything at the hands of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God. And they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment decreed against him. Now when this prophet had written all his prophecies, and the people were fasting and assembled at the temple, in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, he read the book he had composed of his predictions of what was to befall the city and temple and people. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and bade him and Baruch the scribe go and hide themselves, lest they should be discovered ; but they took the book and gave it to the king, and he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. He also commanded that they should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However they escaped his anger.

§ 3. Not long afterwards the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, who received him into the city from fear of the predictions of Jeremiah, supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him. Howbeit when Nebuchadnezzar had come into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest beauty, together with their king Jehoiakim,

whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls without any burial, and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country and city. He also took captive three thousand of the principal persons, and led them away to Babylon: among whom was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but a boy. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven: and Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta, she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned only three months and ten days.

## CHAP. VII.

*How the King of Babylon repented of making Jehoiachin King, and took him away to Babylon, and transferred the Kingdom to Zedekiah. This King would not believe what was predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself to the Egyptians; who, when they came into Judæa, were vanquished by the King of Babylon; as also what befell Jeremiah.*

### § 1.

FOR a terror soon seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, for he was afraid that he would bear him a grudge because of his killing his father, and would therefore make the country revolt from him. So he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem. And he, because he was by nature good and just, did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but took his mother and kindred and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither they nor the city should suffer any harm, which agreement they did not observe for a single year. For the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take captive all that were in the city, both the youth and the handicraftsmen, and bring them bound to him (their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two), as also Jehoiachin and his mother and friends. And when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and



appointed Zedekiah Jehoiachin's uncle to be king: and made him take an oath, that he would certainly keep the country for him, and make no revolt, nor have any friendship with the Egyptians.

§ 2. Now Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he took the government, and he had the same mother as his brother Jehoiakim, and he was a despiser of justice and of his duty. Indeed both those of the same age with him and his court were wicked, and the whole multitude did what unjust and insolent things they pleased; so that the prophet Jeremiah came often to him and protested, and bade him leave off all his impieties and transgressions, and see to what was right, and neither give ear to the rulers (among whom were wicked men), nor give credit to the false prophets, who deluded them, as if the king of Babylon would no more make war against Jerusalem, and as if the Egyptians would make war against him and conquer him, since what they said was not true, and the events would not prove such. Now Zedekiah himself, as long as he heard the prophet speak, believed him, and agreed to everything as true, and supposed what he recommended was for his advantage; but afterwards his friends perverted him, and dissuaded him from what the prophet advised, and got him to do what they pleased. Ezekiel also prophesied in Babylon what calamities were coming upon the people, which when he heard, he sent accounts of them to Jerusalem. But Zedekiah did not believe their prophecies for the following reason. It happened that the two prophets agreed with one another in what they said in all other things, as that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive, but Ezekiel differed in saying that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah told him that the king of Babylon should carry him thither in bonds. And because they did not both say the same thing as to this circumstance, he disbelieved what they both appeared to agree in, and condemned them as not speaking truth therein, although all the things foretold him did come to pass according to their prophecies, as I shall show upon a fitter opportunity.

§ 3. Now when Zedekiah had preserved friendship with the Babylonians for eight years, he broke it, and allied

himself to the Egyptians, in hope of overcoming the Babylonians by their assistance. When the king of Babylon learnt this, he marched against him, and laid his country waste, and took his fortified towns, and came to the city Jerusalem itself to besiege it. And when the king of Egypt heard what circumstances his ally Zedekiah was in, he took a great army with him, and came into Judæa, intending to raise the siege: upon which the king of Babylon departed from Jerusalem, and met the Egyptians, and joined battle with them and beat them, and put them to flight, and pursued them, and drove them out of all Syria. But as soon as the king of Babylon had departed from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Zedekiah, and said that the king of Babylon would not any more make war against him or his people, nor remove them out of their own country into Babylon, but that those now in captivity would return with all those vessels of the temple of which the king of Babylon had spoiled the temple. But Jeremiah came forward, and prophesied what was contrary to those predictions, and what proved to be true. He said they did ill, and deluded the king; for the Egyptians would be of no advantage to them, but the king of Babylon would renew the war against Jerusalem, and besiege it again, and would destroy the people by famine, and carry away those that remained into captivity, and would take away what they had as spoil, and would carry off the riches that were in the temple, and moreover would burn it, and utterly overthrow the city, and they should serve him and his posterity seventy years; but the Persians and Medes should put an end to their servitude, and overthrow the Babylonians, and then they should be let go, and return to their own land, and rebuild the temple, and restore Jerusalem. When Jeremiah said this, most people believed him, but the rulers and those that were wicked despised him, as one out of his mind. Now he had resolved to go to his native place, which was called Anathoth,<sup>1</sup> and was twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, and as he was going, one of the rulers met him, and arrested him, and accused him falsely of going as a deserter to the Babylonians: but

<sup>1</sup> Now 'Anâta, three miles north-east of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah said that he accused him falsely, and added that he was only going to his native place. But the other would not believe him, but arrested him and led him away to the rulers for sentence, at whose hands he endured all sorts of outrage and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, unjustly suffering what I have already described.

§ 4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon made a second expedition against Jerusalem, and sat down before it eighteen months, and besieged it with the utmost energy. There came upon them also two of the greatest calamities at the same time that Jerusalem was besieged, a famine and pestilence, and made great havoc of them: and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out and preached aloud, and exhorted the multitude to open their gates, and admit the king of Babylon, for if they did so they and their households should be preserved, but if they did not do so they should perish. He also foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should certainly die in one of two ways, he should either be consumed by famine, or slain by the enemy's sword, but if he would flee to the enemy, he should escape death. But those rulers who heard did not believe him, even when they were in the midst of their sore calamities, but went to the king in their anger, and informed him of what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as a madman, and one that disheartened their minds, and by his prediction of miseries diminished the zeal of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for king and country, while he in a threatening way warned them to flee to the enemy, and told them that the city would certainly be taken and utterly destroyed.

§ 5. Now the king himself was not at all personally irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be engaged in a quarrel with the rulers at such a time, by opposing their wishes, he let them do with the prophet whatever they would: and when the king had granted them that permission, they at once went to the prison and took Jeremiah, and let

him down with a cord into a pit full of mire, that he might be suffocated, and so not die at their hands. And he stood up to his neck in the mire, which was all round him, and so continued. But one of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said that his friends and the rulers had done evil in plunging the prophet into the mire, and so contriving against him, that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repented of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatever else he thought necessary for the prophet's preservation, and draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to take, and drew up the prophet out of the mire, and left him at liberty.

§ 6. And when the king sent for him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, and desired him to inform him what might be suitable to his present circumstances, Jeremiah replied that he had somewhat to say, but would not be believed, nor hearkened to if he admonished him, "for," (continued he,) "thy friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness; and where are now those men who deceived you, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more? But I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became bold upon that assurance being given him, and advised him to deliver up the city to the Babylonians. And he added that it was God that prophesied this by him, that he must do so if he would be preserved, and escape out of the danger he was in, and that then neither should the city be razed to the ground, nor should the temple be burned; but if he disobeyed he would be the cause of these miseries coming upon the citizens, and of the calamity that would befall his whole house. When the king heard this, he said that he would willingly do what he advised him to do, and what he declared would be for his advantage, but that he was afraid of those of

his own country that had deserted to the Babylonians, lest he should be calumniated by them to the king of Babylon, and be punished. But the prophet encouraged him, and said he had no cause to fear such punishment, for if he would deliver up the city to the Babylonians, he should not experience any misfortune, either himself or his children, or his wives, and the temple should also continue uninjured. And when Jeremiah had said this, the king dismissed him, and charged him to betray to none of the citizens what they had resolved on, nor to tell any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, and should ask what he had said to him; but to pretend to them that he had begged only that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison. And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him, what advice it was that he went to give the king as to them? And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How the King of Babylon took Jerusalem and burnt the Temple, and removed Zedekiah and the People of Jerusalem to Babylon. Also a list of the High Priests under the Kings.*

### § 1.

NOW the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem, and he erected towers upon great earthworks, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls; he also threw up a great number of such earthworks round the whole city, whose height was equal to the walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and energy, for they were not disheartened either by the famine or pestilence, but were stout-hearted in the prosecution of the war, although those miseries within harassed them, and did not suffer themselves to be terrified either by the contrivances of the enemy or by their engines of war, but devised engines to oppose all the enemy's ones, till indeed the whole struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem

seemed to be which had the greater sagacity and skill; the former supposing they would be by their skill in war more than a match for the others for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such counter-inventions as might demonstrate the enemy's engines to be useless. And this siege they endured for eighteen months, until they were undone by famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

§ 2. Now the city was taken in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, in the ninth day of the fourth month. It was taken by the generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah.<sup>1</sup> The names of the generals who took and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them, were these, Nergal Sharezer, Samgar Nebo, Rabsaris, Sarsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the enemy's generals had entered into the temple, Zedekiah, learning it, took his wives and children and captains and friends, and with them fled out of the city through the fortified ditch and through the desert. And when certain deserters had informed the Babylonians of this, they made haste at daybreak to pursue after Zedekiah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and surrounded him. Then those friends and captains of Zedekiah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw the enemy near, left him and dispersed, some one way some another, for every one resolved to save himself; so the enemy took Zedekiah alive (as he was deserted by all but a few), with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, seeing that when he had received the kingdom from him, who had taken it from Jehoiachin and given it him, he had made use of his power against him that gave it; "but," he added, "God is great, who hated that conduct of yours,

<sup>1</sup> Now *Ribleh*, on the Orontes, thirty-five miles from *Ba'albek*.

and has brought you under us." And when he had used these words to Zedekiah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zedekiah and the rest of the captives looked on, after which he put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him, and carried him off to Babylon. And so those things happened to him, which Jeremiah and Ezekiel foretold to him, that he should be taken and brought before the king of Babylon, and should speak to him face to face, and should see his eyes with his own eyes. And thus much did Jeremiah prophesy, but he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, and did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

§ 3. I have narrated this, because it is sufficient to show the nature of God to such as are ignorant of it, how it is various and acts in many different ways, and how all events happen in a regular manner in their proper season, and how it foretells what must come to pass. It is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredulity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee the future at all, and are without any guard exposed to calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of them.

§ 4. Thus the kings of David's race ended their lives, being in number twenty-one including the last king, and reigned altogether five hundred and fourteen years six months and ten days; of whom Saul, their first king, retained the kingdom twenty years, though he was not of the same tribe as the rest.

§ 5. And now it was that the king of Babylon sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, and commanded him to burn it and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and to transplant the people to Babylon. Accordingly he went to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and pillaged the temple, and carried off the vessels of God both gold and silver, and the large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass and their chapiters, and the golden tables and candlesticks. And when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth month, on the first day of the month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and in the

eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the palace, and razed the city to the ground. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days, after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, and ten days, from the departure out of Egypt; and the whole interval from the deluge to the destruction of the temple was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; and from the birth of Adam, till this befell the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days. Such was the number of years, and the actions that were done during those years I have particularly related. And the general of the Babylonian king razed the city to the ground, and removed all the people, and took captive the high priest Seraiah, and Zephaniah the priest next to him in rank, and the rulers that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who was over the armed men, and seven friends of Zedekiah, and his scribe, and sixty other rulers, all of whom, together with the vessels which he had pillaged, he carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah,<sup>1</sup> a city in Syria. And the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but he himself took Zedekiah and all the captives to Babylon. He also led away bound the high priest Josedek, who was the son of Seraiah the high priest, whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city in Syria, as I have just related.

§ 6. And now, since I have enumerated the succession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priesthood under the kings. The first high priest then of the temple which Solomon built, was Zadok; after him his son Achimas received that dignity; after Achimas came Azarias; his son was Joram, and Joram's son was Issus; after him came Axioramus: his son was Phideas, and Phideas' son was Sudeas, and Sudeas' son was Juelus, and Juelus' son was Jotham, and Jotham's

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 224.



son was Urias, and Urias' son was Nerias, and Nerias' son was Odeas, and his son was Sallumus, and Sallumus' son was Elcias, and his son [was Azarias,<sup>1</sup> and his son] was Seraiah, and his son was Josedek, who was carried captive to Babylon. All these received the high priesthood by succession in direct descent.

§ 7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zedekiah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently, and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged from the temple of Jerusalem to his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, and freed the high priest from his bonds.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews that were left in Judæa, who was shortly afterwards slain by Ishmael: and how Johanan, after Ishmael was driven away, went down into Egypt with the People, whom Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an Expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and led away to Babylon.*

### § 1.

NOW Nebuzaradan, the general of the army, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor and deserters in the country, and made Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, a person of noble family, their governor. He was of a gentle and righteous disposition, and commanded them to till the ground, and pay a fixed tribute to the king. He also took Jeremiah the prophet out of prison, and urged him to go with him to Babylon, for he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatever he wanted: but if he did not like to do so, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell.

<sup>1</sup> I have here inserted in brackets this high priest Azarias, though he is omitted in all Josephus' copies, out of the Jewish chronicle. Sedar Olam, of how little authority soever I generally esteem such late rabbinical historians, because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high priests belonging to this interval was eighteen. Antiq. xx. 10, whereas his copies have here but seventeen.—W.

that he might signify the same to the king: but the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell anywhere else, but was content to live among the ruins of his country and its miserable remains. When the general understood what his purpose was, he enjoined Gedaliah, whom he left behind, to take all possible care of him, and to supply him with whatever he wanted; and when he had given him rich presents, he dismissed him. So Jeremiah dwelt in a city of that country called Mizpah;<sup>1</sup> and begged of Nebuzaradan, that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch, the son of Neriah, who was of a very eminent family, and exceedingly skilful in the language of his country.

§ 2. When Nebuzaradan had done all this, he set out for Babylon: but as to those that had fled away during the siege of Jerusalem, and had been scattered all over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land about Jerusalem, who were to cultivate it, they flocked together from all parts to Gedaliah at Mizpah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jezaniah, and Seraiah, and others besides them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man and very crafty, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, fled to Baalim, the king of the Ammonites, and dwelt with him during that time: and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to have no fear of the Babylonians, for if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them by oath: and said, that they should have him for their patron, and if any disturbance should arise, they should find him ready to defend them. He also advised them to dwell in any city they each pleased, and to send men with his own servants to rebuild the houses upon their old foundations, and dwell in them, and admonished them beforehand to lay up a stock, while they had time, of corn and wine and oil, that they might have whereon to feed during the winter. When he had spoken thus to them, he dismissed them, that

<sup>1</sup> Probably the country north of Jerusalem, in the vicinity of *Neby Samwil*.

every one might dwell in what place in the country he pleased.

§ 3. Now when it was spread abroad among the nations that bordered on Judæa, that Gedaliah kindly entertained the fugitives that went to him, the only condition being that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when Johanan and the rulers that were with him observed the state of the country, and the goodness and humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalim, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as he was of the royal family. And they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design, if he would give them leave to slay Ishmael, and nobody should know it. For they told him they were afraid that, if he was killed by Ishmael, the entire ruin of the remaining strength of the Israelites would ensue. But he declared that he could not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design on the part of a man that had been well treated by him; for it was not probable that one who, in such a want of all things, had failed of nothing that was necessary from him, should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor (when it would be great wickedness in him not to endeavour earnestly to save him, if he were treacherously assaulted by others) as to seek to kill him with his own hand. However, if he ought to suppose this information true, it was better for himself to be slain by him, than to destroy a man who fled to him for refuge, and intrusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal.

§ 4. So Johanan and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went away: but after thirty days had elapsed, Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city of Mizpah, and ten men with him; and when Gedaliah had feasted Ishmael and those that were with him with a splendid table, and had given them presents, he became drunk, as he entertained them; and when Ishmael saw him in that case, and that he was immersed in his cups to the degree of insensibility, and had fallen

asleep, he jumped up on a sudden with his ten friends, and slew Gedaliah and those that were reclining with him at the feast. And when he had slain them, he went out by night, and slew all the Jews that were in the city, and those soldiers also who had been left therein by the Babylonians. And the next day fourscore men came out of the country with presents for Gedaliah, none of them knowing what had befallen him; and when Ishmael saw them, he invited them in to Gedaliah, and when they were come in, he shut up the court-yard and slew them, and cast their dead bodies down a certain deep pit, that they might not be seen. But Ishmael spared those of these fourscore men that entreated him not to kill them till they had delivered up to him what they had concealed in the fields, as furniture and raiment and corn. He also took captive the people that were in Mizpah, with their wives and children; among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, whom Nebuzaradan, the general of the army of Babylon, had left with Gedaliah. And when he had done all this, he went to the king of the Ammonites.

§ 5. But when Johanan and the rulers with him heard of what had been done at Mizpah by Ishmael, and of the death of Gedaliah, they were indignant at it, and every one of them took his own armed men, and set out to fight against Ishmael, and overtook him at the fountain in Hebron. And when those that were carried away captive by Ishmael saw Johanan and the rulers, they were very glad, and looked upon them as coming to their assistance; so they left him that had carried them away captive, and went over to Johanan. Then Ishmael, with eight men, fled to the king of the Ammonites; but Johanan took those whom he had rescued out of the hands of Ishmael, the eunuchs the women and the children, and went to a certain place called Mandra,<sup>1</sup> and there they abode that day. For they had determined to remove from thence and go into Egypt, fearing that the Babylonians would slay them in case they continued in the country, in their anger at the slaughter of Gedaliah, who had been set over it by them as governor.

§ 6. Now while this was their intention, Johanan, the

<sup>1</sup> A place apparently on the road to Egypt, not yet identified.

son of Kareah, and the rulers that were with him, went to Jeremiah the prophet, and desired that he would pray to God, and, because they were at an utter loss as to what they ought to do, that he would discover it to them, and they swore that they would do whatever Jeremiah should tell them. And when the prophet said he would be their intercessor with God, it came to pass ten days after that God appeared to him, and told him to inform Johanan and the other rulers, and all the people, that he would be with them, and take care of them, and keep them from being hurt by the Babylonians of whom they were afraid, while they continued in that country, but that he would desert them if they went into Egypt, and, in his wrath against them, would inflict the same punishments upon them which they knew their brethren had already suffered. But when the prophet informed Johanan and the people that God had foretold these things, he was not believed when he said that God commanded them to continue in that country, for they imagined he said so to gratify Baruch his own disciple, and belied God, and urged them to stay there that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. So both the people and Johanan disobeyed the counsel of God, which he gave them by the prophet, and removed into Egypt, and carried Jeremiah and Baruch along with them.

§ 7. And when they were there, God signified to the prophet, that the king of Babylon was about to make an expedition against the Egyptians, and commanded him to foretell to the people that Egypt would be taken, and that the king of Babylon would slay some of them, and would take others captive, and bring them to Babylon. And all this came to pass. For in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Cœle-Syria, and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he attacked Egypt in order to overthrow it: and he slew the king that then reigned, and set up another; and those Jews that were captive there he led away to Babylon. And such was the end of the nation of the

Hebrews, who tradition tells us went twice beyond the Euphrates. For the ten tribes were carried out of Samaria by the Assyrians in the days of king Hoshea; and afterwards those of the two tribes that remained after Jerusalem was taken were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon and Chaldæa. Now as to Shalmanezar, when he removed the Israelites out of their country, he placed therein instead the nation of the Cuthæans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were now called Samaritans, as they took the name of the country to which they were removed. But the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judæa and Jerusalem and the temple continued to be deserted for seventy years. And the entire interval of time from the captivity of the Israelites to the carrying away of the two tribes was a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

## CHAP. X.

### *Concerning Daniel, and what befell him at Babylon.*

#### § 1.

NOW Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took the most noble children of the Jews, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors for their education, castrating some of them (which course he took also with those of other nations, whom he had taken in the flower of their age), and supplied them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the customs of the country, and taught the learning of the Chaldæans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in the wisdom which he had ordered they should apply themselves to. Now among them were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions, one of whom was called Daniel, another Ananias, another Misael, and the fourth Azarias: but the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that

they should have other names; Daniel he called Baltasar — Ananias, Shadrach — Misael, Meshach — and Azarias, Abednego. These the king held in esteem and continued to love, because of their very excellent natural dispositions, and because of their application to learning, and the progress they made in wisdom.

§ 2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a plain diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to forbear from eating animal food, so he went to Aschanes, the eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and asked him to take and use what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, and any thing else that he pleased except animal food; for their inclinations were for that sort of diet, and they despised the other. He replied, that he was ready to serve them in what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from the thinness of their bodies and the alteration of their countenances, for their bodies and colours would be sure to change with their diet, especially as they would be clearly discovered by the finer condition of the other children who fared better, and so they would bring him in danger, and occasion his being punished. However they persuaded Aschanes in spite of his fears to give them the food they desired for ten days by way of trial, and in case the condition of their bodies was not altered, to go on in the same way, as it would be certain then that they would not be hurt thereby, but if he saw them look thin and worse than the rest, to put them to their former diet. Now when it appeared they were so far from becoming worse by the use of their food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who fed on what came from the king's table seemed in poorer condition, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they lived in plenty and all sorts of luxury, Aschanes thenceforward fearlessly took himself what the king sent every day from his dinner according to custom to the lads, but gave them the fore-mentioned diet. And thus they had their souls more pure and so fitter for learning, and their bodies in better tune for hard labour (for they had neither their minds op-

pressed and heavy with variety of meats, nor were their bodies pampered on the same account); so they readily picked up all the learning of the Hebrews and Chaldæans, especially Daniel, who, being already sufficiently skilled in wisdom, was very apt in the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

§ 3. Now, two years after the destruction of Egypt, king Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the end of which God showed him in his sleep, but when he got up off his bed, he forgot it, so he sent for the Chaldæans and magicians and seers, and told them that he had seen a dream, but informed them that he had forgotten the end of what he had seen, and enjoined them to tell him both what the dream was and what its signification. But they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men, but promised him, if he would relate to them the dream he had seen, that they would tell him its signification. Thereupon he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream; and he commanded to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do. Now when Daniel heard that the king had commanded that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioch, who was captain of the king's guards, and desired to know of him the reason why the king had commanded that all the wise men and Chaldæans and magicians should be slain. And when he learned that the king had had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that when they were enjoined to inform the king of it, they had said they could not, and had thereby provoked him to anger; he begged Arioch to go in to the king and ask a respite for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. And Arioch informed the king of what Daniel desired: and the king bade them delay the slaughter of the magicians till he knew the result of Daniel's undertaking. And the young man retired to his own house with his kinsmen, and besought God all that night to save and deliver the magicians and Chaldæans, with whom they were themselves also to perish, from the



king's anger, by enabling him to declare the vision, and to make manifest what the king had seen the night before in his sleep, but had forgotten. And God, out of pity to those that were in danger, and in regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might learn from him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God, he arose very joyful, and told it his brethren, and made them glad and hopeful that now they should preserve their lives, of which they despaired before, and had their minds full of nothing but the thoughts of dying. So after he had with them returned thanks to God who had commiserated their youth, when it was day he went to Arioch, and asked him to bring him to the king, for he wished to tell him the dream which he had seen the night before.

§ 4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he first deprecated the idea that he pretended to be wiser than the other Chaldæans and magicians, as, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for it was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest, but he said, "God had pity upon us, as we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself and of those of my own nation, he made manifest to me both the dream and the interpretation thereof. And indeed I was not less concerned for thy glory than for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, since thou didst so unjustly command men both good and excellent to be put to death, enjoining them to do what was entirely above the reach of human wisdom, and requiring of them what was the work only of God. Now as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God wished to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream. Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which was of gold, the shoulders and arms of silver, and the belly and thighs of brass, but the legs and feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image,

and threw it down, and broke it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became finer than meal, and, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away and scattered abroad, but the stone did increase to such a degree, that the whole earth beneath it seemed to be filled therewith. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows. The head of gold denotes thee and those that have been kings of Babylon before thee; and the two hands and arms signify this, that thy empire shall be destroyed by two kings; but another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy their empire; and another power that shall be like unto iron shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold and silver and brass." Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king,<sup>1</sup> but I do not think proper to relate that, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or present, not things that are future: yet if anyone be so very desirous of knowing the truth, as not to waive such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for learning the uncertainties of futurity, let him carefully read the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

§ 5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this and recognized his dream, he was astonished at the nature of Daniel, and fell upon his face and saluted Daniel in the manner that men worship God, and gave command that he should be sacrificed to as a god. And this was not all, for he also imposed the name of his own god upon him, and made him and his kinsmen rulers of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of his happened to fall into great

<sup>1</sup> Of this most remarkable passage in Josephus, concerning the 'stone cut out of the mountain, and destroying the image,' which he would not explain, but intimated to be a prophecy of futurity, and probably not safe for him to explain, as belonging to the destruction of the Roman empire by Jesus Christ, the true Messiah of the Jews, take the words of Havercamp, chap. x. § 4, "Nor is this to be wondered at, that he would not now meddle with things future, for he had no mind to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of that city, which they called the 'eternal city.'"—W.

danger through the envy and malice of [their enemies ;] for they offended the king for the following reason. The king made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it up in the great plain of Babylon ; and when he was going to dedicate it, he invited the principal men out of all his dominions, and commanded them in the first place, that when they should hear the sound of the trumpet, they should then fall down and worship the image ; and he threatened that those who did not do so should be cast into a fiery furnace. When therefore all the rest, upon the hearing of the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the image, they say that Daniel's kinsmen did not do this, because they would not transgress the laws of their country. So they were immediately convicted and cast into the fire, but were saved by divine providence, and escaped death in a surprising manner, for the fire did not touch them : and I suppose that it touched them not, as if it reasoned with itself, that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs, and therefore it was too weak to burn the young men when they were in it, God making their bodies proof against the fire, so that it could not consume them. This recommended them to the king as righteous men, and men beloved of God, on which account they continued in all honour with him.

§ 6. A little after this the king saw again in his sleep another vision, that he should fall from his dominion, and feed among the wild beasts, and when he had lived in this manner in the desert for seven years, should recover his dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he called the magicians together again, and inquired of them about it, and desired them to tell him what it signified ; but none of them could find out the meaning of the dream, nor discover it to the king, and Daniel was the only person that explained it, and as he foretold, so it came to pass. For after Nebuchadnezzar had continued in the desert the forementioned time, as no one durst attempt to seize his kingdom during those seven years, he prayed to God that he might recover his kingdom, and did return to it. Let no one blame me for writing down everything of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books ; for I plainly assured those that should think me defective in any point,

or complain of anything, and told them in the beginning of this history, that I intended to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised to set them forth, without adding anything of my own, or taking anything away.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Nebuchadnezzar and his Successors: and how their Empire was destroyed by the Persians; and what befell Daniel in Media, and what Prophecies he delivered there.*

### § 1.

NOW when Nebuchadnezzar had reigned forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an active man, and more fortunate than the kings that were before him. Now Berosus makes mention of his actions in the third book of his Chaldaic history, where he says thus: "When his father Nabopalassar heard that the satrap whom he had set over Egypt and the region about Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, had revolted from him, as he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships [of war,] he committed some parts of his army to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, and sent him against him. And when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it part of his own kingdom. And it happened about this time that his father Nabopalassar fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when Nebuchadnezzar heard, as he did in a little time, that his father was dead, he settled the affairs of Egypt and the rest of the country, as also those that concerned the captive Jews and Phœnicians and Syrians and those of the Egyptian nations, and having committed to certain of his friends the conveyance of them to Babylon, together with the bulk of his army and the baggage, he went himself hastily with a very few others over the desert, and reached Babylon. He then took upon him the management of

public affairs, and of the kingdom which had been kept for him by one who was the best of the Chaldæans, and became master of the entire dominions of his father, and ordered that, when the captives came, they should be assigned colonies in the most convenient parts of Babylonia: and adorned the temple of Belus, and the rest of the temples, in a magnificent manner at his own expense with the spoils he had taken in war. He also added another city to that which was there of old, and built it so that such as might besiege it hereafter could no more turn the course of the river, and so attack the city itself: he therefore built three walls round the inside of the city, and three others round the outside, and this he did partly with burnt brick and bitumen, partly with brick alone. And after he had worthily fortified the city and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace before his father's palace, but close to it; to describe whose vast height and splendour it would perhaps be too much for me to attempt, yet large and lofty as it was, it was completed in fifteen days.<sup>1</sup> He also erected in the palace elevated places for walking in stone, and made them resemble mountains, and built them so that they might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a hanging park, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred up in the region of Media." Megasthenes also makes mention of these things in the fourth book of his account of India, where he endeavours to show that this king exceeded Hercules in bravery and in the greatness of his actions, for he says he conquered Iberia and most of Libya. Diocles also mentions this king in the second book of his account of Persia, and Philostratus, in his histories of India and

<sup>1</sup> These fifteen days for finishing such vast buildings at Babylon, in Josephus's copy of Berosus, would seem too absurd to be supposed to be the true number, were it not for the same testimony extant also in the first book against Apion, § 19, with the same number. It thence indeed appears that Josephus's copy of Berosus had this small number, but that it is the true number I still doubt. Josephus assures us that the walls of so much smaller a city as Jerusalem were two years and four months in building by Nehemiah, who yet hastened the work all he could, *Antiq.* xi. 5, § 8. I should think 115 days, or a year and 15 days, much more proportionable to so great a work.—W.

of Phœnicia, says that this king besieged Tyre thirteen years, at the same time that Ithobalus reigned at Tyre. These are all the accounts that I have met with concerning this king.

§ 2. Now, after the death of Neubuchadnezzar, his son Evil-Merodach succeeded him in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him as one of his most intimate friends: he also gave him many presents, and honoured him above the rest of the kings that were in Babylon; for his father had not kept faith with Jeconiah, when he voluntarily delivered up himself with his wives and children and whole kindred for the sake of his country, that it might not be taken by siege and utterly destroyed, as I have already described. And when Evil-Merodach died after a reign of eighteen years, Niglisar his son succeeded to the throne, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life. And after him the succession to the kingdom came to his son Labosordachus, who continued in it only nine months; and when he died it came to Baltasar,<sup>1</sup> who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelus. Against him did Cyrus, the king of Persia, and Darius, the king of Media, make war; and when he was besieged in Babylon, there happened a wonderful and portentous sight. He was reclining at supper in a large room made for royal entertainments, and he had with him his concubines and friends. And he thought good and com-

<sup>1</sup> It is here remarkable, that Josephus, without the knowledge of Ptolemy's canon, should call the king whom he himself here styles 'Baltasar' (or 'Belshazzar,' from the Babylonian god Bel), 'Naboandelus' also; and in the first book against Apion, § 20, from the same citation out of Berosus, 'Nabonnedus,' from the Babylonian god Nabo or Neho. This last is not remote from the original pronunciation itself in Ptolemy's canon, 'Nabonadius,' for both the place of this king in that canon, as the last of the Assyrian or Babylonian kings, and the number of years of his reign, seventeen, demonstrate that it is the same king that is meant by them all. It is also worth noting, that Josephus knew that Darius, the partner of Cyrus, was the son of Astyages, and was called by another name among the Greeks, though it does not appear he knew what that name was, never having seen the best history of this period, which is Xenophon's: but then what Josephus's copies say presently, § 4, that it was only within 'no long time' after the hand-writing on the wall that Baltasar was slain, does not so agree with our copies of Daniel, which say it was 'the same night,' Dan. v. 30.—W.

manded that those vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered Jerusalem of, and had not made use of, but had put them in his own temple, should be brought. He also was so audacious as to proceed to use them in his cups, drinking out of them and blaspheming against God, when he saw a hand come out of the wall, and write upon the wall certain syllables. Being troubled at this sight he called all the magicians and Chaldæans together, and all sorts of men among the Babylonians able to interpret signs and dreams, to explain the writing to him. But when the magicians said they could not discover nor understand it, the king was in great disorder of mind and great trouble at this surprising thing; so he caused it to be proclaimed throughout all the country, and promised that to him who could explain the writing, and give the signification couched therein, he would give a golden chain for his neck, and allow him to wear a purple garment, as did the kings of Chaldæa, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominions. When this proclamation was made, the magicians ran together more earnestly, and were very ambitious to find out the meaning of the writing, but still doubted about it as much as before. Now when the king's grandmother saw him cast down at this, she began to encourage him, and to say that there was a certain captive who came from Judæa, a Jew by birth, but brought away by Nebuchadnezzar when he destroyed Jerusalem, whose name was Daniel, a wise man, and of great sagacity in finding out what was impossible for others to discover, and what was known to God alone; who brought to light and answered such questions of Nebuchadnezzar, as no one else was able to answer, when they were consulted. She therefore begged that he would send for him, and inquire of him concerning the writing, and so condemn the unskilfulness of those that could not find its meaning, even though what God signified thereby should be of a melancholy nature.

§ 3. When Baltasar heard this, he called for Daniel; and when he had told him what he had heard concerning him and his wisdom, and how a divine spirit was with him, and how he alone was very capable of finding out what others could never understand, he desired him to point out

to him what this writing meant: for if he did so, he would give him leave to wear purple, and would put a chain of gold about his neck, and would bestow on him the third part of his dominions, as an honour and reward for his wisdom, that thereby he might become most illustrious to those who saw him, and inquired why he had obtained such honours. But Daniel desired that he would keep his gifts to himself (for what was wise and divine admitted of no gifts, and bestowed its advantages on petitioners freely), but still he explained the writing to him, which denoted that he should soon die, and that because he had not learnt to honour God, and not to attempt things too high for human nature, by the punishment his progenitor had undergone for the outrages he had offered to God; for he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereupon praise God all the days of his life, as one of almighty power who takes care of mankind. But he had forgotten all this, and had greatly blasphemed against God, and had made use of his vessels with his concubines. And God had seen this, and was angry with him, and declared beforehand by this writing what a sad conclusion of life he should come to. And he explained the writing as follows. "MANE. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, will signify a *Number*, because God has numbered so long a time for thy life and kingdom, and there remains but a small time for you. THEKEL. This signifies a *Weight*, and means that God has weighed the time of thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. PHARES. This in the Greek tongue denotes a *Fragment*. God will therefore break thy kingdom into fragments, and divide it among the Medes and Persians."

§ 4. When Daniel had told the king that the writing upon the wall signified this, Baltasar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, since the interpretation was so heavy against him. However, he did not refuse what he had promised Daniel, though he was a prophet of evils to him, but bestowed them all upon him, reasoning that the threatened overthrow of his kingdom came from



fate and necessity and not from the prophet, and that it was the part of a good and just man to give what he had promised, although the events were of a melancholy nature. Accordingly, the king determined so to do: and no long time after both himself and the city were taken by Cyrus, the king of Persia, who led an army against him: for it was Baltasar under whom Babylon was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this was the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, as history informs us. And Darius was sixty-two years old when Babylon was taken by him, and when he with his kinsman Cyrus overthrew the empire of the Babylonians. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks. And he took Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three satraps whom he set over his three hundred and sixty satrapies, for so many did Darius make.

§ 5. Now Daniel being held in such great honour and wonderful favour with Darius, and being alone intrusted with everything by him, as having somewhat divine in him, was envied by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings envy them. And when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion to calumniate and accuse him, he afforded them no opportunity at all, for as he was above all temptations of money and despised bribes, and esteemed it a very base thing to take anything by way of reward even when it might be justly given him, he afforded those that envied him not the least handle for accusations. So as they could find nothing that was shameful or reproachful, for which they might calumniate him to the king, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method, whereby they might get him out of the way. As therefore they observed that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, they thought they had got a pretext by which they might ruin him. So they went to Darius, and told him, that the satraps and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, during which time no one was to offer a petition or prayer either to him or to

the gods, and whoever transgressed this decree was to be cast into the den of lions, and there perish.

§ 6. Thereupon the king, not being acquainted with their wicked design, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and promised to ratify what they desired; he also published an edict to promulgate to the people the decree which the satraps had made. And all the rest took care not to transgress those injunctions, and rested quiet, but Daniel had no regard to them, but, as he was wont, persistently prayed to God in the sight of them all. Then the satraps, having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, went at once to the king, and accused Daniel as the only person that had transgressed the decree, for nobody else dared to pray to the gods. This discovery they made, not because of their piety, but because they had watched him and observed him out of envy; for supposing that Darius, having greater kindness to him than they wished, would be ready to grant him a pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become any milder, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions according to the law. Then Darius, hoping that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible from the wild beasts, bade him bear what should happen cheerfully. And when Daniel was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den instead of a door, and went his way; but he passed all the night without food and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel. And when it was day, he got up and came to the den, and found the seal unbroken, which he had left the stone sealed with; so he opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him, If he were safe? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, and said that he had suffered no harm, the king ordered that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing that was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God and his providence; but they said that the lions had had their fill of food, and so it was, they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come

near him ; and this they said to the king. But he, hating them for their wickedness, gave order, that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions ; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that he might learn whether the lions, now they were full, would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the satraps had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, for the lions spared none of them, but tore them all to pieces, as if they had been very hungry and wanted food. I suppose, therefore, it was not their hunger, which had been a little before satisfied with abundance of flesh, but the wickedness of these men, that whetted their appetite ; for if it so pleased God, that wickedness might be esteemed even by those irrational creatures a plain ground for their punishment.

§ 7. When therefore those that had plotted against Daniel were themselves destroyed, king Darius sent [letters] over all the country, and praised that God whom Daniel worshipped, and said, that he was the only true God and almighty. He also held Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the first of his friends. Now when Daniel was become so illustrious and famous, because of the opinion men had that he was beloved of God, he built a tower at Ecbatana<sup>1</sup> in Media : it was a most elegant building and wonderfully made, and still remains and is preserved to this day ; and to such as see it, it appears to have been lately built, and to be no older than the very day when anyone looks upon it, it is so fresh, flourishing, and beautiful, and no way grown old in so long time. And yet buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well, and by numbers of years their strength is dissolved, and their beauty withered. Now they bury the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia, in this tower to this day ; and he who was intrusted with the care of it was a Jewish priest ; which custom is also observed to this day. But it is right to give an account of what this Daniel did, which is most wonderful to hear, for all things went wonderfully well with him, as one of the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Takht-i-Sulciman*, in Persia.

of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was alive he had the esteem and good opinion both of the kings and of the multitude, and now he is dead, he has a remembrance that will never die. For the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us to this day, and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God. For he did not only prophesy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time of their accomplishment: and while other prophets used to foretell misfortunes, and so were disagreeable both to the kings and to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet of good things, so that by the agreeable nature of his predictions he procured the goodwill of all men, and by the accomplishment of them he procured the belief of their truth, and the opinion of divine power in himself, among the multitude. He also wrote and left behind him what made manifest the accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predictions. For he says that when he was in Susa,<sup>1</sup> the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the plain with his companions, there was on a sudden an earthquake and commotion of the earth, and that he was left alone by himself, his friends fleeing away from him; and that he was disturbed and fell on his face and on his two hands, and that a certain person touched him, and at the same time bade him rise and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations. He also related that when he stood up he was shown a great ram, with many horns growing out of its head, and that the last was higher than the rest; and after this he looked to the west, and saw a he-goat borne through the air from that quarter, which rushed upon the ram with great violence, and smote it twice with its horns, and overthrew it to the ground, and trampled upon it. Afterwards he saw a very great horn growing out of the head of the he-goat, and when it was broken off, four horns grew up that were turned to each of the four winds. And he wrote that out of them arose another lesser horn, which he said waxed great; and God showed to him that it would fight against his nation, and take their city by force, and bring the temple-worship to

<sup>1</sup> Now *Sûs*.

confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days. Daniel wrote that he saw these visions in the plain of Susa; and informs us, that God interpreted the appearance of this vision in the following manner. He said that the ram signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those kings that were to reign in them; and that the last horn signified the last king, and that he should exceed all the kings in riches and glory; that the goat signified that one should come and reign from the Greeks, who should twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him in battle, and should receive his entire dominion; that by the great horn which sprang out of the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its falling off, and the turning of every one of them to the four quarters of the earth, signified the successors that should arise after the death of the first king, and the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they should be neither his children, nor of his kindred, that should reign over the habitable earth for many years; and that from among them there should arise a certain king that should overcome the Jewish nation and their laws, and should take away their polity, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices being offered for three years' time. And so indeed it came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and to what he wrote many years before it came to pass. In the same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did he leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, so that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in error, who cast providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature, but say that the world is carried along of its own accord without a ruler and guardian; for were it destitute of a guide to conduct it, as

they imagine, it would be like ships without pilots, which we see submerged by the winds, or like chariots without drivers which are overturned, and would be dashed to pieces by chance motion, and so perish and come to nought. So that, by the fore-mentioned predictions of Daniel, those men seem to me very much to err from the truth, who declare that God exercises no providence over human affairs; for if it were the case that the world went on by chance, we should not see all things come to pass according to his prophecy. Now as to myself, I have described these matters as I have found them and read them; but if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me.

## BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS.—FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

### CHAP. I.

*How Cyrus, King of the Persians, let the Jews go out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own Country, and to build their Temple, for which Work he gave them Money.*

#### § 1.

IN the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamity of those poor people, as he had foretold to them by Jeremiah the prophet, before the destruction of the city; that after they had served Nebuchadnezzar and his posterity, and had undergone that servitude seventy years, he would restore them again to the land of their fathers, and they should build their temple, and

enjoy their ancient prosperity. And these things God did afford them. For he stirred up the mind of Cyrus, and made him write throughout all Asia, "Thus saith Cyrus the king. Since God Almighty has appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is the God whom the nation of the Israelites worship. For indeed he foretold my name by the prophets, and that I should build him an house at Jerusalem in the country of Judæa."

§ 2. This was known to Cyrus by his reading the book of his prophecies which Isaiah left behind him two hundred and twenty years before. For that prophet had said, that God had spoken thus to him in a secret vision: "My will is that Cyrus, whom I have appointed to be king over many and great nations, shall send back my people to their own land, and build my temple." This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred and forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfil what was written; so he called the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and told them that he gave them leave to go back to their own country, and to rebuild their city Jerusalem and the temple of God, for he would be their friend, and would write to the governors and satraps that were in the neighbourhood of their country of Judæa, to contribute to them gold and silver for the building of the temple, and besides that beasts for their sacrifices.

§ 3. When Cyrus had announced this to the Israelites, the rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, set out for Jerusalem. But many stayed at Babylon, not being willing to leave their possessions. And when they were got to Jerusalem, all the king's friends assisted them, and brought in, for the building of the temple, some gold and some silver, and some a great many cattle and horses. So they performed their vows to God, and offered the sacrifices that had been usual in old times, as though their city had been rebuilt, and the ancient practices relating to their worship had been revived. Cyrus also sent back to them the vessels of God which king Nebuchadnezzar had robbed the temple of, and had carried to Babylon. And he committed them to Mithridates, his

treasurer, to take away, with an order to give them to Abassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built, and when it was finished deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent a letter to the satraps that were in Syria, the contents whereof are as follows.

“ KING CYRUS TO SISINES AND SARABAZANES,  
GREETING.

I have given leave, to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please, to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same site where it was before. I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same breadth, making three layers<sup>1</sup> of polished stone, and one of the wood of the country; and similarly with the altar whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I wish also the expense of these things to come out of my revenues. I have also sent the vessels which king Nebuchadnezzar robbed the temple of, and have given them to Mithridates the treasurer, and to Zorobabel the governor of the Jews, that they may carry them to Jerusalem, and restore them to the temple of God. Now their number is as follows: fifty ewers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty drinking cups of gold, and five hundred of silver; fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels of gold for pouring the drink-offerings, and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which their forefathers were used to have, for their cattle and wine and oil two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmæ, and for wheat flour twenty thousand and five hundred artabæ. And I order that these expenses be furnished out of the tribute from Samaria. The priests shall also offer their

<sup>1</sup> The word is similarly used in Herodotus, i. 179; ii. 127. Compare also Chapter IV. in our author.



sacrifices in Jerusalem according to the laws of Moses, and when they offer them, they shall pray to God for the preservation of the king and his family, that the kingdom of Persia may continue. And my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury." Such was the import of this letter. Now the number of those that returned from captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.

## CHAP. II.

*How, upon the Death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in the building of the Temple by the Cuthæans, and the neighbouring Governors; and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to build the Temple.*

### § 1.

WHEN the Jews were laying the foundations of the temple, and were very zealous about building it, the neighbouring nations, especially the Cuthæans, whom Shalmanezer, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persia and Media, and had planted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel into captivity, besought the satraps, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were bribed by them, they sold the Cuthæans authority to make this building a slow and careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy in various wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he led his army against the Massagetæ, he ended his life there.<sup>1</sup> But when Cambyses,

<sup>1</sup> Josephus here follows Herodotus, and those that related how Cyrus made war with the Scythians and Massagetæ, near the Caspian Sea, and perished in it; while Xenophon's account, which appears never to have been seen by Josephus, that Cyrus died in peace, in his own country of Persia, is attested to by the writers of the affairs of Alexander the Great, when they agree that he found Cyrus' sepulchre at Pasargadæ, near Persepolis. This account of Xenophon's is also confirmed by the fact that Cambyses, upon his succession to Cyrus, instead

the son of Cyrus, had taken over the kingdom, some of those in Syria, and Phœnicia, and the countries of Ammon and Moab, and in Samaria, wrote a letter to Cambyses, whose contents were as follows. "To our lord Cambyses, we thy servants, Rathymus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phœnicia, send greeting. It is fit, O king, that thou shouldest know that those Jews who were carried captive to Babylon, are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city and its market-places, and are setting up walls, and raising up the temple. Know therefore, that when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, but will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others than to be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, as the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them that the Jews have been rebels and enemies to kings, as has their city been also, which for that reason had been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee, because thou mayest otherwise perhaps be ignorant of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely girt with walls, thy way will be barred to Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia."

§ 2. When Cambyses had read this letter, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him, and wrote back to them as follows. "Cambyses the king to Rathymus the historiographer, to Belsemus, to Semellius the scribe, and to the rest that are joined with them and dwelling in Samaria and Phœnicia, after this manner. I have read the letter that was sent by you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers should be searched into, and it was there found that this city has always been

of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Massagetæ, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern provinces, which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and death there, went immediately to an Egyptian war, long ago begun by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, page 644, and conquered that kingdom; nor is there, that I ever heard of, the least mention in the reign of this Cambyses of any war against the Scythians and Massagetæ that he was ever engaged in all his life.—W.

an enemy to kings, and that its inhabitants have raised seditions and wars. We are also aware that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have exacted tribute of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. Therefore I give order that the Jews shall not be permitted to build this city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented." When this letter was read, Rathymus, and Semellius the scribe, and their associates, mounted on horseback at once, and made haste to Jerusalem. They also took a great company with them, and prevented the Jews building the city, and the temple. So these works were hindered from going on nine years more, till the second year of the reign of Darius, for Cambyses reigned six years, and in that time overthrew Egypt, and on his return died at Damascus.

## CHAP. III.

*How, after the Death of Cambyses, and the Slaughter of the Magi, and in the Reign of Darius, Zorobabel was superior to the rest in the Solution of Problems, and thereby obtained this Favour of the King, that the Temple should be Built.*

## § 1.

AFTER the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, ruled over the Persians for a year, those who were called the seven houses of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would send back all the vessels of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that were in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem: for there had been an old friendship between him and the king. He was also thought worthy to be with two others guard of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he hoped for.

§ 2. Now in the first year of his reign Darius feasted

those that were about him, and those born in his house, and the rulers of the Medes, the satraps of the Persians, the toparchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of his hundred and twenty-seven satrapies. And when they had eaten and drunk abundantly, even to satiety, they every one departed to their own houses to go to bed, and Darius the king also went to bed; but after he had rested a little part of the night, he awoke, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with his three body-guards, and promised, that to him who, on points that he should inquire about, should make the truest and wisest answer, he would grant, as a reward of his victory, to put on purple, and to drink in cups of gold, and to sleep upon gold, and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a tiara of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next to himself on account of his wisdom; and he added, "he shall be called my kinsman." Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, Whether wine was not the strongest? The second, Whether kings were not such? And the third, Whether women were not such? Or, Whether truth was not the strongest of all? When he had proposed to them these problems, he went to rest; and in the morning he sent for his great men, and satraps, and toparchs of Persia and Media, and sat down in the place where he used to give audience, and bade each of his body-guards declare in the hearing of them all what they thought of the proposed questions.

§ 3. Then the first of them began to speak of the power of wine, setting it forth thus. "When (said he) I think about the strength of wine, I find, Sirs, that it exceeds everything by the following indications. It trips up and deceives the mind of those that drink it, and reduces that of the king to the same state as that of the orphan and one who needs a tutor, and erects that of the slave to the boldness of the freeman, and that of the needy becomes like that of the rich man. For it changes and renews the souls of men when it gets into them, and it quenches the sorrow of those that are in calamities, and makes men forget their debts and think themselves of all men the richest, so that they talk of no small things, but of

talents, and such sums of money as become wealthy men only. Nay more, it makes them insensible of their commanders and kings, and takes away the remembrance of their friends and companions. For it arms men even against those that are dearest to them, and makes them appear the greatest strangers to them, and when they are become sober, and have slept off their wine in the night, they arise without knowing anything they have done in their cups. By these facts I infer and find that wine is the strongest and most powerful of all things."

§ 4. As soon as the first had given the fore-mentioned proofs of the strength of wine, he left off, and the next to him began to speak about the strength of a king, and demonstrated that it was the strongest of all, and more powerful than anything else that appears to have any force or wisdom. He began his proof in the following manner. "Men govern all things; they force the earth and sea to become profitable to them in what they desire, and over these men do kings rule and have authority. Now, those men who rule over that animal, which is the strongest and most powerful, must needs deserve to be esteemed insuperable in power and strength. For example, when kings command their subjects to make war and undergo dangers, they are hearkened to, and when they send them against their enemies, their power is so great that they are obeyed, and they command men to level mountains, and to pull down walls and towers. Nay, when they are commanded to be killed and to kill, they submit to it, that they may not appear to transgress the king's commands; and when they have conquered, they bring what they have got in the war to the king. Those also who are not soldiers, but cultivate the ground and plough it, when they have reaped and gathered in their fruits (after they have endured the labour and all the hardship of such works of husbandry) bring tribute to the king. And whatever the king says or commands is done of necessity without any delay. He in the meantime is satiated with all sorts of food and pleasure, and sleeps in quiet, and is guarded by such as watch and are fixed down as it were to the place through fear, for no one ventures to leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does

anyone go away and see to his own affairs, but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, namely, to guard the king, and accordingly to this he wholly addicts himself. How then can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, as so great a multitude obeys his injunctions ?”

§ 5. Now when this man had also held his peace, the third of them, who was Zorobabel, began to instruct them about women and truth, and spoke as follows. “Wine is strong, as is the king also whom all men obey, but women are superior to them in power. For it was a woman that brought the king into the world, and women bear and bring up those that plant vines which produce wine, nor indeed is there anything which we do not receive from women. For they weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by them taken care of and looked after, nor can we live apart from women. And when we have got a great deal of gold and silver, or any other thing that is of great value and deserving regard, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all those things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy and possess her beauty. We also leave father and mother and the earth that nourished us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women, nay, we venture to lay down our lives for them. But what will chiefly make you see the power of women is the following consideration. Do we not take pains and endure a great deal of trouble both by land and sea, and when we have procured something as the fruit of our labours, do we not bring it to the women as to our mistresses, and bestow it upon them? Nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by his concubine Apame, the daughter of Rabezacus Thaumasius, and his diadem taken from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently: and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions he fawned upon her, and drew her to reconciliation by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he saw her displeased at him.”

§ 6. And when the satraps and rulers looked at one

another, he began to speak about truth, and said: "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are: but both they and the king himself are weaker than truth. For although the earth be large, and the heaven high, and the course of the sun swift, yet all these are moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we ought to esteem truth to be strongest of all things, and that what is unrighteous to be of no force against it. Moreover all things else that have any strength are mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal and eternal. It affords us indeed not such beauty as will wither away with time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and laws: It distinguishes them from unrighteousness and puts it to rebuke."

§ 7. And when Zorobabel had left off his discourse about truth, and the multitude had cried out aloud that he had spoken the best, and that it was truth alone that had immutable strength and would never wax old, the king commanded that he should ask for something over and above what he had promised, for he would give it him because of his wisdom and prudence wherein he exceeded the rest; "and thou shalt sit with me," added the king, "and be called my kinsman." When he had said this, Zorobabel put him in mind of the vow he had made, in case he should ever have the kingdom. Now this vow was to rebuild Jerusalem, and to build therein the temple of God, as also to restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged and carried to Babylon. "And this," said he, "is the request which thou now permittest me to make, because I have been judged to be wise and understanding."

§ 8. And the king was pleased with what he said, and arose and kissed him, and wrote to the toparchs and satraps, and enjoined them to conduct Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to the rulers that were in Syria and Phœnicia, to cut down and carry cedar-trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them, that all the captives who should return to Judæa should be free, and he prohibited his deputies and satraps from laying any king's taxes upon the Jews; he

also permitted them to have all the land which they could possess themselves of without tribute. He also enjoined the Idumæans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, to restore the villages which they had taken from the Jews, and besides all this to contribute fifty talents for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and whatever the high priest and the priests wanted, and the sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, were to be supplied at his own expense, as also the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God. Moreover he ordered that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, as also a fixed sum of money every year for their maintenance. Darius also sent back the vessels, and also ordered that all that Cyrus had intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, should be done.

§ 9. Now when Zorobabel had obtained these grants from the king, he went out of the palace, and, looking up to heaven, he began to return thanks to God for the wisdom he had given him, and the victory he had gained thereby, even in the presence of Darius himself; for, said he, "I should not have been thought worthy of these things, O Lord, unless thou hadst been favourable to me." When therefore he had returned these thanks to God for the present, and had prayed him to show him the like favour for the time to come, he went to Babylon, and brought to his countrymen the good news of the various grants he had procured for them from the king. And they, when they heard of the same, gave thanks also to God for restoring the land of their forefathers to them again. And they betook themselves to drinking and revelling, and for seven days continued feasting and keeping festival for the recovery and restoration of their country. After this they chose themselves rulers out of the tribes of their forefathers, who should go up to Jerusalem with their wives and children and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them, making melody with harps and pipes and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also accompanied them with rejoicing.



§ 10. And thus did these men return, a certain and definite number out of every family. I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connexion of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow my narrative. But the sum of those that went up of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, above the age of twelve years, was four millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand;<sup>1</sup> the Levites were seventy-four: the number of the women and children mixed together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two. And besides these, there were one hundred and twenty-eight singers of the Levites, and one hundred and ten porters, and three hundred and ninety-two sacred servants. There were also others besides these six hundred and sixty-two, who said they were Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies. Some also of the priests were expelled from their office, as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and priests: these were about five hundred and twenty-five. The multitude also of servants that followed those that returned to Jerusalem were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; the singing men and singing women were two hundred and forty-five; the camels were four hundred and thirty-five; the beasts of burden were five thousand five hundred and twenty-five. And the leaders of all this multitude

<sup>1</sup> This strange reading in Josephus's copies of 4,000,000 instead of 40,000, is one of the grossest errors that is in them, and ought to be corrected from Ezra, ii. 64, 1 Esd. v. 40, and Neh. vii. 66, who all agree the general sum was but about 42,360. It is also very plain, that Josephus thought, that when Esdras afterwards brought up another company out of Babylon and Persia in the days of Xerxes, they were also, as well as these, out of the two tribes, and out of them only, and were in all no more than 'a seed' and 'a remnant,' while an immense number of the ten tribes never returned, but, as he believed, continued beyond the Euphrates, chap. v. § 2, 3. Of these Jews beyond the Euphrates he speaks frequently elsewhere; though, by the way, he never takes them to be idolaters, but looks on them still as observers of the laws of Moses. The 'certain part' of the people that now came up from Babylon, at the end of this chapter, imply the same smaller number of Jews that now came up, and will no way agree with the 4,000,000.—W.

thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David and of the tribe of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Josedek, the high priest. And besides these there were Mordecai and Serebæus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed a hundred minæ of gold, and five thousand of silver. Thus the priests and the Levites, and a definite part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, returned and dwelt in Jerusalem, but the rest of the multitude went each to their own parts of the country.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How the Temple was Built, and how the Cuthæans endeavoured in vain to obstruct the Work.*

##### § 1.

NOW in the seventh month after they had departed from Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers all round, and gathered together those that were in the country to Jerusalem *en masse*, who came very gladly thither. They then built the altar on the same place on which it had formerly been built, that they might offer the appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But in doing this they did not please the neighbouring nations, who all of them bore ill-will to them, They also celebrated the feast of Tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it, and after that they offered sacrifices, and what were called the continual sacrifices, and the oblations proper for the Sabbaths and for all holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the seventh month. They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were willing and ready to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon, to bind them together and make a raft of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that

was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

§ 2. In the second year of their return to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on apace; and when they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set as overseers over the work such Levites as were full twenty years old, and Jeshua and his sons and brothers, and Zodmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons. And the temple was finished sooner than anyone would have expected from the great diligence of those that had the care of it. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their accustomed garments, and with their trumpets, and the Levites and sons of Asaph, stood and sung hymns to God, according as David first of all showed them how to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the older men in the families, recollecting how much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, and seeing how inferior this now made was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with themselves how much their happy state was sunk below what it had been of old, as well as their temple. So they were dejected, and not able to contain their grief at it, and proceeded as far as to lament and shed tears. But the people in general were contented with their present condition, and because they were allowed to build them a temple, they desired no more, and neither regarded nor remembered, nor indeed at all tormented themselves with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations. But the wailing of the old men and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple in their opinion, compared with that which had been demolished, prevailed over the sound of the trumpets and the rejoicing of the people.

§ 3. Now when the Samaritans, who were hostile to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard the sound of the trumpets, they ran up and desired to know what was the reason of this noise. And when they perceived that it was the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were rebuilding their temple, they went to

Zorobabel and Jeshua and the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it; for they said, "We worship your God no less than you and pray to him, and are desirous of your religion, ever since Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, transplanted us from Cuthia and Media to this place." When they said this, Zorobabel and Jeshua the high priest, and the heads of the families of the Israelites, replied to them, that it was impossible for them to permit them to share in the building, as they [only] had been appointed to build that temple, at first by Cyrus and now by Darius, but it was lawful for them to come and worship there if they pleased, and they could allow them nothing in common with them but what was common to all other men, namely, to come to their temple and worship God there.

§ 4. When the Cuthæans heard this, (for the Samaritans have that appellation,) they were indignant at it, and urged the nations of Syria to ask the satraps, as they had formerly done in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses after him, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and hinder the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Sisines the governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and Sarabazanes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, "By whose permission it was that they built the temple so that it was more like a citadel than a temple? and why it was they built porticoes and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city?" To which Zorobabel and the high priest Jeshua replied, that they were the servants of the most high God, and that the former temple was built for him by a king of theirs that enjoyed great prosperity, and exceeded all men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians and Chaldæans, because of their fathers' impiety towards God, took their city by storm and destroyed it, and pillaged and burnt down the temple, and transplanted the people whom he had made captives, and removed them to Babylon: and that Cyrus, who was after him king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote that the temple should be built, and committed the votive offerings and vessels, and whatever

Nebuchadnezzar had taken from it, to Zorobabel and Mithridates the treasurer, and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and restored to their own temple when it was built. And he enjoined them to do it speedily, and commanded Abassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to see to the building of the temple; who, upon receiving a letter from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations: and although it had been in building from that time to this, it had not yet been finished because of the malignity of their enemies. If therefore you have a mind and think proper, write account of this to Darius, that when he has consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about the matter."

§ 5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Sisines and those that were with him resolved not to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this, and immediately wrote to him about it. And as the Jews were now terrified and afraid lest the king should change his mind as to the building of Jerusalem and the temple, two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zachariah, encouraged them, and bade them be of good cheer and suspect no hindrance from the Persians, for God foretold this to them. So they applied themselves earnestly to the building in reliance on those prophets, and did not intermit one day.

§ 6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their letter had accused the Jews of fortifying the city, and building the temple more like a citadel than a temple, and said that their doings were not for the king's advantage, and also showed the letter of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple, and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not for his interest, and when he had read the letter that was brought him from Sisines and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. And a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, commanded that the temple and altar should be built in Jerusalem; its

height was to be threescore cubits, and its breadth the same, with three layers of polished stone, and one of wood of their own country: and he ordered that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged and carried to Babylon, should be restored to the people of Jerusalem, and that the care of these things should belong to Abassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phœnicia, and to his associates, not to meddle in the place, but to permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordered that they should contribute towards the work, and supply the Jews, out of the tribute of the country where they were governors, for the sacrifices, bulls and rams and lambs and kids of the goats, and fine flour and oil and wine, and all other things that the priests should suggest to them; and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians. As for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he commanded that they should be arrested and crucified, and their substance confiscated to the king's use. He also prayed to God that, if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him dead, and thereby restrain him from his wickedness."

§ 7. When Darius had found this book among the records of Cyrus, he wrote an answer to Sisines and his associates, whose contents were as follows. "King Darius to Sisines the governor, and to Sarabazanes, greeting. Having found a copy of the enclosed letter among the records of Cyrus, I have sent it to you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Farewell." So when Sisines, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews and the princes of the Sanhedrim, and the structure of the temple was with great diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zachariah according to God's commands, and by the injunctions of the kings Cyrus and Darius. Now the temple was built in seven years, and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third

day of the twelfth month, which is called by us Adar, but by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and Levites and the rest of the Israelites offered sacrifices, (to commemorate the renewal of their former prosperity after their captivity, and because they had now the temple rebuilt,) a hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites), and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set porters at every gate according to the laws of Moses. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple round about the temple itself.

§ 8. And as the feast of Unleavened Bread was at hand, in the first month, which according to the Macedonians is called Xanthicus, but according to us Nisan, all the people flocked in from the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purified themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country; and they offered the sacrifice which was called the Passover on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offerings to God, and performed sacrifices of thanksgiving, because God had restored them to the land of their fathers and to its laws, and had made the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. And they offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and used great magnificence in the worship of God, and dwelt in Jerusalem, and had a form of government that was partly aristocratical, partly oligarchical. For the high priests were at the head of affairs, until the posterity of the Asamonæans set up kingly government: for before the captivity, and the dissolution of their polity, they had first kingly government from Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; and before those kings, such rulers governed as were called Judges and Dictators. Under this form of government they continued for more than five hundred years, after the death of Moses, and of Joshua their leader. And this is the account I had to give of the Jews who had been carried into captivity, but were delivered from it in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

§ 9. But the Samaritans, being enviously and evilly dis-

posed against the Jews, wrought them much mischief, relying on their riches, and pretending that they were akin to the Persians, since from thence they came; and whatever they were enjoined by the king's order to pay the Jews out of the tribute for the sacrifices, they would not pay. They had also the governors favourable to them and assisting them in that purpose; nor did they spare to hurt the Jews, either by themselves or by others, as far as they were able. So the people of Jerusalem determined to send an embassy to king Darius to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers. And as soon as the king heard from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them a letter to carry to the governors and council of Samaria. The contents were as follows. "King Darius to Tanganas and Sambabas, the governors of the Samaritans, also to Sadraces and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow-servants that are in Samaria. Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the sums which I commanded you for the offering of the sacrifices. My will therefore is that, upon the reading of this letter, you supply them with whatever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treasury of the tribute of Samaria, as the priests shall desire, that they may not leave off offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." Such were the contents of the letter.

#### CHAP. V.

*How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well disposed to the Jews: as also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah.*

##### § 1.

UPON the death of Darius, his son Xerxes succeeded to the kingdom, who, as he inherited his father's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety towards God, and honour of him; for he did all things like his father as to



divine worship, and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Also there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude, he was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras. He was very skilful in the laws of Moses, and was a favourite with king Xerxes. He determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon, and he desired that the king would give him a letter to the satraps of Syria, that they might know who he was. Accordingly, the king wrote the following letter to those satraps. "Xerxes, king of kings, to Esdras the priest, and reader of the divine law, greeting. I think it agreeable to that love which I bear to mankind, to permit those of the Jewish nation that are so disposed, as well as those of the priests and Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let everyone that has a mind go, (for so it has seemed good to me and to my seven counsellors,) in order to review affairs in Judæa, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take with them those presents which I and my friends have vowed, as well as all the silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians which was dedicated to God, and let all this be carried to Jerusalem for sacrifices to God. Let it also be lawful for thee and thy brethren to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take the expenses out of the king's treasury. I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria and Phœnicia, to see to the affairs that Esdras the priest, and reader of the laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not be at all angry with me, or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God according to the law, as far as a hundred cors of wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any treacherous imposition or tribute upon their priests or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Esdras, appoint judges according

to the wisdom given thee by God, and those such as understand the law, that they may judge in all Syria and Phœnicia; and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of it, that if anyone of thy countrymen transgress the law of God, or that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing it out of ignorance, but as one that knows it indeed, but boldly despises and contemns it. And such may be punished by death, or by paying fines. Farewell."

§ 2. When Esdras had received this letter, he was very joyful, and began to worship God, and confessed that he had been the cause of the king's great favour to him, and for that reason he gave all the glory to God. And he read the letter at Babylon to the Jews that were there, but he kept it, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media. And when these Jews understood the piety the king had towards God, and the kindness he had for Esdras, they were all greatly pleased; and many of them took their effects with them and came to Babylon, yearning to return to Jerusalem. But the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country. So there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, for the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates even now, and are an immense multitude that cannot be numbered. Now there came a great number of priests, and Levites, and porters, and sacred singers, and sacred servants, to Esdras. So he gathered together those that were in captivity beyond the Euphrates, and stayed there three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortune by the way, either from their enemies, or from any other mischance. For Esdras had told the king beforehand that God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. And when they had finished their prayers, they removed from the Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and got to Jerusalem in the fifth month of the same year. And Esdras at once presented the sacred money to the treasurers, who were of the family of the priests, six hundred and fifty talents of silver,

vessels of silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty talents, and vessels of brass that was more precious than gold<sup>1</sup> twelve talents by weight; for these presents had been made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. And when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings, twelve bulls for the common preservation of the people, ninety rams, and seventy-two lambs, and twelve kids of the goats for the remission of sins. He also delivered the king's letter to the king's officers, and to the governors of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; and as they were obliged to do what was enjoined by him, they honoured our nation, and assisted them in all their necessities.

§ 3. Now all these things were done under the advice of Esdras, and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of success in his plans on account of his goodness and righteousness. And some time afterwards there came some persons to him, who brought an accusation against certain of the multitude and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their polity and broken the laws of their country by marrying strange wives, and had brought the family of the priests into confusion. These persons desired him to support the laws, lest God should take up a general anger against them all, and reduce them to a calamitous condition again. Thereupon he immediately rent his garments in his grief, and pulled off the hair of his head and beard, and cast himself upon the ground, because this crime had reached the principal men among the people, and considering that if he should enjoin them to put away their wives, and the children they had by them, he should not be hearkened to, he continued lying upon the ground. However, all the better sort came running to him, and also themselves wept and joined in the grief he was in for what had been done. Then Esdras rose up from the ground, and stretched out his hands towards heaven, and said that he was ashamed to look towards it because of the sins which the people had com-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hudson takes notice here, that this kind of brass or copper, or rather mixture of gold and brass or copper, was called 'aurichalcum,' which was of old esteemed the most precious of metals.—W.

mitted, who had cast out of their memories what their fathers had undergone on account of their wickedness: and he besought God, who had saved a seed and a remnant out of the calamity and captivity they had been in, and had restored them again to Jerusalem and to their own land, and had obliged the kings of Persia to have compassion on them, to forgive them also the sins they had now committed, for, though they deserved death, yet it was agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to them the punishment due.

§ 4. After Esdras had said this, he left off praying; and when all those that came to him with their wives and children were in lamentation, one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem, came to him and said that they had sinned in marrying strange wives; and urged him to adjure them all to put away those wives and the children born of them, and that those should be punished who would not obey the law. So Esdras hearkened to this advice, and made the chief men of the priests and Levites and Israelites swear that they would put away those wives and children according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went at once out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, he abode there that day. And when proclamation was made, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and their substance appropriated according to the decision of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Tebeth, and according to the Macedonians Apellæus. Now, as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, who suffered greatly from the cold, Esdras stood up and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; and that they would now do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, if they put those wives away. And they all cried out that they would do so, but that the

multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this work would require more than one or two days. "Let the rulers, therefore [said they,] and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a fixed time, and let the elders of every place estimate the number of those that have thus married, and be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry for those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately put away their wives and the children which were born of them;<sup>1</sup> and in order to appease God they offered sacrifices, and slew rams as oblations to him. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of these men. So when Esdras had reformed this sin about the marriages of the fore-mentioned persons, he purified their practice in marriages, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

§ 5. Now when they kept the feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which faced east, and desired of Esdras that the laws of Moses might be read to them. Accordingly he stood in the midst of the multitude and read them, and did so from morning to noon. Now, by hearing the laws read to them, they were instructed to be righteous men for the present and for the future, and as for their past

<sup>1</sup> This procedure of Esdras, and of the best part of the Jewish nation, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, of reducing the Jewish marriages, once for all, to the strictness of the law of Moses, without any regard to the greatness of those who had broken it, and without regard to that natural affection or compassion for their heathen wives, and their children by them, which made it so hard for Esdras to correct it, deserves greatly to be observed and imitated in all attempts for reformation among Christians, the contrary conduct having ever been the bane of true religion, both among Jews and Christians, while political views, or human passions, or prudential motives, are suffered to take place instead of the divine laws, and so the blessing of God is forfeited, and the church still suffered to continue corrupt from one generation to another. See chap. viii. § 2.—W.

offences, they were vexed with themselves, and even went so far as to shed tears, considering with themselves, that if they had kept the law, they would have endured none of those miseries which they had experienced. But when Esdras saw them in that disposition, he bade them go home and not weep, for it was a festival, and they ought not to weep thereon, for it was not lawful to do so. He exhorted them rather to proceed immediately to feasting, and to do what was suitable to a feast and agreeable to a day of joy, and to let their repentance and sorrow for their former sins be a security and guard to them against falling any more into the like offences. So upon Esdras's exhortation they began to feast, and when they had so done for eight days in their tabernacles, they departed to their own homes, singing hymns to God, and returning thanks to Esdras for his reformation of the corruptions that had been introduced into their polity. And it came to pass after he had obtained this reputation among the people, that he died an old man, and was buried in a magnificent manner at Jerusalem. About the same time also Joachim the high priest died, and his son Eliasib succeeded him in the high priesthood.

§ 6. Now there was one of the Jews that had been carried into captivity, who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes, whose name was Nehemiah. As he was walking about in the suburbs of Susa, the metropolis of the Persians, he heard some strangers that were entering the city after a long journey, speaking to one another in the Hebrew tongue, so he went to them and asked them whence they came? And when their answer was, that they came from Judæa, he began to inquire of them again in what state the multitude was? and in what condition Jerusalem was? And they replied that they were in a bad state,<sup>1</sup> for their walls were thrown down to the ground, and the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief to the Jews, for in the day time

<sup>1</sup> This miserable condition of the Jews, and their capital, must have been after the death of Esdras, their former governor, and before Nehemiah came with his commission to build the walls of Jerusalem. Nor is that at all disagreeable to these histories in Josephus, since Esdras came in the 7th, and Nehemiah not till the 25th year of Xerxes, an interval of eighteen years.—W.

they overran the country and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that not a few were led away captive out of the country and from Jerusalem itself, and the roads were every day found full of dead men. At this Nehemiah shed tears, commiserating the calamities of his countrymen: and looking up to heaven, he said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou allow our nation to suffer such great miseries, for we are made the prey and spoil of all men." And while he stayed at the gate and lamented thus, one told him that the king was going to sit down to supper; so he made haste, and went at once as he was, without washing himself, to minister to the king in his office of cup-bearer. And as the king was very pleasant after supper, and more cheerful than usual, he cast his eyes on Nehemiah, and seeing him looking sad, he asked him why he was sad? Whereupon he prayed to God to give him favour, and persuasion to his words, and said, "How can I, O king, appear otherwise than sad and in trouble of mind when I hear that the walls of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire; but do thou grant me the favour to go and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple." And the king gave him a sign that he freely granted him what he asked, and told him to carry a letter to the satraps, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatever assistance he wanted for what he pleased. "Leave off thy sorrow, therefore," added the king, "and be cheerful henceforth in the performance of thy office." Then Nehemiah worshipped God, and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance in the pleasure he had at the king's promises. And the king called for him the next day, and gave him a letter to carry to Adæus, the governor of Syria and Phœnicia and Samaria, wherein he gave him injunctions to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for the building.

§ 7. Now when he had gone to Babylon, and had taken with him thence many of his countrymen who voluntarily followed him, he arrived at Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes: and when he had shown the

letters to God,<sup>1</sup> he gave them to Adæus and the other governors. He also called together all the people to Jerusalem, and stood in the midst of the temple, and made the following speech to them. "You know, O Jews, that our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, kept God in mind continually; and for the sake of their righteousness, he has not left off the care of you: indeed he has assisted me in gaining this leave from the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you therefore (who well know the ill-will the neighbouring nations bear to us, who, when once they perceive that we are in earnest about building, will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our work), in the first place to put your trust in God, as in one who will assist us against their hatred, and next to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work, now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had said this, he gave order that the rulers should measure the wall and divide the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, and according to every one's ability. And when he had added the promise, that he himself with his servants would assist them in the building, he dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work. They have been called Jews from the day that they came up from Babylon, after the tribe of Judah, which came first to those places, and so both they and the country gained that appellation.<sup>2</sup>

§ 8. Now when the Ammonites and Moabites and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Cœle-Syria,<sup>3</sup> heard that the building of the walls went on apace, they took it ill, and

<sup>1</sup> This showing king Xerxes' letters to God, or laying them open before God in the temple, is very like the laying open the letters of Sennacherib before him also by Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 14, Isa. xxxvii. 14, although this last was for a memorial, to put him in mind of the enemies, in order to move the divine compassion, and the present as a token of gratitude for mercies already received, as Havercamp well observes on this place. — W.

<sup>2</sup> Judæi, Judah, Judæa.

<sup>3</sup> Cœle-Syria is properly the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; but the name is sometimes used in a wider sense to denote the prolongation of the valley into the Valley of the Jordan, and it seems to be so used in this instance by Josephus.



proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intention. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought to destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear and alarm, and spread abroad rumours, as if many nations were going to make an expedition against them, by which means they were alarmed, and almost left off the building. But none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work, only he kept a number of men about him as a body-guard, and unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any toil in his desire to perfect the work. And thus did he take care of his own safety attentively and with great forecast, not that he feared death, but because he was persuaded that if he were dead, the walls for his fellow-citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks, and have their armour on while they were building. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also ordered that their shields should lie very near them, and he placed trumpeters at intervals of five hundred feet, and charged them if their enemies appeared, that they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and that their enemies might not fall upon them when they were unarmed. He also went about the rounds of the city by night, being never discouraged, either about the work itself, or about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for pleasure, but only out of necessity. And he underwent this toil for two years and four months:<sup>1</sup> for in so long time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth

<sup>1</sup> It may not be improper to remark here, with what unusual accuracy Josephus determines these years of Xerxes, in which the walls of Jerusalem were built, viz. that Nehemiah came with his commission in the 25th year of Xerxes; that the walls were two years and four months in building, and that they were finished in the 28th year of Xerxes, § 7, 8. It may also be remarked further, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more than one infallible astronomical character, I mean an eclipse of the moon a little before the death of Herod the Great, Antiq. xvii. 6, § 4. Now on these two chronological characters in a great measure depend some of the most important points belonging to Christianity, viz. the explication of Daniel's seventy weeks, and the duration of our Saviour's ministry, and the time of his death, in correspondence to these seventy weeks.—W.

year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. And when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the multitude offered sacrifices to God for the building of them, and continued feasting for eight days. But when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the walls was finished, they were indignant at it. Now when Nehemiah saw that the city was thinly peopled, he exhorted the priests and Levites to leave the country and remove to the city and live there, and he built them houses at his own expense, and he commanded those of the people who were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites, having perpetually whereon they might live, might not leave the divine worship. And they willingly hearkened to the orders of Nehemiah, so the city of Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. And when Nehemiah had finely done many other excellent things worthy of commendation, he died at a good old age. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he left the walls of Jerusalem as his eternal monument. They were built in the days of Xerxes.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning Esther and Mordecai and Haman: and how, in the Reign of Artaxerxes, the whole Nation of the Jews was in Danger of Perishing.*

### § 1.

AFTER the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When he was ruler over the Persians, the whole nation of the Jews,<sup>1</sup> with their wives and children, was in danger of

<sup>1</sup> Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard this book of Esther as no true history; and even our learned and judicious Dr. Wall, in his late posthumous critical notes upon all the other Hebrew books of the Old Testament, gives us none upon the Canticles, or upon Esther, and seems thereby to give up this book, as well as he gives up the Canticles, as indefensible: I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are gone at once, if, as we

perishing: the reason of which I shall show in a little time, for it is proper first to give some account of this king, and how he married a Jewish wife of royal stock, who is related to have saved our nation. For when Artaxerxes had taken over the kingdom, and had set governors over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia, he made in the third year of his reign a costly feast for his friends and the nations of Persia and their governors, such an one as was proper for a king to make when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and it lasted a hundred and eighty days; after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors at Susa, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following; he caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of linen and purple spread over them, that many ten thousands might recline. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for show. He also gave order to the servants that they should not force the guests to drink by bringing them wine continually, as is the practice of the Persians, but permit every one of them to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. He also sent messengers throughout the country, and gave order that the people should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his accession to the kingdom. In like manner did Vashti the queen gather the women together, and make them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her to those that feasted with him, as she exceeded all women in beauty, and he sent and commanded her to come to the feast. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbade women to be seen by strangers, would not go to the king;<sup>1</sup> and though he

certainly ought to do, and as Dean Prideaux has justly done, we place this history under Artaxerxes Longimanus, as do both the Septuagint and Josephus. The learned Dr. Lee, in his posthumous dissertation on the second book of Esdras, page 25, also says, that "the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day."—W.

<sup>1</sup> If the Chaldee paraphrast be right, that Artaxerxes intended to show Vashti to his guests naked, it is no wonder at all that she

often sent the eunuchs to her, she nevertheless stayed away and refused to come, till the king was so much irritated, that he broke up the entertainment, and rose up and called for those seven Persians who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, and said that he had been affronted by her, because though she was frequently summoned by him to his feast, she did not obey him once. He therefore ordered them to inform him what could be done against her by the law. Then one of them, whose name was Muchæus, said that this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading very unhappy lives with their wives if they were thus despised by them; for none of the wives would have any reverence for their husbands, having such an example of arrogance in the queen towards him who ruled over all. So he exhorted him to punish her severely, as she had been guilty of so great an affront to him, and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman.

§ 2. But the king being very fond of her could not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation with her, so he was in trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do. Now when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to put the memory of his wife and his love for her out of his mind, and to send abroad over all the world, and search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should like best for a wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the substitution of

would not submit to such an indignity; and if it were not so gross as that, yet it might, in the king's cups, be done in a way so indecent, as the Persian laws would not then bear, any more than the common laws of modesty. And that the king had some such design, seems not improbable, for otherwise the principal of these royal guests could be no strangers to the queen, nor unapprized of her beauty. However, since Providence was now paving the way for the introduction of a Jewess into the king's affections, to bring about one of the most wonderful deliverances which the Jewish or any nation ever had, we need not be further solicitous about the motives by which the king was induced to divorce Vashti, and marry Esther.—W.

another, and the kindness he had to Vashti would be withdrawn from her, and be placed by degrees on her that was with him. And he was persuaded to follow this advice, and gave orders to certain persons to choose out of the virgins that were in his kingdom those that were esteemed the most comely, and bring them to him. Now when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her uncle Mordecai, for that was his name. He was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it so happened that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all, and the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of spectators principally upon her: so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take charge of her: and she was provided with sweet odours in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as these virgins' bodies needed to be perfumed with: for this course was used six months by the virgins, who were in number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently prepared in the forementioned time, and were now fit to go to the king's bed, he sent one to be with the king every day. And he, when he had lain with her, sent her back to the eunuch: but when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and made her his lawful wife, and kept a wedding feast for her in the twelfth month of the seventh year of his reign, which was called Adar. He also sent couriers, called *angari*,<sup>1</sup> unto every nation, and gave orders that they should keep a feast for his marriage, while he himself treated the Persians and the Medes, and the principal men of the nations, for a whole month, on account of his marriage. And Esther came to the royal palace, and he set a diadem on her head. Thus was she married, without making known to the king what nation she belonged to. Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Susa, and dwelt there, being every day about the palace, and inquiring how the damsel did, for he loved her as though she had been his own daughter.

<sup>1</sup> See Herodotus, viii. 98; Xen. Cyr. 8. 6, 17; Matt. v. 41, xxvii. 32; Mark, xv. 21.

§ 3. Now the king had made a law, that none of his people should approach him unless summoned, when he sat upon his throne; <sup>1</sup> and men, with axes in their hands, stood round about his throne, to punish such as approached him without being summoned. However, the king sat with a golden sceptre in his hand, which he held out when he had a mind to save any of those that approached him without being summoned; and he who touched it was free from danger. But of this matter I have said enough.

§ 4. Some time after this two eunuchs Bagathous and Theodestes plotted against the king, and Barnabazus, the servant of one of them, and by birth a Jew, got acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to the queen's uncle; and Mordecai through Esther made the conspirators known to the king. This troubled the king, but he discovered the truth, and crucified the eunuchs, but gave no reward at the time to Mordecai, who had been the occasion of his preservation. He only bade the scribes set down his name in the records, and bade him stay in the palace, as a very intimate friend of the king.

§ 5. Now there was one Haman, the son of Amedatha, an Amalekite by race, that used to visit the king, and when he did so the foreigners and Persians prostrated themselves before him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honour should be paid to him; but Mordecai was so wise, and so observant of his country's laws, that he would not prostrate himself before a man. When Haman observed this, he inquired what his nationality was. And when he heard that he was a Jew, he was indignant, and said within himself, that whereas the Persians, who were free men, prostrated themselves before him, this man, who was no better than a slave, did not choose to do so. And as he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to request of the king that he alone might be punished, he

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus says, that this law [against any one's coming uncalled to the kings of Persia when they were sitting on their thrones] was first enacted by Deioeces, *i.e.* by him who first withdrew the Medes from the dominion of the Assyrians, and himself first reigned over them. Thus also, says Spanheim, stood guards, with their axes, about the throne of Tenuus, or Tenudus, that the offender might by them be punished immediately.—W.

rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amalekites, from which he sprung, had been destroyed by them. Accordingly, he went to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, dispersed over all the world under thy dominion; a nation separate from others, unsociable, having neither the same sort of divine worship that others have, nor using laws like the laws of others: at enmity with thy people and with all men both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy subjects, thou wilt give orders to destroy them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them either for slaves or for captives." And that the king might not be injured by the loss of the tribute which the Jews paid, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents, whenever he pleased; and he would pay this money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a pest.

§ 6. When Haman made this petition, the king remitted him the money, and granted him the men, to do what he would with them. Then Haman having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree as from the king to all nations, the contents whereof were as follows. "Artaxerxes, the great king, sends this writing to the rulers of the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of as much of all the world as I desired, and have not been obliged to do any thing insolent or cruel to my subjects by my power, but have shown myself mild and gentle, and seen to their peace and good order, and have been studious that they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come; and whereas I have been kindly informed by Haman, who on account of his prudence and justice is the first in my esteem and in dignity, and only second to myself for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to laws and unruly to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that hateth monarchy, and is ill-affected to our rule, I give order that these men, of whom Haman my second father hath informed us, be de-

stroyed with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that none put pity to them before obedience to this decree. And I will this to be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so, when all that have enmity to us are destroyed in one day, we may be allowed to spend our lives in peace hereafter." Now when this decree was carried to the cities and all over the country, all made ready for the entire destruction and massacre of the Jews on the day before mentioned; and they were very zealous about it at Susa in particular. And the king and Haman spent their time in feasting and drinking together, but the city was troubled.

§ 7. Now when Mordecai was informed of what had been done, he rent his clothes and put on sackcloth, and sprinkled ashes upon his head, and went about the city, crying out that a nation that had done no wrong was to be destroyed. And saying thus he went as far as the king's palace, and there he stood, for it was not lawful for him to go into it in that dress. The same thing was done by all the Jews that were in the several cities wherein this decree was published, who lamented and mourned on account of the calamities denounced against them. But when certain persons told the queen that Mordecai stood in the court-yard in mourning, she was troubled at hearing this, and sent out people to change his garments; but as he could not be induced to put off his sackcloth, because the terrible occasion that forced him to put it on was not yet ceased, she called the eunuch Achratheus, who was then present, and sent him to Mordecai, in order to know of him what sad event had befallen him, for which he was in mourning, and would not put off at her desire the dress he had put on. Then did Mordecai inform the eunuch of the reason of his mourning, and of the decree against the Jews which was sent by the king all over the country, and of the promise of money whereby Haman had bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Susa to carry to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about the matter, and for the safety of her nation not to think it a dishonourable thing to put on a humble dress, wherein she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were in great peril; for Haman, whose dignity was only



inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she was not summoned by the king, and that whoever went in to him without being summoned was slain, unless the king, if he wished to save any one, held out his golden sceptre to him; for to whomever he did so, although he went in without being summoned, that person was so far from being slain, that he obtained pardon, and was safe. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther, Mordecai bade him tell her that she must not look only to her own preservation, but the common preservation of her nation, for if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help for it from God some other way, but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. Then Esther sent the same messenger back to Mordecai and bade him go to Susa, and gather the Jews that were there together to an assembly, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it was against the law, and if she must die for it she would go through with it.

§ 8. And Mordecai did as Esther enjoined him, and made the people fast, and together with them besought God not to overlook his nation, particularly at that time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven them when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from the destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they ingloriously be slain, but he himself was the cause of the wrath of Haman, "because," said he, "I did not prostrate myself before him, nor could I endure to pay that honour to him which I used to pay to thee, O Lord, and it is owing to his anger against me that he has contrived this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The multitude offered up the same supplications, and entreated that God would see to their deliverance, and free the Israelites in every land from this calamity which was now coming upon them; for they saw it already before their eyes and expected it. Esther also

made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the ground, and putting on mourning apparel, and bidding farewell to meat and drink and all pleasures for three days; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and to make her words appear persuasive to the king, and to render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed in averting the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and in protecting those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they were still despised by him.

§ 9. When Esther had used this supplication to God for three days, she put off her mourning and changed her dress, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, one of whom supported her as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed her, and held up her large train (which swept along the ground) with the extremities of her fingers: and thus she came to the king, with a blush on her countenance, and a pleasant attractiveness in her behaviour and dignity. Yet did she go in to him with fear. And as soon as she came within sight of him, as he was sitting on his throne in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, especially as he looked at her somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger, immediately her joints failed her from the dread she was in, and she fainted in the arms of her handmaids.<sup>1</sup> But the king changed his mind, by the will of God, I suppose, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and leaped from his throne and took her in his arms, and brought her round, embracing her and speaking kindly to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to anticipate anything dreadful for coming to him without being summoned; for that law was made for subjects, so that she, who was a queen as much

<sup>1</sup> Surely we ought to read *ταῖς παρὰ πλευράν οὔσαις*. And so I have done.

as he a king, was entirely secure. As he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law, to free her from her fear. And after she had revived at this, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me to say what suddenly happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great and comely and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And as it was with difficulty and in a low voice that she could say so much, the king was in great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to look for the best, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant her half his kingdom. Then Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper. He consented to it, and when they were there, as they were drinking, he bade Esther let him know what she desired, for she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom. But she put off the discovery of her petition till the next day, if he would come again, together with Haman, to banquet with her.

§ 10. Now as the king promised to do so, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court-yard, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home and called for his wife Zeresh and his friends, and when they were come, he told them what honour he enjoyed not only from the king, but from the queen also, for he alone had that day supped with her with the king, and was also invited again for the next day; but he said he was not pleased at seeing Mordecai the Jew in the court-yard. Thereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give orders that a gallows should be made fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask of the king that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. And he commended her advice, and gave orders to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court-yard for the punishment of Mordecai. And it was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked hope of Haman, and as he knew what the event would be, was

pleased with what had been done. For that night he took away the king's sleep; and as he was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions, and to read them to him. And as he brought them and read them, one was found to have received an estate on account of his bravery on a certain occasion, and his name was set down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: and then the scribe came to Bagathous and Theodestes, the eunuchs that had made a conspiracy against the king, whom Mordecai had informed against. And when the scribe read no more than that, and was going on to another event, the king stopped him, and inquired, whether it was not added that Mordecai had a reward given him? And when he said there was nothing written about it, he bade him leave off, and inquired of those who were told off for that purpose, what hour of the night it was? And when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order that if they found any of his friends already come, and standing before the palace, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than usual, to petition the king to have Mordecai put to death. So when his servants said that Haman was before the palace, the king bade them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou only art my fast friend, I desire thee to give me advice, how I may honour one that I greatly love, in a manner suitable to my magnificence." Now Haman reasoned with himself, that the opinion he should give would be for himself, since it was he alone who was beloved by the king; so he gave that advice which he thought the best. He said, "If thou wouldest truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, make him ride on horseback, with the same garment on which thou wearest, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that he whom the king honoureth obtaineth this mark of his honour." This was the advice which Haman gave, supposing that the honour would be his. And the king was pleased with the

advice, and said, "Go then, for thou hast the horse, the garment, and the chain, ask for Mordecai the Jew, and give him those things, and go before his horse, and proclaim accordingly; for thou art (he added) my intimate friend, and hast given me good advice; carry out therefore thyself what thou hast advised me to do. This shall be his reward from me for preserving my life." When he heard this order, which was entirely unexpected, he was confounded in his mind, and scarce knew what to do. However he went out and took the horse and purple garment and golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the palace clothed in sackcloth, he bade him put that dress off, and put the purple garment on: but Mordecai, not knowing the truth, and thinking that it was done in mockery, said, "O thou wretch, thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou laugh so at our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this honour upon him, for the safety he had procured him, when he had informed against the eunuchs who had conspired against him, he put on the purple garment which the king always wore, and put the chain about his neck, and got on horseback, and went round the city, while Haman went before, and proclaimed, "This shall be the reward which the king will bestow on the man whom he loves and esteems worthy of honour." And when they had gone round the city, Mordecai went in to the king, but Haman went home full of shame, and informed his wife and friends of what had happened with tears. And they said that he would never now be able to be revenged on Mordecai, for God was with him.

§ 11. Now while they were thus talking to one another, Esther's eunuchs came to hasten Haman to supper; and one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, seeing the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house for Mordecai, inquired of one of the servants, why they had prepared it? And when he learned that it was for the queen's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished, he held his peace for the time. Now when the king was feasting with Haman at the banquet, he desired the queen to tell him what gift she wished to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatever she had a mind to. She

then lamented the danger her people were in, and said that she and her nation were given up to be destroyed, and so she spoke about the matter; for she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such an evil would not have been intolerable, but she desired that they might be delivered from this destruction. And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this, she then openly accused Haman, and proved that he had been the wicked instrument of this, and had formed this plot against them. When the king was troubled at this, and bounded away from the banquet into the garden, Haman began to beg and beseech Esther to forgive him his offences, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's couch, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provoked at that sight, said, "O thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou attempt to force my wife?" And when Haman was dismayed at this, and unable to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in, and accused Haman, and said he found a gallows at his house prepared for Mordecai, for the servant had told him so much upon his inquiry, when he went to summon Haman to supper. He said further, that the gallows was fifty cubits high. When the king heard this, he determined that Haman should be punished in no other manner than that which he had devised against Mordecai; so he gave orders that he should be hung immediately upon that gallows, and so die. And hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to recognize his wisdom and justice, not only in punishing the wickedness of Haman, but in so disposing it, that he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also, because he thereby teaches others this lesson, that what mischief anyone prepares against another, he, without knowing it, first contrives against himself.<sup>1</sup>

§ 12. Haman then, having immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, perished in this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also sent for Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that

<sup>1</sup> See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 265; Ovid, *A. A.* i. 655, 656.

she was akin to him,) and gave him the ring which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman's estate to Mordecai, and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Amadatha: for if her country were destroyed, and her countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live any longer. And the king promised her, that he would not purposely do anything that should be disagreeable to her, nor go counter to what she desired, but bade her write what she pleased about the Jews in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it all over his kingdom, for those who read letters whose authority was secured by having the king's seal on them would no way oppose what was written therein. So he commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Now the contents of his letter were as follows. "The great king Artaxerxes sendeth greeting to our rulers,<sup>1</sup> and to those that are our faithful subjects. Many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefits bestowed on them, and because of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderfully kind treatment of those that bestowed it, act not only outrageously to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors, as if they would take away gratitude from men, and from their want of tact turn their abundance and unexpected blessings against the authors of them, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and escape the vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have the management of affairs

<sup>1</sup> The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not revoke his former barbarous decree for the universal slaughter of the Jews, but only empowered the Jews to fight for their lives, and to kill their enemies if they attempted their destruction, seems to have been that old law of the Medes and Persians, not yet laid aside, that whatever decree was signed both by the king and his lords, 'could not be changed,' but remained unalterable, Daniel vi. 7-17, Esther i. 19, and viii. 9. And Haman having engrossed the royal favour might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter instead of the ancient lords, and so might have rendered it by their rules irrevocable.—W.

committed to them by their friends, and bear private malice of their own against some others, deceive and persuade those that are in power to be angry at such as have done them no harm, by laying false accusations and calumnies, till they are in danger of perishing. Nor is this state of things only to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only, but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend henceforth to calumnies and accusations, nor to the persuasions of others, but to judge of actions by one's own knowledge, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. Haman, the son of Amadatha, an Amalekite by race and alien from the blood of the Persians, is a good example of what I mean, for though he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we bear to all men to so great a degree as to be eventually called my father, and to be all along prostrated to, and to have honour paid him by all next to the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor wisely and soberly turn to good account the magnitude of his prosperity, nay, he even made a conspiracy against my kingdom and life, (though I gave him his authority,) by endeavouring to take off Mordecai, my benefactor and saviour, and by basely and treacherously asking to have Esther, the partner of my life and dominions, brought to destruction; for he wished by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends,<sup>1</sup> and to transfer the kingdom to others. But since I find that these Jews, who were devoted by this cursed fellow to destruction, are not wicked men, but conduct their lives in the best manner, and are men devoted to the worship of that God who has preserved the kingdom to me and my ancestors, I do not only free them from the punishment which the

<sup>1</sup> These words give an intimation as if Artaxerxes suspected a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared, viz. That knowing the Jews would not be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, who was an Agagite, Esth. iii. 1-10, or of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 8-33, while they were alive, and spread over all his dominions, he therefore endeavoured to destroy them.—W.



former letter, which was sent by Haman, ordered to be inflicted on them, (to which if you do not attend you will do well,) but I also will that they have all honour paid to them. And I have hanged up the man that contrived such things against them with his family before the gates in Susa, that punishment being sent upon him by God who seeth all things. And I charge you to publicly set up a copy of this letter throughout all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them, that, at the very season wherein their misery was to begin, they may defend themselves the very same day from unjust violence, namely on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God has made that day a day of salvation to them instead of a day of destruction. And may it be a good day to those that wish us well, and a memorial of the punishment of the conspirators against us! And I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey anything that is contained in this letter, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. And let this letter be published throughout all the country that is under our rule, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before-mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."

§ 13. Then the horsemen who carried these instructions went the ways which they were to go with speed. But as for Mordecai, as soon as he had put on the royal garment and the crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he appeared in public, and when the Jews who were at Susa saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his good fortune was common to themselves also. And joy and the light of salvation came upon the Jews both in the cities and provinces upon the publication of the king's letter, so that many even of other nations circumcised their foreskins for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby. For on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which according to the Hebrews is called Adar, but according to the Macedonians Dystrus, those that carried the king's letter gave them notice, that on the very day whereon their danger was to have been, they should destroy their enemies. And now the rulers of the satrapies, and tyrants and kings and

scribes, held the Jews in esteem, for the fear they were in of Mordecai forced them to act with discretion. Now when the royal decree had spread over all the country that was subject to the king, it so fell out that the Jews at Susa slew about five hundred of their enemies. And when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, but did not know what had been done in the provinces, and asked her whether she would have any thing done further against them, for if so it should be done accordingly: she begged that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day, as also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. And the king ordered the Jews to do so, being desirous not to oppose Esther. So they banded themselves together again on the fourteenth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched nothing of their possessions. Now seventy-five thousand of their enemies were slain by the Jews that were in the provinces and in the other cities, and these were slain on the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. Similarly the Jews that were in Susa gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the same month. Hence even now all the Jews all over the world keep festival these days, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to those Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and hand them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never be buried in oblivion, for since they were about to be destroyed in those days by Haman, they would do right, as they had escaped the danger in them, and inflicted punishment on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them. For this cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Phrurim [or Purim]. And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government, and also enjoyed the company of the queen: so that the affairs of the Jews were by their means better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews during the reign of Artaxerxes.

## CHAP. VII.

*How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple; and how Bagoses offered many Injuries to the Jews; also what Sanballat did.*

## § 1.

WHEN Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded him in the high priesthood: and when he also was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes's army, polluted the temple, and imposed tribute on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. The reason of this was as follows. Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. Relying on his support, Jesus quarrelled with John in the temple, and so provoked his brother, that in his anger he slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime; and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done either by the Greeks or barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, for the people were on that very account enslaved and the temple polluted by the Persians. For when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you dared to perpetrate a murder in your temple?" And as he was about to go into the temple, they tried to prevent his doing so; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that committed murder in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Bagoses seized upon this pretext, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

§ 2. Now when John departed this life, his son Jaddus succeeded him in the high priesthood. He had a brother whose name was Manasseh. Now there was one Sanballat,

who was sent into Samaria as satrap by Darius, the last king of Persia. He was a Cuthæan by race, of the same stock as the Samaritans. This man knew that the city of Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians and to the people of Cœle-Syria, so he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, in marriage to Manasseh, thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews would continue their good-will to him.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning Sanballat and Manasseh, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizim; as also how Alexander made his Entry into the City of Jerusalem, and what Benefits he bestowed on the Jews.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Aegæ<sup>1</sup> by Pausanias, the son of Cerastes, who was descended from the family of the Orestæ. And his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom, and crossed over the Hellespont, and overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at the Granicus,<sup>2</sup> and marched into Lydia,<sup>3</sup> and subdued Ionia,<sup>4</sup> and overran Caria,<sup>5</sup> and attacked the region of Pamphylia,<sup>6</sup> as has been related elsewhere.

§ 2. Now the elders of Jerusalem, being very indignant that the brother of Jaddus the high priest, as he was married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, formed a party against him; for they esteemed his marriage an encouragement to such as should be desirous of

<sup>1</sup> The ancient capital of Macedonia, now *Vodena*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Koja Chat*, which falls into the *Sea of Marmora* near the *Dardanelles*.

<sup>3</sup> In the western part of Asia Minor; its capital was *Sardis*.

<sup>4</sup> The district of Asia Minor inhabited by Ionian Greeks; it lay on the west coast, between *Phocæa* and *Miletus*.

<sup>5</sup> A country in the south-west angle of Asia Minor.

<sup>6</sup> A country on the south coast of Asia Minor, on the gulf of *Adalia*.

transgressing by marrying strange wives, and thought this would be the beginning of intercourse with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married wives that were not of their own country, had been the cause of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent. So they commanded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and excluding him from the altar. Whereupon Manasseh went to his father-in-law Sanballat, and told him, although he loved his daughter Nicaso, yet he was not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, for it was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family. Then Sanballat promised not only to preserve to him his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of high priest, and to make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled over, if he would retain his daughter as his wife. He also said further, that he would build a temple like that at Jerusalem upon Mount Gerizim,<sup>1</sup> which is the highest of all the mountains in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Manasseh was elated by these promises, and stayed with Sanballat, supposing that he should get the high priesthood from Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was already in years. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of the priests and Levites were entangled in such marriages. For they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and gave them habitations also, in order in every way to gratify his son-in-law.

§ 3. About this time it was that Darius heard that Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had beaten his satraps in the battle of the Granicus, and was proceeding further; whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the

<sup>1</sup> Now *Jebel et-Tôr*, south of *Nâblus*. Josephus is in error in supposing it to be the highest mountain in Samaria, for it is lower than *Ebal*. For a description of the ruins on its summit see the "Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1873," p. 66.

Macedonians before they should invade and conquer all Asia. So he crossed over the river Euphrates, and marched over Taurus the Cilician mountain,<sup>1</sup> and waited for the enemy at Issus<sup>2</sup> in Cilicia, intending there to give him battle. And Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down, and told Manasseh that he would at once perform his promises to him, directly Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not he only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their numerous host. But the event proved other than they expected, for Darius joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His mother also, and his wife and children, were taken captive, and he fled into Persia. Then Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus, and when he had become master of Sidon, he besieged Tyre, and sent a letter to the Jewish high priest, bidding him send him some auxiliaries, and supply his army with provisions; and henceforth to pay to him the tribute he had formerly paid to Darius, and to choose the friendship of the Macedonians, for he should never repent of so doing. But the high priest answered the letter-carriers that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him, and said he would not break his word while Darius was in the land of the living. Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry, and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just on the eve of being taken, yet he threatened that, as soon as he had taken it, he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So he energetically pushed on the siege and took Tyre, and settled its affairs, and marched to the city of Gaza,<sup>3</sup> and besieged both the city and commander of the garrison, whose name was Babemeses.

§ 4. And Sanballat thought he had now got a good

<sup>1</sup> Darius crossed the Amanus Mountains, now the *Giaour Dag*h, east of the gulf of *Scanderin*, and not the Taurus Mountains.

<sup>2</sup> On the plain north of *Alexandretta*, at the north-east corner of the Mediterranean.

<sup>3</sup> *Ghuzzeh*.

opportunity for his plan, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his subjects, went to Alexander, and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, told him that he would deliver up to him those places that were in his power, and gladly accept him as his lord instead of king Darius. And when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage and spoke to him about his plans. He told him that he had a son-in-law Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddus, and that there were many others of his own nation now with him that were desirous to have a temple in the region that was under him; and that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two, lest, if the nation was of one mind and united, upon any revolutionary attempt it should prove troublesome to him, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria. Thereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave to do so, and he used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a very great honour that his daughter's children should have that dignity. But when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died, and Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem. And Jaddus the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony and dread, not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his previous contumacy. He therefore ordered the people to make supplications, and to join him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect and deliver the nation from the perils that were coming upon them. Thereupon God warned him in a dream, as he was asleep after he had offered sacrifice, to take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest were to appear in white garments, but that he and the priests were to meet the king in the garments proper to their order, without dread of any evil consequences, which the providence of God would prevent. Upon this, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God, and acted entirely according to his dream, and waited for the coming of the king.

§ 5. And when he heard that the king was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and mass of the citizens. The procession was imposing, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached a place called Sapha,<sup>1</sup> which word, translated into Greek, signifies a prospect, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple. Now when the Phœnicians and Chaldæans that followed the king thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torture the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure made probable, the very reverse of this happened. For Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance in white garments, while the priests stood clothed in their fine linen, and the high priest in purple and gold robes, with his mitre on his head, and the golden plate in it whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that Name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also with one voice saluted Alexander, and surrounded him, whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were astonished at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him, "How it came to pass, that when all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews?" To whom he replied, "I did not adore him, but that God who has honoured him with the high priesthood. For I saw this very person in a dream in these very robes, when I was at Dium<sup>2</sup> in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to cross over, for he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians. And so having seen no other in such robes, and now seeing this person in them, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the

<sup>1</sup> The 'Scopos' of Jewish War, ii. 19, § 4, 7, and v. 2, § 3. It was on the north road, on the brow of the hill overlooking Jerusalem, and seven furlongs from the city walls.

<sup>2</sup> Near the village of *Malathria*.



Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my mind." When he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he entered the city. And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God according to the high priest's direction, and handsomely treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the book of Daniel was shown him,<sup>1</sup> wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that he was the person meant, and full of joy dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him. Thereupon the high priest begged that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute every seventh year, and he granted all they desired. And when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do what they asked. And when he said to the people that if any of them would enlist in his army, on condition that they should continue in the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many engaged in his service.

§ 6. When Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army to the neighbouring cities. And as all the people to whom he went received him with great kindness, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem<sup>2</sup> for their metropolis (a city situate near Mount Gerizim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation), seeing that Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews. For such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as I have already elsewhere stated, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are akin to them, confessing then the truth; but when they perceive that some good fortune has befallen them, they immediately pretend to be related to them, saying that

<sup>1</sup> The place showed Alexander might be Dan. vii. 6, viii. 3-8, 20, 21, 22, xi. 3, some or all of them very plain predictions of Alexander's conquests and successors.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāblus*.

they belong to them, and trace their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh. Accordingly, they met the king with splendour, and exhibited great zeal for his person, at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commended them, the Shechemites approached him, having with them the troops that Sanballat had offered to send him, and they desired that he would come to their city and do honour to their temple also. And he promised that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit their tribute every seventh year, because they did not sow therein, he asked who they were that made such a petition. And when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians living at Shechem, he asked them again, whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "It was to the Jews," said he, "that I granted that privilege; however, when I return, and am more thoroughly informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites: but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should follow him into Egypt, because he designed to give them lands there which he did a little after in the Thebaid,<sup>1</sup> having ordered them to garrison that country.

§ 7. Now when Alexander was dead, his dominions were divided among his successors, but the temple upon Mount Gerizim remained. And if any one were accused by those at Jerusalem of having eaten things common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other offence of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly. About this time Jaddus the high priest died, and Onias his son succeeded him in the high priesthood. This was the state of the affairs of the people of Jerusalem at this time.

<sup>1</sup> The Thebaid on the Nile, in the vicinity of Luxor.

## BOOK XII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

## CHAP. I.

*How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judæa by Deceit and Treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence and planted them in Egypt.*

## § 1.

NOW, when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled affairs in Judæa in the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his empire fell to many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus had Babylon and the other nations in that neighbourhood, Lysimachus got the Hellespont, and Cassander had Macedonia, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus got Egypt. And as these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual and long wars, and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in those times of distress, insomuch that all Syria through Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that appellation of Saviour<sup>1</sup> which he then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem through deceit and treachery: for as he entered the city on a sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifice, he took the city without any trouble, as the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy, and they spent that day always in rest and quietness, and when he had made himself master of it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. And Agatharchides of Cnidos,<sup>2</sup> the historian of the

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy Soter.

<sup>2</sup> Now Cape Krio, at the south-west corner of Asia Minor.

acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we had by it lost our liberty, for his words are as follows. "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a strong and great city, called Jerusalem, and allowed it to come into the hands of Ptolemy, being unwilling to take up arms, and so submitted to be under a hard master, because of their unseasonable superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountainous parts of Judæa, and from the places about Jerusalem, and Samaria, and Mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt, and settled them there. And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observance of oaths and covenants, from the answer they made to Alexander when he sent an embassy to them after he had beaten Darius in battle, he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges as citizens with the Macedonians themselves, and required of them to take oaths that they would keep fidelity to the posterity of him who committed those places to their care. And not a few other Jews went into Egypt of their own accord, attracted by the goodness of the soil and the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there were dissensions between their posterity and the Samaritans, on account of their determination to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and this was their contention; those of Jerusalem said that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices there; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to Mount Gerizim.

## CHAP. II.

*How Ptolemy Philadelphus caused the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek Tongue ; and set many Captives free ; and dedicated many Gifts to God.*

## § 1.

WHEN Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Ptolemy Philadelphus next had the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years save one. He caused the Jewish law to be interpreted, and set free a hundred and twenty thousand natives of Jerusalem who were in slavery in Egypt. The reason was as follows. Demetrius Phalereus, who was librarian to the king, was endeavouring, if it were possible, to collect all the books that were in the world, and to buy up whatever was anywhere valuable or agreeable, for he rivalled the king's inclination (who was very earnestly set upon collecting books). And when Ptolemy once asked him, How many myriads of books he had already collected ? he replied that he had already about two hundred thousand books, but that, in a little time, he should have five hundred thousand. He also said that he had been informed that there were many books of laws among the Jews, worth inquiring after and worthy of the king's library, but which, being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, would cause no small trouble to get translated into the Greek tongue ; for the character in which they were written seemed to be like that which was the proper character of the Syrians, and its sound, when pronounced, was like theirs also, and this sound appeared to be peculiar to them. So he said nothing hindered their getting those books translated also, for as nothing was wanting that was necessary for that purpose, they might have their books also in the library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper, and he wrote to the Jewish high priest that this was to be done.

§ 2. Now there was one Aristæus, who was among the

king's most intimate friends, and on account of his moderation very acceptable to him. This Aristæus had resolved frequently before now to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this a convenient opportunity for the making that petition. So he talked first with the captains of the king's body-guards, Sosibius of Tarentum<sup>1</sup> and Andreas, and besought them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. And Aristæus, having received their assent, went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not right, O king, to allow ourselves to be deceived, but to lay the truth open. For since we have determined not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom? Do then what will be agreeable to thy magnanimity and good nature; free them from the miserable condition they are in, for that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people, and we also, worship the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of Zeus,<sup>2</sup> because he breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their country for the honour of God, because they pay peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this further, that though I be not akin to them by race, nor one of the same country with them, yet do I desire these favours to be done them, since all men are the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I therefore put up this petition to thee, to do good to them."

§ 3. When Aristæus had said this, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as are to be made free?" To which Andreas, who stood by, replied, and said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristæus?" But Sosibius, and the rest that stood by, said, that he ought to offer such a

<sup>1</sup> Now *Taranto*, in Southern Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Deriving Ζεύς from ζῆν, to live.

thank-offering, as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom. With this answer he was much pleased, and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down twenty drachmæ for every one of the slaves. And he promised to publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristæus had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done; whereby he said he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in his kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And when they said that their redemption money would amount to over four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of this decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king might be made known. Its contents were as follows. "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phœnicia, and laid waste Judæa, took the Jews captives, and made them slaves, and brought them into our cities and into our country, and then sold them, set them free, as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, let their owners receive twenty drachmæ for every slave; and let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury. For I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent and against equity, and that their country was harassed by the licence of our soldiers, who, by removing them into Egypt, made a great profit out of them. Out of regard therefore to justice, and out of pity to those that have been oppressed contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have Jews in their service to set them at liberty upon receipt of the before-mentioned sum, and that no one use any deceit about them, but obey what is here commanded. And I will that they give in their names, within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to carry it out, and produce the slaves before them also, for I think this will be for the advantage of my affairs. And let every one that will inform against those that do not obey this decree, and I will that their estates be confiscated to the king's trea-

sury." When this decree was read to the king, it at first contained all else that is here inserted, but only omitted those Jews that had been brought into captivity formerly and afterwards, who had not been distinctly mentioned, so that he himself added these clauses out of his humanity and great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was to take place all at once, should be divided among the king's ministers and the officers of his treasury. When this was done, what the king had decreed was quickly brought to a conclusion in no more than seven days' time, the number of talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and that because their masters required the twenty drachmæ for the children also, the king having in effect commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree that they should receive the fore-mentioned sum for every slave.

§ 4. Now when this had been done in so magnificent a manner according to the king's will, the king ordered Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books; for nothing is done rashly by these kings, but all things are managed with great circumspection. So I have subjoined a copy of these letters, and set down the number of the vessels sent as gifts [to Jerusalem], and the construction of every one, that the carefulness of the artificer's workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw it, and which workman made every vessel, might be made manifest, and that on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the letter runs as follows. "Demetrius to the great king. As thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were still wanting to fill thy library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters; and I inform thee that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others. For they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation are to us unintelligible. It has also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not hitherto had royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldest have accurate copies of them.



And indeed this legislation is full of wisdom and pure as proceeding from God. That is why, as Hecateus of Abdera<sup>1</sup> says, the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou wilt write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe who are most skilful in the understanding of the laws, that by them we may learn the clear and harmonious sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of them as may be worthy of thy desire."

§ 5. When this letter was sent to the king, he commanded that a letter should be written to Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, concerning these matters, and that they should inform him at the same time of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery among them. He also sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons vials and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of the chests that contained these stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He also ordered that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for the sacrifices and for other uses. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have transcribed a copy of the letter which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity on the following account. When Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor, who was called the Just, both because of his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he died, and left only an infant son who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote as follows. "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest greeting. There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried away captive. These were honoured by my father; some of them he placed

<sup>1</sup> A town on the southern coast of Thrace.

in the army, and gave them greater pay than usual; to others of them, who went with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons and the guard of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I had succeeded to the kingdom, I treated all men with humanity, and especially those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and I have admitted those that are of a fit age into the number of my soldiers. And such as are capable of being faithful to me, and fit for my court, I have put in such a post, thinking this to be a very great and acceptable gift which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be gratifying to them and all the other Jews in the world, I have determined to procure an interpretation of your law, and to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and put in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me six men of good character out of every tribe, who are now advanced in age. These by their age will be skilful in the laws, and able to make accurate interpretation of them: and when this shall be finished, I think that I shall have done a glorious work. And I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my body-guard, and Aristæus, men whom I hold in very great esteem, to discuss these matters with thee, by whom also I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to other uses, to the value of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt let us know what thou wouldst have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

§ 6. When this letter of the king was brought to Eleazar, he wrote an answer to it with all the eagerness possible. "Eleazar the high priest to king Ptolemy greeting. If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, it is well with us. When we received thy letter, we greatly rejoiced at thy intentions: and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold which thou didst send, and thirty of silver, and the five large basons,

and the table for the show-bread ; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for making whatever shall be needful for the temple. These things Andreas and Aristæus, those most honoured friends of thine, have brought us : and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know, then, that we will gratify thee in this matter for thy advantage, though we do what is unusual, for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister,<sup>1</sup> thy children and friends ; and the people offered up prayers that thy affairs might be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom might be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law might come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be only like thy piety and justice, to return the law when it has been translated, and to send back those to us in safety that bring it. Farewell."

§ 7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to transcribe the names of the seventy elders who were sent by Eleazar, and carried the law. Their names were set down at the end of the letter. However, I think it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artistic presents which the king sent to God, that all may see how great a regard the king had for God. For the king allowed vast sums for them, and often visited the workmen, and viewed their works, and suffered no carelessness or negligence to damage their operations. And I will relate how magnificent all were as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history does not require such a description, but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and generosity of this king to those that read this history.

§ 8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions ; but he gave orders that they

<sup>1</sup> Arsinoe was both sister and wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

should learn what was the size of the table which was already at Jerusalem, and whether it were possible to make one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was that it might be useless in their sacred ministrations, if it were too large, for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations. Inferring therefore that the former table was made of so moderate a size for use, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in size, but would make it exceed it in the variety and beauty of its materials. And as he was quick in observing the nature of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, where there were no delineations, he would invent such as were proper by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, and command that such should be made, and that those which were delineated should be most accurately copied with a constant regard to their delineation.

§ 9. When therefore the workmen had undertaken to make the table, they fashioned it in length two cubits and a half, in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half, and the entire structure was of gold. They also made a crown of a handbreadth round it, with wave-work wreathed about it, and with carving which imitated a cord, and was admirably turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same outline, so that when you turned them about, there was the very same form without any variation. Now that part of the crown-work that was enclosed under the table was very beautifully carved, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight and view. And so it was that both those sides which were above the rest were acute, and none of the angles, which I before said there were, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the cord-work thus turned precious stones were inserted in rows parallel one to the other,

enclosed in golden buttons which had holes in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to sight, were adorned with a row of oval figures obliquely placed, of the most excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and ran round the table. And under these oval figures thus engraven the workmen had put a crown all round, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that bunches of grapes hung, and corn and pomegranates were also represented. And when they had made the stones to represent all the kinds of fruit before mentioned, each with its proper colour, they made them fast with gold round the whole table. The like disposition of the oval figures, and of the engraved rods, was made under the crown, that the table might on each side show the same appearance of variety and elegance in its ornaments, so that neither the position of the wave-work nor of the crown might be different, although the table were turned on the other side, but that the appearance of the same artificial contrivances might reach as far as the feet. For they made a plate of gold four fingers broad along the entire breadth of the table, into which they inserted the feet, and then fastened them to the table by buttons and button-holes, at the place where the crown was situate, that so, whatever side the table stood, it might exhibit the very same view of the exquisite workmanship, and of the vast expense bestowed upon it. And upon the table itself they engraved a mæander, inserting very valuable stones in the middle of it, like stars of various colours, as the carbuncle and the emerald, each of which sent out most agreeable rays of light to the spectators, and such stones of other sorts also as were most curious and best esteemed, as being most precious in their kind. Hard by this mæander a texture of network ran round, the middle of which appeared like a rhombus, into which were inserted rock crystal and amber, which by their alternation gave wonderful delight to those that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the buddings of lilies, while their leaves were bent under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their base was made of a carbuncle, it was one palm in depth, and eight fingers in breadth. Now

they had engraven upon each of the feet, with a very fine tool and with a great deal of pains, ivy and tendrils of the vine with clusters of grapes, so natural that you would guess they were real tendrils, for they were so very thin, and so stood out at their extremities, that they moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the imitation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be threefold, and the joints of the several parts were so deftly united together as to be invisible, and the places where they were joined could not be distinguished. Now the thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit. So that this gift, by the king's great generosity, by the great value of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving-tools, was at length brought to perfection, the king being very desirous that, though in size it was not to be different from that which was already dedicated to God, yet in exquisite workmanship, and novelty of contrivance, and in splendour of construction, it should far exceed it, and be more notable than that was.

§ 10. There were also two bowls of gold, ornamented with scaly-work from its base half way up, with various sorts of stone chased in the coils. Next to which there was upon it a mæander a cubit in height, composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was rod-work engraven, and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of net-work, extending to the brim of the bowl, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. Round the brim of the bowl were wreathed leaves of lilies and convolulus, and tendrils of vines. And this was the construction of the two bowls of gold, each containing two firkins. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than mirrors, and you might see your countenance in them more plainly than in mirrors. The king also had thirty vials made, of which the parts that were of gold, and not filled up with precious stones, were shaded over with leaves of ivy and vines artificially engraven. And these vessels were in an extraordinary manner brought to this perfection, partly by the skill of the workmen who

were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and munificence of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly and with great generosity with whatever they wanted, but also forbade public audiences for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the reason why the workmen exhibited such diligence, that they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so kept the more closely to their work.

§ 11. These were the gifts sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. And when Eleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to take back to the king, he dismissed them. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he sent at once for Andreas and Aristæus, his ambassadors, who came to him, and delivered him the letters which they had brought him from the high priest, and made answer to all the questions he put to them by word of mouth. He then desired to see the elders that came from Jerusalem to interpret the laws, and ordered that everybody who came on other errands should be sent away, which was a thing surprising and unusual for him to do, for those that were drawn thither upon such occasions used to come to him on the fifth day, but ambassadors at the month's end. But now he sent those away, and waited for these that were sent by Eleazar. And when the old men came in with the presents which the high priest had given them to bring to the king, and with the parchments upon which they had their laws written in golden letters, he put questions to them concerning those books; and when they had taken off the covers wherein they were wrapped, they showed him the parchments. And the king admired the thinness of those membranes, and the exactness of the junctures which could not be perceived (so exactly were they connected with one another); and this he did for a considerable time. He then said that he returned them thanks for coming to him, and still greater thanks to him that sent them, and, above all, to that God whose laws they happened to be. Then did the elders, and those that

were present with them, cry out with one voice, wishing all happiness to the king. Upon which he fell into tears from excess of pleasure, it being natural to men to show the same emotion in great joy that they do in sorrow. And when he had bidden them deliver the books to those that were appointed to receive them, he greeted the men, and said that it was but right to speak first of the errand he had sent for them to execute, and then to address himself to them. He promised, however, that he would celebrate this day on which they came to him as a remarkable and eminent one every year throughout his whole life. For their coming to him, and the victory which he gained over Antigonus<sup>1</sup> by sea, happened to be on the very same day. He also invited them to sup with him, and ordered that they should have excellent lodgings provided for them in the upper part of the city.

§ 12. Now he that was appointed to take care of the reception of strangers, Nicanor by name, called for Dorotheus, whose duty it was to make provision for them, and bade him prepare for everyone of them what should be requisite for their diet. Now things were ordered by the king in the following manner; he took care for those that belonged to every city, that did not use the same way of living, that all things should be prepared for those that visited him according to their custom, that being feasted according to their usual method of living, they might be the better pleased, and might not be offended at anything as strange. And this was now done in the case of these men by Dorotheus, who was put into this office because of his great skill in matters belonging to life. So Nicanor by him made all arrangements for their reception, and appointed them seats to sit on in two places, according as the king had commanded him to do; for he had commanded that half of them should be set beside him, and the other half behind his table, and he took care that no respect should be omitted that could be shown them. And when they were thus set down, he bade Dorotheus to minister to all those that had come to him from Judæa in the manner they were used to. So he declined the services of the

<sup>1</sup> Antiochus II.



sacred heralds, and those that slew the sacrifices, and the rest that used to offer prayers, but called one of those that were come to him, whose name was Eleazar, who was a priest, and desired him to say prayers. So he stood in the midst and prayed that all prosperity might attend the king and his subjects. Upon this acclamation was made by the whole company with joy and great noise; and when that was over, they fell to eating their supper, and to the enjoyment of what was set before them. And after a little interval, when the king thought sufficient time had been given, he began to talk philosophically to them, and he asked every one of them some physical questions and such as might throw light on such inquiries; and when they had explained all that had been asked by the king on every point, he was well pleased with their answers. This took up the twelve days in which they were entertained, and whoever pleases may learn the particular questions in that book of Aristæus', which he wrote on this very occasion.

§ 13. And as not only the king but the philosopher Menedemus also admired them, who said that all things were governed by providence, and that it was probable that thence it was that such force and beauty was discovered in these men's words, they then left off asking any more such questions. And the king said that he had gained very great advantages by their coming, for he had received this profit from them, that he had learned how he ought to rule his subjects. And he ordered that they should have three talents apiece given them, and that they should be conducted to where they were to lodge. And after three days had elapsed, Demetrius took them and went over seven furlongs to an embankment in the sea near an island. And when they had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the northern parts, and showed them where they should meet, which was in a house that was built near the shore, which was a quiet place, and fit for their considering their work. When he had taken them there, he entreated them, (now they had all things about them which they wanted for the interpretation of their law,) that they would suffer nothing to interrupt them in their work. Accordingly, they made an accurate interpretation with great zeal and great pains, and continued to do this till the ninth hour of the day,

when they rested and took care of their body, as food was provided for them in great plenty: Dorotheus also, at the king's command, brought them a great deal of what was provided for the king himself. And in the morning they went to the court, and saluted Ptolemy, and then went back to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands in the sea and bathed, they betook themselves to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to an end in seventy-two days, Demetrius gathered all the Jews together to the place where the laws were translated, and where the interpreters also were, and read them over. And the multitude approved of those elders that were the interpreters of the law, and also commended Demetrius for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly for their happiness, and begged that he would give leave to their rulers also to read the law. Moreover they all, both the priest and the elders, who had been the interpreters, and the principal men of their commonwealth, made it their request, since the interpretation was happily finished, that it might continue in the state it now was, and might not be altered. And when they all commended that idea, they enjoined, if anyone observed either anything superfluous, or anything omitted, that he would review it again, and have it laid before them and corrected; which was a wise action of theirs, that as the thing was judged to have been well done, it might continue for ever.

§ 14. And the king rejoiced, when he saw that his design in this matter was so usefully carried out; and he was especially delighted with hearing the laws read to him, and was astonished at the mind and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to ask Demetrius, "How it came to pass, since this legislation was so wonderful, that no one, either of the poets or of the historians, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer, that no one had ventured to touch upon the description of those laws, because they were divine and venerable, and because some that had attempted it had been afflicted by God. He also told him, that Theopompus had been desirous of writing something about them, but was disturbed in his mind for more than thirty days, but upon some intermission of his mental malady, he appeased

God [by prayer], suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw in a dream, that his mental malady befell him because he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them to profane men; and when he left off the attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes the tragic poet, of whom it was reported, that when, in a certain play, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a disease in his eyes; and that, upon his recognizing the cause of his disease, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from it.

§ 15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as I have already said, he venerated them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uninjured. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him from Judæa, for it would be profitable, he said, to them both on account of the respect that he would pay them and the presents he would make them: for he said it was now but right to send them away, but if of their own accord they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their wisdom deserved, and his generosity was able to give them. So he sent them away for the time, and gave to every one of them three excellent garments, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the couch whereon they had feasted. And these were the things he presented to them. Also he sent by them to Eleazar the high priest ten beds with feet of silver, and the furniture belonging to them and a cup of the value of thirty talents; and besides these ten garments and a purple robe, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, as also vials and dishes and ewers and two golden bowls to be dedicated to God. He also desired him by letter to give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of visiting him again, because he highly valued the company of men of such learning, and would be very willing to lay out his wealth upon such men. Such was what came to the Jews, to their glory and honour, from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

## CHAP. III.

*How the Kings of Asia honoured the Nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of the Cities which they built.*

## § 1.

THE Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia, when they served with them. For Seleucus Nicator made them citizens of the cities which he built in Asia and in Lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch;<sup>1</sup> and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks who dwelt there, insomuch that those privileges continue to this very day. A proof of this is that, as the Jews will not use oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the superintendents of the gymnasiums as the value of that oil; and when the people of Antioch would have deprived them of that money in the last war, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, secured it to them. And after that, when Vespasian and his son Titus were masters of the world, when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch prayed that these privileges of citizenship might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In this behaviour any one may see the equity and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, who although they had had a great deal of trouble in the war against the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their arms, but continued the war to the very last, yet did not take away any of their before-mentioned privileges of citizenship, but restrained their anger; and resisted the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, either out of their favour to them, or out of their hatred to those whom they had subdued in war; nor would they repeal any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said that those who had borne arms and fought against them had paid the penalty,

<sup>1</sup> Antioch, on the Orontes, now *Antakia*.

and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

§ 2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was similarly affected to the Jews. For when the Ionians were very angry with them, and besought Agrippa that they only might have those privileges of citizenship which Antiochus,<sup>1</sup> the grandson of Seleucus, (who by the Greeks was called God,) had bestowed on them, and asked if the Jews were to be joint-partakers with them, that they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped, when these matters were brought to trial, the Jews prevailed, and obtained leave to use their own customs, Nicolaus of Damascus pleading their cause, for Agrippa declared that it was not lawful for him to make any change. And if any one has a mind to know this matter accurately, let him peruse the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of the history of this Nicolaus. Now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not perhaps so much to be admired, for at this time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the magnanimity of Vespasian and Titus, that after such great wars and struggles as they had with us, they should use such moderation. But I will now return to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

§ 3. It happened in the reign of Antiochus the Great,<sup>2</sup> who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed: for as he was at war with Ptolemy Philopator, and with his son Ptolemy, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten and when he was victorious, so that they were very like a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides, for just thus were they in their situation, in the middle between Antiochus's prosperity and reverses. But when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy he seized upon Judæa: and when Philopator was dead his son sent out a great army under Scopas as general against the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> Antiochus II., 261-246 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Antiochus III., 223-187 B.C.

of Cœle-Syria, who took many of their cities and also our nation, which, when he warred against it, went over to him. But not long afterwards Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of the Jordan,<sup>1</sup> and destroyed a great part of his army. And afterwards, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Cœle-Syria which Scopas had got into his possession, and Samaria among them, the Jews of their own accord went over to him, and received him into their city [Jerusalem,] and gave plentiful provision to all his army and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison that had been left by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem. Thereupon Antiochus thought it but just to requite the Jews' diligence and zeal in his service, so he wrote to the generals of his armies, and to his friends, and bore testimony to the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that behaviour. I will soon give the letters which he wrote to his generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimony of Polybius of Megalopolis,<sup>2</sup> who thus speaks in the sixteenth book of his history. "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, marched to the upper parts of the country, and in the winter-time overthrew the nation of the Jews." He also says in the same book, "When Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus took Batanæa<sup>3</sup> and Samaria<sup>4</sup> and Abila<sup>5</sup> and Gadara,<sup>6</sup> and shortly afterwards, there came to him those Jews that dwelt near the holy place which was called Jerusalem, concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the presence of God in that holy place, yet do I put off that history to another time." This is what Polybius relates. But I will return to my narrative, when I have first produced the letters of king Antiochus.

<sup>1</sup> The battle took place near *Bániús*, in 198 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The capital of Arcadia in Greece; the ruins are near the village of *Sinánu*.

<sup>3</sup> East of Jordan, a portion of the ancient district of Bashan.

<sup>4</sup> The district or province of Samaria.

<sup>5</sup> Abila in Peræa, one of the cities of the Decapolis; now *Abil*, about ten miles east of *Umm Keis*, Gadara.

<sup>6</sup> Now *Umm Keis*; see *Life*, § 9.

## " KING ANTIOCHUS TO PTOLEMY GREETING.

" Since the Jews, on our first entrance into their country, showed their friendship towards us, and when we came to their city [Jerusalem,] received us in a splendid manner, and came to meet us with their senate, and gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers and to the elephants, and joined with us in driving out the garrison of Egyptians that were in the citadel, I have thought fit to reward them, and to repair the condition of their city, which has been greatly injured by the reverses which have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been dispersed abroad back to it. And, in the first place, I have determined, on account of their piety, to bestow on them, as a contribution to their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, and to their wine and oil and frankincense, twenty thousand pieces of silver, and six sacred artabæ of fine flour, and a thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I will have fully paid them, as I have ordered. I will also have the work about the temple finished, and the porticoes, and if there be anything else that wants building. As for the material of wood, let it be brought out of Judæa itself and other countries, and from Libanus, tax free: and the same I will have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from the poll-tax and crown-tax and other taxes also. And that the city may the sooner be inhabited, I grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall migrate to it before the month Hyperberetæus. I also discharge them for the future from a third part of their tribute, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. As to all those that have been carried away from their city, and are become slaves, we grant to them and their children their freedom, and order that their substance be restored to them."

§ 4. These were the contents of his letter. He also pub-

lished a decree throughout all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows. "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the precincts of the temple, which is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who have purified themselves according to their national custom. Nor let any flesh of horses, or of mules, or of wild or tame asses, be brought into the city, or of leopards, foxes, or hares, or in general of any animal which is forbidden to the Jews. Nor let their skins be brought into it, nor let any such animal be bred in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they are obliged to appease God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmæ of silver." Antiochus also bore testimony to our piety and fidelity in a letter of his, written when he was informed of a rebellion in Phrygia and Lydia, when he was in the upper satrapies, wherein he commanded Zeuxis, the general of his forces, and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The letter was as follows.

"KING ANTIOCHUS TO ZEUXIS HIS FATHER GREETING.

"If you are in health it is well, I am also in health. Having been informed that a rebellion has broken out in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought the matter required great care: and upon deliberating with my friends what was to be done, have resolved to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the garrisons and places that lie most convenient. For I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of my dominions, because of their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and do with alacrity what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious work, that thou remove these Jews, promising them that they shall be permitted to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the places indicated, thou shalt give everyone of them a place for building their houses, and a piece of land to cultivate and to plant their vines on, and thou shalt discharge them from paying taxes of



the fruits of the earth for ten years: and let them have a sufficient quantity of wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they get corn out of the earth: also let a sufficient share be given to such as minister to them in the necessaries of life, that, being treated by us with humanity, they may show themselves the more zealous of our interests. Take care likewise of that nation, as far as thou art able, that they may not be troubled by anyone." Now this testimony which I have produced is sufficient to declare the friendship that Antiochus the Great had to the Jews.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Antiochus made a league with Ptolemy, and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Evergetes to Anger, and how Joseph brought things all right again, and entered into Friendship with him, also the other things which were done by Joseph and his son Hyrcanus.*

##### § 1.

AFTER this, Antiochus made a friendship and league with Ptolemy,<sup>1</sup> and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and yielded up to him Cœle-Syria and Samaria and Judæa and Phœnicia by way of dowry. And upon the division of the taxes between the two kings, all the principal men farmed the taxes of their several countries, and, collecting the sum that was assigned to them, paid the same to the two kings. Now at this time the Samaritans were in a flourishing condition, and much harassed the Jews, ravaging their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Onias was high priest, for after Eleazar's death, his uncle Manasseh took the priesthood, and when he too had ended his life, Onias received that dignity. He was the son of Simon, who was called the Just, and Simon was the brother of Eleazar, as I said before. This Onias had a little soul, and was a great lover of money; and for that reason, because he did not pay the tax of

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, 205-181 B.C.

twenty talents of silver for the people, which his forefathers paid to these kings out of their own estates, he provoked to anger king Ptolemy Euergetes,<sup>1</sup> who was the father of Philopator.<sup>2</sup> Euergetes sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, and complained that Onias did not pay the taxes, and threatened that if he did not receive them he would parcel out their land, and send soldiers to dwell upon it. When the Jews heard this message of the king, they were confounded: but so avaricious was Onias, that nothing of this put him about.

§ 2. Now there was one Joseph, young indeed in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem for character, sense, and uprightness. His father's name was Tobias, and his mother was the sister of Onias the high priest. She informed him of the coming of the ambassador, for he was then sojourning at a village called Phicol,<sup>3</sup> his native place. And he went to Jerusalem, and reproved Onias for not seeing to the preservation of his countrymen, but bringing the nation into dangers, by not paying this money, though it was for their benefit that he had received the authority over them, and had been made high priest: but if he was so great a lover of money, as to have the heart to see his country in danger on that account, and the citizens suffering the greatest damage, he advised him to go to the king, and petition him to remit either the whole or a part of the sum demanded. Onias's answer was that he did not care for his authority, and was ready, if it were possible, to lay down his high priesthood, and that he would not go to the king, for he cared nothing at all about the matter. Joseph then asked him, if he would give him leave to go as ambassador on behalf of the nation? He replied that he would. Thereupon Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to an assembly, and exhorted them not to be disturbed or alarmed because of his uncle Onias's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not to terrify themselves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy III., Euergetes, 247-222 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy IV., Philopator, 222-205 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and treated Ptolemy's ambassador in a hospitable manner, and presented him also with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him on to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him. For he was now still more desirous to go to the king, from the encouragement of the ambassador, who urged him to go to Egypt, and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain everything that he desired of Ptolemy, for he was highly pleased with his liberality and the gravity of his deportment.

§ 3. When Ptolemy's ambassador reached Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtlessness of Onias, and informed him of the good disposition of Joseph, who was coming to him to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for he was their champion. In short he was so very profuse in his encomiums upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a kindness for him before he arrived. And Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and borrowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, clothes and cups and beasts of burden, which cost about twenty thousand drachmæ, and set out for Alexandria. Now it so happened that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up from the cities of Syria and Phœnicia to buy the taxes; for every year the king sold them to the well-to-do men in each city. And these men saw Joseph journeying on his way, and jeered at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he got to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up there to meet him. And as the king was sitting in his chariot with his wife and friend Athenion (who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been entertained by Joseph,) directly Athenion saw him, he at once made him known to the king, saying this was the person about whom on his return from Jerusalem he had told the king how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot, and as Joseph sat there, began to complain of the behaviour of

Onias. To which Joseph answered, "Forgive him on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this fact, that old men and infants have their minds exactly alike; but thou shalt have from us, who are young men, everything thou desirest, and shalt have no cause to complain." The king was so delighted with the grace and pleasantry of the young man, that he began already, as though he had had long experience of him, to have still greater affection for him, insomuch that he bade him lodge in his palace, and be a guest at his table every day. And when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw Joseph sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

§ 4. Now when the day came, on which the king was to farm the taxes of the cities, and those that were the men of principal dignity in their several countries bid for them, the sum of what was bidden for the taxes of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia and Judæa and Samaria amounted altogether to eight thousand talents. Thereupon Joseph accused the bidders of having agreed together to estimate the value of the taxes at too low a rate, and promised that he would himself give twice as much for them, and for those who did not pay, he would send the king their whole substance, for this privilege was also sold with the taxes. The king was pleased to hear that offer, and because it augmented his revenues, he said he would confirm the sale of the taxes to him. But when he asked him the question, Whether he had any sureties, that would be bound for the payment of the money? he answered very cleverly, "I will give as security persons good and honourable, whom you shall have no reason to distrust." And when he bade him name who they were, he replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties than thyself and thy wife; and you shall be security for both parties." Then Ptolemy laughed at the proposal, and granted him the farming of the taxes without any security. This was a sore grief to those who had come into Egypt from the cities to be thus outbid, and they returned home everyone with shame.

§ 5. And Joseph took with him two thousand foot-soldiers of the king's, for he desired to have some assist-

ance, in order to force such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing five hundred talents from the king's friends at Alexandria, he started for Syria. And when he got to Ascalon,<sup>1</sup> and demanded the taxes of the people of Ascalon, they refused to pay anything, and insulted him also, upon which he seized about twenty of their principal men, and slew them, and gathered their substance together, which amounted to a thousand talents, and sent it all to the king, and informed him of what he had done. And Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done, and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were dismayed, and having before them a sad example in the men of Ascalon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis<sup>2</sup> attempted to affront him, and would not pay him the taxes, which they formerly used to pay without any hesitation, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent their effects to the king. By this means he got much wealth together, and made vast gains of this farming of the taxes, and made use of what he had thus got to support his authority, thinking it prudent to keep what had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune. And he privately sent many presents to the king, and to Cleopatra, and to their friends, and to all that were powerful at the court, and thereby purchased their good-will.

§ 6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years, and was the father of seven sons by one wife: he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymius' daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once went to Alexandria with his brother, (who took with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give her in wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there,) and supping with the king, and falling in love with a dancing girl of great beauty that came into the room where they feasted, he told his brother of it, and entreated him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to lie with a foreign woman, to conceal his offence, and to be kind

<sup>1</sup> *Ascalân.*

<sup>2</sup> *Beisân.*

and subservient to him, and to give him an opportunity of fulfilling his desires. Upon this his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and disguised his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And he being in drink knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother's daughter, and this he did many times, and loved her exceedingly, and said to his brother, that he loved this dancing girl so well, that he would run the hazard of his life for her, for probably the king would not give him leave to have her. But his brother bade him be in no concern, and told him he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife, and opened the truth to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter abused than see him come to disgrace. Then Joseph commended him for his brotherly love, and married his daughter, and by her had a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as I said before. And as this his youngest son at thirteen years old showed great natural courage and wisdom, and was greatly envied by his brothers, as being much above them and such a one as they might well envy, Joseph had a mind to know which of his sons had the best natural parts, and so he sent them each to those that had at that time the best reputation for instructing youths, but all the others, by reason of their sloth, and unwillingness to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out Hyrcanus, the youngest, and gave him three hundred yoke of oxen, and bade him go two days' journey in the wilderness, and sow the land there, but kept back privately the leather harness of the oxen. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had no harness, he scorned the idea of the drivers of the oxen, who advised him to send some of them home to his father to bring them harness, for thinking he ought not to lose time waiting for the return of those who might be despatched, he invented a kind of stratagem that showed wisdom greater than his age. For he slew ten yoke of the oxen, and distributed their flesh among the labourers, and cut their hides into several pieces, and made harness, and yoked the oxen with them; by which means he sowed as much land as his father had ordered him to sow, and returned to him. And when he was come back, his

father was mightily pleased with his sagacity, and commended the sharpness of his understanding, and his boldness in what he did, and loved him still more, as if he were his only genuine son, and his brothers were much troubled at this.

§ 7. And when one told him that Ptolemy had a son just born, and that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, intended to keep a festival on account of the child's birthday, and had set out with great retinues to Alexandria, he was himself indeed hindered from going by old age, but he tried to see whether any of his sons would go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said they were not courtiers enough for such company, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly hearkened to their advice, and called Hyrcanus, and asked him, whether he would go to the king, and if he was willing to do so. And upon his undertaking to go, and saying that he should not want much money for his journey, because he would live moderately, so that ten thousand drachmæ would be sufficient, Joseph was pleased with his son's moderation. A little while after the son advised his father not to send his presents to the king from there, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with money for purchasing what would be most excellent and most precious. So he, thinking that his presents to the king would come to about ten talents, and commending his son as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion his steward, who managed all his money at Alexandria, which money was not less than three thousand talents. For Joseph sent the money he received from Syria to Alexandria, and when the day appointed for the payment of the taxes to the king came, he used to write to Arion to pay them. Now when the son had asked his father for a letter to this steward, and had received it, he set out for Alexandria. And when he was gone, his brothers wrote to all the king's friends to kill him.

§ 8. Now when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have, (hoping he would ask for no more than ten, or only a little more,) and when he said he wanted a thousand

talents, the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly, and let him know that his father had got together his wealth by carefulness and by resisting his inclinations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he also said that he would give him only ten talents, and that for a present to the king. The lad was irritated at this, and threw Arion into prison. And when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, and entreated that she would rebuke the lad for what he had done, (for Arion was in great esteem with her,) Cleopatra told the king of it. And Ptolemy sent messengers to Hyrcanus to tell him that the king wondered, when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had put the steward in prison. He gave order, therefore, that he should come to him, and explain why he had acted so. And they report that the answer he made to the king's messengers was that there was a law of the king's that forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice before he had been to the temple and sacrificed to God. According to which reasoning he had not himself come to him as he was waiting for the presents he was to make to him who had been his father's benefactor: and he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for it mattered not whether a master was little or great. "Unless, indeed, we punish such as these, thou mayst thyself also expect to be despised by thy subjects." Upon hearing this answer of his, Ptolemy fell a laughing, and wondered at the great wit of the lad.

§ 9. When Arion learned that this was the king's disposition, and that he himself had no other alternative, he gave the lad a thousand talents, and was let out of prison. And after three days had elapsed, Hyrcanus came and saluted the king and queen. They saw him with pleasure, and feasted him in a friendly manner, out of respect to his father. And he went to the merchants privately, and bought a hundred boys that were well educated and in the flower of their age at a talent a-piece, and also bought a hundred maidens at the same price. And when he was invited to feast with the king among the principal men of the country, he sat down the lowest of them all, because he was little regarded, as still a lad in age, by those who placed



every one according to their dignity. Now when all those that sat at meat with him had laid the bones of their portions on a heap before Hyrcanus, (for they had themselves cleared the meat off them,) till the table where he sat was full of bones, Trypho, who was the king's jester, and was appointed to joke and laugh at revels, was now called for by the guests that sat at table. So he stood by the king, and said, "Dost thou see, my lord, the bones that lie by Hyrcanus? By this thou mayst conjecture that his father has made all Syria as bare as he has made these bones." And the king laughing at what Trypho said, and asking Hyrcanus, "How he came to have so many bones before him?" he replied, "No wonder, my lord: for dogs eat the flesh and bones together, as these have done, (looking at the king's guests,) for there is nothing before them; but men eat the flesh, and cast away the bones, as I, who am a man, have now done." Upon this the king admired his answer, which was so wisely made, and bade all the company applaud, as a mark of their approbation of his facetious jest. On the next day Hyrcanus went to every one of the king's friends, and to the men powerful at court, and saluted them, and inquired of their servants, what present their masters would make the king on his son's birthday; and when they said that some would give twelve talents, and that others of greater dignity would give more according to the quantity of their riches, he pretended to every one to be grieved that he was not able to offer so large a present, for he had no more than five talents. And when the servants heard what he said, they told their masters; and they rejoiced at the prospect that Joseph would be lightly esteemed, and would offend the king by the smallness of his present. When the day came, the others, even those that brought the most, offered the king not more than twenty talents, but Hyrcanus gave to every one of the hundred boys and hundred maidens that he had bought a talent a-piece for them to carry, and led the boys up to the king, and the maidens to Cleopatra; everybody, even the king and queen themselves, wondering at the unexpected munificence of the present. He also presented to the friends and courtiers of the king gifts worth a great number of talents, that he might escape the danger he was in from

them: for it was to them that Hyrcanus' brothers had written to kill him. Now Ptolemy admired the young man's loftiness of soul, and commanded him to ask what gift he pleased. But he desired nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father and brothers about him. So when the king had paid him very great respect, and had given him very fine gifts, and had written to his father and brothers and all his commanders and officers about him, he sent him away. But when his brothers heard that Hyrcanus had received such favour from the king, and was returning home with great honour, they went out to meet him and kill him, and that with the knowledge of their father; for he was angry at him for the large sums of money that he had bestowed as presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed his anger to his son from fear of the king. And when Hyrcanus' brothers fought with him, he slew many others of those that were with them, as also two of his brothers, but the rest escaped to Jerusalem to their father. And when Hyrcanus came to the city, as nobody would receive him, he was afraid, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and there dwelt and levied tribute on the barbarians.

§ 10. At this time Seleucus, who was called Philopator,<sup>1</sup> the son of Antiochus the Great, reigned over Asia. And [now] Hyrcanus' father Joseph died. He was a good man and high-souled, and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness to one that was more splendid. He farmed the taxes of Syria and Phœnicia and Samaria twenty-two years. His uncle Onias also died, and left the high priesthood to his son Simon. And when he also died, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity, to whom Areus, King of the Lacedæmonians, sent an embassy with a letter, a copy whereof here follows.

“AREUS, KING OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS, TO ONIAS,  
GREETING.

“We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and Lacedæmonians are of

<sup>1</sup> Seleucus IV., 187-175 B.C.

one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham.<sup>1</sup> It is but just, therefore, that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same, and esteem your concerns as our own, and will look upon our concerns as yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is square, and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in its claws."

§ 11. Such were the contents of the letter which was sent by the king of the Lacedæmonians. Now upon the death of Joseph, the people grew seditious, because of his sons. For whereas the elder ones made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but most joined with the elder ones, as did Simon the high priest because of his kinsmanship to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but stationed himself beyond the Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captive. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious size carved on it. He also drew round it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves many furlongs long by hollowing a rock that was opposite, and made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. He introduced also a quantity of water which ran through it, and was very delightful and ornamental in the court-yard. However, he made the mouths of the caves so narrow, that no more than one person could enter them at once; and that on purpose for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brothers, and run the hazard of being taken by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater size than ordinary, which he adorned with spacious gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he called it

<sup>1</sup> Whence it comes that these Lacedæmonians declare themselves here to be akin to the Jews, as derived from the kindred of Abraham. I cannot tell, unless, as Grotius supposes, they were derived from the Dores, that came of the Pelasgi. These are by Herodotus called 'Barbarians,' and perhaps were derived from the Syrians and Arabians, the posterity of Abraham by Keturah. See Antiq. xiv. 10, § 22, and Jewish War, i. 26, § 1, and Grot. on 1 Maccab. xii. 7.—W.

'Tyre.<sup>1</sup> It is between Arabia and Jndæa, beyond the Jordan, and not far from the country of Heshbon.<sup>2</sup> And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when Seleucus was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes,<sup>3</sup> took the kingdom. Ptolemy, also, the king of Egypt, died, who was also called Epiphanes, and left two sons, both young in age, the elder of whom was called Philometor,<sup>4</sup> and the younger Physcon. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be taken by him, and punished for what he had done to the Arabians, he ended his life by suicide, and Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

## CHAP. V.

*How, upon the Quarrels of the Jews with one another about the High Priesthood, Antiochus made an Expedition against Jerusalem, and took the City and pillaged the Temple, and distressed the Jews. Also how many of the Jews forsook the Laws of their Country; and how the Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, and called their Temple on Mount Gerizim the Temple of Zeus Hellenius.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time, on the death of Onias the high priest, the king gave the high priesthood to Jesus his brother; for the son whom Onias left [or Onias IV.] was yet but an infant. I shall, in its proper place, inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. Now this Jesus, the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of whom the high

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of the palace of Hyrcanus are still to be seen, at 'Arak el-Emir, in the position described.

<sup>2</sup> Now Heshbân; the capital of Sihon, king of the Amorites, near the border between Reuben and Gad.

<sup>3</sup> Antiochus IV., 175-164 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy VI., Philometor, 181-146 B.C.

priesthood came, as I have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason, and Onias was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest, Jesus, formed a party against Menelaus, who was appointed after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobias took the side of Menelaus, but most of the people assisted Jason: so that Menelaus and the sons of Tobias got the worst of it, and fled to Antiochus, and informed him that they were desirous to leave the laws of their country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's laws, and the Greek way of living. So they desired his permission to build for themselves a Gymnasium at Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> And when he had given them leave, they drew their prepuce forward, that when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. They also left off all the customs that belonged to their own country, and imitated the practices of other nations.

§ 2. Now Antiochus, as the affairs of his kingdom were in a prosperous condition, resolved to make an expedition against Egypt, both because he had a desire to make himself master of it, and because he despised the sons of Ptolemy, as still weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he marched with a great force to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and occupied Egypt. He then went to the parts about Memphis, and when he had taken Memphis, he set out for Alexandria, in hope of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy who reigned there. But he was driven not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone, as I have elsewhere stated before. I will now give a particular account of what concerns this king, who took Judæa and the temple; for in my former work I mentioned these things very briefly, and therefore now

<sup>1</sup> This word, Gymnasium, properly denotes a place where the exercises were performed naked, which because it would naturally distinguish circumcised Jews from uncircumcised Gentiles, these Jewish apostates endeavoured to appear uncircumcised, by means of an operation, hinted at by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 18, and described by Celsus, vii. 25, as Dr. Hudson here informs us.—W.

think it necessary to go over the history again at greater length.

§ 3. King Antiochus then, returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city of Jerusalem, and in the hundred and forty-third year of the kingdom of the Selucidæ,<sup>1</sup> took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him. And when he had got possession of Jerusalem he slew many of the opposite party, and when he had carried off a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

§ 4. Now it came to pass two years after, in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month, which is by us called Chasleu, and by the Macedonians Apellæus, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, that this king went up to Jerusalem with a large force, and pretending peace, got possession of the city by treachery;<sup>2</sup> at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that were in the temple; but owing to his covetousness (for he saw there was in the temple a great deal of gold, and many votive offerings of very great value), in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. And he stripped the temple bare, and took away the vessels of God, as the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar of incense, and the table of shew-bread, and the altar of burnt-offering, and did not keep his hands off even the veils which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied the temple of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining, and so cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer the daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, he slew some of the inhabitants, and some he carried away captive, together with their wives and children, so that the number of captives amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings, and when he had overthrown the city walls, he built a citadel in the lower part of the city,<sup>3</sup> for the place

<sup>1</sup> In 170 B.C., at the close of his second Egyptian campaign. See Daniel xi. 31.

<sup>2</sup> In 168 B.C. at the close of his fourth Egyptian campaign.

<sup>3</sup> This citadel, of which we have such frequent mention in the fol-

was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. None the less in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, at whose hands the citizens suffered many terrible things. And when the king had built an altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law, nor the ancient Jewish religious worship. He also compelled them to forsake the worship of their own God, and to adore those whom he esteemed gods, and made them build temples, and raise altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed this injunction. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews complied with the king's commands, some voluntarily, others out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those that had noble souls, did not regard him, but paid greater respect to the customs of their country than to care about the punishment which he threatened the disobedient with, so they every day died in great miseries and bitter torments. For they were whipped with rods, and their limbs were torn to pieces, and they were fixed to crosses while they were still alive and breathed; they also strangled, as the king had ordered, the women and those of their sons who had been circumcised, hanging their sons about their necks as they were on the crosses. And if there were any sacred book or copy of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found miserably perished also.

§ 5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews suffering these

lowing history, both in the Maccabees and in Josephus, seems to have been a castle built on a hill, lower than mount Zion, though upon its skirts, and higher than mount Moriah, but between them both; which hill the enemies of the Jews now got possession of, and built on it this citadel, and fortified it, till a good while afterwards the Jews regained it, demolished it, and levelled the hill itself with the common ground, that their enemies might no more recover it, and might thence overlook the temple itself, and do them such mischief as they had long undergone from it, Antiq. xiii. 6, § 6.—W.

things, they no longer alleged that they were of their kindred, or that the temple on Mount Gerizim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as I have already shown. They now said that they were a colony of Medes and Persians: and indeed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and a letter, whose contents were as follows. "To king Antiochus Epiphanes, god, a memorial from Sidonians who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, because of certain frequent plagues, and following a certain ancient superstition, made a custom of observing that day which by the Jews is called the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> And when they had erected a temple without a name on the mountain called Gerizim, they offered upon it the customary sacrifices. Now upon thy just treatment of these wicked Jews, those that carry out thy orders, supposing us to be akin to them and doing as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, our benefactor and saviour, to give order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the manager of thy affairs, not to disturb us, or to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation and customs; and let our temple, which at present has no name at all, be called The Temple of Zeus Hellenius. If this be once done, we shall be no longer disturbed, but shall be more secure in attending to our own occupations and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer in a letter. "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians who live at Shechem have sent me the enclosed memorial. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them represented to us, that they are no way concerned in the charges brought against the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare them free from such accusations, and order that,

<sup>1</sup> This allegation of the Samaritans is remarkable, that though they were not Jews, yet did they, from ancient times, observe the Sabbath-day, and as they elsewhere pretend, the Sabbatic year also, Antiq. xi. 8, § 6.—W.



agreeably to their petition, their temple be called The Temple of Zeus Hellenius." He also sent the like letter to Apollonius, the governor of that province, in the forty-sixth year, on the eighteenth day of the month Hecatom-bæon.

## CHAP. VI.

*How, upon Antiochus prohibiting the Jews to make use of the Laws of their country, Mattathias the Son of Asamonæus alone despised the King, and overcame the Generals of Antiochus' Army; as also concerning the Death of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas.*

## § 1.

NOW at this time there was a man who dwelt at Modiim,<sup>1</sup> whose name was Mattathias, the son of John, the son of Symeon, the son of Asamonæus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a native of Jerusalem. He had five sons, John who was called Gaddes, and Simon who was called Matthes, and Judas who was called Maccabæus, and Eleazar who was called Auran, and Jonathan who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his sons the sad state of their affairs, as the spoiling of the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities of the people, and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously.

§ 2. Now when those that were appointed by the king were come to the village of Modiim, to compel the Jews to do what was commanded, and enjoin those that were there to offer sacrifice as the king had ordered, they desired that Mattathias, a person of the highest repute among them, both on other accounts and because of his goodly family, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow citizens would follow his example, and because such behaviour would make him honoured by the king. But Mattathias said he would not do so, and if all other nations obeyed the commands of Antiochus, either

<sup>1</sup> Now *el-Medieh*, about seven miles east of Lydda, and about sixteen miles north-west of Jerusalem.

out of fear or to please him, neither he nor his sons would leave the religious worship of their country. But when he had ended his speech, one of the Jews came into the midst, and sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded. At this Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him with his sons who had swords with them, and slew both the man himself, and Apelles the king's general, who was trying to compel them to sacrifice, and a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the altar, and cried out, "Whoever is zealous for the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me." And when he had said this, he went into the desert with his sons, and left all his property in the village. Many others did the same also, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. Now when the king's generals heard of this, they took all the soldiers they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; and when they had overtaken them, they first endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not to put them to the necessity of treating them according to martial law. But as they would not listen to their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they attacked them on the Sabbath-day, and burnt them as they were in their caves, without their resisting, or even so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they abstained from defending themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath even in such an evil case, for our law requires us to rest upon that day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered and died in those caves; but many escaped and joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler. And he taught them to fight even on the Sabbath-day, and told them, that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law so rigorously, for their adversaries would continue to assault them on that day, and if they would not then defend themselves, nothing could prevent their all perishing without fighting. This speech persuaded them. And this rule continues among us to this day, that if there be necessity, we may fight on the Sabbath-days. So Mattathias got a great army about him, and overthrew the altars,

and slew all those that broke the law that he could get in his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about for fear of him. He also commanded that those boys who were not yet circumcised should be circumcised now, and he drove out of the country those that were appointed to hinder their circumcision.

§ 3. But when he had ruled one year he fell very ill, and called for his sons, and set them round about him, and said, "O my sons, I am going the way of all flesh, and I commend to you my resolution, and beseech you not to be negligent in keeping it, but to be mindful of the wish of him who begat you and brought you up, to preserve the customs of your country, and to recover your ancient polity, which is in danger of being upset, and not to be seduced by those that betray it, either from their own inclination, or out of necessity, but to be sons worthy of me, and to be above all force and necessity, and so to dispose your souls, as to be ready, if it shall be necessary, to die for your laws, reflecting on this, that if God see that you are so disposed he will not overlook you, but will greatly value your virtue, and will restore to you again what you have lost, and will give you back again that freedom in which you shall live in security, and enjoy your own customs. Your bodies are mortal and subject to fate, but they receive a sort of immortality by the remembrance of the actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and when you have undertaken the greatest things, may not shrink from losing your lives. I exhort you especially to agree with one another, and in whatever point any one of you exceeds another, to yield to him so far, and so to reap the advantage of every one's own virtues. Esteem then your brother Simon as your father, because he is a man of extraordinary prudence, and be governed by him in the counsels he gives you. Take Maccabæus for the general of your army, because of his courage and strength, for he will avenge your nation and repel your enemies. Conciliate the righteous and religious, and so add to their power."

§ 4. When Mattathias had thus discoursed to his sons, and had prayed to God to be their helper, and to restore to

the people their former manner of life, he died soon afterwards and was buried at Modiim,<sup>1</sup> all the people making great lamentation for him. And his son Judas called Maccabæus took upon him the administration of affairs, in the hundred and forty-sixth year: and by the ready assistance of his brothers and others, drove their enemies out of the country, and put those of their own country to death who had transgressed their laws, and purified the land from all pollution.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Judas overthrew the Forces of Apollonius and Seron, and killed those Generals; and how, when a little while afterwards Lysias and Gorgias were beaten, he went up to Jerusalem and purified the Temple.*

### § 1.

WHEN Apollonius, the general of the army of Samaria, heard of this, he took his army, and marched against Judas. And he met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollonius himself the general, whose sword (which he happened to be wearing) he seized upon and kept for himself; but he wounded more than he slew, and took a great deal of spoil from the enemy's camp, and retired. But when Seron, who was general of the army of Cœle-Syria, heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had with him an army sufficient for fighting and making war, he determined to march against him, thinking it became him to endeavour to punish those that lawlessly transgressed the king's injunctions. So he got together as large an army as he was able, and joined to it the fugitive and wicked Jews, and marched against Judas, and advanced as far as Bethhoron,<sup>2</sup> a village of Judæa, and there pitched his camp. And there Judas met him, and intended to offer battle, and when he saw that his soldiers

<sup>1</sup> *el-Medieh*, thirteen miles west of *Beitîn*, Bethel. See p. 339, note 1. *Beit 'Ur el-Foka*.

were loath to fight, because their number was small, and because they wanted food, for they were fasting, he encouraged them by telling them that victory and conquest of enemies was not derived from numbers but from piety towards God ; and that they had the plainest proof of this in their forefathers, who by their righteousness and by exerting themselves on behalf of their laws and children, had frequently conquered many ten thousands, for innocence was a mighty force. By this speech he induced his men to despise the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Seron. And upon joining battle with him, he routed the Syrians ; and as their general fell they all ran away with speed, thinking flight their only chance of safety. And he pursued them to the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, and the rest escaped to the region which lay near to the sea.

§ 2. When king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened, and got together all his own army, and many mercenaries whom he took with him from the islands, and made preparations to invade Judæa about the beginning of the spring. But when, upon his mustering his soldiers, he perceived that his treasury was deficient, and that there was a want of money, (for all the taxes had not been paid because of the insurrections of the various nations, and he was so munificent and liberal that his own revenues were not sufficient for him,) he resolved first to go into Persia, and collect the taxes of that country. So he left in command one whose name was Lysias, who was in great repute with him, and governor as far as the bounds of Egypt and Lower Asia from the river Euphrates, with part of the forces and elephants, and charged him to educate his son Antiochus with all possible care until he came back, and to conquer Judæa, and enslave its inhabitants, and utterly destroy Jerusalem, and annihilate the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these orders to Lysias, he went into Persia, and in the hundred and forty-seventh year crossed over the Euphrates, and went to the upper satrapies.

§ 3. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy (the son of Dorymenes) and Nicanor and Gorgias, very influential men

among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, and sent them against Judæa. And they came as far as the city Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> and pitched their camp in the plain. Auxiliaries also came to them out of Syria and the country round about, as also many of the fugitive Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be captured (having fetters with them to bind those that should be made prisoners), with the silver and gold which they were to pay for their price. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous the enemies were, he urged his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and to make supplication to him clothed in sackcloth according to the custom of their country, and to show their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and so to prevail with God to grant them the victory over their enemies. And he set them in the ancient order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands and commanders of divisions, and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly gained possessions, that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, from an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus marshalled his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech which he made to them. "Comrades, no other time is more necessary than the present for courage and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing for itself agreeable to all men, so to us it proves much more desirable, by its affording us the power of worshipping God. Since then you are in such a case at present, that you must either recover that liberty, and so regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws and the customs of our country, or submit to the most ignoble sufferings, nor will any seed of your nation remain if you play the part of cowards in this battle, fight manfully. And reflecting that you must die though you do not fight, and believing that besides such glorious rewards as those of the

<sup>1</sup> *'Amwās.*

liberty of your country, your laws, and your religion, you shall obtain everlasting glory, prepare yourselves and resolve to be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day to-morrow morning."

§ 4. This was the speech which Judas made to encourage his army. And when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse to surprise Judas by night, with certain of the fugitive Jews as guides for that purpose, the son of Mattathias heard of it, and resolved to fall upon the enemies in their camp, now their forces were divided. When he had therefore supped in good time, and had left many fires in his camp, he marched all night to the enemy who were at Emmaus. Now as Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, he suspected that they had retreated and hidden themselves among the mountains, and resolved to go and seek wherever they were. But about daybreak Judas appeared to the enemy at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill-armed by reason of their poverty, and though he saw the enemy very well and skilfully fortified in their camp, he encouraged the Jews, and exhorted them to fight though with ill-armed bodies, for God had sometimes of old given such men strength, and that against such as were more numerous and better armed to boot, in delight at their great courage. Then he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle, and by thus falling upon the enemy when they did not expect it, and so alarming and dismaying their minds, he slew many of those that resisted, and went on pursuing the rest as far as Gadara<sup>1</sup> and the plains of Idumæa<sup>2</sup> and Azotus<sup>3</sup> and Jamnia;<sup>4</sup> and of these there fell about three thousand. And Judas exhorted his soldiers not to be too desirous of spoil, for they must still have a contest and battle with Gorgias and the forces that were with him: but when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected no others. And just as he was saying this to his soldiers, Gorgias' men looked down from a hill at the army which

<sup>1</sup> *Umm Keis.*

<sup>2</sup> The southern portion of the plain of Philistia.

<sup>3</sup> *Esdûd.*

<sup>4</sup> *Yebnah.*

they had left in their camp, and saw that it was routed, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it showed them what had happened, even though they were a great way off. When therefore those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were panic-struck, and turned to flight; and now Judas having beaten Gorgias' soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoil. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purple and blue raiment, and returned home with joy, singing hymns to God for this success; for this victory contributed not a little to the recovery of their liberty.

§ 5. But Lysias was confounded at the defeat of the army which he had sent out, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen foot, and five thousand horse, and invaded Judæa, and went up to the hill-country near Bethsura,<sup>1</sup> a village of Judæa, and pitched his camp there. And Judas met him there with ten thousand men, and when he saw the great number of the enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist him, and joined battle with the advanced guard of the enemy, and beat them, and slew about five thousand of them, and so caused panic in the rest of the army. Lysias indeed observing the great spirit of the Jews, and that they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate valour as real strength, took the rest of his army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he stayed to enlist foreigners in his service, and made preparations to invade Judæa with a greater army.

§ 6. And now that the generals of Antiochus' armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that after these many victories which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the customary sacrifices. And as soon as he with the whole multitude had come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, and its gates burnt down, and weeds growing in the temple on account of its desertion, he and those that were with him

<sup>1</sup> *Bit Sûr*, four miles north of Hebron.



began to lament, being quite confounded at the sight of the temple. And he picked out some of his soldiers, and gave them order to fight against the guards that occupied the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. And when he had carefully purged it, he brought in new vessels, as the candlestick, the table of show-bread, and the altar of incense, which were made of gold, and hung up veils at the doors, and added doors. He also demolished the altar, and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, not hewn with iron. And on the five-and-twentieth day of the month Chasleu, which the Macedonians call Apellæus, they lighted the lamps that were on the candlestick, and offered incense upon the altar of incense, and laid loaves upon the table of show-bread, and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar. Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very day on which their divine worship had ceased, and been changed to a profane and common use, three years before, for the temple that had been made desolate by Antiochus continued so for three years. This desolation happened on the temple in the hundred and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apellæus, and in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad: and it was dedicated anew on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apellæus, in the hundred and forty-eighth year, and in the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would stop the temple worship.

§ 7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the temple sacrifices for eight days, and omitted no sort of pleasure, but feasted the people upon the very rich and splendid sacrifices, and honoured God, and delighted the people by hymns and psalms. Nay, they were so very glad at the revival of their national customs after a long time of intermission, now that they had unexpectedly regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival for eight days on account of the restoration of their temple worship. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it "Lights." I suppose

the reason was, because this liberty appeared to us beyond our hopes, and hence the name was given to the festival. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city, and reared towers of great height against the incursions of enemies, and set guards therein. He also fortified the city of Bethsura, that it might serve as a citadel against any emergency caused by the enemies.

### CHAP. VIII.

*How Judas subdued the Nations round about; and how Simon beat the People of Tyre and Ptolemais; and how Judas overcame Timotheus, and forced him to flee away, and did many other things, after Joseph and Azarias had been beaten.*

#### § 1.

WHEN these things had taken place, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the revival of their power and strength, and rose up and destroyed many of them, gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and plotting against them. Judas had perpetual wars with these nations, and endeavoured to restrain them from their incursions, and to prevent the mischiefs they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumæans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabatene,<sup>1</sup> and slew a great many of them, and took their spoil. He also invested and besieged the sons of Baanus, who had laid ambush for the Jews, and burnt their towers, and slew the men that were on them. After this he marched against the Ammonites, who had a great and a numerous army, of which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on their city Jazor,<sup>2</sup> and took their wives and children captives, and burnt the city, and then returned to Judæa. But when the neighbouring nations heard that he had returned, they mustered together in

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same place as the 'ascent of Akrabim' of Josh. xv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Jazor, probably *Khurbet Súr*, west of 'Ammán, Philadelphia.

great numbers in the land of Gilead against the Jews that were on their borders. And they fled to the fortress of Dathema,<sup>1</sup> and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place where they had fled. And as their letters were being read, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabitants of Ptolemais and Tyre and Sidon, and the strange nations in Galilee, had concentrated their forces.

§ 2. Then Judas, considering what was best to be done with relation to the urgency of both these cases, ordered Simon his brother to take three thousand picked men, and go to the assistance of the Jews in Galilee, while he and another of his brothers, Jonathan, marched into the land of Gilead with eight thousand soldiers. And he left Joseph (the son of Zacharias) and Azarias over the rest of the forces: and charged them to guard Judæa very carefully, and to fight no battles with anyone until his return. Simon accordingly went into Galilee, and fought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the gates of Ptolemais, and slew about three thousand of them, and took the spoil of those that were slain, and rescued those Jews who had been taken prisoners, and their baggage, and then returned home.

§ 3. As for Judas Maccabæus and his brother Jonathan, they crossed over the river Jordan, and when they had gone three days' journey further they met the Nabatæans, who came to meet them peaceably, and told them how affairs within the land of Gilead stood, and how many of them were in distress, and driven into the garrisons and cities of Gilead, and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and to endeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness, and fell first upon the inhabitants of Bosorra,<sup>2</sup> and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and slew all the males and all that were able to fight, and burnt the city. Nor did he stop even when night came on, but he pushed on to the garrison where the Jews happened to be invested, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army, and Judas reached the city in the

<sup>1</sup> *Remtheh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bosorra, Bozrah, Busrah*.

morning; and when he found that the enemy were just making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them were bringing ladders, by which they might get upon the walls, and others engines to batter them down, he bade the trumpeter sound his trumpet, and encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for their brethren and kindred; he also divided his army into three, and fell upon the rear of the enemies. And when Timotheus' men perceived that it was Maccabæus that was upon them, of whose courage and success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they turned to flight; but Judas followed them close with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them. He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Malle, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from thence, and overthrew Chasphom,<sup>1</sup> and Bosor,<sup>2</sup> and many other cities in the land of Gilead.

§ 4. And not long after this, Timotheus got together a great army, and took others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians for pay to join him in his expedition, and went with his army beyond the brook over against the city of Raphon.<sup>3</sup> And he exhorted his soldiers, if it came to a battle with the Jews, to fight courageously, and to prevent their crossing over the brook: for he told them beforehand, "if they come over it, we shall be beaten." And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his own army, and marched in haste against the enemy, and when he had crossed over the brook, he fell upon the enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms and flee; and some of them escaped, others fled to what was called the temple at Carnain,<sup>4</sup> in hopes of preserving themselves; but Judas took the city and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so contrived several ways of destroying the enemies.

§ 5. When he had done this and gathered all the Jews

<sup>1</sup> The Casphon of 1 Macc. v. 26, not identified.

<sup>2</sup> *Busr el-Hariri*, five miles S.E. of Edrei.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *Rafeh*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ashteroth Karnaim*, *Tell 'Asherah*.

in Gilead together, with their children and wives and the substance that belonged to them, his intention was to bring them back into Judæa. And as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron,<sup>1</sup> that lay upon the road, (and as it was not possible for him to go any other way, so he was not willing to go back again,) he sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on their way through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones, and cut off their passage through it. But as the inhabitants of Ephron would not listen to him, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and besieged it, and lying round it day and night took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great, that they went over their dead bodies. They then crossed over the Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, situate over against which is the city of Bethshan,<sup>2</sup> which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis.<sup>3</sup> And marching on from thence, they came into Judæa, singing psalms and hymns as they went, and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their success, and the preservation of their army, for not one of the Jews was slain in these battles.

§ 6. But as to Joseph (the son of Zacharias) and Azarias, whom Judas left in command of the rest of the forces at the time when Simon was in Galilee fighting against the people of Ptolemais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, they also wished to get the glory of being fine generals, so they took the army that was under their command, and went to Jamnia. There Gorgias, the general at Jamnia,<sup>4</sup> met them, and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued to the very borders

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> *Beisân*.

<sup>3</sup> The reason why Bethshan was called 'Scythopolis,' is well known from Herodotus, Book i. ch. 105, and Syncellus, p. 214, that the Scythians, when they overran Asia, in the days of Josiah, seized on this city, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia, from which time it obtained the name of 'Scythopolis,' or the 'city of the Scythians.'—W.

<sup>4</sup> *Yebnah*.

of Judæa. And this reverse befell them from their disobedience to the injunction Judas had given them, not to fight with anyone before his return. For besides the rest of Judas' sagacious counsels, one may well admire this concerning the reverse that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brothers did not leave off fighting with the Idumæans, but pressed them hard on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and ravaged the country of the foreigners, and took the city of Marissa,<sup>1</sup> They went also to Azotus,<sup>2</sup> and captured it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoil and prey that were in it, and returned to Judæa.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas, and besieged him in the Temple, and afterwards made Peace with him and departed. Of Alcimus and Onias.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time king Antiochus, as he was going through his upper provinces, heard that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais,<sup>3</sup> and a very rich temple of Artemis therein, full of all sorts of votive offerings, as also weapons and breastplates, which, he found upon inquiry, had been left there by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon. And being incited by this news, he set out for Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it. But as those that were in it were not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but opposed him very courageously, he was baffled in his hope, for they drove him away from the city, and went out and pursued after him, insomuch

<sup>1</sup> Mareslah of Josh. xv. 44. *Kh. Mer'ash*, near *Beit Jibrin*, Eleutheropolis.

<sup>2</sup> *Esdûd*.

<sup>3</sup> There was no town called Elymais, possibly Ecbatana is intended.

that he fled away as far as Babylon, and lost many of his army. And when he was grieving for this disappointment, some persons told him of the defeat of his commanders whom he had left behind to fight with the Jews, and what strength the Jews had already got. When the concern about these affairs was added to the former, he was confounded, and from the anxiety he was in fell into an illness which lasted a great while, and his pains increased upon him, so at length he perceived that he should die, and called his friends to him, and told them, that his illness was severe, and confessed also that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation, in plundering their temple, and despising their god: and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. So one may wonder at Polybius of Megalopolis, though otherwise a good man, saying that "Antiochus died because he purposed to plunder the temple of Artemis in Persia," for the purposing to do a thing, and not actually doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Polybius could think that Antiochus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that the king died on account of his sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem. But I shall not contend about this matter with those who think that the cause assigned by Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than that assigned by us.

§ 2. However this may be, Antiochus, before he died, called for Philip, who was one of his companions, and made him the regent of his kingdom, and gave him his diadem and royal robes and ring, and charged him to carry them and deliver them to his son Antiochus, and desired him to take care of his education, and to preserve the kingdom for him. Antiochus died in the hundred and forty and ninth year: and Lysias declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, (for he had the care of him,) and called him Eupator.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3. At this time the garrison in the citadel at Jerusalem and the Jewish fugitives did a great deal of harm to the Jews: for the soldiers in the garrison used to sally out upon the sudden, and kill such as were going up to the

<sup>1</sup> Antiochus V., Eupator, succeeded his father, whilst still a child, in 164 B.C.

temple to offer their sacrifices, for this citadel commanded the temple. When this had often happened, Judas resolved to destroy that garrison, so he got all the people together, and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. This was the hundred and fiftieth year of the dominion of the Seleucidæ. So he made engines of war, and threw up earthworks, and tried hard to take the citadel: but not a few of the fugitives who were in the place went out by night into the country, and got together some other wicked men like themselves, and went to Antiochus the king, and begged of him, that he would not suffer them to continue in the great hardships they underwent from those of their own nation, and that on his father's account, because they had left the religious worship of their fathers, and adopted that which he had commanded them to follow. They said also that there was danger that the citadel, and those appointed to garrison it by the king, would be taken by Judas and those that were with him, unless he sent them succours. When Antiochus, who was but a boy, heard this, he was angry, and sent for his captains and friends, and ordered that they should get an army of mercenaries together, and such men also from his own kingdom as were of an age fit for war. And an army was collected together of about a hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and thirty-two elephants.

§ 4. So the king took this army, and marched from Antioch with Lysias, who had the command of the whole force, and came to Idumæa, and thence went up to Bethsura,<sup>1</sup> a city that was strong and not to be taken without great difficulty, and sat down before the city, and besieged it. And as the inhabitants of Bethsura<sup>1</sup> courageously opposed him, and sallied out upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great deal of time was spent in the siege. But when Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the siege of the citadel, and met the king, and pitched his camp at a certain pass, at a place called Bethzachariah,<sup>2</sup> at the distance of seventy furlongs from the enemy; and the king soon drew his forces away from Bethsura, and brought them to that pass. And as soon as it was day, he put his men in battle array, and made his elephants follow one

<sup>1</sup> *Beit Sâr.*

<sup>2</sup> *Beit Skâria*, nine miles north of *Beit Sâr.*



another through the narrow pass, for they could not go abreast. Now round every elephant there were a thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and the elephants had high towers and archers on their backs. And he made the rest of his army go up the mountains on each side, and put his friends in the van, and ordered the army to shout aloud, and so attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendour emanated from them; and when the army shouted, the mountains echoed again. When Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received the enemy with great courage, and slew about six hundred of the front ranks. And when his brother Eleazar, whom they called Auran, saw the tallest of the elephants armed with royal breastplates, supposing that the king was upon it, he attacked it with great bravery. He also slew many of those that were round the elephant, and scattered the rest, and then went under the belly of the elephant, and smote it, and slew it, but the elephant fell upon Eleazar, and by its weight crushed him to death. And thus did Eleazar come to his end, when he had first courageously destroyed many of his enemies.

§ 5. Then Judas, seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he sent part of his army to Bethsura to besiege it, and with the rest of his army marched to Jerusalem. And the inhabitants of Bethsura were terrified at his strength, and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths, that they should suffer no harsh treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out unarmed. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he besieged it a long time, for those within bravely defended it, for whatever engines the king set against them, they counter-contrived other engines. But at last their provisions failed them, the fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land not being tilled that year continued unsown, because it was the seventh year, on which, by our laws, we were obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And so many of

the besieged deserted for want of necessaries, that only a few were left in the temple.

§ 6. Such happened to be the circumstances of those who were besieged in the temple. But when Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus the king, were informed that Philip was marching upon them from Persia, and was endeavouring to get the management of public affairs to himself, they determined to raise the siege, and march against Philip, yet did they resolve not to let this be known to the soldiers nor to the officers, but the king commanded Lysias to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the affair of Philip, and to intimate to them, that the siege would be very long, that the place was very strong, that they were already short of provisions, that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation, and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends of the whole nation, by permitting them to observe the laws of their fathers, since they broke out into this war only because they were deprived of them, and to return home. When Lysias had spoken thus to them, both the army and officers were pleased with the resolution.

§ 7. So the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with him, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of and live according to the laws of their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals, and when they had taken security upon oath for their performance, they evacuated the temple. But when Antiochus went into it, and saw how strong the place was, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to raze the walls to the ground, and when he had done so he returned to Antioch: he also took with him Onias the high priest, who was also called Menelaus: for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet and cause him no further disturbance, for he had been the origin of all the mischief by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: so the king sent Menelaus to Bercea,<sup>1</sup> a city in Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and im-

<sup>1</sup> *Aleppo.*

pious man, and, in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high priest. But when king Antiochus found that Philip had already usurped the government, he made war against him, and beat him, and took him and slew him. Now, as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as I before said, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the stock of the high priests, being induced by Lysias to transfer that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy king of Egypt; <sup>1</sup> and being held in great esteem by him and his wife Cleopatra, he asked and obtained a place in the district of Heliopolis, <sup>2</sup> wherein he built a temple like that at Jerusalem. But of these things I shall hereafter give an account in a place more proper for it.

## CHAP. X.

*How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius' Army, made an Expedition against Judæa, and returned without success; and how Nicanor was sent a little afterwards against Judas, and perished, together with his Army; as also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judas.*

## § 1.

ABOUT the same time, Demetrius, <sup>3</sup> the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripolis, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered together certain mercenary soldiers, and entered the kingdom, and was joyfully received by all, who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had taken

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, 205-181 B.C. His wife was a daughter of Antiochus the Great.

<sup>2</sup> To the N.E. of Cairo. Possibly *Tell el-Yehûdi*.

<sup>3</sup> Demetrius I., Soter, son of Seleucus Philopator, and grandson of Antiochus the Great, was the rightful heir to the throne which had been usurped by Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigned 162-150 B.C.

Antiochus, the king, and Lysias, they brought them to him alive; both of whom were immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as I have already related elsewhere. And now many of the wicked Jewish fugitives came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brothers, and said, that they had slain all his friends, and that those in the kingdom that were of his party, and waited for his return, were put to death by them; and that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they desired that he would send one of his own friends, and ascertain through him what mischief Judas' party had done.

§ 2. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, an able man, and one that had been intrusted with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care, and ordered him to slay Judas and those that were with him. So Bacchides set out from Antioch with his army, and when he was come into Judæa, he sent to Judas and his brothers to treat on friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not believe in him, for he saw that he came with an army such as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but only when they come to make war. However, some of the people crediting what Bacchides caused to be proclaimed, and supposing they should undergo no great harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, went over to them, and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same views, should come to any harm, they trusted themselves with them. But Bacchides troubled not himself about the oaths he had taken, but slew threescore of them, although by not keeping his faith with those that first went over to him he deterred all the rest who intended to go over to him from doing so. And when he was gone out of Jerusalem, and was at the village called Bethzetho,<sup>1</sup> he sent and arrested many of the deserters, and some of the people

<sup>1</sup> The Bezeth of 1 Macc. vii. 19. Either the Mount of Olives or Bezetha.

also, and slew them all, and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus, whom he left there, with some part of the army, that he might be able to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioch to king Demetrius.

§ 3. Then Alcimus wishing to have his power more firmly assured, and perceiving, that if he could make the people his friends, he would govern with greater security, ingratiated himself with all by kind words, and carried himself to everybody in an agreeable and pleasant manner, by which means he soon got a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were wicked and deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he went all over the country, and slew all that he could find of Judas' party. And when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the nation, he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were of the other's party. And when Alcimus saw that he was not able to oppose Judas, but was unequal to him in strength, he resolved to apply to king Demetrius for assistance; so he went to Antioch, and exasperated him against Judas, accusing him of having suffered a good deal at his hands, and saying that he would do more mischief unless he were prevented, and brought to punishment, by a powerful force being sent against him.

§ 4. Then Demetrius, being already of opinion that it would be a thing injurious to his own interest to overlook Judas, now he was become so great, sent against him Nicanor, the most affectionate and faithful of all his friends (for it was he who fled away with him from the city of Rome), and also gave him as large a force as he thought sufficient to conquer Judas, and bade him not spare the nation at all. Now when Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he resolved not to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery, so he sent him a message of peace, and said there was no necessity for them to fight and hazard themselves, and he would pledge him his oath that he would do him no harm, for he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius' intentions were, and what his views about

their nation. When Nicanor delivered this message, Judas and his brothers listened to him, suspecting no deceit, and gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army. But while he was greeting Judas, and they were talking together, he gave a certain signal to his soldiers to seize Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers and fled away with them. And upon this discovery of his purpose, and the trap laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war upon him, and gathered his army together, and made preparations for fighting him, and on joining battle with him at a certain village called Capharsalama,<sup>1</sup> he beat him, and forced him to flee to the citadel which was in Jerusalem.

§ 5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel to the temple, some of the priests and elders met him and saluted him; and showed him the sacrifices which they said they were offering to God for the king: upon which he blasphemed, and threatened, unless the people delivered up Judas to him, to pull down the temple on his return. And when he had thus threatened, he departed from Jerusalem, but the priests fell into tears for grief at what he said, and besought God to deliver them from their enemies. Now Nicanor, when he was gone from Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethhoron,<sup>2</sup> pitched his camp there, another army from Syria having joined him: and Judas pitched his camp at Adasa,<sup>3</sup> another village thirty furlongs from Bethhoron, having with him no more than a thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many they were against whom they were going to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with Nicanor, overcame the enemy after a severe fight, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself fell fighting gloriously. Upon his fall his army did not stay, but having lost their general turned to flight and threw down their arms; and Judas pursued them, and slew

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit 'Ur.*

<sup>3</sup> *Kh. 'Adasch*, eight miles south of *Jufna*, Gophna.

them; and gave notice to the neighbouring villages by the sound of the trumpets that he had conquered the enemy. And when the inhabitants heard the trumpets they put on their armour quickly, and met their enemies as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, and there were nine thousand of them. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month, which is by the Jews called Adar, and by the Macedonians Dystrus; and the Jews celebrate this victory every year thereon, and esteem the day as a festival. After this the Jewish nation was for a while free from wars, and enjoyed peace, but afterwards it returned to its former state of wars and perils.

§ 6. And now, as the high priest Alcimus meant to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time and had been built by the holy prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down speechless upon the ground, and after undergoing torments for several days, he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas, who hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered in war Galatia and Iberia and Carthage in Libya, and that besides these they had subdued Greece, and the kings Perseus and Philip and Antiochus the Great, resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He therefore sent to Rome two of his friends, Eupolemus the son of John, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and by them begged the Romans to assist them and be their friends, and to write to Demetrius not to fight against the Jews. And the senate received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discussed with them the errand on which they came, and granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judæa. It was also laid up in the Capitol, and engraven on tables of brass. The decree itself was as follows. "The decree of the senate concerning a league of assistance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war against the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so either with corn or ships or money. And if any people attack the Jews, the Romans

shall assist them to the utmost of their power. Again, if any people attack the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews have a mind to add anything to, or withdraw anything from, this league of assistance, it shall be done with the common consent of the people of the Romans. And whatever addition shall thus be made shall be of force." This decree was written by Eupolemus the son of John, and by Jason the son of Eleazar, when Judas was high priest of the nation, and his brother Simon general of the army. And thus came about the first league between the Romans and the Jews.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Bacchides was again sent out against Judas; and how Judas fell fighting courageously.*

### § 1.

NOW when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Bacchides again with an army into Judæa, who set out from Antioch, and came into Judæa, and pitched his camp at Arbela,<sup>1</sup> a city of Galilee, and having besieged and taken those that were in caves there<sup>2</sup> (for many of the people had fled to them), he removed from thence and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he learned that Judas had pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho,<sup>3</sup> he hurried up against him his army consisting of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. Now Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand.<sup>4</sup> When these saw the number of Bacchides' men they were afraid, and left their camp, and

<sup>1</sup> *Irbid*, west of the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>2</sup> The caves in the *Wady Hammâm*, below *Irbid*.

<sup>3</sup> In 1 Macc. ix. 4, Berea, probably *Bireh*, north of Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> That Josephus' copy had here not 1,000 but 3,000, with 1 Macc. ix. 5, is very plain, because though the main part ran away at first even in Josephus, as well as in 1 Macc. ix. 6, yet, as there, so here, 800 are said to have remained with Judas, which would be absurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1,000.—W.



fled away, all but eight hundred. Now though Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed him hard and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Bacchides' army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted these men to undergo the danger courageously, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not able to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now and save themselves, and that when he had got all his men together, he should then fall upon the enemy afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing as that I should show my back to the enemy; and even though this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatever comes, than by now running away bring reproach upon my former exploits, and tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those who remained with him, whereby he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

§ 2. Then Bacchides led his army out of their camp, and put them in battle array. He set the horse on both the wings, and posted the light soldiers and archers in front of the whole line, and stationed himself on the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to engage with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout and to fall on the enemy. And when Judas had done the same, he joined battle with them, and both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, when Judas noticed that Bacchides and the strongest part of the army was on the right wing, so he took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, wedging himself into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as a mountain called Aza.<sup>1</sup> But when those on the left wing saw that the right wing was routed, they hemmed Judas in and pursued him, and came behind him, and got him in the middle of

<sup>1</sup> The 'Mount Azotus' of 1 Macc. ix. 15-18. Apparently the hill of *Bir ez-Zeit*, near *Jufna*, Gophna.

their army; so not being able to fly, but surrounded by enemies, he stood still, and he and those that were with him fought desperately, and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, he was at last wounded and fell, and gave up the ghost, and died in a way worthy of his former famous actions. When Judas had fallen, those that were with him had no one whom they could look to, so when they saw themselves deprived of such a general, they fled. But Simon and Jonathan, Judas' brothers, received his dead body from the enemy under a truce, and carried it to the village of Modiim, where their father had been buried, and there they buried him, and the people lamented for him many days, and performed the usual solemn funeral rites. And this was the end of Judas, a noble man and great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Mattathias, who endured all things, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And his character being so excellent, he left behind him a glorious reputation and memory by gaining freedom for his nation, and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high-priesthood three years, he died.

## BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS.—  
FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS TO THE DEATH  
OF QUEEN ALEXANDRIA.

### CHAP. I.

*How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas,  
and with his brother Simon waged War against Bacchides.*

#### § 1.

HOW the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and how many and great struggles their general

Judas went through, till he was slain fighting for them, has been related in the previous book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of their forefathers, sprung up again in Judæa, and flourished, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness and afflicted the country, till not a few, by reason of their want of necessaries, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted to the Macedonians. And now Bacchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like other nations, and committed the care of the country to them. And they arrested the friends of Judas, and those of party, and delivered them up to Bacchides, who, when he had first tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, by that means at last killed them. And when this misery of the Jews had become so great, that they had never experienced the like since their return from Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judas, seeing the nation perishing miserably, went to his brother Jonathan, and begged that he would imitate his brother and the care which he took of his countrymen, for whose general liberty he died, and that he would not let the nation be without a leader, especially in its present ruin. And when Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, as he was indeed esteemed no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

§ 2. When Bacchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king and to the Macedonians, as Judas had been before, he sought to slay him by treachery; but this intention of his was not unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon: and when these two were apprised of it, they took all their companions, and hastily fled into the wilderness which was nearest to the city, and when they were come to a lake called Asphar,<sup>1</sup> they abode there. But when Bacchides heard that they had shifted their quarters, and were in

<sup>1</sup> Probably one of the small reservoirs for collecting rain water in the desert. Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 2, § 22) uses *λάκκος* for the subterranean chambers in which he stored his wine.

that place, he marched against them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond the Jordan, recruited his army. And when Jonathan knew that Bacchides was coming upon him, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might deposit his baggage with them until the battle with Bacchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends. But the sons of Amareus laid an ambush for John from the city of Medaba,<sup>1</sup> as he was on his journey to the Nabateans, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them, and slew John and all his companions. However, they were adequately punished for what they now did by John's brothers, as I shall relate presently.

§ 3. Now when Bacchides learnt that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the marshes of the Jordan, he watched for the Sabbath-day, and then attacked him, supposing that he would not fight on that day because of the law. But Jonathan exhorted his companions to fight, and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were hemmed in by the river and by their enemies, and had no way of escape, for their enemies pressed upon them in front, and the river was behind them. And after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy, of whom he overthrew many; and as he saw Bacchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to smite him, but he foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped into the river and swam across it, and by that means escaped beyond the Jordan, as the enemy did not pursue them over that river: but Bacchides returned at once to the citadel at Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many of the cities of Judæa, whose walls had been demolished, as Jericho, and Emmaus,<sup>2</sup> and Bethoron,<sup>3</sup> and Bethel,<sup>4</sup> and Timnath,<sup>5</sup> and Pharatho,<sup>6</sup> and Tekoa,<sup>7</sup> and Gazara.<sup>8</sup> And he built towers in every one

<sup>1</sup> *Medeba*, east of Jordan, and four miles S.E. of *Heshbân*, Heshbon.

<sup>2</sup> Emmaus, Nicopolis, *Amwäs*.

<sup>3</sup> *Beit 'Ur el-Foka*.

<sup>4</sup> *Beitîn*.

<sup>5</sup> *Tibnah*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ferata*, about six miles W. of *Nâblus*, Shechem.

<sup>7</sup> *Kh. Tekû'a*.

<sup>8</sup> Gezer, *Tell Jezar*, four miles W. of *Amwäs*.

of those cities, and encompassed them with strong and high walls, and put garrisons into them, that they might issue out of them and do mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as hostages, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded them.

§ 4. About the same time a person came to Jonathan and his brother Simon, and told them that the sons of Amaræus were celebrating a marriage, and bringing the bride, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, from the city of Gabatha,<sup>1</sup> and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendour. So Jonathan and Simon, thinking that a most favourable opportunity had presented itself for avenging the death of their brother John, and that they had forces sufficient to take satisfaction from them for his death, marched to Medaba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies. And as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin and her bridegroom, and a great company of friends with them such as was to be expected at a wedding, they sallied out of their ambush and slew them all, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, after taking this satisfaction for their brother John from the sons of Amaræus, for as well as those sons themselves, their friends and wives and children that followed them perished, being in all about four hundred.

§ 5. Then Simon and Jonathan returned to the marshes of the Jordan, and there abode. And Bacchides, when he had secured all Judæa with his garrisons, returned to the king: and now the affairs of Judæa were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked saw that Jonathan and those that were with him lived in the country very quietly because of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and besought him to send Bacchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they showed could be done without any trouble, for in one night, if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *Jeb'a*.

So the king sent Bacchides, who, when he was come into Judæa, wrote to all his friends, both Jews and allies, to seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; but when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was aware of the snares laid for him, and on his guard against them, Bacchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him and the king, and took and slew fifty of their leaders. Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother and those that were with him, retired to Bethalaga,<sup>1</sup> a village that lay in the wilderness, from fear of Bacchides. He also built towers, and encompassed it with walls, so that he should be safely guarded. Upon hearing this Bacchides led out his army, and took his Jewish allies besides, and marched against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days. But Jonathan did not abate his courage at the energy Bacchides displayed in the siege, but courageously opposed him, and leaving his brother Simon in the city to fight with Bacchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got together a great body of men of his own party, and fell upon Bacchides' camp in the night-time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon also knew of his falling upon them, because he perceived that the enemies were slain by him, so he too sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used in the siege, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Bacchides saw himself intercepted by the enemies, some of them before and some behind him, he fell into dejection and trouble of mind, being confounded at the unexpected ill success of the siege. However, he vented his displeasure at this *contretemps* upon those deserters who got him sent by the king, as having deluded him; and wished to raise the siege in a dignified manner, if it were possible for him to do so, and then to return home.

§ 6. When Jonathan heard of his intention, he sent ambassadors to him, to propose friendship and mutual alliance, and that they should restore the captives taken on both sides. Bacchides thought this a dignified way of

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Macc. ix. 62, Beth-basi, apparently Beth-Hoglah, 'Ain Hajlah, near the north end of the Dead Sea.

retiring home, and made a league of friendship with Jonathan, and they swore that they would not any more make war against one another. Accordingly they exchanged prisoners, and he returned to Antioch to the king, and after this departure never invaded Judæa again. Then Jonathan, having obtained this quiet state of things, went and lived in the city of Michmash,<sup>1</sup> and there governed the people, and punished the wicked and ungodly, and so purged the nation of them.

## CHAP. II.

*How Alexander, warring with Demetrius, granted Jonathan many Favours, and appointed him to be High Priest, and persuaded him to assist him, although Demetrius promised him greater Favours on the other side. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.*

### § 1.

NOW in the hundred and sixtieth year it so fell out that Alexander,<sup>2</sup> the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, went up into Syria and took Ptolemais,<sup>3</sup> the soldiers within having betrayed it to him, for they were vexed with Demetrius on account of his haughtiness and difficulty of access; for he used to shut himself up in a palace of his that had four towers, which he had built himself not far from Antioch, and would admit nobody. He was also slothful and negligent about public affairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the more kindled against him, as I have already related elsewhere. But when Demetrius heard that Alexander was in Ptolemais, he took his whole army and led it against him: he also sent ambassadors to Jonathan, to propose mutual alliance and friendship, for he resolved to be beforehand with Alexander, lest he should treat with Jonathan first, and gain assistance from him: and this he did from the fear he had that Jonathan would remember how ill he Demetrius had formerly treated him,

<sup>1</sup> *Mukhmás.*

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Balas claimed the throne in 152 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *St. Jean d'Acre, 'Akka.*

and would join Alexander in the war against him. He therefore gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to raise an army, and should get armour made, and should receive back those Jewish hostages whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel at Jerusalem. When this good fortune had befallen Jonathan by the concession of Demetrius, he went to Jerusalem, and read the king's letter in the audience of the people and of those that kept the citadel. When this was read, those wicked men and deserters who were in the citadel were greatly afraid, on the king's permission to Jonathan to raise an army and to receive back the hostages. And he delivered every one of them up to their parents. And thus did Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renewing the city to a better state, and arranging everything as he pleased, and he gave orders that the walls of the city should be built with square stones, that it might be more secure against enemies. And when those that kept the garrisons that were in Judæa saw this, they all left them, and fled to Antioch, except those that were in the city of Bethsura, and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, for most of these were of the wicked Jews and deserters, and so did not deliver up their garrisons.

§ 2. When Alexander knew what promises Demetrius had made Jonathan, and also knew his courage and what great things he had done when he fought against the Macedonians, and also what hardships he had undergone at the hands of Demetrius and Bacchides the general of Demetrius's army, he told his friends that he could not at the present conjuncture find any one that could afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who was not only courageous against his enemies, but also had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as having both suffered many injuries from him, and done many injuries to him. If therefore they were of opinion that they should make him their friend against Demetrius, nothing was more for their advantage now than to invite him to assist them. It being therefore determined by him and his friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote to him the following letter. "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan greeting. We have long ago heard of thy courage and thy fidelity, and for



that reason have sent to thee, to make with thee a league of friendship and mutual alliance. We therefore appoint thee this day high priest of the Jews, and order that thou art to be called my friend. I have also sent thee, as presents, a purple robe and a golden crown, and beg, now thou art honoured by us, that thou wilt reciprocate our sentiments."

§ 3. When Jonathan had received this letter, he put on the high priest's robe at the time of the feast of Tabernacles,<sup>1</sup> four years after the death of his brother Judas, for since that time no high priest had been made. And he raised a large force, and had a quantity of arms made. This greatly grieved Demetrius when he heard of it, and made him blame himself for his tardiness in not anticipating Alexander in getting the good-will of Jonathan, and giving him opportunity to do so. However, he also himself wrote a letter to Jonathan and to the people, the contents whereof were as follows. "King Demetrius to Jonathan and to the nation of the Jews greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and though you have been tempted by my enemies, have not joined yourselves to them, I not only commend you for this your fidelity, but also exhort you to continue in the same, for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards and favours from us. For I will free you from most of the tribute and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me; <sup>2</sup> and instead of the third part of

<sup>1</sup> Since Jonathan plainly did not put on the pontifical robes till seven or eight years after the death of his brother Judas, or not till the feast of Tabernacles in the 160th year of the Selucidæ, 1 Maccab. x. 21, Petitus's emendation seems here to deserve consideration, who, instead of four years after the death of his brother Judas, would have us read eight years after the death of his brother Judas. This would tolerably well agree with the date of the Maccabees, and with Josephus's own exact chronology at the end of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, which the present text cannot be made to do.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Take Grotius's note here: "The Jews (says he) were wont to present crowns to the kings [of Syria:] afterwards that gold, which was paid instead of those crowns, or which was expended in making them, was called the crown gold and crown tax." On 1 Maccab. x. 29.—W.

the fruits [of the field,] and half the fruits of the trees, I give up my share of them from this day. And as to the poll-tax, which ought to be paid me for every inhabitant of Judæa, and of the three toparchies that adjoin Judæa, Samaria and Galilee and Peræa, this I concede to you now and for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from tithe and taxes to its utmost bounds: and I permit your high priest Jonathan to hold the citadel, that he may place as garrison in it such persons as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service. And let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any public burdens. I likewise set free the Jews that dwell in my kingdom, and order that no injury be done to them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to enlist in my army, that as many as thirty thousand may do so, which Jewish soldiers, wherever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army has: and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and some as rulers over those that are in my court. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them, and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that adjoin Judæa, and it shall be in the power of the high priest to see that not one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but that at Jerusalem. I offer also out of my own revenues yearly, for the expenses of the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ, and what money is over I will that it shall be your own. I also remit to you those ten thousand drachmæ which the kings received from the temple, because they belong to the priests that minister in the temple. And whoever shall flee to the temple at Jerusalem, or to its precincts, either owing the king money, or on any other account, let them be set free, and let their property be untouched. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that at my expense. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high

towers, and let them be erected at my expense. And if there be any fortress that would be convenient to have very strong in the country of the Jews, let it be built at my expense."

§ 4. This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews, in this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that joined him from Syria, and marched against Demetrius. And in the battle that ensued, the left wing of Demetrius put those opposite them to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp, but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten. And as for all the rest, they ran away, but Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of the enemy, but as he was in pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out, and there it happened, upon his horse's falling down, that he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they turned back, and surrounded Demetrius, and all threw their darts at him, and he being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to resist any longer, but fell. And this is the end that Demetrius<sup>1</sup> came to when he had reigned eleven years, as I have elsewhere related.

### CHAP. III.

*The Friendship between Onias and Ptolemy Philometor ;  
and how Onias built a Temple in Egypt like that at  
Jerusalem.*

#### § 1.

NOW the son of Onias the high priest, who had the same name as his father, and who had fled to king Ptolemy,<sup>2</sup> who was called Philometor, lived now at Alexandria, as I have said already; and when he saw that Judæa was ravaged by the Macedonians and their kings, desiring to purchase to himself eternal memory and fame, he resolved

<sup>1</sup> The defeat and death of Demetrius was in 150 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy VI., Philometor, 181-146 B.C.

to send to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests out of their own stock. The chief reason why he was desirous to do so was that he relied upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived more than six hundred years before, and foretold that there certainly was to be a temple built to the most high God in Egypt by a man that was a Jew. Onias was incited by this prediction, and wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. "Having done you many and great services in war by the help of God, and being in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and having gone with the Jews to Leontopolis<sup>1</sup> in the district of Heliopolis, and to other places of your nation, I found that most of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on that account they bore ill-will to one another, which happened to the Egyptians because of the multitude of their temples, and their different opinions about divine worship. Now I found a very fit place in a stronghold that has its name from rural Bubastis,<sup>2</sup> the place is full of wood of various kinds and sacred animals. I desire, therefore, that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no special divinity and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to the most high God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, for the benefit of yourself and your wife and children, that those Jews who dwell in Egypt may have a place where they may come and meet together in mutual harmony with one another, and assist you in your needs. For the prophet Isaiah foretold that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God. And many other such things did he prophesy relating to the place."

§ 2. This was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy. Now any one may conjecture his piety, and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra, by the letter which they wrote in answer to it; for they laid the sin and transgression of the law upon the head of Onias. For this was their reply. "King Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra to Onias greeting. We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Tell el-Yehûdi*, near the *Shibîn el-Kanater* railway station.

<sup>2</sup> *Tell Basta*, near the *Zagazig* railway station.

be given thee to purge the temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis in the district of Heliopolis, and which has its name from the rural Bubastis. So we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have offended God at all in the matter."

§ 3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. I do not think it needful for me now to describe its dimensions or its vessels, which have been already described in the seventh book of my Jewish War. And Onias found some Jews like himself, and priests and Levites to perform divine service there. But I have said enough about this temple.

§ 4. Now it came to pass that the Jews in Alexandria had a quarrel with the Samaritans, who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander on Mount Gerizim, and disputed about their temples before Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying that according to the laws of Moses the temple was to be built at Jerusalem, and the Samaritans saying that it was to be built on Mount Gerizim. They desired therefore the king to sit with his friends, and hear a debate on these matters, and punish those with death who were beaten in the argument. Now Sabbæus and Theodosius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, for the people of Jerusalem and the Jews. And they swore by God and the king to prove their case according to the law, and they desired of Ptolemy, that he would put to death whoever he should find violated what they had sworn to. And the king took several of his friends into counsel, and sat down to hear what the pleaders said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for those who were to contend for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should try to take away the reputation of their temple, which was so ancient and celebrated all over the world. Now as Sabbæus and Theodosius gave leave to

Andronicus to speak first, he began to show, from the law and the succession of the high priests, how every one had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple in succession from his father, and how all the kings of Asia had honoured that temple with their votive offerings and the most splendid gifts, while as for that at Gerizim, no one made any account of it, or regarded it, as if it had a being at all. By this speech and similar arguments Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses, and to put Sabbæus and Theodosius to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometor.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Alexander greatly honoured Jonathan, and how Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius, overcame Alexander, and became King himself, and made a League of Friendship with Jonathan.*

##### § 1.

DEMETRIUS having been slain in battle, as I have stated above, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria, and wrote to Ptolemy Philometor asking his daughter in marriage, and said it was but just that he should be joined in affinity to one who had now recovered the throne of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and was on other accounts not unworthy of being connected with him. Ptolemy received this offer of marriage gladly, and wrote him an answer, congratulating him on account of his having recovered the throne of his forefathers, and promising him that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and desiring him to meet him at Ptolemais, as he would bring his daughter there, for he would accompany her so far from Egypt, and would there give her to him in marriage. When Ptolemy had written this, he soon went to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him,

as he desired him, he gave him his daughter in marriage, and for her dowry gave as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

§ 2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan the high priest, and desired him to come to Ptolemais. And when he came to the kings, and made them magnificent presents, he was honoured by them both. Alexander also compelled him to put off his own garment, and to put on a purple garment, and made him sit with him on his throne, and commanded his captains to go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to cause him any trouble. And when the captains had done so, those that were prepared to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them. Nay, king Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he registered him as the principal of his friends.

§ 3. Now in the hundred and sixty-fifth year Demetrius,<sup>1</sup> the son of Demetrius, came from Crete with a great number of mercenary soldiers, whom Lasthenes the Cretan furnished him with, and sailed to Cilicia. This news threw Alexander into great concern and anxiety, so he hastened immediately from Phœnicia to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there, before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus governor of Cœle-Syria, who coming to Jamnia<sup>2</sup> with a great army, sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him, that it was not right that he alone should live in security and authority, not being subject to the king, and that this brought him reproach among all men, that he had not yet made himself subject to the king. "Do not thou therefore deceive thyself (he continued), sitting among the mountains, and thinking thyself strong, but if thou hast any reliance on thy strength, come down into the plain, and let our armies be pitted together, and the event of the battle will prove which of us is the best man. Know, however, that the most valiant men of every city are in my army, and these are the

<sup>1</sup> Demetrius II., Nicator, landed in Syria in 148 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Yebnah*.

very men who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle on ground where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place where those that are beaten may flee to."

§ 4. Jonathan was irritated at this message, and picking out ten thousand of his soldiers, marched from Jerusalem with his brother Simon, and went to Joppa, and pitched his camp outside the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius. But as Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, they were afraid he would take the city by storm, so they opened the gates to him. And Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horse and eight thousand foot, and went to Azotus,<sup>1</sup> and removing thence made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, feigned to retire, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as he prided himself highly upon his horse, and placed his hopes of victory principally in them. And Jonathan sallied out, and pursued Apollonius to Azotus; and as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle. Now Apollonius had laid a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might take their enemies in the rear, and though Jonathan perceived this, he was in no consternation, but ordering his army to form a square he charged them to repel the enemy on both sides, and set them so as to face those that attacked them both before and behind. And as the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemies' lines, but he himself charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and so receive the darts of the horsemen. And they did as they were commanded, so that the enemy's horsemen, though they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter their bodies, as they lit upon their shields, that were joined and united together, the compactness of which easily resisted the force of the darts, which glanced off without

<sup>1</sup> *Esdúđ.*



taking effect. But when the enemy grew tired of throwing darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the main body of the enemy, and as his soldiers fought with great vigour, he put them to flight. And when the horse saw that the foot ran away, neither did they stay themselves, but being very weary by the fight lasting till the evening, and their hope from the foot being quite gone, they ran away in great disorder and confusion, till they separated from one another, and were scattered over all the plain. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Azotus, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, who despaired of escaping, to flee to the temple of Dagon, which was at Azotus. But Jonathan took the city at the first onset, and burnt it and the villages round it, nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but he burnt it also, and so killed those that had fled to it. Now the entire number of the enemies that fell in the battle, or were burnt to death in the temple, was eight thousand. Now when Jonathan had overcome so great an army, he removed from Azotus, and went to Ascalon,<sup>1</sup> and when he had pitched his camp outside the city, the people of Ascalon came out and met him, bringing him presents, and honouring him; and he gratefully accepted their kindness, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of spoil which he got when he conquered his enemies. And when Alexander heard that his general Apollonius was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with his friend and ally Jonathan against his directions. Accordingly, he sent to Jonathan, and bore testimony to his worth, and gave him honorary rewards,<sup>2</sup> as a gold pin, which it is the custom to give the king's kinsmen, and allowed him Ekron<sup>3</sup> and its toparchy as his own inheritance.

§ 5. About this time king Ptolemy, who was called Philometor, came to Syria with a land and sea force to the

<sup>1</sup> *Askalán*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hudson here observes, that the Phœnicians and Romans used to reward such as had deserved well of them, by presenting to them a 'gold pin.' See chap. 5, § 4.—W.

<sup>3</sup> *Akir*.

assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law;<sup>1</sup> and all the cities received him in a friendly manner, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Azotus, where all made loud complaints about the burning of the temple of Dagon, and accused Jonathan of having destroyed it and the adjacent country with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to Joppa to meet Ptolemy, and received from him handsome presents, and all marks of honour. And when he had escorted him as far as the river called Eleutherus,<sup>2</sup> he returned again to Jerusalem.

§ 6. But when Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, most unexpectedly he was very near destruction, for he was plotted against by Alexander, through Ammonius who was his friend. And when the plot was detected, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and demanded of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him of the way he had plotted against him, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished. But as Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who had laid the design, and was very angry with him. Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch because of Ammonius, for they had suffered very much at his hands. However Ammonius at length underwent the punishment his insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner as a woman, having endeavoured to conceal himself in feminine dress, as I have elsewhere related.

§ 7. And now Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for assisting him against Demetrius, so he dissolved his connection with him, and took his daughter away from him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make league of mutual alliance and friendship with him, and agreed to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore him to the throne of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this message, and accepted his alliance, and his

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Balas had married Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor.

<sup>2</sup> *Nahr el-Kebîr*, north of Tripolis.

daughter's hand in marriage. But Ptolemy had still one more hard task to do, and that was to persuade the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius, because they were hostile to him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them, yet he did bring it about. For as the people of Antioch hated Alexander on Ammonius' account, as I have related already, they were easily prevailed to cast him out of Antioch; and he, being thus expelled out of Antioch, went into Cilicia. Ptolemy then went to Antioch, and was made king by its inhabitants and by the army; so that he was forced to put on two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt. But being naturally a good and righteous man, and not desirous of what belonged to others, and, besides this being also wise in reading the future, he determined to avoid exciting the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and urged them to receive Demetrius; and assured them, that he would not be mindful of what they had done to his father, in case he should now be obliged by them; and undertook that he would himself be a good preceptor and governor to him; and promised that he would not permit him to attempt any bad actions; and said that for his part he was contented with the kingdom of Egypt. By these words he persuaded the people of Antioch to receive Demetrius.

§ 8. And now Alexander marched from Cilicia into Syria with a numerous and great army, and burnt and ravaged the country belonging to Antioch, whereupon Ptolemy and his son-in-law Demetrius (for he had already given him his daughter in marriage), led their army against him, and beat Alexander, and put him to flight, and he fled to Arabia. Now it happened, in the battle, that Ptolemy's horse was frightened at hearing the cry of an elephant, and threw him, and his enemies seeing this rushed at him, and gave him many wounds upon his head, and brought him into danger of death; for when his bodyguards rescued him, he was so very ill, that for four days he was insensible and speechless. However, Zabel, a prince among the Arabians, cut off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovering of his wounds, and becoming sensible on the fifth day, heard at once most agree-

able news, and saw a most agreeable sight, namely heard of the death and saw the head of Alexander; yet a little after this joy and satisfaction at the death of Alexander, he also departed this life. Now, Alexander, who was called Balas, reigned over Asia five years, as I have related elsewhere.

§ 9. But when Demetrius, who was also called Nicator,<sup>1</sup> had taken over the kingdom, he was so wicked as to treat Ptolemy's soldiers very hardly, neither remembering the alliance that was between them, nor that he was his son-in-law and kinsman by his marriage with Cleopatra, so the soldiers fled from his wicked treatment to Alexandria, but Demetrius retained the elephants. And Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judæa, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those impious men who had abandoned the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan to take the place, relying on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was being besieged; and he was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and went from Antioch against Jonathan. And when he was at Ptolemais he wrote to him, and commanded him to come quickly to him there; upon which Jonathan did not intermit the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people and the priests, and carried with him gold and silver and garments, and a great number of presents, and went to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and so pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, as he had got it by the grants of the kings his predecessors. And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when Jonathan petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judæa and the three toparchies of Samaria

<sup>1</sup> This name, 'Demetrius Nicator,' or 'Demetrius the Conqueror,' is so written on his still extant coins, as Hudson and Spanheim inform us; the latter of whom gives us here the entire inscription, 'King Demetrius the God Philadelphus Nicator.'—W.

Peræa and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter whose contents were as follows. "King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, greeting. We have sent you a copy of the letter which we have written to Lasthenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents. 'King Demetrius to Lasthenes his father greeting. I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour, to the nation of the Jews, who have acted uprightly to us. Accordingly, I remit to them the three prefectures, Apherima,<sup>1</sup> Lydda,<sup>2</sup> and Ramatha,<sup>3</sup> which were added to Judæa out of Samaria, with their appurtenances, as also what the kings my predecessors received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth and trees, and what else belongs to us, as the salt pits and crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes either now or henceforth.' Take care therefore that a copy of this letter be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in some prominent place in the holy temple." Such were the contents of the letter. And now, when Demetrius saw that there was peace everywhere, and that there was no danger nor fear of war, he disbanded his army, and diminished their pay, and was bountiful only to such foreigners as had come with him from Crete and the other islands. However, this procured him ill-will and hatred from the soldiers, on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, whereas the kings before him used to pay them even in time of peace as much as they did in war, that they might have their goodwill, and that they might be very ready to undergo the perils of war, if occasion should require.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Ephraim, *Taiyibeh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ludd*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the same as Ramathaim-Zophim, in Mount Ephraim; not identified.

## CHAP. V.

*How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, handed over the kingdom to Antiochus the Son of Alexander, and got Jonathan for his Ally; and concerning the Actions and Embassies of Jonathan.*

## § 1.

NOW a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apamian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, though he was also called Trypho,<sup>1</sup> took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bore to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who was bringing up Antiochus the son of Alexander, and told him what ill-will the army bore to Demetrius, and persuaded him to hand over to him Antiochus, for he said he would make him king, and restore to him the kingdom of his father. Malchus at first opposed him in this, as he did not trust him, but as Trypho urged him for a long time, he at last persuaded him to comply with his views. Such was the state of affairs with Trypho.

§ 2. Meantime Jonathan the high priest, being desirous to get rid of those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country, sent presents and ambassadors to Demetrius, and entreated him to take away his soldiers from the strongholds of Judæa. Demetrius made answer that after the war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was over, he would not only grant him that, but greater things than that also, and begged him to send him some assistance, and informed him that his army had revolted. So Jonathan picked out three thousand of his soldiers, and sent them to Demetrius.

§ 3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius, both on account of the mischief he had himself done them, and because they were his enemies also on account of his father Demetrius, who had very badly treated them; so they

<sup>1</sup> Trypho, according to Strabo, was a native of Cariana, in the district of Apamea, *Kal'ât el-Medyk*, in Syria.

watched for some opportunity which they might lay hold of, to fall upon him. And when they were informed of the assistance that was coming to Demetrius from Jonathan, and considered at the same time that he would raise a numerous army, unless they prevented him, they took up arms, and surrounded his palace as if besieging it, and occupied all the outlets, and sought to subdue their king. And when he saw that the people of Antioch were become his bitter enemies, and were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers whom he had with him, and those Jews who had been sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them and beaten, for they were many myriads. But when the Jews saw that the Antiochians were getting the better of it, they went up to the roof of the palace, and shot at them from thence, and because they were so remote from them by their height, that they suffered nothing on their side, but did great execution on them, fighting from such an elevation, they drove them out of the adjoining houses, and immediately set them on fire. Thereupon the flames spread over the whole city, and burnt it all down, by reason of the closeness of the houses, and because they were mostly built of wood; and the Antiochians, as they were not able to help themselves, or put out the fire, turned to flight. And as the Jews leaped from the top of one house to the top of another, and pursued them after that manner, it happened that the pursuit was very surprising. But when the king saw that the Antiochians were anxious to save their children and wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow streets and fought them, and slew a great number of them, till at last they were forced to throw down their arms, and surrender to Demetrius. And he forgave them their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the rebellion: and when he had given rewards to the Jews out of the rich spoil he had got, and had returned them thanks as the authors of his victory, he sent them back to Jerusalem to Jonathan, testifying to the assistance they had afforded him. But he behaved ill to Jonathan afterwards, and broke the promises he had made, and threatened that he would make war upon him, unless he would pay all the tribute

which the Jewish nation had paid the former kings. And he would have done so, if Trypho had not hindered him, and diverted his preparations against Jonathan into concern for his own preservation. For Trypho returned from Arabia to Syria with the lad Antiochus, for he was yet but a youth in age, and put the diadem on his head: and as the whole forces that had deserted from Demetrius, because they could get no pay, came over to him, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him, overcame him in the fight, and took from him both his elephants and the city of Antioch.

§ 4. Demetrius upon his defeat retired into Cilicia, and the lad Antiochus sent ambassadors and a letter to Jonathan, and made him his friend and ally, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judæa. Moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold, and a purple robe, and gave him leave to use them. He also presented him with a gold pin, and ordered him to be called one of his principal friends, and made his brother Simon general over his forces from the Ladder of Tyre to Egypt. And Jonathan was so well pleased with these favours of Antiochus, that he sent ambassadors to him and to Trypho, and professed himself his friend and ally, and said he would join him in a war against Demetrius, informing him that Demetrius had made no proper return for the favours he had done him, for though he had received many kindnesses from him when he stood in great need of them, he had for such good turns requited him with injuries.

§ 5. And as Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to enlist a numerous army in Syria and Phœnicia, and to make war against Demetrius' generals, he set out at once to the several cities, which received him splendidly indeed, but put no troops into his hands. And when he was come from thence to Ascalon,<sup>1</sup> the inhabitants of Ascalon came and brought him presents, and entertained him handsomely. He exhorted them, and every one of the cities of Cœle-Syria, to forsake Demetrius, and to join Antiochus, and to assist him in his endeavour to punish Demetrius

<sup>1</sup> *Askalân.*



for the offences he had formerly been guilty of against themselves: and he told them there were many reasons for that step, if they had a mind to take it. And when he had persuaded those cities to promise their assistance to Antiochus, he went to Gaza, in order to induce it also to be friendly to Antiochus. But he found the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected, for they shut their gates against him, and although they had deserted Demetrius, they resolved not to join themselves to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them, and to ravage their country, for he set a part of his army round Gaza itself, and with the rest he overran their land, and devastated it, and burnt what was in it. When the inhabitants of Gaza saw themselves suffering thus, and that no assistance came to them from Demetrius, and that what distressed them was at hand, but what might aid them was still at a great distance, and it was uncertain whether it would come at all or not, they thought it would be prudent conduct to leave off any longer adherence to Demetrius, and to cultivate friendship with the other; so they sent to Jonathan, and promised to be his friends, and afford him assistance. For such is the temper of men, that before they have had the trial of great afflictions, they do not understand what is for their advantage, but when they find themselves in any evil plight, they then change their minds, and what it had been better for them to have done before they had been at all hurt, they choose to do, but not till after they have suffered such hurt. And Jonathan made a league of friendship with them, and took from them hostages for their performance of it, and sent those hostages to Jerusalem, while he himself went over all the country as far as Damascus.

§ 6. But when he heard that the generals of Demetrius' forces were come with a numerous army to the city of Kadesh,<sup>1</sup> which lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee (for they supposed they should so draw him out of Syria to preserve Galilee, for they thought he would not allow war to be made upon the Galilæans, who were his

<sup>1</sup> *Kades*, on the hills west of the lake *el-Hülch*.

own people), he went to meet them, having left his brother Simon in Judæa, who raised as large an army as he was able out of the country, and then sat down before Bethsura, and besieged it, it being the strongest place in all Judæa; and a garrison of Demetrius' kept it, as I have already related. And as Simon was throwing up earthworks, and bringing his engines of war against Bethsura,<sup>1</sup> and was very energetic in the siege of it, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken by Simon by storm, and they put to the sword; so they sent to Simon, and desired the security of his oath, that they should come to no harm from him, and then they would evacuate the place, and go away to Demetrius. Accordingly he gave them his oath, and so got them out of the city, and put therein a garrison of his own.

§ 7. But Jonathan removed out of Galilee from the waters which are called Gennesar,<sup>2</sup> for there he had encamped, and went into the plain that is called Asor,<sup>3</sup> without knowing that the enemy was there. When therefore Demetrius' men knew, a day beforehand, that Jonathan was coming against them, they set men in ambush on the mountain, while they themselves met him with an army in the plain: and when Jonathan saw this army ready to engage him, he also got ready his own soldiers for the battle as well as he was able. But those men that were set to lie in ambush by Demetrius' generals having appeared on the Jews' flank, they were afraid lest they should be taken between two fires and be exterminated, so they all fled headlong, and left Jonathan, except about fifty who stayed with him, and among them Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chapsæus, who were leaders of the whole army. And they advanced boldly, and like men desperate, against the enemy, and so attacked them that by their courage they daunted them, and by their valour put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retreated saw the enemy giving way,

<sup>1</sup> *Beit Sûr*, four miles north of Hebron.

<sup>2</sup> The springs at *et-Tabighah*, which watered the plain of Gennesareth; or, perhaps, the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> The plain near *Jebel Hadirah*, not far from *Kades*, Kedesh Napthali.

they rallied after their flight, and pursued them hotly as far as Kadesh, where the camp of the enemy was.

§ 8. Jonathan having thus won a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. And when he saw that all his affairs prospered according to his mind by the providence of God, he sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing the friendship which their nation had had with them formerly. He also enjoined on his ambassadors as they returned to go to the Spartans, and remind them that they were their friends and kindred. So when the ambassadors got to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to carry to all the kings of Asia and Europe, and to the governors of the cities, that so they might get safe conduct back to their own country. And as they returned, they went to Sparta, and delivered the letter which they had received from Jonathan for them, a copy of which here follows. "Jonathan the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate and commonalty of the Jews, to the ephors and senate and people of the Lacedæmonians, who are their brothers, send greeting. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your minds, it is according to our wishes; and we are well also. When in former times a letter was brought to Onias, who was then our high priest, from Areus, who at that time was your king, by Demoteles, concerning the relationship between us and you, a copy of which is here subjoined, we not only joyfully received the letter, but were also well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a testimony, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings.<sup>1</sup> Yet

<sup>1</sup> This clause is otherwise rendered in the first book of Maccabees, xii. 9. "For that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us." The Hebrew original being lost, we cannot certainly judge which was the truest version, only the coherence favours Josephus. But if this were the Jews' meaning, that they were satisfied out of their Bible that the Jews and Lacedæmonians were akin, that part of their Bible is now lost, for we find no such assertion in our present copies. —W.

we did not think fit first to claim this relationship to you, lest we should seem premature in taking to ourselves the glory which is now given us by you. It is a long time since this our relationship to you was renewed; and when upon holy and festival days we offer sacrifices to God, we pray to him for your safety and victory. As for ourselves, although we have had many wars that have come to us through the covetousness of our neighbours, yet we determined not to be troublesome either to you or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and had occasion to send Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them a letter to you also, that they might renew our mutual friendship. You will therefore also do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand in need of from us, since we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires." And the Lacedæmonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual alliance, and sent it to them.

§ 9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the third the sect of the Essenes. As for the Pharisees,<sup>1</sup> they say that some, but not all, actions are

<sup>1</sup> Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three accounts of the notions of the Pharisees, this here, and the earlier one in the Jewish War, ii. 8, § 14, and the latter, *Antiq.* xviii. 1, § 3, as if he sometimes said they introduced an absolute fatality, and denied all freedom of human actions, is almost wholly groundless: he ever, as the very learned Casanbon here truly observes, asserting, that the Pharisees were between the Essenes and Sadducees, and did ascribe all to fate, or divine providence, as much as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking about fate or providence, as overruling all things, made it commonly thought they were willing to excuse their sins by ascribing them to fate. Perhaps under the same general name some different opinions in this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parties, especially in points of metaphysical subtlety: however, our Josephus, who in his heart was a great admirer of the piety of the Essenes, was yet in practice a Pharisee, as he himself informs us, *Life*, § 2. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees is certainly agreeable to his own opinion, who fully

the work of fate, and some are in our own power, either to do or not to do. And the Essenes affirm that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its decree. But the Sadducees take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human life are not at its disposal, and suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we ourselves are the authors of what is good, and bring our troubles on ourselves by our own folly. But I have given a more exact account of all these opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

§ 10. Now the generals of Demetrius, wishing to retrieve the defeat they had had, gathered together a greater army than they had had before, and marched against Jonathan. And he, as soon as he was informed of their coming, went quickly to meet them, to the district of Amathis,<sup>1</sup> for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judæa. So he pitched his camp fifty furlongs from the enemy, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and see how it was drawn up. When his spies had given him full information, and had captured some men by night, who told him the enemy intended to attack him, he, being thus apprised beforehand, provided for his security, and placed outposts outside his camp, and kept his men armed all night; and charged them to be of good courage and resolve to fight even in the night-time, if they should be obliged to do so, that their enemies' designs might not be concealed from them. But when Demetrius' generals found out that Jonathan knew what they intended they were puzzled, and alarmed to find that the enemy had discovered their intentions, nor did they expect to overcome them in any other way, now they had failed in the snare they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army. So they resolved to flee, and having lit many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they decamped. And when

allowed the freedom of human actions, and yet strongly believed the interposition of divine Providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause. Antiq. xvi. 11, § 7.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Hamath, *Hama* in Syria.

Jonathan came to their camp in the morning, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, but could not overtake them, for they had already passed over the river Eleutherus,<sup>1</sup> and were out of danger. And when Jonathan returned from thence, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabatæans, and drove off a great deal of their cattle, and took [many] captives, and went to Damascus, and there sold all that he had taken. And about the same time Simon his brother went over all Judæa and Palestine, as far as Ascalon, and fortified the strongholds; and when he had made them very strong, both by works and the garrisons placed in them, he went to Joppa, and when he had taken it, he introduced a strong garrison into it, for he heard that the people of Joppa wished to deliver up the city to Demetrius' generals.

§ 11. When Simon and Jonathan had arranged these matters, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and advised restoring the walls of Jerusalem, and rebuilding the wall round the temple precincts that had been thrown down, and making the adjoining places stronger by very high towers; and besides that building another wall in the midst of the city, to exclude the garrison, which was in the citadel, from the market-place, and so to hinder them from any plentiful supply of provisions; and moreover making the fortresses that were in the country much stronger and more secure than they were before. And when this advice was approved of by the multitude as good, Jonathan himself superintended the building in the city, and despatched Simon to make the fortresses in the country more secure than before. But Demetrius crossed over and went into Mesopotamia, wishing to occupy that country and Babylon, and by becoming master of the upper satrapies to get a *point d'appui* for recovering his entire kingdom; for the Greeks and Macedonians who dwelt in those parts frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised, that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsaces, the king of the Parthians. Elated by these hopes he marched

<sup>1</sup> *Nahr el-Kebir.*

to them, having resolved that, if he once overthrew the Parthians, and got a sufficient army of his own, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him from Syria. And as the people of that country received him with great enthusiasm, he raised forces, with which he fought against Arsaces, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as I have elsewhere related.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Jonathan was slain by Treachery; and how thereupon the Jews made Simon their General and High Priest: and what courageous Actions he performed, especially against Trypho.*

## § 1.

NOW when Trypho knew what had befallen Demetrius, he was no longer loyal to Antiochus, but devised how he might kill him and take possession of his kingdom: but his fear of Jonathan was an obstacle to this design, for Jonathan was a friend of Antiochus. So he resolved first to get Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his attempt on Antiochus; and resolving to take him off by deceit and treachery, he went from Antioch to Bethshan, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis,<sup>1</sup> at which place Jonathan met him with forty thousand picked men, for he suspected he came to fight him. But when Trypho perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him over by presents and by treating him in a friendly manner, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means wished to make him believe in his good-will, and to take away all suspicions out of his mind, that so he might make him careless and heedless, and take him off his guard. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was now no occasion for bringing it with him, as there was no war but all was in peace. However, he begged him to retain a few men about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for he

<sup>1</sup> *Beisân.*

would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the fortresses that were in the country under his dominion; and he told him that he came there for that very purpose.

§ 2. Now Jonathan did not suspect anything at all of his intentions, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and in sincerity. Accordingly he dismissed most of his army, and retained no more than three thousand, and left two thousand of these in Galilee, and himself, with one thousand, went with Trypho to Ptolemais: but when the people of Ptolemais<sup>1</sup> shut their gates, as they had been commanded by him to do, Trypho took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also sent soldiers against the two thousand that were left in Galilee, in order to kill them also, but they, having heard what had happened to Jonathan, were too quick for them, and before those that were sent by Trypho arrived, they armed themselves, intending to depart from the country. And when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no trouble, but returned back to Trypho.

§ 3. Now when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were killed, they deplored his sad fate, and there was earnest inquiry made about him by everybody, and a great and reasonable fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest, now they were deprived of the courage and forethought of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will, and though they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, should now rise up against them, and, by making war against them, should put them into the utmost dangers. And indeed what they suspected really befell them. for when those nations heard of the death of Jonathan, they began to make war against the Jews as now destitute of a leader; and Trypho himself got an army together, and was minded to go up to Judæa, and make war against its inhabitants. But when Simon saw that the people of Jerusalem were terrified at the circumstances they were in, he desired to make a speech to them, and so to render them more resolute in opposing Trypho

<sup>1</sup> *Acre, 'Alka.*



when he should come against them. So he called the people together into the temple, and there began to encourage them as follows. "My countrymen, you are not ignorant that my father, and myself, and my brothers, have hazarded our lives, and that willingly, for the recovery of your liberty. Since I have therefore such examples before me, and we of our family have determined even to die for our laws and religion, no terror shall be so great as to banish this resolution from our souls, nor to introduce in its place a love of life and contempt for glory. Do you therefore follow me with alacrity wherever I shall lead you, not being destitute of a leader willing to suffer and dare the greatest things for you; for neither am I better than my brothers that I should be sparing of my own life, nor worse than them so as to avoid and refuse what they thought the most honourable of all things, namely, to undergo death for your laws and worship of God. I will therefore give them sufficient proof that I am their very brother; and I am so bold as to expect that I shall avenge their blood upon our enemies, and deliver you all, with your wives and children, from the injuries they intend against you, and with God's assistance preserve your temple from destruction by them, for I see that these nations hold you in contempt, as being without a leader, and so are encouraged to make war against you."

§ 4. By this speech Simon inspired the multitude with courage, and as they had been before dispirited through fear, they were now raised to a good hope of better things, insomuch, that the whole multitude of the people cried out with one voice that Simon should be their leader; and that, instead of his brothers Judas and Jonathan, he should have the government over them: and they promised that they would obey him whatever he should command them. So he got together immediately all his own soldiers that were fit for war, and made haste to rebuild the walls of the city, and to strengthen it by very high and strong towers, and sent a friend of his, one Jonathan, the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him orders to eject its inhabitants, for he was afraid that they would deliver up the city to Trypho; but he himself stayed to look after Jerusalem.

§ 5. Now Trypho removed from Ptolemais with a great army, and came into Judæa, and brought Jonathan with him in bonds. And Simon met him with his army at the city of Addida,<sup>1</sup> which is upon a hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judæa. And when Trypho knew that Simon had been made their leader by the Jews, he sent to him, and would have imposed upon him by deceit and treachery, and bade him, if he would have his brother Jonathan released, to send a hundred talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages, that when he should be released, he would not make Judæa revolt from the king, for at present he was kept in bonds on account of the money he had borrowed of the king, and still owed. But although Simon was aware of the craft of Trypho, and although he knew that if he gave him the money he should lose it, and that Trypho would not set his brother free, and that he himself would also be delivering up the sons of Jonathan to the enemy, yet because he was afraid that he would be calumniated among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death, if he neither gave the money nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered his army together, and told them what offers Trypho had made, and added that the offers were a snare and treacherous, and yet that it was preferable to send the money and Jonathan's sons than to be liable to the imputation of being unwilling to save his brother through not complying with Trypho's offers. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went all about the country, and resolved to go afterwards to Jerusalem by way of Idumæa, and went to Adora<sup>2</sup> a city of Idumæa. And Simon marched out against him with his army, and still kept pitching his own camp over against his.

§ 6. Now when those that were in the citadel sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he got his cavalry ready, as though he would be at Jerusalem that very night. But so great a quantity of snow fell in the night, that it covered

<sup>1</sup> *Haditheh*, close to Lydda.

<sup>2</sup> Adoraim of 2 Chron. xi. 9. *Dûra*, five miles west of Hebron.

the roads, and lay so deep, that there was no getting on, especially for horses. This hindered him from coming to Jerusalem, so Trypho removed from thence, and went into Cœle-Syria, and made a hurried raid into the land of Gilead, and slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, returned himself to Antioch. But Simon sent some to the city Basca<sup>1</sup> to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city Modiim,<sup>2</sup> and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument of white and polished stone to his father and brothers, and raised it a great height, so as to be seen a long way off, and made porticoes about it, and set up pillars which were of one stone apiece, a work wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also to his parents and brothers, one for each of them, which were very wonderful both for size and beauty, and which have been preserved to this day. And we know that it was Simon who exhibited so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments to his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years,<sup>3</sup> and had also been the ruler of his nation. And these were the circumstances of his death.

§ 7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the people, in the very first year of his high priesthood set the nation free from their slavery under the Macedonians, so that they paid tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a hundred and seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians,<sup>4</sup> which was

<sup>1</sup> The Bascama of 1 Macc. xiii. 23; not identified.

<sup>2</sup> *cl-Medieh*.

<sup>3</sup> There is some error in the copies here, when no more than four years are ascribed to the high priesthood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, Antiq. xx. 10, that there was an interval of seven years between the death of Alcimus or Jacimus, the last high priest, and the real high-priesthood of Jonathan, to whom yet those seven years seem here to be ascribed, as a part of them were to Judas before, Antiq. xii. 10, § 6. Now since, besides these seven years' interregnum in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. xx. 10, that Jonathan's real high priesthood lasted seven years more; these two seven years will make up fourteen years, which I suppose was Josephus's own number in this place, instead of the four in our present copies.—W.

<sup>4</sup> These 170 years of the Assyrians mean no more, as Josephus explains himself here, than from the era of Seleucus, which, as it is known

after Seleucus,<sup>1</sup> who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the people to Simon was so great, that in their contracts with one another, and in their public records, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews:" for under him they were very successful, and overcame the enemies that were round about them. For Simon overthrew the cities of Gazara<sup>2</sup> and Joppa and Jamnia,<sup>3</sup> and took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and razed it to the ground, that it might not be any more a *point d'appui* for their enemies, when they occupied it, to do them a mischief, as it had been till then. And when he had done this, he thought it the best way, and for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And, indeed, when he had called the multitude to an assembly, he persuaded them to have it demolished, by reminding them what miseries they had suffered by its garrisons and the Jewish deserters, and what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigner should seize the kingdom, and put a garrison into that citadel. This speech induced the multitude to compliance, because he exhorted them to do nothing but what was for their own good. So they all set to work and levelled the mountain, and spent both day and night in that work without any intermission, and it took them three whole years before it was brought to a level with the rest of the city. After this the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the citadel and mountain whereon it stood were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.

to have begun in the 312th year before the Christian era, from its spring in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of Maccabees, so did it not begin at Babel till the next spring, on the 311th year. And it is truly observed by Dr. Hudson on this place, that the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Justin the epitomizer of Trogius Pompeius, who says that "the Assyrians were afterwards called Syrians," i. 11. See Jewish War, v. 9, § 4, where the Philistines themselves, at the very south limit of Syria, in its utmost extent, are called Assyrians by Josephus, as Spanheim observes.—W.

<sup>1</sup> In 312 B. C.; the first year of Simon was 143-2 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> *Tell Jezar.*

<sup>3</sup> *Yebnah.*

## CHAP. VII.

*How Simon confederated himself with Antiochus Pius, and made War against Trypho, and a little afterwards against Cendebeæus, the General of Antiochus's Army; as also how Simon was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy.*

## § 1.

NOW a little while after Demetrius had been captured, Trypho his governor murdered Antiochus<sup>1</sup> the son of Alexander,<sup>2</sup> who was called 'the god,'<sup>3</sup> when he had reigned four years, though he gave it out that he died under the hands of the surgeons. He then sent his friends and those that were most intimate with him to the soldiers, and promised that he would give them a great deal of money if they would elect him king. He represented to them that Demetrius was made captive by the Parthians, and that Demetrius's brother Antiochus, if he ever came to be king, would do them a great deal of hurt, in revenge for their revolting from his brother. So the soldiers, in expectation of the wealth they should get by bestowing the kingdom on Trypho, made him their ruler. However, when he had gained the management of affairs, Trypho showed his wicked disposition. For while he was a private person he paid court to the multitude, and pretended to great moderation, and so drew them on artfully to whatever he pleased, but when he had once got the kingdom, he laid aside any further dissimulation, and was the true Trypho.<sup>4</sup> And this behaviour made his enemies superior to

<sup>1</sup> Antiochus VI., Theos, son of Alexander Balas and Cleopatra, 145 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> How Trypho killed this Antiochus, the epitome of Livy informs us, chap. 55, viz. that he corrupted his physicians or surgeons, who falsely pretending to the people that he was perishing with the stone, as they cut him for it, killed him, which exactly agrees with Josephus.—W.

<sup>3</sup> That this Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas, was called 'the god,' is evident from his coins, which Spanheim assures us bear this inscription, 'King Antiochus the God, Epiphanes the Victorious.'—W.

<sup>4</sup> A paronomasia or play on his name, which might signify *Haughty* or *Insolent*.

him, for the soldiers hated him, and revolted from him to Cleopatra the wife of Demetrius, who was then shut up in Seleucia<sup>1</sup> with her children. But as Antiochus<sup>2</sup> (the brother of Demetrius) who was called Soter was wandering about, not being admitted by any of the cities on account of Trypho, Cleopatra sent to him, and invited him to marry her, and to take the kingdom. The reasons why she invited him to do so were these, that her friends persuaded her to it, and that she was afraid for herself, in case some of the people of Seleucia should deliver up the city to Trypho.

§ 2. After Antiochus had come to Seleucia, as his forces increased every day, he marched out to fight Trypho, and having beaten him in battle, drove him out of Upper Syria into Phœnicia, and pursued him there, and besieged him in Dora<sup>3</sup> where he had fled, which was a fortress hard to be taken. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the high priest of the Jews, about a league of friendship and mutual alliance. And he readily accepted his proposal and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions for those that besieged Dora, and supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his warmest friends. And Trypho fled from Dora to Apamea,<sup>4</sup> where he was besieged and taken, and put to death, after he had reigned three years.

§ 3. Antiochus, however, because of his covetous and wicked disposition forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded him in his necessity, and handed over an army to his friend Cendebæus, and sent him to ravage Judæa, and to seize Simon. When Simon heard of Antiochus' iniquitous conduct, although he was now in years, yet, being exasperated at the unjust treatment he had met with from Antiochus, and with more spirit than his age warranted, he took like a young man the command of his army. He sent out his sons first with the bravest of his soldiers, and himself marched on with his army by another

<sup>1</sup> Near the mouth of the Orontes.

<sup>2</sup> Antiochus VII., Sidetes, 137 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Dor, *Tantûrah*, on the sea coast, eight miles north of *Kaisariyeh*, Cæsarea Palæstina.

<sup>4</sup> *Kal'ât el-Medyk*.

way, and laid many of his men in ambush in the narrow mountain passes, nor did he fail of success in any one of his manœuvres, but was too much for his enemies in every one of them. And he led the rest of his life in peace, and also himself made a league with the Romans.

§ 4. And he ruled over the Jews eight years, and came to his end at a feast through the treachery of his son-in-law Ptolemy, who also arrested his wife and two of his sons, and kept them in bonds, and sent some to kill John the third son, whose name was also Hyrcanus. But the young man perceiving them coming avoided the danger he was in from them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], relying on the good-will of the people, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the mob bore to Ptolemy. And when Ptolemy endeavoured to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, having already admitted Hyrcanus.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy from the Country. Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus, and afterwards makes a League with him.*

### § 1.

SO Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, called Dagon:<sup>1</sup> but Hyrcanus, having taken the high priesthood that had been his father's before, first propitiated God by sacrifices, and then marched against Ptolemy, and when he attacked the fortress, he was in all other respects too much for Ptolemy, but was overcome by compassion for his mother and brothers. For Ptolemy brought them out on the walls, and ill-treated them in the sight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus raised the siege. And as he thought that the more he relaxed his energy about taking the place, the more did he show favour to those

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

that were dearest to him by preventing their sufferings, he abated his zeal about it. However, his mother stretched out her hands, and implored him not to grow remiss on her account, but to be enraged so much the more, and to do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get his enemy in his power, and revenge himself upon him for what he had done to those that were his dearest ones; for death would be sweet to her, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs were but brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now, when his mother said this, Hyrcanus resolved to take the fortress, but when he saw her beaten and lacerated, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with his mother's sufferings, and so was overcome. And as the siege was protracted owing to this, the year in which the Jews are wont to rest came on; for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day. And Ptolemy, being for this cause released from the war,<sup>1</sup> slew the brothers and mother of Hyrcanus, and when he had so done, fled to Zeno, who was called Cotyla, the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup>

§ 2. Now Antiochus, being very indignant at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, invaded Judæa in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the rule of Hyrcanus, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad.<sup>3</sup> And when he had ravaged the country, he shut Hyrcanus

<sup>1</sup> Hence we learn, that in the days of this excellent high priest, John Hyrcanus, the observation of the Sabbatic year, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from war, as did that of the weekly Sabbath from work: unless in case of necessity, when the Jews were attacked by their enemies, in which case indeed, and in which alone, they then allowed defensive fighting to be lawful even on the Sabbath-day, as we see in several places of Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 6, § 2; xiii. 1, § 3; *Jewish War*, i. 7, § 3. But then it must be noted, that this rest from war no way appears in the first book of Maccabees, chap. xvi., but the direct contrary: though indeed the Jews, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, did not venture upon fighting on the Sabbath-day, even in the defence of their own lives, till the Maccabees decreed so to do, *1 Macc.* ii. 32-41, *Antiq.* xii. 7, § 2.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Rabbath Ammon, east of Jordan, now *'Ammân*.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus's copies, both Greek and Latin, have here a gross mistake, when they say that this first year of John Hyrcanus, which we have just now seen to have been a Sabbatic year, was in the 162nd Olympiad, whereas it was for certain the second year of the 161st. See the like before, *xii.* 7, § 6.—W.



up in the city, which he surrounded with seven camps, but accomplished nothing much at first, because of the strength of the walls and the valour of the besieged, and also from want of water, which they were delivered from by a great downfall of rain at the setting of the Pleiades.<sup>1</sup> However, at the north part of the wall, where the ground happened to be level, the king raised a hundred towers, each three stories high, and placed bodies of soldiers upon them, and made attacks every day, and cut a double ditch deep and broad, and so shut the inhabitants in. But the besieged contrived to make frequent sallies out, and if the enemy at any point were not upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of hurt, and if the enemy perceived them, they then easily retired. And as Hyrcanus saw the inconvenience of having so great a number of men in the city, for provisions were sooner consumed by them, and yet, as one may well suppose, great numbers did nothing, he weeded the useless ones and excluded them out of the city, and retained those only who were in the flower of their age and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, so they wandered about among the walls, and wasted away by famine, and died miserably. But when the feast of Tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and desired there might be a truce for seven days because of the festival, he yielded to his piety towards God, and agreed to a truce, and also sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded,<sup>2</sup> and all sorts of sweet spices, and gold and silver cups. And those that were at the

<sup>1</sup> This heliacal setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, was, in the days of Hyrcanus and Josephus, early in the spring, about February, the time of the latter rain in Judæa; and this, so far as I remember, is the only astronomical character of time, besides one eclipse of the moon in the reign of Herod, that we meet with in all Josephus, the Jews being little accustomed to astronomical observations, any further than for the uses of their calendar, and utterly forbidden those astrological uses which the heathens commonly made of them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hudson tells us here, that this custom of gilding the horns of those oxen that were to be sacrificed, is a known thing both in the poets and orators.—W.

gates received the sacrifice from those that brought it, and took it to the temple, Antiochus in the meanwhile feasting his army; which was very different conduct from that of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, violating the laws of the Jews, and the religion they derived from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war upon him, and would never be reconciled to him. But all called this Antiochus Pious for the great zeal he showed in religion.

§ 3. And Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly, and when he saw how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassage to him, and desired that he would restore their national polity. And Antiochus rejected the counsel of those that would have had him utterly destroy the nation because of their holding aloof from other nations, and did not regard what they said, but being persuaded that all they did was done from piety, he answered the ambassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute to him for Joppa and the other cities which bordered upon Judæa, and would admit a garrison of his, he would on these terms make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, would not agree to admit a garrison, because they did not associate with other people; but they were willing, instead of the admission of a garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver, of which they paid down three hundred at once, and sent the hostages, whom king Antiochus accepted, one of whom was Hyrcanus' brother. Hyrcanus also demolished the fortifications that went round the city: and on these conditions Antiochus raised the siege and departed.

§ 4. Now Hyrcanus opened the tomb of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents, and relying on this store, was the first of the Jews that kept foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual alliance made between him and Antiochus, so Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatever his army wanted in great plenty and with great generosity, and accompanied him

when he made an expedition against the Parthians. Nicolaus of Damascus bears me out as to this, who writes in his history as follows. "When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus,<sup>1</sup> upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days, at the request of Hyrcanus the Jew, because of a national festival, whereon the laws of the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for the festival of Pentecost was the next day to the Sabbath; nor is it lawful for us to journey<sup>2</sup> either on the Sabbath-days, or on a festival day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces the Parthian, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain: and his brother Demetrius<sup>3</sup> succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria, Arsaces having freed him from his captivity when Antiochus attacked Parthia, as I have previously related elsewhere.

## CHAP. IX.

*How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Syria, and made a League with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander.*

## § 1.

**B**UT when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he straightway made an expedition against the cities of Syria, thinking, as was indeed the case, to find them destitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba,<sup>4</sup> and that not without his army suffering great hardships. After this he took Samega,<sup>5</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Lycus, *Nahr el-Kelb*, north of Beirût.

<sup>2</sup> The Jews were not to march or journey on the Sabbath, or on such a great festival as was equivalent to the Sabbath, any further than a 'Sabbath-day's journey,' or 2,000 cubits.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Demetrius II., Nicator, reascended the throne in 128 B.C., after the defeat and death of Antiochus VII., Sidetes.

<sup>4</sup> *Medeba*, east of the Jordan.

<sup>5</sup> In Jewish War, i. 2, § 6, *Samea*; supposed to be near Lake Merom.

places in its neighbourhood, and besides these Shechem<sup>1</sup> and Gerizim, and the nation of the Cuthæans, who dwelt near the temple (like the one at Jerusalem) which Alexander permitted Sanballat the general to build, for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jaddus, the high priest, as I have formerly related, which temple was now laid waste two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Adoraj<sup>2</sup> and Marissa,<sup>3</sup> cities of Idumæa, and subdued all the Idumæans, and permitted them to stay in their own country, if they would circumcise their foreskins, and conform to the laws of the Jews. And they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to circumcision and the rest of the Jewish mode of life;<sup>4</sup> since which time they have been accounted no other than Jews.

§ 2. Hyrcanus the high priest was also desirous to renew the friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly he sent an embassy to them; and when the senate had received his letter, they made friendship with him in the following manner. “Fanius (the son of Marcus) the prætor gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the Ides of February in the Comitia, in the presence of Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the

<sup>1</sup> *Náblus*.

<sup>2</sup> Adoraim, *Dûra*.

<sup>3</sup> Maresbah, *Kh. Mer'ash*, near *Beit Jibrin*.

<sup>4</sup> This account of the Idumæans submitting to circumcision, and the entire Jewish law, from this time, or from the days of Hyrcanus, is confirmed by their entire history afterwards. See *Antiq.* xiv. 8, § 1; xv. 7, § 9; *Jewish War*, ii. 3, § 1; iv. 4, § 5. This, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of justice, or entire Jews, as here and elsewhere, *Antiq.* xiv. 8, § 1. However, Antigonus, the enemy of Herod, though Herod was derived from such a proselyte of justice for several generations, will allow him to be no more than a ‘half Jew,’ *xiv.* 15, § 2. But still take out of Dean Prideaux, at the year 129, the words of Ammonius, a grammarian, which fully confirm this account of the Idumæans in Josephus. “The Jews (says he) are such by nature, and from the beginning, whilst the Idumæans were not Jews from the beginning, but Phœnicians and Syrians; but being afterward subdued by the Jews, and compelled to be circumcised, and to unite into one nation, and be subject to the same laws, they were called Jews.” Dio also says, as the Dean there quotes him, from book xxxvi. p. 37. “That country is called ‘Judæa,’ and the people ‘Jews;’ and this name is given also to as many others as embrace their religion, though of other nations.”—W.

Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, to discuss what the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews, viz. Simon the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius the son of Alexander, and Diodorus the son of Jason, all three good and virtuous men, came to treat about, namely the league of friendship and mutual alliance which existed between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs. For example, they desired that Joppa and its havens, and Gazara<sup>1</sup> and its springs, and the several other cities and places of theirs which Antiochus had taken from them in war contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them, and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, or the countries of those that were subject to them, and that whatever had been decreed by Antiochus during the war, without the consent of the senate, might be made void, and that the Romans would send ambassadors, who would take care that restitution should be made to them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they would make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war, and that they would grant them letters of protection to kings and commonwealths for their security on their return home. It was decreed then as to these points to renew the league of friendship and mutual alliance with these good men, who were sent by a good and friendly people." But as to the letters desired, their answer was that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would give them leave, and that they would endeavour for the time to come that no such injury should be done them; and that the prætor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to pay their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury, and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them on their way and to see that they got home safely.

§ 3. And thus stood the affairs of Hyrcanus the high priest. But as for king Demetrius, who wished to make war against Hyrcanus, he had no opportunity or chance

<sup>1</sup> *Tell Jezar.*

for it, as both the Syrians and soldiers hated him, because he was a bad man. And when they had sent ambassadors to Ptolemy<sup>1</sup> who was called Physcon, begging him to send them one of the family of Seleucus to take the kingdom, and he had sent them Alexander<sup>2</sup> (who was also called Zebina) with an army, and there was a battle between them, Demetrius was beaten in the fight, and fled to Cleopatra his wife to Ptolemais, but his wife would not receive him, so he went thence to Tyre, and was there taken, and when he had suffered much at the hands of those that hated him, he was slain by them.<sup>3</sup> And Alexander took over the kingdom, and made a league with Hyrcanus the high priest, but afterwards when he fought with Antiochus the son of Demetrius,<sup>4</sup> who was also called Grypus, he was beaten in the fight and slain.

## CHAP X.

*How, upon the Quarrel between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus about the Kingdom, Hyrcanus took Samaria, and utterly demolished it; and how Hyrcanus joined himself to the Sect of the Sadducees, and left that of the Pharisees.*

### § 1.

WHEN Antiochus had taken over the kingdom of Syria, he was afraid to lead an army into Judæa, because he heard that his uterine brother, who was also called Antiochus,<sup>5</sup> was raising an army against him from Cyzicus. So he stayed at home, and resolved to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother, who was called Cyzicenus, because he had been brought up in Cyzicus.<sup>6</sup> He was the son of Antiochus who was called Soter, who died in Parthia, and was the brother of Demetrius, the father of Antiochus Grypus, for it so happened that Cleopatra had married two brothers, as I have related

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy VII., Euergetes II., 146-117 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 128 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 128 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> 126 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> 114 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Near *Panderma*, on the coast of the Sea of *Marmora*.

elsewhere. This Antiochus Cyzicenus went into Syria and continued many years at war with his brother. Now Hircanus lived all this while in peace. For after the death of Antiochus he revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard either as their subject or their friend, but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zebina, and especially under the brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus. For the war which they had with one another gave Hircanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judæa quietly, insomuch that he amassed an immense quantity of money. However, when Antiochus Cyzicenus ravaged his land, he then openly showed his hand, and when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were worn out by the struggles they had with one another, he despised them both.

§ 2. And he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city; of whose present name Sebaste,<sup>1</sup> and its rebuilding by Herod, I shall speak at the proper place. And he attacked and besieged it vigorously, for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Marissa, who were colonists and allies of the Jews, at the bidding of the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a trench, and built a double wall fourscore furlongs long all round the city, he set his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus over the siege. And they brought the Samaritans to such great distress by famine, that they were forced to eat what is not usually eaten, and to invite Antiochus Cyzicenus to help them, who came readily to their assistance, but was beaten by Aristobulus, and pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brothers, but got away. And they returned to Samaria, and shut up the Samaritans again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus a second time to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathurus, whom he sent without his mother's consent, so that she nearly turned him out of the succession. With these Egyptians Antiochus at first overran and ravaged the country of

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustieh.*

Hyrcanus like a robber, for he durst not meet him face to face to fight with him, not having an army sufficient for that purpose, but he supposed that by thus ravaging his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria. However, as he fell into ambush and lost many of his soldiers, he went away to Tripolis, and committed the carrying on of the war against the Jews to Callimander and Epicrates.

§ 3. As to Callimander, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight, and slain immediately; and as to Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis and other places near it to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken the city, which was not till after a year's siege, he was not content with that only, but he razed Samaria to the ground, and brought rivulets to it to swamp it, and by digging through it he made a lake of it, and took away all indications that there had ever been a city there at all. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to talk with him. For they say that, on the very day on which his sons fought with Antiochus Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple as high priest burning incense, and heard a voice saying that his sons had just overcome Antiochus. And he openly declared this to all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple, and it proved true. Such was the condition of affairs with Hyrcanus.

§ 4. Now it happened at this time, that not only were those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judæa in prosperity, but also those who dwelt at Alexandria and in Egypt and Cyprus. For Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy who was called Lathurus, and appointed as her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple like that at Jerusalem in the district of Heliopolis, as I have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted her army to these men, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests in the following words. "Now most, both of those that came to Cyprus with us, and of those that were sent afterwards there by Cleopatra, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those Jews that were called Onias' party



continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen." These are the words of Strabo.

§ 5. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus, and they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, as I have stated already. And so great is their influence over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king, or against the high priest, they are at once believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And once he invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, and when he saw them in a good humour, began to say to them, that they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the very profession of the Pharisees. However, he desired, if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, that they would call him back and correct him. And as they testified to his being entirely virtuous, he was well pleased with their commendation. But one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man malignant by nature and delighting in faction, said, "Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people." And when he desired to know for what reason he ought to lay down the high priesthood, the other replied, "We have heard from old men, that thy mother was a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This story was false, and Hyrcanus was very angry with him, and all the Pharisees were very indignant.

§ 6. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees. He told Hyrcanus that Eleazar had cast that slur upon him according to the general opinion of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest, if he would but ask them the question, what punishment they thought Eleazar deserved for what he had said. And Hyrcanus having asked the Pharisees what punishment they thought Eleazar deserved (for he would feel sure that the slur was not laid on him with

their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved), the Pharisees made answer, that Eleazar deserved stripes and bonds, but that it did not seem right to punish his taunt with death. And indeed the Pharisees generally are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this mild sentence Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that the man had reproached him with their approbation. But it was Jonathan who chiefly exasperated him against them, and influenced him so that he made him join the Sadducees and leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude; but of this I shall speak hereafter. What I would now merely state is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many traditional observances handed down from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses, and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances obligatory that are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And great disputes and differences have arisen concerning these things among them, as the Sadducees influence none but the rich, and have not the populace on their side, but the Pharisees have the multitude to back them. But as to these two sects and that of the Essenes I have given an accurate account in the second book of the Jewish War.

§ 7. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he afterwards lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and the power of prophecy, for God was with him, and enabled him to know and foretell the future. Thus, as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; and their unhappy fate will be worth description, that people may thence learn how very much they came short of their father's happiness.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Aristobulus, when he had taken the Government, put a Diadem on his Head, and was most barbarously cruel to his Mother and Brothers; and how, after he had slain Antigonus, he himself died.*

## § 1.

NOW when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, was the first after the captivity to put a diadem on his head, four hundred and eighty-one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonish slavery, and had returned to their own country again. This Aristobulus loved his next brother Antigonus, and treated him as his equal, but the others he held in bonds. He also put his mother into prison, because she disputed the government with him, for Hyrcanus had left her mistress of all, and proceeded to that degree of barbarity, as to starve her in prison. He was also estranged from his brother Antigonus by calumnies, and eventually slew him too, though he seemed to have a great affection for him, and made him partner with him in the kingdom. Those calumnies he did not at first give credit to, partly because he loved him and so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the charges proceeded only from envy. But when Antigonus once returned from an expedition, and the feast of Tabernacles was then at hand, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned to the temple, with his soldiers about him in their armour, to celebrate the feast, and to put up many prayers for the recovery of his brother, and some wicked persons, who had a great mind to set the brothers at variance, made a handle of the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully exaggerated his pompous show at the feast, and insinuated that all this behaviour was not like that of a private person,

but an indication that he aspired to royal authority, and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him, and that his way of reasoning was, that it was silly in him, when he might reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he shared in the honour of his brother.

§ 2. Aristobulus listened unwillingly to these insinuations, but took care not only that his brother should not suspect him, but also that he himself should run no risk of his own safety; so he posted his guards in a certain place that was underground and dark, (he himself then lying ill in the tower which was called Antonia,<sup>1</sup>) and commanded them, in case Antigonus came to him unarmed, not to injure him at all, but if he came armed, to kill him. And he sent to Antigonus, and desired that he would come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary, how his brother had heard that he had got a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see it. And Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, and relying on the good-will of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he was, in his entire armour, in order to show it him. But when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the passage happened to be very dark, the guards slew him. Now this death of his proves that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more alienate the good-will and natural affections of men than these passions. But here one may take occasion to marvel at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essenes, and who never missed the truth in his predictions; for when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, he cried out to his companions and friends, who dwelt with him as his scholars in the art of foretelling things to come, that it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, who was still alive, for he saw him

<sup>1</sup> The tower Antonia, on the north of the Temple. Josephus here uses the later name; it was called Baris at this period, see *Antiq.* xv. 11, § 4. and was strengthened and partially rebuilt by Herod the Great.

passing by, although he had foretold that he should die that very day at the place called Strato's Tower, and the place where he had foretold he should be slain was six hundred furlongs off, and most of the day was already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet. As he was saying this in a dejected mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which was also itself called Strato's Tower, having the same name as that Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> which lies on the sea. This event greatly disturbed the prophet.

§ 3. But Aristobulus repented immediately of this slaughter of his brother, on which account his disease increased upon him, and he was so disturbed in mind at such blood-guiltiness, that his inward parts consumed away owing to his intolerable pain, and he vomited blood, which one of the servants that attended upon him, when carrying it away, did, by divine providence, as I cannot but think, slip down and shed part of it at the very place where there were spots of Antigonus' blood there slain still remaining. And when there was a cry raised by the spectators, as if the servant had shed the blood in that place on purpose, Aristobulus heard it, and inquired what the matter was? And as they did not answer him, he was the more earnest to know what it was, it being natural to men to suspect that what is concealed in such cases is very bad. So upon his threatening, and forcing them by terrors to speak, they at length told him the truth: whereupon he shed many tears, in the mental agony which arose from his consciousness of what he had done, and gave a deep groan, and said, "I am not, I see, to escape the detection of God for the impious and horrid crimes I have been guilty of, but a quick punishment is coming upon me for shedding the blood of my relations. And now, most shameful body of mine, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die to appease the ghosts of my brother and mother? Why dost thou not give it all up at once? And why do I deliver up my blood drop by drop, to those whom I have so wickedly murdered?" In saying these last words, he died, having reigned a year. He was called a

<sup>1</sup> The ancient name of Cæsarea Palæstina was Strato's Tower.

lover of the Greeks,<sup>1</sup> and had conferred many benefits on his own country, having made war against Ituræa, and added a great part of it to Judæa, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would remain in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of equity, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness on the authority of Timagenes in the following words. "This man was a man of equity, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Ituræans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of the circumcision of their foreskins."

## CHAP. XII.

*How Alexander, when he had taken the Government, made an Expedition against Ptolemais, and then raised the Siege out of fear of Ptolemy Lathurus; and how Ptolemy made War against him, because he had sent to Cleopatra to persuade her to make War against him, though he pretended to be in Friendship with him.*

### § 1.

WHEN Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who was called by the Greeks Alexandra, let his brothers out of prison (for Aristobulus had kept them there, as I have said already), and made Alexander Janneas king, who was superior in age and in moderation. He happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and was never permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The reason of which hatred is thus reported. As Hyrcanus loved chiefly his two eldest sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, he inquired of God, who appeared to him in his sleep, which of his sons should be his successor; and upon God's showing him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and had him brought up in Galilee.<sup>2</sup> However, God did not

<sup>1</sup> Philhellen.

<sup>2</sup> The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his, whom he did not love, to come to Judæa, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee,

deceive Hyrcanus, for after the death of Aristobulus he certainly took over the kingdom, and slew one of his brothers, who aimed at the kingdom, but held the other in honour, who chose to live a private and a quiet life.

§ 2. When he had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overcome the enemy in battle, he shut them up in the city, and invested it, and besieged it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, and Strato's Tower<sup>1</sup> and Dora<sup>2</sup> which were held by the tyrant Zoilus. Now as Antiochus Philometor, and his brother Antiochus who was also called Cyzicenus, were warring against one another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could get no assistance from them; but when they were hard pressed by this siege, Zoilus, who occupied Strato's Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, because of the contest between the kings, aimed at kingly power himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais. Nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them, as that they could hope for any aid from them; for both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by resting as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathurus who now held Cyprus, and who went to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt by his mother Cleopatra. So the people of Ptolemais sent to him, and desired him to come as an ally to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, if he would pass over into Syria, that he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais, and also said that Zoilus, and also the Sidonians and

is suggested by Dr. Hudson, that Galilee was not esteemed so happy and well-cultivated a country as Judæa, Matt. xxvi. 73, John vii. 52, Acts ii. 7, although another obvious reason occurs also, that he was further out of his sight in Galilee than he would have been in Judæa.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tantûrah*.

many others, would assist him, he was sanguine at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

§ 3. Meantime Demænetus, one that had great powers of persuasion, and a leader of the populace, made the men of Ptolemais change their opinions, and said to them, that it was better, as the future was uncertain, to run all hazard against the Jews, than to accept evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master, and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater one from Egypt, for Cleopatra would not permit Ptolemy's raising an army for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, for she was labouring to eject her son out of Cyprus even; and while Ptolemy, if he failed in his hopes, could still retire to Cyprus, they would be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he heard of the change of mind in the people of Ptolemais, yet went on with his voyage all the same, and put in at a place called Sycaminus,<sup>1</sup> and there set his army on shore. His whole army, horse and foot together, amounted to about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp; but as the people of Ptolemais would neither receive his messengers, nor hear what they had to say, he was very anxious.

§ 4. But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by Alexander and the Jews, Alexander raised the siege for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he played a double game afterwards, privately inviting Cleopatra to march against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual alliance with him; and he promised to give him four hundred talents of silver, and asked him in return to put out of the way the tyrant Zoilus and give his country to the Jews. Then Ptolemy gladly made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus, but when he afterwards heard that Alexander had privately made overtures to his mother Cleopatra, he broke his league of friendship with him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it

<sup>1</sup> *Haiifa el-Atikah*, close to Mount Carmel.



would not receive him; and leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he set out himself with the rest to subdue Judæa. And when Alexander understood that this was Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country, or, as some writers have said, eighty thousand, and with this army went to meet Ptolemy. But Ptolemy unexpectedly made an assault upon Asochis,<sup>1</sup> a city of Galilee, and took it by storm on the Sabbath-day, and captured about ten thousand people, and took a great deal of spoil.

§ 5. He next tried to take Sepphoris,<sup>2</sup> which was a city not far from that which had just been sacked, but he lost many of his men there, and marched on to fight with Alexander. And he met him near the river Jordan, at a certain place called Asophon,<sup>3</sup> not far from the river Jordan, and pitched his camp near the enemy. He had eight thousand in the van of his army whom he called Hecatontamachi,<sup>4</sup> who had shields of brass. Those in the van of Ptolemy's army also had shields covered with brass: but Ptolemy's soldiers were in other respects inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more cautious in running hazard: but Philostephanus the tactician put great courage into them, and ordered them to cross the river which lay between the two camps. Nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought if the enemy had the river on their back, he should the easier take them prisoners, as they could not then flee out of the battle, At first the courage and daring on both sides were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander had the best of it, till Philostephanus divided his troops, and reinforced those that were giving way; and as there was no reserve to help those Jews that gave way, they consequently fled, and those near them did not assist them, but fled with them. But Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite differently, for they followed the Jews, and killed them, and at last those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them till their weapons

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Kefr Menda*, see *Life*, § 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Sejûrich*. <sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> That is, able each to fight one hundred men.

were blunted, and their hands quite tired with slaughter. And the report was that thirty thousand were slain, but Timagenes says there were fifty thousand slain. As for the rest, part of them were taken captive, and part fled to their own homes.

§ 6. After this victory, Ptolemy scoured all the country round, and when night came on, he took up his quarters in certain villages of Judæa, and as he found them full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to cut their throats and hack them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and devour their limbs as sacrifices. This command was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and so might be still more terrified at them upon such a sight. Both Strabo and Nicolaus affirm that they used these people in this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by storm, as I have shown elsewhere.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How Alexander, upon the League of Alliance which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Cœle-Syria, and overthrew the City of Gaza; and how he slew many myriads of Jews that rebelled against him: also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, Antiochus Pius, and others.*

#### § 1.

WHEN Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judæa waste with security, and had got the city of Gaza under his power, she resolved no longer to overlook what he did, as he was at her gates, and as he was so much stronger now than before, would probably desire to rule over the Egyptians. So she immediately advanced against him with both a naval and land force, and made the Jews Chelcias and Ananias generals of her whole army, and sent the greatest part of her riches, her grand-

children, and her will, to the people of Cos.<sup>1</sup> Cleopatra also ordered her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phœnicia, when that country revolted, and herself went to Ptolemais, and as the people of Ptolemais would not receive her, besieged the city. But Ptolemy went out of Syria, and made haste into Egypt, supposing that he should find it destitute of an army and so soon take it. But he failed in his hope. At this time Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Cœle-Syria, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

§ 2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent part of her army there, and drove him out of that country. And when he had returned from Egypt again, he spent the winter at Gaza. And meantime Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais as well as the city by siege, and when Alexander came to her, he gave her presents, and paid her such marks of respect as were but proper, since he had had no other refuge but her in the miseries he endured under Ptolemy. Now some of her friends urged her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take possession of the country, and not to sit still and see such a multitude of brave Jews subject to one man. But Ananias' counsel was contrary to theirs, for he said she would do an unjust action, if she deprived a man that was her ally of the authority which belonged to him, and that a man who was related to them. "For (said he) I would not have thee ignorant of this, that any injustice thou doest to him, will make all us Jews thy enemies." Cleopatra hearkened to this advice of Ananias, and did no injury to Alexander, but made an alliance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Cœle-Syria.

§ 3. Now when Alexander was delivered from the fear he was in of Ptolemy, he at once made an expedition into Cœle-Syria, and took Gadara,<sup>2</sup> after a siege of ten months. He also took Amathus,<sup>3</sup> a very strong fortress belonging to those who dwelt beyond the Jordan, where Theodorus,

<sup>1</sup> Cos, *Stanko*, an island off the West Coast of Asia Minor, was the birthplace of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis*.

<sup>3</sup> Hamath, *Hama*, in the valley of the Orontes.

the son of Zeno, had his chief treasures, and what he esteemed most precious. This Zeno fell unexpectedly upon the Jews, and slew ten thousand of them, and seized on Alexander's baggage. But this misfortune did not terrify Alexander, but he made a raid on the maritime parts, as Raphia<sup>1</sup> and Anthedon<sup>2</sup> (the name of which last king Herod afterwards changed to Agrippiades), and took even it by storm. And when he saw that Ptolemy had retired from Gaza to Cyprus, and that his mother Cleopatra had returned to Egypt, in his rage because the people of Gaza had invited Ptolemy to assist them, he besieged their city and ravaged their country. But when Apollodotus, the general of the army of Gaza, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night with two thousand mercenaries and ten thousand of his own men,<sup>3</sup> the men of Gaza prevailed while the night lasted, as they made the enemy believe that it was Ptolemy who attacked them: but when day dawned, and that mistake was corrected, and the Jews knew the truth, they rallied and fell upon the men of Gaza, and slew about a thousand of them. But as the men of Gaza stoutly resisted, and would not surrender either for scarcity of provisions or because of the great numbers that were slain (for they would rather suffer any hardship whatever than come into the power of their enemies), Aretas, the king of the Arabians, a very illustrious person, encouraged them by promising that he would come to their assistance. But before he came Apollodotus happened to get slain, for his brother Lysimachus, envying him for the great reputation he had among the citizens, murdered him, and won over the army, and delivered up the city to Alexander. And he, when he entered first, was quiet, but afterwards set his army upon the inhabitants of Gaza, and gave the city up to sack. So some went one way, and some another, and slew the inhabitants of Gaza; but they did not behave cowardly, but opposed those that came to slay

<sup>1</sup> See Ant. xiv. 5, § 3, and Jewish War, i. 8, § 4. On the edge of the desert, twenty-two miles S.W. of Gaza, now *er-Rafâh*.

<sup>2</sup> See Ant. xiv. 5, § 3, and xv. 7, § 3; Jewish War, i. 4, § 2, i. 8, § 4, and i. 21, § 8; it was twenty stadia, about two and a half miles, south of Gaza, *Tell el-'Ajûl* or *Kefr Hette*.

<sup>3</sup> I read *οἰκείων* for the common reading *οἰκετῶν*.

them, and slew as many of the Jews. And some of them, when they saw themselves deserted, burnt their own houses, that the enemy might get none of their spoil; nay, some of them with their own hands slew their children and wives, having no other way but this of avoiding slavery for them. But the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting in council,) and Alexander slew them, and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in the siege.

§ 4. About this very time Antiochus, who was also called Grypus, was treacherously slain by Heracleon, when he had lived forty-five years, and reigned twenty-nine. His son Seleucus<sup>1</sup> succeeded him in the kingdom, and warred with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was also called Cyzicenus, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him. But not long after Antiochus,<sup>2</sup> the son of Cyzicenus, who was called the Pious, came to Aradus,<sup>3</sup> and put the diadem on his own head, and warred against Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of all Syria. And he fled to Cilicia, and went to Mopsuestia,<sup>4</sup> and levied money again upon the people of Mopsuestia; but they were indignant and burnt down his palace, and slew him and his friends. But when Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was king of Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war upon him, and was beaten and slain, he and his army. After him his brother Philip<sup>5</sup> put on the diadem, and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy Lathurus sent for his fourth brother Demetrius, who was called Eucærus, from Cnidus,<sup>6</sup> and made him king at Damascus. Both these brothers did Antiochus vehemently oppose, but soon died; for when he was come as an ally to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, who was warring against the Parthians, he fell fighting courageously. And his two brothers Demetrius and Philip governed Syria, as has been elsewhere related.

§ 5. As to Alexander, his own people were rebellious

<sup>1</sup> Seleucus Gryphus, 96 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Antiochus X., 89 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Arvad, the island *er-Rûad*.

<sup>4</sup> Now *Missis*, east of *Adana*.

<sup>5</sup> 87 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> The ruins are on Cape *Crio*, at the S.W. end of Asia Minor.

against him, for at a festival which was then being celebrated, as he stood at the altar and was going to sacrifice, the nation rose in insurrection against him and pelted him with citrons [which they then had in their hands,] because the law of the Jews requires at the feast of Tabernacles that every one should have branches of palm-trees and citron-trees, as I have elsewhere related. They also reviled him, as descended from a woman who had been a captive,<sup>1</sup> and so as unworthy of his dignity, and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew about six thousand of them. He also constructed a wooden screen round the altar and the temple, as far as the partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter, and by this means he debarred the multitude from coming near him. He also kept an army of Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries; but could not so utilize the Syrians, as he was their enemy. He also overcame the Moabites and Gileadites, who were Arabians, and made them pay tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, as Theodorus durst not fight with him.<sup>2</sup> But engaging in battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, he fell into an ambush in places that were rugged and difficult to travel over, and was thrown down into a deep ravine by a multitude of camels at Gadara a village of Gilead, and barely escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where because of his ill success the nation attacked him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no less than fifty thousand of them. And when he begged that they would desist from their ill-will to him, they hated him so much the more on account of what had happened; and when he asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out that he ought to die, and sent to Demetrius Eucærus, and begged him to make an alliance with them.

<sup>1</sup> This reproach cast on Alexander seems only the repetition of the old Pharisaical calumny upon his father. See chap. x. § 5.—W.

<sup>2</sup> This Theodorus was the son of Zeno, and was in the possession of Amathus, as we gather from § 3, foregoing.—W.

## CHAP. XIV.

*How Demetrius Eucærus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews. As also how Alexander slew many of the Jews, and thereby got rid of his Troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.*

## § 1.

SO Demetrius came with an army, which he swelled with those that invited him, and encamped near the city of Shechem;<sup>1</sup> and Alexander, with six thousand two hundred mercenaries, and about twenty thousand Jews who were of his party, marched against Demetrius, who had three thousand horse and forty thousand foot. Now there was much negotiation on both sides, Demetrius trying to make the mercenaries that were with Alexander desert because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to make the Jews desert that were with Demetrius. However, neither of them could persuade the opposite side to do as they wished, but a battle ensued, in which Demetrius was the conqueror, and all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given proof of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

§ 2. Now when Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews mustered to him, moved by pity at his reverse. So Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and were beaten, and slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had. And when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city of Bethome,<sup>2</sup> he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and got the inhabitants into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them: for as he was

<sup>1</sup> *Nāblus.*

<sup>2</sup> In Jewish War, i. 4, § 6, the name is given as *Bemeselis*; the site is unknown.

feasting with his concubines in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were still living ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him, but this punishment which he exacted was inhuman, though we suppose him to have been ever so much distressed, as it is probable he was, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard both as to his life and kingdom. For they were not satisfied to fight only by themselves against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at last they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join the Jews in the war against him, and they also did ten thousand other things to affront and outrage him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, and on account of that extreme savageness he got the name of Thracidas among the Jews.<sup>1</sup> And the soldiers who had fought against him, who were about eight thousand in number, fled by night, and continued in exile all the time that Alexander lived. And he, being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

§ 3. Now when Demetrius departed from Judæa, he went to Beroea,<sup>2</sup> and besieged his brother Philip, taking with him ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. But Strato, the tyrant of Beroea and ally of Philip, called in Zizus the ruler of the Arabian tribes, and Mithridates Sinaces, the ruler of the Parthians. And they coming with a large force, and besieging Demetrius in his intrenched camp, into which they had driven him with their arrows, compelled those that were with him to surrender from want of water. And they took a great deal of spoil out of that country, and captured Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia, but as to

<sup>1</sup> Or Thracian. The Thracians were proverbial for savage barbarity, see for example Thucydides, vii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Aleppo*.



those of the people of Antioch whom they took captive, they restored them to the people of Antioch without any ransom. Now Mithridates, the king of Parthia, held Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness. And Philip, directly the fight was over, went to Antioch, and made himself master of it, and reigned over Syria.

## CHAP. XV.

*How Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and after him Aretas, made Expeditions into Judæa; as also, how Alexander took many Cities, and then returned to Jerusalem, and died after an Illness of Three Years, and what Advice he gave to Alexandra.*

## § 1.

AFTER this, Antiochus, who was called Dionysus, and was Philip's brother, aspired to the dominion, and went to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there reigned. But as he was making an expedition against the Arabians, his brother Philip heard of it, and went to Damascus, where Milesius, who had been left governor of the citadel, delivered up the city of the Damascenes to him; but as Philip was ungrateful to him, and bestowed upon him nothing of what he hoped for when he received him into the city, but wished to have it believed that it was rather delivered up out of fear of him than owing to the kindness of Milesius, and because he did not reward him as he ought to have done, he was suspected by him, and so lost Damascus again; for when he was going into the Hippodrome, Milesius shut him out of it, and kept Damascus for Antiochus. And he, hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back from Arabia, and also immediately marched into Judæa, with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. And Alexander, being afraid at his coming, dug a deep trench from Chabarzaba,<sup>1</sup> which is now called Anti-

<sup>1</sup> *Kefr Sâba.*

patris,<sup>1</sup> to the sea near Joppa,<sup>2</sup> where alone an army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and erected on it wooden towers and curtains, and waited for the coming of Antiochus, who burnt all those works, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia. The Arabian king [Aretas] at first retired, but afterwards suddenly appeared with ten thousand cavalry. Antiochus met them and fought desperately, but when he had got the victory in his part of the battle, and was bringing up reinforcements to the part of his army that was hard pressed, he got slain. And when Antiochus had fallen, his army fled to the village of Cana,<sup>3</sup> where most of them perished by famine.

§ 2. After him Aretas reigned over Coele-Syria, being called to the government by those that held Damascus, because of the hatred they bore to Ptolemy the son of Mennæus. He also made thence an expedition into Judæa, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Addida,<sup>4</sup> but upon certain conditions agreed on between them retired from Judæa.

§ 3. But Alexander marched again to the city Dium,<sup>5</sup> and took it, and then made an expedition against Essa,<sup>6</sup> where most of Zeno's treasures happened to be, and surrounded the place with three walls, and when he had taken the city by assault, he marched on to Gaulana<sup>7</sup> and Seleucia.<sup>8</sup> And when he had taken those cities, he also took the valley which is called the valley of Antiochus, as also the fortress of Gamala.<sup>9</sup> He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, and the Jews joyfully received him because of his good success.

<sup>1</sup> *Kul'at Râs el-'Ain*. For discussion on true site of Antipatris see *Memoirs of Palestine Fund*, ii. 258-262.

<sup>2</sup> That part of the Mediterranean off the coast at *Jaffa*.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a village in the south of Palestine, and not one of the Canas of Galilee. <sup>4</sup> *Haditheh*, near Lydda.

<sup>5</sup> One of the cities of Decapolis, east of Jordan; the site has not yet been recovered.

<sup>6</sup> A town east of Jordan, site unknown.

<sup>7</sup> *Sahem ej-Jaulân*, east of the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>8</sup> See *Life*, § 37; *Jewish War*, iv. 1, § 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn*.

§ 4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities of the Syrians and Idumæans and Phœnicians; on the sea coast Strato's Tower,<sup>1</sup> Apollonia,<sup>2</sup> Joppa,<sup>3</sup> Jamnia,<sup>4</sup> Azotus,<sup>5</sup> Gaza,<sup>6</sup> Anthedon,<sup>7</sup> Raphia,<sup>8</sup> and Rhinocurura;<sup>9</sup> in the interior of the country towards Idumæa, Adora<sup>10</sup> and Marissa<sup>11</sup> and Samaria,<sup>12</sup> Mount Carmel and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis,<sup>13</sup> Gadara,<sup>14</sup> Gaulanitis,<sup>15</sup> Seleucia,<sup>16</sup> and Gabala;<sup>17</sup> in the country of Moab, Heshbon,<sup>18</sup> Medaba,<sup>19</sup> Lemba,<sup>20</sup> Oronas,<sup>21</sup> Telithon,<sup>22</sup> Zara,<sup>23</sup> the valley of the Cilicians,<sup>24</sup> and Pella<sup>25</sup> (which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews). The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities in Syria, which had been destroyed.

§ 5. After this king Alexander, although he fell ill from hard drinking, and was troubled with a quartan ague for three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite worn out with the labours he had undergone, and died on the borders of the Gerasenes,<sup>26</sup> while besieging Ragaba,<sup>27</sup> a fortress beyond the Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was on the point of death, and had no longer any hope of surviving, she came to him weeping and lamenting, and bewailed the desolate condition which herself and her sons would be left in, and said to him, "To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other support, and that though thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" But he gave her the following advice, to do what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Arsûf*, between *Kaisariyeh* and *Jaffa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Yebnah*.

<sup>5</sup> Ashdod, *Esdûd*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaffa*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ghuzzeh*.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 422, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> *er-Rafâh*.

<sup>9</sup> *el-'Arish*, the border town between Egypt and Palestine.

<sup>10</sup> *Dûra*.

<sup>11</sup> *Kh. Mer'ash*.

<sup>12</sup> *Sebustieh*.

<sup>13</sup> *Beisân*.

<sup>14</sup> *Umm Keis*.

<sup>15</sup> *Sahem ej-Jaulân*.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 428, note 6.

<sup>17</sup> Probably for Gamala, *Kul'at el-Husn*.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesbân*.

<sup>19</sup> *Medeba*.

<sup>20</sup> Unknown.

<sup>21</sup> Possibly the Horonaim of Is. xv. 5, and Jer. xviii. 3, 5, 54.

<sup>22</sup> Unknown.

<sup>23</sup> *Beit Zâra*.

<sup>24</sup> Unknown.

<sup>25</sup> *Tubakât Fâhîl*.

<sup>26</sup> The borders of the district of Gerasa, *Jerâsh*.

<sup>27</sup> Not identified.

securely for herself and her children : namely, to conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken Ragaba, and after that to go in triumph as upon a victory to Jerusalem, and put some authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for they would commend her for the honour she did them, and would reconcile the nation to her ; for they had great authority among the Jews, both to injure such as hated them, and to bring advantages to those who were friendly disposed to them, for they were believed most of all by the multitude when they spoke any severe thing against others, though it was only out of envy. And he said that it was owing to them, whom indeed he had insulted, that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation. “ Do thou therefore,” he added, “ when thou art come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my dead body, and with great show of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will dishonour my corpse by refusing it burial, as having suffered much at my hands, or whether in their anger they will offer any other outrage to that body. Promise them also that thou wilt do nothing without consulting them in the affairs of the kingdom. If thou dost but say this to them, I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than I could have had from thee, for when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety.”<sup>1</sup> When he had given his wife this advice he died, after having reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years save one.

<sup>1</sup> It seems, by this dying advice of Alexander to his wife, that he had himself pursued the measures of his father Hircanus, and taken part with the Sadducees, who kept close to the written law, against the Pharisees, who had introduced their own traditions, chap. 7, § 2, and that he now saw a political necessity of submitting to the Pharisees, and their traditions hereafter, if his widow and family were to retain their hold over the Jewish nation.—W.

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Alexandra, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom Nine Years, and then, having done many glorious Actions, died.*

## § 1.

AND Alexandra, when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spoke to the Pharisees, and put all things into their hands, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and so pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them her friends and well-wishers. So they went among the multitude, and made speeches to them, extolling the actions of Alexander, and telling them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they induced them to grieve and be in heaviness for him, so that he had a more splendid funeral than had any of the kings before him. Alexander left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but committed the kingdom to Alexandra. Now as to her two sons, Hyrcanus was indeed unfit to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was active and bold. And Alexandra herself was loved by the multitude, because she seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

§ 2. Now she made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he did not meddle with politics, and she allowed the Pharisees to do everything, and also ordered the multitude to be obedient to them. She also restored those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law Hyrcanus had abrogated. She had indeed the name of queen, but the Pharisees had all the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, in a word, they differed in nothing from lords of the realm. However, the queen also looked after the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary

soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them. And the country was entirely at peace, except for the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen, and urged her to kill those who had persuaded Alexander to slay the eight hundred men; after which they themselves cut the throat of one of them, Diogenes, and after him they did the same to several, one after another, till the leading men of the opposite party came to the palace, and Aristobulus with them (for he seemed to be displeased at what was done, and it appeared clear that, if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother to go on so), and reminded the queen what great dangers they had gone through, and what great things they had done, whereby they had demonstrated the firmness of their fidelity to their master, and had in consequence received the greatest marks of favour from him; and they begged of her, that she would not utterly blast their hopes, as it now happened, that after having escaped the hazards that arose from their [open] enemies, they were cut off at home, by their [private] enemies, like brute beasts, without any remedy whatever. They said also, that if their adversaries would be satisfied with those that had been slain already, they would take what had been done patiently, on account of their natural love to their masters, but if they must expect the same for the future also, they implored of her dismissal from her service, for they could not bear to think of attempting any method for their deliverance without her, but would die willingly before the palace, if she would not forgive them. They said also that it would be a great disgrace both for themselves and for the queen, if when they were neglected by her, they should be welcomed by her husband's enemies, for the Arabian Aretas and the other monarchs would give any pay if they could get such men as mercenaries, whose very names, before their voices were heard, would be probably terrible to them. But if they could not obtain this their second request, and she was determined to prefer the Pharisees before them, let her place every one of them in her fortresses; for if some demon had a spite against Alexander's house, they would be willing to live in a lowly station.

§ 3. As these men used much language of this kind, and called upon Alexander's ghost to commiserate those already slain, and those in danger of being so, all the bystanders broke out into tears; especially Aristobulus, who showed what his sentiments were, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother. He said also that they were indeed themselves the authors of their own calamities, seeing they had unreasonably permitted a woman, who was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter to rule over the kingdom. Then Alexandra, not knowing how to refuse with any decency, committed all the fortresses to them, except Hyrcania<sup>1</sup> and Alexandrium<sup>2</sup> and Machærus,<sup>3</sup> where her principal treasures were. A little while after she also sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Mennæus, who was a bad neighbour to that city; but he did nothing considerable against him, and returned home.

§ 4. About this time news was brought that Tigranes,<sup>4</sup> the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria with five hundred thousand soldiers,<sup>5</sup> and was coming to attack Judæa. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors, as he was besieging Ptolemais. For queen Selene, who was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, and had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes. So the Jewish ambassadors interceded with him, and entreated that he would decree nothing severe against the queen or nation. He commended them for the court they paid

<sup>1</sup> On the east of the Jordan. See Ant. xiv. 5, § 4; Jewish War, i. 8, § 5. Perhaps *'Arak el-Emîr*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kefr Istûna*, near *Keriût*, Coreæ. Ant. xiv. 3, § 4; xiv. 5, § 2, 4; Jewish War, i. 6, § 4; i. 8, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Mekaur*, to the east of the Dead Sea.

<sup>4</sup> Tigranes II., 93-39 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> The number of 500,000, or even 300,000, as one Greek copy, with the Latin copies, have it, for Tigranes' army, that came out of Armenia into Syria and Judæa, seems much too large. We have already had several such extravagant numbers in Josephus's present copies. I incline to Dr. Hudson's emendation here, which supposes them but 40,000.—W.

him at so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favour. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him (for he had fled into Iberia), but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. Now when Tigranes knew this, he returned home.

§ 5. After this, when the queen was fallen dangerously ill, Aristobulus resolved to attempt to seize the kingdom, so he stole away secretly by night with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses wherein his father's friends were settled. For as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so was he now much more afraid that, upon her death, their whole family would be in the power of the Pharisees, for he saw the inability of his brother the heir apparent. Now no one had any idea of what he was going to do except his wife, whom he left at Jerusalem with their children. He went first of all to Agaba,<sup>1</sup> where was Galæstes, one of the influential men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Aristobulus had fled; and she did not for some time suppose that his departure had any revolutionary intention; but when messengers came one after another with the news that he had secured the first fortress, the second fortress, and all the fortresses (for as soon as one began, they all submitted to his disposal), then the queen and nation were in the greatest alarm, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. What they were principally afraid of was that he would inflict punishment upon them for the mad treatment his house had had from them: so they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and kept them in the fortress that was over the temple.<sup>2</sup> Now a mighty conflux of people came to Aristobulus from all parts, inso-

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> This fortress, castle, citadel, or tower, whither the wife and children of Aristobulus were now sent, and which overlooked the temple, could be no other than what Hyrcanus I. built, *Antiq.* xviii. 4, § 3, and Herod the Great rebuilt, and called the Tower of Antonia, *Antiq.* xv. 11, § 5. —W.



much that he had a kind of royal retinue about him; for in little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two fortresses, which gave him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis and the monarchs. For men are easily led by majorities, and readily submit to them; and besides this they thought that by affording him their assistance when he could not expect it, they as well as he would enjoy the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the cause of his gaining the kingdom. Now Hyrcanus and the elders of the Jews went in to the queen, and desired that she would give them her views on the present state of affairs, for Aristobulus was already lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing so many strongholds, and it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, however ill she were, whilst she was alive, and the danger would be upon them in no long time. And she bade them do what they thought best to be done: for they had many circumstances in their favour still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries; but she had small concern for public affairs now, as the strength of her body already failed her.

§ 6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years, and had lived in all seventy-three. She was a woman who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex; for she was sagacious to the highest degree in her love of rule, and demonstrated at once by her doings her practical genius, and the little understanding that men show who make frequent mistakes in ruling. For she always preferred the present to the future, and ranked power above all things, and where that was at stake had no regard to what was good or right. However, she brought the affairs of her house to such an unfortunate condition, that she was the cause of its losing, and that at no distant date, that authority which she had obtained by much toil and danger, from a desire of interfering in what did not belong to a woman, and by siding in her opinions with those that bore ill-will to her family, and by leaving the administration destitute of proper support; and indeed her management during her administration,

while she was alive, was such as filled the palace after her death with calamities and confusion. However, although this had been her fashion of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. Such was the conclusion of the reign of Alexandra.

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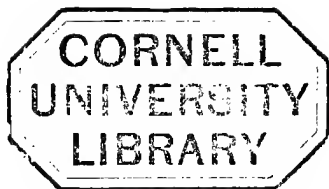
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# ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

## BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM  
THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF  
ANTIGONUS.

### CHAP. I.

*The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom ; and how they made an Agreement that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus live a private Life : as also, how Hyrcanus, a little afterwards, was persuaded by Antipater to flee to Aretas.*

#### § 1.

I HAVE related the reign of queen Alexandra and her death in the previous book, and will now speak of what followed next, having nothing so much at heart as this, that I may omit no facts, either from ignorance or fault of memory. For I am upon the history and relation of such things as most people are unacquainted with because of their antiquity, and I aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from words well arranged, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of my readers, that they may imbibe the knowledge of what I write with satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal end that authors ought to aim at is to speak accurately and truly, for the satisfaction of those that are unacquainted with the transactions, and obliged to believe what writers tell them.

§ 2. Now Hyrcanus began his high priesthood in the third

year of the hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was also called Creticus, were consuls at Rome. And Aristobulus directly began to make war against him, and as it came to a battle at Jericho, many of the soldiers of Hyrcanus deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus' wife and children had been imprisoned by his mother, as I have said already, and attacked and overcame his adversaries that had fled to the temple precincts. And when he had sent a message to his brother to treat with him, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, and that he should live without meddling in public affairs, and quietly enjoy his private fortune. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed, Aristobulus to the palace, and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the house of Aristobulus.

§ 3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumæan, called Antipater, who was very rich, and by nature an energetic and factious man; he was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him, from his goodwill to Hyrcanus. Nicolaus of Damascus says indeed that Antipater was of the stock of the leading Jews who returned from Babylon into Judæa; but that assertion of his was made to gratify Herod, who was Antipater's son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterwards to be king of the Jews, whose history I shall give in its proper place. Now this Antipater was at first called Antipas, and that was his father's name also, of whom they relate that king Alexander and his wife made him governor of all Idumæa, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians and Gazites and Ascalonites that thought as he did, and by many and large presents made them his fast friends. But the younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid that he might do him some mischief because of his hatred to him, so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews privately against him by detraction, and said that it was

wrong to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had got the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by primogeniture. And he perpetually made the same speeches to Hyrcanus, and told him, that his own life would be in danger, unless he was on his guard, and got rid of Aristobulus; for he said that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain the kingdom. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, being of a good disposition, and one that did not readily, owing to his mild character, listen to calumny. This temper of his, not disposing him to meddle in public affairs, and want of spirit, made him appear to spectators degenerate and unmanly; while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man and wide awake.

§ 4. When Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he ceased not day by day to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him as desirous to kill him, and by being always at him he at last with great difficulty persuaded him to flee to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to flee to Aretas; for Arabia is a country that borders upon Judæa. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come as a suppliant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. And Antipater, having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. Not long afterwards he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and travelled fast, and brought him to the city called Petra,<sup>1</sup> where the palace of Aretas was; and as he was a very intimate friend of that king's he urged him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judæa, and continued his suit every day without intermission, and also offered him presents, and at last he prevailed with Aretas. Moreover, Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been restored, and had recovered his kingdom, he would give back the territory and twelve cities which his father Alexander had

<sup>1</sup> Petra, near Mount Hor, to the east of the 'Arabah.

taken from the Arabians, namely, Medaba,<sup>1</sup> Naballo,<sup>2</sup> Libias,<sup>3</sup> Tharabasa,<sup>2</sup> Agalla,<sup>4</sup> Athone,<sup>2</sup> Zoara,<sup>5</sup> Oronæ,<sup>6</sup> Marissa,<sup>7</sup> Rydda,<sup>2</sup> Lusa,<sup>2</sup> and Oryba.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. II.

*How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem; and how Scaurus, the Roman General, raised the Siege. Concerning the Death of Onias.*

### § 1.

AFTER these promises had been made to Aretas, he marched against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in battle. And as after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left alone, and fled to Jerusalem. Upon this the king of Arabia took all his army, and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of Unleavened Bread, which we call the Passover, was being celebrated, the principal men among the Jews left the country and fled into Egypt. Now there was one whose name was Onias, a righteous man and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayer God had heard, and had sent rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this civil

<sup>1</sup> *Medeba*, east of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>3</sup> The Beth-Aram of Josh. xiii. 27, now *Tell er-Râmek*, N.E. of the Dead Sea.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the Eglaim of Isaiah xv. 8, which Eusebius places eight miles S. of Ar of Moab.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the later Zoar in the *Ghor es-Sâfi*, S.E. of the Dead Sea.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the Horonaim of Is. xv. 5, and Jer. xlvi. 3, 5, 34. Site unknown.

<sup>7</sup> *Mareshah*, *Kh. Mer'ash*.

war would last a long while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner utter imprecations on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusing and making excuses, he was still compelled to speak by the multitude, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the king of the whole world, since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." And the wicked Jews who stood around him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

§ 2. But God punished them immediately for this barbarity, and took vengeance on them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following. As the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the Passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; and those that were with Aristobulus wanted victims, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they wished; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it to them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the victims, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the promises they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with victims. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements that had been made were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was bought for eleven drachmæ.

§ 3. Meantime Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, as he was himself in Armenia making war against Tigranes: and

when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had just taken that city, he pushed on into Judæa. And when he was come there, ambassadors came to him both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, for both asked him to assist them. And as both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus' promise, for he was rich and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was fair, whereas the other was poor, and mean, and made incredible promises for greater advantages. Nor was it the same thing to take a city by storm, which was exceedingly strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a quantity of Nabatæans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. Then Scaurus returned to Damascus again, and Aristobulus with a great army marched against Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called Papyron,<sup>1</sup> and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, among whom fell Phallion also, the brother of Antipater.

### CHAP. III.

*How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey to discuss who ought to have the Kingdom; and how, upon the Flight of Aristobulus to the Fortress of Alexandrium, Pompey led his army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortresses of which he was possessed.*

#### § 1.

A LITTLE afterwards Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Cœle-Syria, and there came to him ambassadors from all Syria, and Egypt, and from Judæa also. For Aristobulus sent him a great present, which was a

<sup>1</sup> A town or river, the locality of which is unknown. The battle took place in 63 B.C.

golden vine,<sup>1</sup> and worth five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in the following words. "There came also an embassy out of Egypt and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold, and out of Judæa there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: they called it TERPOLE (*Delight*). However, I myself saw that present deposited at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, 'The gift of Alexander the king of the Jews.' It was valued at five hundred talents, and the report is, that Aristobulus, the ruler of the Jews sent it."

§ 2. A little time afterwards came ambassadors again to him, Antipater on behalf of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus on behalf of Aristobulus; which last also accused those who had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one having had three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which proceeding he made those two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had differences with one another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he took his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country near Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamea,<sup>2</sup> that Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and subdued the country of Ptolemy Mennæus (a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripolis, who had been beheaded, who was also his rela-

<sup>1</sup> This 'golden vine,' or 'garden,' seen by Strabo at Rome, has its inscription here as if it were the gift of Alexander, the father of Aristobulus, and not of Aristobulus himself, to whom yet Josephus ascribes it; and in order to prove the truth of that part of his history, introduces this testimony of Strabo; so that the ordinary copies seem to be here either erroneous or defective, and the original reading seems to have been either 'Aristobulus,' instead of 'Alexander,' with one Greek copy, or else 'Aristobulus the son of Alexander,' with the Latin copies, which last seems to me the most probable. For as to Archbishop Usher's conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to Pompey, they are both very improbable, and no way agreeable to Josephus, who would hardly have avoided the recording both these uncommon points of history, had he known of them; nor would either the Jewish nation, or even Pompey himself, then have relished such a flagrant instance of sacrilege.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalât el-Medyk*, in Syria.

tion by marriage), who however bought off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also razed to the ground the fortress of Lysias,<sup>1</sup> of which Silas a Jew was tyrant. And when he had passed by the cities of Heliopolis<sup>2</sup> and Chalcis,<sup>3</sup> and crossed over the mountain which is the boundary of Cœle-Syria, he went from Pella<sup>4</sup> to Damascus; and there he carefully heard the Jews, and their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at variance with one another, as also the nation against them both, for it did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they had received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, whereas though Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. As to Hyrcanus, he complained, that although he was the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also stated that the raids which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the piratical expeditions by sea, were owing to him, and that the nation would not have revolted, had not Aristobulus been a man given to violence and disorder. And there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best reputation, who confirmed this accusation, being suborned by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged on the other hand that it was Hyrcanus' own nature, which was inactive, and so contemptible, that had caused him to be deprived of the government; and that, as for himself, he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear it should be transferred to others, and as to his title of king, it was no other than the same title that his father had taken before him. And he called as witnesses of this some persons who were both young and insolent, whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, made them objectionable, for they appeared not as though they were to

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Kinnisrin*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Ba'albek*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tubakât Fahil*, east of Jordan.



plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they formed part of a triumphal procession.

§ 3. When Pompey had heard these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent proceedings, he then spoke civilly to them, and sent them away, and told them that when he came into their country again he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabatæans. Meantime he ordered them to be quiet, and at the same time paid great attention to Aristobulus, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return; which Aristobulus did: for without waiting for that further determination which Pompey had promised, he went to the city of Dium,<sup>1</sup> and thence marched into Judæa.

§ 4. Pompey was angry at this behaviour, and taking with him the army which he was leading against the Nabatæans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus and the rest of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, marched against Aristobulus. And as he passed by Pella and Scythopolis,<sup>2</sup> he came to Coreæ,<sup>3</sup> which is the first town in Judæa as one passes through the interior of the country, where he came to a most beautiful fortress (that was built on the top of a mountain), called Alexandrium,<sup>4</sup> to which Aristobulus had fled, and Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, as many urged him not to make war with the Romans, he came down, and when he had disputed with his brother the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do. And this he did two or three times, flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him, and pretending he would obey Pompey in whatever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for war, in case Pompey, as he feared, should transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey ordered Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send written orders to their governors in his own hand-

<sup>1</sup> One of the towns of Decapolis, not yet identified.

<sup>2</sup> *Beisân.*

<sup>3</sup> Now *Keriût.*

<sup>4</sup> Now *Kefr Istûna.*

writing for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them upon any other conditions, he obeyed indeed, but retired in dudgeon to Jerusalem, and made preparations for war. A little after this certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way and leading his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, having been slain by his son Pharnaces.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Pompey, when the Citizens of Jerusalem shut the Gates against him, besieged the City and took it by Storm; also what other things he did in Judæa.*

##### § 1.

NOW Pompey pitched his camp at Jericho (where the palm-tree grows, and that balsam which is of all ointments the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone distills out like juice), and marched next morning to Jerusalem. Thereupon Aristobulus repented, and went to Pompey, and offered him money, and promised to receive him into Jerusalem, and begged that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. Then Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him, and sent Gabinius and some soldiers to receive the money and take possession of the city. But none of these promises were performed, but Gabinius returned, not only having been shut out of the city, but also having received none of the money promised, because Aristobulus' soldiers would not permit the agreement to be carried out. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and went himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not well fortified; for there was a broad and deep ditch that ran round the city,<sup>1</sup> and included within it the temple, which was itself surrounded with a very strong stone wall.

<sup>1</sup> The particular depth and breadth of this ditch whence the stones for the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in our copies of Josephus, but set down by Strabo, xvi. p. 763, from whom we learn, that this ditch was sixty feet deep, and 250 feet broad.—W.

§ 2. Now there was variance among the men that were within the city, for they did not agree as to what was to be done in their present circumstances, for some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey, but Aristobulus' party exhorted them to shut the gates and fight, because he was kept in prison. And these got the start of the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to stand a siege; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. Then Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined the temple, and all those that were outside but in the neighbourhood of it. And first he offered conditions to those within, but as they would not comply with what he invited them to, he fortified all the places thereabout, and Hyrcanus zealously assisted him in everything. And Pompey pitched his camp outside,<sup>1</sup> at the north end of the temple, where it was most open to attack, though even on that side great towers rose up, and a trench had been dug, and a deep ravine begirt it round about, for the parts towards the city were precipitous, and the bridge on which Pompey had entered in was broken down; however, a bank was raised day by day with a great deal of labour, as the Romans cut down the trees all round. And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the trench filled up with difficulty owing to its immense depth, Pompey had his engines and battering rams brought from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, kept battering the temple with his catapults. Now had it not been our national practice to rest on the seventh days, this bank would never have been completed, owing to the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law allows us to defend ourselves against those that commence a fight with us and assault us, it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies on the Sabbath-days while they do anything else.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Diudorf.

<sup>2</sup> It deserves here to be noted, that this notion that offensive fighting was unlawful to the Jews, even under the utmost necessity, on the Sabbath-day, of which we hear nothing before the times of the

§ 3. Now when the Romans observed this, they threw no missiles at the Jews on those days which we call Sabbaths, nor did they come to a hand to hand fight, but raised up their bank and towers, and brought forward their engines that they might do execution the following day. And one may learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and how much we observe his laws, from the fact that the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by fear during the siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning and at the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar, nor did they omit those sacrifices if any melancholy accident happened during the assaults. Indeed when the city was taken in the third month, on the day of the fast, in the hundred and seventh-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet did not those that offered the sacrifices leave them off, nor could they be compelled to run away, either from the fear they were in for their own lives, or from the numbers that had been already slain, thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them at the very altars, than to omit anything that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere tale to pass an encomium upon piety that was never displayed, but is the real truth, I appeal to all those that have written of the acts of Pompey, who bear me out, and among them to Strabo and Nicolaus, and also to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history.

§ 4. Now when the battering engine was applied, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it and fell down, and opened a breach in the walls, so the enemy poured in apace, and Cornelius Faustus, son of *the famous* Sulla, with his soldiers, first of all scaled the wall, and after him Furius the centurion, with those that followed him on the other side, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, scaled it in the middle, with a great body of men with him. And now all was full of slaughter, some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, there were some who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses and burned them, not being able to Maccabees, was the cause of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, by Sosius, and by Titus.—W.

bear their miseries. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small outrage was committed in the Holy of Holies, which before had been inaccessible and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that it was unlawful for any men to see but the high priests. There were there the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money; but Pompey touched nothing of all this,<sup>1</sup> on account of his regard to religion, but in this point also acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and he restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, not only because he had been useful to him in other respects, but also because he had hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in the war. He also cut off the heads of those that had been the authors of the war, and bestowed fitting rewards on Cornelius Faustus and the others that had mounted the walls with such alacrity. And he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away those cities of Cœle-Syria which the inhabitants of Judæa had formerly subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman prætor, and contracted the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara (which had been razed to the ground a little before), to gratify Demetrius of Gadara,<sup>2</sup> who was his freedman, and restored the rest of the cities, as Hippos,<sup>3</sup> and Scythopolis, and Pella,<sup>4</sup> and Dium,<sup>5</sup> and Samaria,<sup>6</sup> as also Marissa,<sup>7</sup> Azotus,<sup>8</sup> Jamnia,<sup>9</sup> and Arethusa,<sup>10</sup> to their

<sup>1</sup> This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Cicero, who says in his oration for Flaccus, that "Cnæus Pompeius, when he was conqueror, and had taken Jerusalem, did not touch anything belonging to the temple."—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sûsiyeh*, see Life, § 9.

<sup>4</sup> See note 4, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See note 1, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Sebustieh*.

<sup>7</sup> *Kh. Mer'ash*.

<sup>8</sup> *Esdûd*.

<sup>9</sup> *Yebnah*.

<sup>10</sup> Now *Restan*, sixteen miles from *Homs*, *Emesa*.

own inhabitants. And these were in the interior of the country, except those that had been razed to the ground. As to the maritime cities, as Gaza and Joppa and Dora<sup>1</sup> and Strato's Tower (which last Herod rebuilt in a glorious manner, and adorned with havens and temples, and changed its name to Cæsarea<sup>2</sup>), Pompey left all of them free, and joined them to the province of Syria.

§ 5. Now the causers of this misery which came upon Jerusalem were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by their being at variance with one another; for we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of the territory which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us in a short time more than ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high priests by right of their family, became the property of common men. But of these matters I shall treat in their proper place. And Pompey handed over Cœle-Syria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, and two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and pushed on to Rome. He also bound Aristobulus and carried him and his children along with him, for he had two daughters, and as many sons; one of whom, Alexander, ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome with his sisters.

## CHAP. V.

*How Scaurus made Peace with Aretas. And what Gabinus did in Judæa, after he had conquered Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus.*

### § 1.

SCAURUS now made an expedition against Petra<sup>3</sup> in Arabia, and ravaged all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn from Judæa, and with whatever else he wanted,

<sup>1</sup> *Tantûrah.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cæsarea Palæstina, now Kaisariyeh.*

<sup>3</sup> See note 1, p. 3.

at the command of Hyrcanus. And Antipater, being sent to Aretas as an ambassador by Scaurus, because they were old friends, persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money to prevent the ravaging of his country, and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. And Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war against him any longer, for he wanted peace as much as Aretas.

§ 2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, overran Judæa, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many other considerable actions, and marched against Alexander, as Hyrcanus was no longer able to hold out against Alexander's power, but was already attempting to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans who were there restrained him from that. However, Alexander scoured all the country-side, and armed many of the Jews, and quickly got together ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified Alexandrium<sup>1</sup> (a fortress near Coreæ) and Machærus<sup>2</sup> near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore advanced against him, having sent on Mark Antony and other commanders. They armed such Romans as followed them, and besides them such Jews as were subject to them, who were led by Pitholaus and Malichus, and they also took with them the friendly contingent of Antipater, and met Alexander; and Gabinius himself followed with the heavy armed troops. Thereupon Alexander retired to near Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and a pitched battle ensued, in which the Romans slew about three thousand of their enemies, and took as many alive.

§ 3. Meantime Gabinius went to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to cessation of hostilities, and promised that their former offences should be forgiven. But as many of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, the Romans attacked them, and Mark Antony fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honour. So Gabinius left part of the army there to reduce the place, and he himself went into the other parts of Judæa, and gave orders to rebuild

<sup>1</sup> See note 4, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Mekaur*, see Jewish War, vii. 6, § 1.

all the cities that he came to that had been demolished. So Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon,<sup>1</sup> Raphia,<sup>2</sup> Dora, Marissa, Gaza, and not a few others were rebuilt. And as the men acted according to Gabinius' command, it came to pass at this time that those cities were safely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

§ 4. When Gabinius had done thus throughout the country, he returned to Alexandria, and as he pressed on the siege, Alexander sent an embassy to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences, and delivering up to him the fortresses Hyrcania and Machærus, and at last Alexandria itself. All these fortresses Gabinius razed to the ground. And when Alexander's mother, who was on the side of the Romans, having her husband and other children at Rome, came to Gabinius, he granted her whatever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he restored Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had appointed five councils, he divided the nation into the same number of parts, and these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus,<sup>3</sup> the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris<sup>4</sup> in Galilee. So the Jews were now freed from kingly rule, and were governed by an aristocracy.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Gabinius captured Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again; also how Gabinius, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabateans in Battle.*

### § 1.

NOW Aristobulus escaped from Rome to Judæa, and purposed to rebuild the fortress of Alexandria, which had been recently demolished: so Gabinius sent

<sup>1</sup> *Agrippias*, see *Antiq.* xiii. 13, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Raphia was twenty-two miles S.W. of Gaza; comp. *Antiq.* xiii. 13,

§ 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hamath, now *Hama*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sefûrieh*.



soldiers against him, and Sisenna and Antony and Ser-vilius as their commanders, to hinder him from making himself master of the country again, and to recapture him. For indeed many of the Jews flocked to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they were glad of a revolution. And one Pitholaus, lieutenant-general at Jerusalem, deserted to him with a thousand men, although many of those that joined him were un-armed. And when Aristobulus resolved to go to Machærus, he dismissed these, because they were so badly equipped (for they could not be useful to him in action), but he took with him about eight thousand that were armed, and set out. And as the Romans attacked them furiously, the Jews were beaten in the battle, though they fought valiantly, and were overcome by the enemy, and put to flight. And about five thousand of them were slain, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Machærus, and fortified the place, and though he had had ill success, he was still sanguine about his affairs. But when he had held out two days, and received many wounds, he was captured and brought before Gabinius, with his son Antigonus, who had also fled with him from Rome. Such was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and there retained in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months, and being indeed a noble person and one of a lofty soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius' writing to them that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him; and accordingly they then returned to Judæa.

§ 2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already crossed over the Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> But this has been related elsewhere. However, Antipater

<sup>1</sup> This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who says, "That A. Gabinius, the procousul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected Archelaus, whom they had set up for king," &c.  
—W.

supplied the army which Gabinius despatched against Archelaus with corn and weapons and money. He also won over those Jews who were beyond Pelusium<sup>1</sup> to be his confederates, who guarded the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder sedition and confusion, for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, and marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege them at the mountain called Gerizim,<sup>2</sup> where they had retreated.

§ 3. Now when Gabinius found Syria in this condition, he sent on Antipater, who was a sensible man, to those that were rebellious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind. And when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do. But he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men near mount Tabor.<sup>3</sup>

§ 4. Then Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city of Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's wishes, and went against the Nabatæans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanès, who were Parthian deserters who had come to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions in his management of the war, he returned to Rome, and handed over his province to Crassus. Now Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Capadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, but neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

<sup>1</sup> *Tineh*, not far from *Port Saïd*.

<sup>2</sup> Gerizim lay to the south of the valley in which Shechem, *Nâblus*, was situated.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Jebel et-Tôr*.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Crassus went into Judæa, and pillaged the Temple; and marched against the Parthians, and perished with his army. Also how Cassius made himself master of Syria, and put a stop to the incursion of the Parthians, and then went into Judæa.*

## § 1.

NOW Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judæa, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left (which amounted to two thousand talents), and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it (which was eight thousand talents). He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ. Now each mina with us weighs two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, whose name was Eleazar, who gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and righteous man, but being intrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, and seeing that Crassus was bent on getting together money, and being alarmed for the safety of all the ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the whole, but not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, for it was worth many ten thousand [shekels]. Now this beam was in a wooden beam that was hollow, which was not known to anybody else, for Eleazar alone knew of it. And Crassus took away this beam, on condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, but afterwards broke his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the Holy of Holies.

§ 2. Let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the world, and those that worshipped God, even in Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and that from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums I have men-

tioned without attestation, nor is it due to our vanity, as if we had without ground raised it to so great a height: but there are many witnesses to it, especially Strabo of Cappadocia, who speaks as follows. "Mithridates sent to Cos,<sup>1</sup> and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now, we have no public money but what belongs to God. And it is evident that the Asiatic Jews removed this money to Cos from fear of Mithridates, for it is not probable that those in Judæa, who had a strong city and temple, would send their money to Cos, nor is it likely that the Jews, who were inhabitants of Alexandria, would do so either, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And the same Strabo himself bears witness in another place, that at the time that Sulla passed over into Greece to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a disturbance that our nation, of whom the world is full, had raised in Cyrene,<sup>2</sup> for he speaks as follows. "There were four classes of men in Cyrene; the first composed of citizens, the second of husbandmen, the third of resident aliens, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already got into all cities, and it is not easy to find a place in the world that has not received this tribe of men, and is not occupied by it. And it has come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene (as having the same governors), and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and especially cherish many of these Jews, and grow to great prosperity with them, following the Jewish customs. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt to dwell in, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs their nation, and dispenses justice, and sees to their contracts and laws, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt indeed this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land which they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that land adjoins the government of Egypt, as does Judæa, or

<sup>1</sup> Now *Stanco*, an island nearly opposite the gulf of Halicarnassus.

<sup>2</sup> *el-Krenna*, in the *Tripoli* district, west of Egypt.

rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

§ 3. Now when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as has been related elsewhere. But Cassius fled to Syria, and made himself master of it, and stopped the Parthians, who, because of their victory over Crassus, made incursions into Syria. And he went again to Tyre, and into Judæa also. And he attacked Taricheæ,<sup>1</sup> and captured it at once, and took about thirty thousand Jews captives, and slew Pitholaus (who had imitated Aristobulus in his rebellious practices), at the instigation of Antipater, who had great influence with him, and was at that time held in very great repute by the Idumæans also, out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men from Arabia, and her name was Cypros, and he had by her four sons, Phasaelus, and Herod (who afterwards became a king), and Joseph, and Pheroras, and one daughter called Salome. This Antipater cultivated also friendly relations with other potentates, and especially with the king of Arabia, in whose charge he placed his children, when he fought against Aristobulus. And Cassius removed his camp, and pushed on to the Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him from that quarter, as has been related by others.

§ 4. But some time afterwards Julius Cæsar, when he had become master of Rome, and when Pompey and the senate had fled beyond the Ionian sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right in that country, being an influential man. But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cæsar, for those of Pompey's party were too much for him, and carried him off by poison, but those of Cæsar's party buried him. His dead body also lay for a long time embalmed in honey, till Antony afterwards sent it to Judæa, and caused it to be buried in the royal sepulchres. And Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander the son of Aristobulus,

<sup>1</sup> *Kerak*, on the south shore of the Sea of Galilee.

accused the young man of offences he had been guilty of earlier against the Romans, and cut off his head. And thus did he die at Antioch; but Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, who was the ruler of Chalcis<sup>1</sup> under Mount Libanus, welcomed his brothers, and sent his son Philippio to Ascalon<sup>2</sup> to Aristobulus' wife, and bade her send back with him her son Antigonus and her daughters, one of whom, whose name was Alexandra, Philippio fell in love with and married. But afterwards his father Ptolemy had him put to death, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brothers.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How the Jews became Confederate with Cæsar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cæsar. The Honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.*

### § 1.

NOW after Pompey was dead, and after the victory Cæsar gained over him,<sup>3</sup> Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs by the order of Hyrcanus, became very useful to Cæsar when he made war against Egypt. For when Mithridates of Pergamus<sup>4</sup> was bringing his auxiliary forces, and was not able to continue his march by Pelusium,<sup>5</sup> but was obliged to stay at Ascalon, Antipater went to him with three thousand armed Jews, and also got the principal men of the Arabians to come to his assistance; and it was owing to him that all the Syrians joined him also, being unwilling to appear behindhand in their zeal for Cæsar, viz. Iamblichus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium, and as its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. And Antipater distinguished himself here, and was the first

<sup>1</sup> *Kinnisrîn.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ascalân.*

<sup>3</sup> At Pharsalia.

<sup>4</sup> *Bergama*, on the west coast of Asia Minor, and north of Smyrna.

<sup>5</sup> *Tîneh.*

who pulled down a part of the wall, and so opened a way for the others to enter into the city, and so Pelusium was taken. Now the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the district of Onias, tried to prevent Antipater and Mithridates and their soldiers passing over to Cæsar, but Antipater persuaded them to come over to his party, because he was of the same race as them, and especially when he showed them the letters of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cæsar, and to supply his army with presents and all things needful. Accordingly, when they saw that Antipater and the high priest were of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews in the neighbourhood of Memphis<sup>1</sup> heard that these Jews had come over to Cæsar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; and he went and incorporated them also into his army.

§ 2. And when Mithridates had gone over the part called Delta,<sup>2</sup> he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish camp.<sup>3</sup> Now Mithridates was on the right wing, and Antipater on the left; and when the fight came on, the wing where Mithridates was gave way, and would have suffered extremely, had not Antipater come running to him with his own soldiers along the bank of the river, as he had already beaten the enemy opposite him; and he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians to flight who had been too much for him. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them, and called back Mithridates, who had retreated a great way, and had lost eight hundred soldiers, while Antipater had lost only forty. And Mithridates wrote an account of this battle to Cæsar, and declared that Antipater was the author both of the victory and his safety, so that Cæsar commended Antipater then, and made use of him during all the rest of the war in the most hazardous undertakings; indeed he got wounded in some of the engagements.

§ 3. So when Cæsar, after some time, had finished the war, and sailed to Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, and be-

<sup>1</sup> *Mitrahamy*, on the left bank of the Nile above Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Delta of Egypt, lying north of Cairo.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *Tell el-Yehûdi*.

stowed on Antipater the privilege of citizenship of Rome, and freedom from taxes everywhere. Now it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus joined Antipater in this expedition, and went himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears me out, when he says as follows on the authority of Asinius. "After Mithridates and Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews invaded Egypt." Nay, the same Strabo says again, in another place, on the authority of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first set out alone, but Antipater, who had the care of Jewish affairs, was called by him to Ascalon, and mustered three thousand soldiers for him, and stirred up the other rulers, and Hyrcanus the high priest also took part in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

§ 4. Now Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cæsar, and lamented his father's fate, and complained that it was owing to his loyalty to him that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity on him, as he had been ejected from his dominions. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of governing the nation by violence, and acting lawlessly to him. Antipater was present, and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him, and showed that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were rebellious persons. He also reminded Cæsar of the labours he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, relating what he had witnessed himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one who was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be friendly to them, and that his brother had only his deserts from Scipio, being caught in the act of committing robberies; and that his punishment was not inflicted on him by way of violence or injustice by the perpetrator of it.

§ 5. When Antipater had made this speech, Cæsar appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest, and gave Antipater what position he himself should choose, and left the determination to himself, so he made him procurator of Judæa. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up again the walls of his own city, on his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And



this grant he sent to the consuls at Rome, to be engraven in the Capitol. The decree of the senate was as follows.<sup>1</sup> “Lucius Valerius (the son of Lucius) the prætor, referred this to the senate, upon the Ides of December, in the Temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius (the son of Lucius) of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dorotheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good men and our allies, proposed, who came to renew that league of goodwill and friendship with the Romans which existed before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a token of the alliance, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to free cities and to kings, that their country and their havens might be in security, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It has therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatever they asked, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them.” This happened in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month of Panemus. Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions, for they wrote and sent him a decree as follows. “Before the president and priest Dionysius, the son of Asclepiades, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month of Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles (the son of Menander) the

<sup>1</sup> Take Dr. Hudson’s note upon this place, which I suppose to be the truth: “Here is some mistake in Josephus: for when he had promised us a decree for the restoration of Jerusalem, he brings in a decree of far greater antiquity, and that a league of friendship and union only. One may easily believe that Josephus gave order for one thing, and his amanuensis performed another, by transposing decrees that concerned the Hyrcani, and as deluded by the sameness of their names, for that belongs to the first high priest of this name [John Hyrcanus,] which Josephus ascribes to one that lived later, [Hyrcanus the son of Alexander Jannæus.] However, the decree which he proposes to set down follows a little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees that concerned the Jews, and is that dated when Cæsar was consul the fifth time.” See chap. 10, § 5.—W.

Alimusiau was the scribe. In the month of Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Prytany, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus Erchieus and the fellow presidents with him put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, said: Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any private business, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several previous testimonies, it is now also decreed, on the motion of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus of Sunium,<sup>1</sup> who put the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour this Hyrcanus with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demos and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre at the Dionysia, while the new tragedies are acting, and at the Panathenæan, Eleusinian, and gymnastic contests also; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and maintains his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good, and repay them by suitable return; and that he may be induced to continue in his affection to us, by the honours we have already paid him. Let ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we pay him, and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city." This much shall suffice as to the honours that were paid to Hyrcanus by the Romans and the people of Athens.

<sup>1</sup> One of the principal fortresses of Attica, on the promontory now called *Cape Kolonnes*.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, because of the Jews' envy of Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.*

## § 1.

NOW when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away; and as soon as he had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, Antipater returned to Judæa, and immediately raised up the walls which had been thrown down by Pompey, and by his coming pacified the tumult which had been all over the country, both by threatening and advising the people to be quiet: for he told them if they would be on Hyrcanus' side, they would live happily, and pass their lives without disturbance in the enjoyment of their own possessions, but if they were influenced by hopes of what might come by revolution, and aimed to get gain thereby, they would find him a despot instead of a mild ruler, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans and Cæsar their bitter enemies instead of rulers; for they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern. And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself set in order the affairs of the country.

§ 2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and sluggish temper, Antipater made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem and the places in its vicinity, and committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then quite a young man, for he was but twenty-five years of age. But that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a young man of noble spirit, he soon met with an opportunity of showing his courage. For finding that there was one Ezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he took him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the robbers that were with him. For this action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians, for they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, and he purged it of them: so they sung songs in

his commendation in their villages and cities, for his having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions. And on account of this he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great Cæsar's, and was now procurator of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby got, and became ambitious not to be behind him in deserving the same, so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will, as he governed the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured to Antipater from the nation such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, diminish in the least in him his kindness and good faith to Hyrcanus.

§ 3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons growing so much in the good-will of the nation, and in the revenues which they received from Judæa and from Hyrcanus' own wealth, became ill disposed to him. And indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors, and he had prevailed on Hyrcanus to send them money, but took it himself, and appropriated the intended present, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus', gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this but took no heed to it: nay rather he was very glad of it: but the chief men of the Jews were in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous to play the tyrant, so they went to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already girded themselves with power? and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee, nor think to escape danger by being so careless about thyself and the kingdom. For Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not deceive thyself with such a notion, they are evidently absolute lords, for Antipater's son Herod has slain Ezekias

and those that were with him, and has thereby transgressed our law, which has forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim; <sup>1</sup> yet has he ventured to do this without any authority from thee."

§ 4. Upon Hyrcanus hearing this, he listened to it, and the mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod fanned his indignation; for every day in the temple they continued to beseech the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. And Hyrcanus was so moved by all this, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged against him. Accordingly he came, but his father advised him not to come like a private man, but with a body-guard for the security of his person; and when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, to come for his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on the journey, yet not with so great a force as might look formidable to Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies]. However, Sextus Cæsar, governor of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to discharge Herod from trial, and threatened him also if he did not do so. And this letter of his was the cause of Hyrcanus' delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the sanhedrim with his band of men about him, he frightened them all, and none of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When things were in this posture, one whose name was Sameas, a righteous man and for that reason above all fear, rose up, and said, "O king and members of the sanhedrim, neither have I ever myself

<sup>1</sup> It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judæa, but by the approbation of the Jewish sanhedrim, there being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities, to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem. And this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he says, "It could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem." Luke xiii. 33.—W.

known such a case, nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, whoever he be, that comes to be tried by this sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear, and endeavours to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black mourning garment: but this most excellent Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and by being too strong for justice may himself escape death. Yet I do not blame Herod for this, if he is more concerned for himself than for the laws; but I blame you and the king, who give him license to do so. However, know that God is great, and that this very man, whom you wish to let go for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and the king himself also." Nor was Sameas wrong in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had got the kingdom, he slew Hyrcanus and all the members of this sanhedrim except Sameas, for he honoured him highly on account of his uprightness, and because, when the city was afterwards besieged by Herod and Sosius, he advised the people to admit Herod into it; and told them that for their sins they would not be able to escape him. About all this I shall speak in its proper place.

§ 5. Now when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim were ready to pronounce sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to flee from the city, for by that means he might escape from danger. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king: and when he had gone to Sextus Cæsar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved, if he were again summoned before the sanhedrim to take his trial, not to obey the summons. Thereupon the members of the sanhedrim felt great indignation, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against him. He was not ignorant that this was the case, but he was so unmanly and foolish, that he was able to do nothing at

all. And when Sextus made Herod general of the army of Cœle-Syria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was afraid that Herod would make war upon him; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him, for Herod came with an army to fight against Hyrcanus, being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the sanhedrim; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus], met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also tried to pacify his vehement temper, and begged him to do no overt action, but only to frighten by threatening, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he had; they also desired him, if he was vexed that he was summoned and obliged to come to his trial, to remember also how he was dismissed without condemnation, and to be grateful for that, and not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and so be unthankful for his deliverance. They desired him also to consider, since it is God that turns the scales of war, that there is great uncertainty in the issues of battles, and therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when fighting against his king and comrade, who had bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing severe to him, for his accusation, which was owing to evil counsellors and not to Hyrcanus, had rather the suggestion and semblance of severity, than anything really severe in it. Herod listened to these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and to have done nothing more. Such was the state of affairs in Judæa at this time.

## CHAP. X.

*The Honours that were paid the Jews; and the Alliances that were made by the Romans, and other Nations, with them.*

### § 1.

NOW when Cæsar had returned to Rome, he was on the eve of sailing for Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent to him, and besought him to

ratify the league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the alliances they made with it, that all mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied with our courage and fidelity. Now since many owing to hostility to us do not believe what has been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not everywhere to be met with, and are not stored up in public places, but are only among ourselves and certain other barbarous nations, while no one can gainsay the decrees of the Romans (for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the Capitol, and engraven upon pillars of brass; moreover, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews of Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria), from these evidences I shall prove what I say. I shall also set down the decrees made both by the senate and Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation.

§ 2. "Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator, pontifex maximus, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of the decree, registered on the tablet, which concerns Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander) the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be engraved on a tablet of brass both in Greek and Latin. It is as follows. I Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and pontifex maximus, have made this decree with the approbation of the senate. Whereas Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander) the Jew, has demonstrated his fidelity and diligence in our affairs both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne him witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred soldiers, and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all in the army, for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews,



and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our allies, and besides this that every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain that he and his children retain whatever privileges belong by their laws to the office of high priest, or whatever favours have been hitherto conceded to them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I do not approve of their being obliged to find us winter quarters, or of any money being required of them."

§ 3. "The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul, containing what has been granted and determined, are as follows. That Hyrcanus and his sons bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places granted to them, and that Hyrcanus himself, as high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured. And that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander) the high priest of the Jews, to discourse with him about a league of friendship and alliance, and that a tablet of brass, containing all this, be openly set up in the Capitol, and at Sidon and Tyre and Ascalon, and in the temples, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: and that this decree be communicated to the quæstors and prætors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews: and that the ambassadors have presents made them, and that these decrees be sent everywhere."

§ 4. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, and consul, has granted, out of regard to the honour and virtue and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate and people of Rome, that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his sons, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

§ 5. "Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, has decreed, that the Jews may keep Jerusalem, and fortify that city; and that Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander), the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, occupy it as he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let a cor of the tribute,

and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, and that they pay not always the same tribute."

§ 6. "Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, has ordained, that all the country of the Jews, except Joppa, pay tribute for the city of Jerusalem every year except the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, because therein they neither receive the fruit of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay as their tribute in Sidon in the second year, the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, as they paid to their forefathers. And no one, either governor, or general, or ambassador, may raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judæa, nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or on any other pretext, but they are to be free from all sorts of injuries: and whatever they shall hereafter have, or get possession of, or buy, they shall retain. It is also our pleasure that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, shall have as tribute for that city from those that occupy the land, for the country and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, except the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, wherein they neither plough nor take the fruit off their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, that Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them, and that the same original ordinances remain still in force which concern the Jews with regard to their high priests and priests, and that they enjoy the same benefits which they formerly had by the concession of the people and senate. And let them enjoy the like privileges at Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, lands, and farm-steads, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phœnicia, the allies of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gift. It is also granted to

Hyrchanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors sent by them to us, that in the fights between gladiators, and in those with wild beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows, and when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced to the senate by the dictator or master of the horse, and when they have introduced them, answers shall be returned them in ten days at the latest, after the decree of the senate is made."

§ 7. "Caius Cæsar, imperator [dictator] the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made the following speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrchanus (the son of Alexander), the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. 'Since those imperators<sup>1</sup> who have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrchanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and that before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrchanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrchanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to the good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us.'

§ 8. "Julius Caius, prætor, consul of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, greeting. The Jews of Delos,<sup>2</sup> and some other Jews that sojourn there, signified to us, in the presence of your ambassadors, that you forbid them by a decree of yours to follow the customs of their forefathers and their sacred rites. Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and allies, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and sacrifices, since they are not forbidden to do so even at Rome itself. For

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hudson justly supposes, that the Roman imperators, or generals of armies, both here and § 2, who gave testimony to Hyrchanus' and the Jews faithfulness and good-will to the Romans before the senate and people of Rome, were principally Pompey, Scæurus, and Gabinius; of all whom Josephus has already given us the history, as far as the Jews were concerned with them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known island, birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, on which was the celebrated Temple of Apollo, raised by the common contribution of the Greek States.

even Caius Cæsar, our imperator and consul, in the decree wherein he forbade other companies to meet in the city, did yet permit the Jews, and them only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, though I forbid other companies, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to continue therein. It will therefore be good for you, if you have made any decree against these our friends and allies, to abrogate the same, because of their virtue and good-will towards us."

§ 9. Now after Caius Cæsar was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consuls, they assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus' ambassadors into it, and discussed what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may have at hand a proof of the truth of what I say. The decree was as follows.

§ 10. The decree of the senate copied out of the treasury from the public tablets belonging to the quæstors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were city quæstors, and taken from the second tablet of the first class. "On the third day before the Ides of April, there were present in the temple of Concord, at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinius Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilus of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus (the son of Lucius) of the Sergian tribe, Flavius (the son of Lucius) of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Platius (the son of Publius) of the Papirian tribe, Marcus Acilius (the son of Marcus) of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius (the son of Lucius) of the Stellatine tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancillus (the son of Marcus) of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, drew it up. As to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Cæsar had determined about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto had that decree brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have those decrees put on the public tablets, and brought to the city

quæstors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tablets. This was done in the temple of Concord the fifth day before the Ides of February. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these, Lysimachus the son of Pausanias, Alexander the son of Theodorus, Patroclus the son of Chæreas, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

§ 11. Hyrcanus also sent one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the governor of Asia, beseeching him to dismiss the Jews from military service, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus' letter, he sent without any further deliberation a letter to all in Asia, and to the city of the Ephesians (the metropolis of Asia), about the Jews, a copy of which here follows.

§ 12. "In the Presidency of Artemon, on the first day of the month Lenæon, Dolabella, imperator, to the senate and magistrates and people of the Ephesians sends greeting. Alexander the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander), the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has shown to me that his countrymen cannot go into the army, because they are not allowed to bear arms or to travel on the Sabbath-days, nor to procure themselves then those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers. I do therefore grant them exemption from going into the army, as the governors before me have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices: and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

§ 13. Such were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him. And Lucius Lentulus, the consul, said: "I have at my tribunal exempted those Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites and perform them at Ephesus, from going into the army, on account of their religious scruples, on the twelfth day before the Calends of October, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus.

There were present Titus Appius Balgus (the son of Titus), lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius (the son of Titus), of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Ræsius, the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus, Caius Servilius (the son of Caius), of the Terentine tribe, Bracchus the military tribune, Publius Clusius Gallus (the son of Publius), of the Veturian tribe, and Caius Sentius (the son of Caius), of the Sabatine tribe. Titus Appius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and pro-prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, greeting. Lucius Lentulus the consul exempted the Jews that are in Asia from going into the army in consequence of my intercession for them. And when I made the same petition some time afterwards to Phanius the pro-prætor and to Lucius Antonius the pro-quæstor, I obtained that privilege of them also ; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any trouble."

§ 14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the prætors, when Bœotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargelion. When Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed head of the recruiting of soldiers, he called us and many others of the citizens, and gave order, if there were here any Jews who were Roman citizens, that no one was to trouble them about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army on account of their religious scruples. You are therefore obliged to submit to the prætor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians also about us.

§ 15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos greeting. I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them ; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is that you take care of and see to these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

§ 16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul : "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appeared to me to have their religious rites, and to practise them at Ephesus, on account of their religious

scruples. This was done the thirteenth day before the Calends of October."

§ 17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, pro-quæstor, and pro-prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardiens, greeting. Those Jews that were our citizens came to me, and showed that they had an assembly of their own according to the laws of their forefathers, and that from the beginning, as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another: upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I gave order for their privileges to be preserved and permitted."

§ 18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus the son of Marcus, and of Lucius the son of Publius. "We went to the pro-consul Lentulus, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrides, of Alexandria desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of their religious scruples. Accordingly, he did dismiss them, on the thirteenth day before the Calends of October."

§ 19. "In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls, there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Ræsius the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the son of Titus, Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus (the son of Caius) military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus (the son of Publius) of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius (the son of Caius) military tribune, of the Æmilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus (the son of Sextus) of the Æsquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius (the son of Caius) of the Sabatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander the son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito (the son of Lucius) of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius the son of Aulus, and Appius Menas. In the presence of these Lentulus pronounced the following decree: I have before my tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of their religious scruples."

§ 20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans send greeting to Caius Rabilius (the son of Caius) the consul. Sopater the ambassador of Hyrcanus the high priest, has delivered us a letter from thee, whereby he lets us know that certain persons came from Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews, and brought a letter written concerning their nation, wherein they desired that the Jews might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that no one might lord it over them, because they were our friends and allies, or injure them in our province. Now although the Trallians there present replied that they were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou wast desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the letter which thou sentest us, and have laid it up apart among our public records. As to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

§ 21. "Publius Servilius Galba (the son of Publius), proconsul, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting. Prytanis (the son of Hermes) a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles<sup>1</sup> and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different to our orders, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land according to their ancient custom, and that he himself had promulgated the decree according to the laws. I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to use their own customs."

§ 22. The decree of the people of Pergamus.<sup>2</sup> "When Cratippus was Prytanis, on the first day of the month Dæsius, the decree of the prætors was as follows. Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and

<sup>1</sup> Near *Aidin*, in the valley of the Mæander, on the west coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> *Bergama*.



are ambitious to settle their allies and friends in happiness and firm peace; and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them Strato the son of Theodotus, and Apollonius the son of Alexander, and Æneas the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater the son of Philip, all worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the senate thereupon passed a decree as to what they asked of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the allies of the Romans; and that the fortresses and havens and territory, and whatever else he had taken from them, should be restored; and that it should be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens: and that no king or people should have leave to export any goods, either from the country of Judæa or from their havens, without paying customs, except Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, because he is our ally and friend; and that according to their desire, the garrison that was in Joppa should be expelled. Now Lucius Pettius, one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate's decree; and that we should take care also that the Jewish ambassadors might return home in safety. And we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the letter from him as well as the decree of the senate; and as he discoursed with great earnestness, and described Hyrcanus' virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and to everybody that came to him in particular, we laid up the letter in our public records, and made a decree ourselves, since we also were allies of the Romans, that we would do everything we could for the Jews according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the letter, asked of our prætors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort him to preserve and augment his friendship with us, and to be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as we reasonably expected to receive a fit return, remembering that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the

Hebrews, as we have found it set down in our public records.”

23. The decree of the Halicarnassians.<sup>1</sup> “Before Memnon the priest, the son of Orestides by descent, but of Euonymus by adoption, on the \* \* \* day of the month Anthes-terion, the decree of the people, upon the motion of Marcus Alexander, was as follows. Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God and to holiness, following the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friendship and alliance between the Jews and our city, that their sacred rites and accustomed feasts and assemblies may be observed by them; we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as wish to do so may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy rites, according to the Jewish laws, and have their places of prayer by the sea-side, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether a magistrate or private person, hinders them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be paid to the city.”

§ 24. The decree of the Sardians.<sup>2</sup> “This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the prætors. Whereas those Jews, who are our fellow-citizens, and live in our city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now to the senate, and requested of the people that, upon the restitution of their laws and liberty by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together according to their ancient customs, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may hold their congregations with their wives and children, and may offer, as their forefathers did, their prayers and sacrifices to God; the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the prætors for a building and habitation, as they shall esteem

<sup>1</sup> The people of Halicarnassus, now *Bûdrûm*, on the S.W. coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> The people of Sardis, now *Sart*, in the valley of the Hermus, on the west coast of Asia Minor.

fit for that purpose. And let those that see to provisions for the city, take care that such sorts of food as they shall esteem fit for their eating, may be introduced into the city."

§ 25. The decree of the Ephesians. "When Menophilus was Prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people. Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the motion of the prætors. As the Jews that dwell in this city petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius (the son of Brutus) the pro-consul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from anybody, the prætor granted their petition. So it was decreed by the senate and people, as the affair concerned the Romans, that none of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath-day, nor be fined for so doing, but that they should be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

§ 26. Now there are many other such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans, made in favour of Hyrcanus and our nation, and decrees for cities, and rescripts of the prætors to such letters as concerned our rights and privileges: and certainly such as are not ill disposed to what I write, may believe that they are all to this purpose, from the specimens which I have inserted. For as I have produced evident marks that may still be seen of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and shown that those marks are engraven upon pillars and tablets of brass in the Capitol, that are still in existence and will be so, I have omitted to set them all down as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe that we have had friendship with the Romans, since they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us, or to doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since I have shown a sample. I have now sufficiently set forth the friendship and alliance we had in those times with the Romans.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Murcus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Bassus' treachery; and how, after the death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judæa; as also, how Malichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.*

## § 1.

NOW it so fell out about this very time that the affairs of Syria were in great disorder on the following account. Cæcilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, conspired against Sextus Cæsar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so that there arose a great war about Apamea,<sup>1</sup> for Cæsar's generals came against him with an army of horse and foot. Antipater also sent succours with his sons to them, calling to mind the kindnesses he had received from Cæsar, and so he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war lasted a great time, Murcus came from Rome to take Sextus' command, and Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus and the other conspirators in the senate-house, after he had ruled three years and six months. This is however related elsewhere.

§ 2. As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men all went, some one way, some another, to raise armies, Cassius went from Rome into Syria, to take the command of the army at Apamea, and having raised the siege, he won over both Bassus and Murcus to his party. He then visited the various cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon the cities, and especially oppressed Judæa, exacting from it seven hundred talents. But Antipater, when he saw that affairs were in such great confusion and disorder, divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather some of it, and part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill disposed to him, and part by

<sup>1</sup> *Ka'ât el-Medyk.*

others. And because Herod did exact what was required of him from Galilee before all others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it prudent to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the rulers of the other cities, with all the citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities to slavery, the two most important of which were Gophna<sup>1</sup> and Emmaus,<sup>2</sup> and besides them Lydda<sup>3</sup> and Thamna.<sup>4</sup> Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he would have killed him (for he was mad at him), had not Hyrcanus sent him by Antipater a hundred talents of his own, and so pacified his anger against him.

§ 6. But after Cassius had gone from Judæa, Malichus conspired against Antipater, thinking his death would be for the security of Hyrcanus' power; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, who, when he perceived it, retired beyond the Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus, being a crafty fellow, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defence with an oath both to him and his sons, and said, that as Phasaelus had the garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him when Murcus was prætor of Syria, who perceiving that this Malichus was raising disturbances in Judæa, very nearly had him killed, but at the intercession of Antipater he saved his life.

§ 4. However, Antipater little thought that in Malichus he had saved his own murderer. For when Cassius and Murcus had got together an army, they intrusted the entire care of it to Herod, and made him general of the forces of Coele-Syria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horse and foot; and promised him, after the war was over, to make him king of Judæa, for war was already begun between them and Antony and the young Cæsar.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jifna*, N.W. of *Beitin*, Bethel.

<sup>2</sup> *'Amwās*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ludd*.

<sup>4</sup> Now *Tibneh*; see *Antiq.* v. 1, § 29; xiv. 11, § 12.

<sup>5</sup> Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus.

And as Malichus was now especially afraid of Antipater, he tried to get him out of the way ; and, by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus with whom they were about to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, having armed men with him, he settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, got to know of this conspiracy against their father, and were indignant at it, Malichus denied all, and professed to have no knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice and love for his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge his father's death, and marched against Malichus with an army, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get round him by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country. So he accepted Malichus' defence, and pretended to believe that he had had no hand in the death of Antipater his father, and erected a fine monument to him. Herod also went to Samaria,<sup>1</sup> and as he found it in great distress, he repaired the city, and composed the differences of its inhabitants.

§ 5. Not long after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival at Jerusalem, went with his soldiers to that city ; whereupon Malichus was afraid, and urged Hyrcanus not to permit him to enter the city. Hyrcanus listened to him, and alleged, as a pretext for excluding Herod, that a crowd of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod paid little regard to the messengers who were sent to him, and entered the city by night, and frightened Malichus, who however remitted nothing of his dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him with a loud voice as a friend of his. And Herod and his friends thought it well not to expose Malichus' hypocrisy, but to receive him kindly also, to prevent his feeling any suspicion.

§ 6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father. And he, knowing the character of Malichus, sent him back word to revenge his father's death ; and also sent privately to the commanders of the

<sup>1</sup> *Sebastieh.*

army at Tyre, ordering them to assist Herod in the execution of his very just design. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea,<sup>1</sup> and they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money, Herod expected that Malichus would be punished while he was there; but Malichus was somewhat apprehensive of some such thing when in the neighbourhood of Tyre in Phœnicia, and designed to make some great move, and as his son was then an hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judæa; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels, for Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, (for he had said before that he would feast them all there,) but in reality to take a message to the commanders of the army, whom he urged to go out against Malichus with their daggers. So they went out, and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and there stabbed him. Thereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him; and when, after some difficulty, he came to himself, he asked Herod's men what the matter could be, and who it was that had slain Malichus? And when they said that it was done by command of Cassius, he commended the action; for he said Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

§ 7. But when Cassius had marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judæa: for Helix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attack on Phasaelus, and the people themselves took up arms. And Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and desired to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by an illness that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself was too hard for Helix, and shut him up in the tower, and then dismissed him on conditions. Phasaelus also complained of

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<sup>1</sup> *Latakiah*, on the coast of Syria.

Hyrcanus, on the ground that, although he had received a great many benefits from them, he yet acted with his enemies. For Malichus' brother at this time made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and especially at Masada,<sup>1</sup> the strongest fortress of all. Not long after this Herod recovered from his illness, and came and took from Malichus' brother all the places he had got, and, on certain conditions, let him go.

## CHAP. XII.

*Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, from Judæa, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much Money; on which Account he would not hear those that would have accused Herod: and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians in behalf of the Jews.*

### § 1.

NOW Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, because he was akin to him, brought back into Judæa Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had by money made Fabius his friend. Marion also gave him assistance. Marion had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre, for Cassius having seized on Syria, then kept it under by tyrants. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of the fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came against him he took them all from him, but he dismissed the Tyrian garrison in a very civil manner; nay he made presents to some from the good-will he bore to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and had gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judæa, when he was just come into its borders. And when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands on his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*, on the west coast of the Dead Sea.



his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as he was about to marry the daughter of Alexander (the son of Aristobulus) and grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, by whom he eventually became the father of three sons and two daughters. He had also married before this another wife, of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

§ 2. Now Antony and Cæsar<sup>1</sup> had beaten Cassius near Philippi,<sup>2</sup> as others have related; and after that victory, Cæsar<sup>1</sup> went into Italy, and Antony set out for Asia, and, when he arrived at Bithynia,<sup>3</sup> ambassadors met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came there to accuse Phasaelus and Herod, and said that Hyrcanus had indeed the semblance of reigning, but these men had all the power. But Antony paid great respect to Herod, who came to him to make his defence against his accusers, so that his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favour Herod obtained of Antony by money. But when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassy to him, who carried a crown of gold with them, and begged that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, though they had not fought against him, and to restore them the country which had been taken from them in the days of Cassius. Antony thought the Jews' requests were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians, the contents of which were as follows.

§ 3. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews greeting. If you be in health, it is well; I also am in health and the army. Lysimachus the son of Pausanias, and Josephus the son of Mennæus, and Alexander the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed that embassy which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquitted themselves in the present embas-

<sup>1</sup> That is Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Filibeh*, in Macedonia, not far from *Kavala*, Neapolis.

<sup>3</sup> The N.W. portion of Asia Minor.

sage on behalf of you and your nation, and have fully declared the good-will you have for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and words, that you are well disposed to us, and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious, so I reckon upon you as our own. But since those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreements they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our private contest with them, but also on account of all mankind in common, that we took vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away its light,<sup>1</sup> being unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cæsar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts, and we overcame that confused rout of men half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, when they occupied places fit for their purpose, and, as it were, walled round with mountains to the very sea, and where approach was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained because the gods had condemned those men for their wicked undertakings. Now Brutus, when he had fled to Philippi, was shut up by us, and partook of the same destruction as Cassius; and now that those men have received their punishment, we hope that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We, therefore, make that peace which God has given us common to our allies also, so that the body of Asia is now recovered from its disease as it were owing to our victory. I, therefore, bearing you in mind and hoping to aggrandize your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent letters to the several cities,

<sup>1</sup> This clause plainly alludes to that well known but unusual and very long darkness of the sun, which happened upon the murder of Julius Cæsar by Brutus and Cassius, which is taken notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's *Georgics*, b. i. just before the end; and Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* b. ii. c. 30.—W.

that if any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they are to be set free. And I will that you make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have kindly granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence to you, and as to those places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have also accepted of the crown which you sent me."

§ 4. " Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, greeting. The ambassadors of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch [of the Jews] have appeared before me at Ephesus, and have told me that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon during the sway of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindness they had received, nor kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our allies, as also that what you have taken by means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them. For none of our rivals took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but seized them by force, and gratified by violence such as served them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our allies may retain whatever they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which you now have, which belonged to Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews, even though only one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered our provinces. Neither use any force against the Jews in order to weaken them, that they may not be able to dispose of that which is their own. But if you have any plea to urge in defence against Hyrcanus, it shall be lawful for you to plead your case when we come to the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes, of our allies."

§ 5. " Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, greeting. I have sent you my

decree, and I will that you take care that it be engraven on the public tablets, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most public place, that it may be read by all. Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirs over public affairs, has spoken. Since Caius Cassius, in the revolt he made, pillaged a province which did not belong to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, and plundered our allies, and warred against the nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he has laid waste, that all that may be restored to our allies. And as for what has been sold of the Jews, whether bodies or possessions, let them be released, the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender shall suffer condign punishment."

§ 6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians.<sup>1</sup> I have produced these decrees at a suitable place, as proofs of the truth of what I said, namely that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus Tetrarchs after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judæa, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus captives. Herod's Flight; and the Afflictions that Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.*

#### § 1.

**A**FTER this when Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and greatly captivated him. And now again there came a hundred of the most influential

<sup>1</sup> The people of Aradus, Arvad, now the island *er-Ruad*.

of the Jews to accuse Herod and his party, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala pleaded against them, on behalf of the young men, and in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already.<sup>1</sup> When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne,<sup>2</sup> he asked Hyrcanus who governed the nation best? and he replied, Herod and his party. Thereupon Antony, because of the old friendship he had with Herod's father when he was with Gabinius, made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also put fifteen of their adversaries in bonds, and was going to kill them, but Herod obtained their pardon.

§ 2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they returned from their embassy, but a thousand of the Jews went to Tyre to meet Antony there, as the report was that he would go there. But Antony was corrupted by the quantity of money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave orders to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod. And Herod went out quickly to them, and Hyrcanus with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city), and charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their pertinacity. But they would not listen, so the Romans ran upon them at once with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded others, and the rest fled away and went home, and remained quiet in great consternation. And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew those fifteen that had been put in bonds.

§ 3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a satrap of the Parthians, occupied Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, was now

<sup>1</sup> We may here take notice, that espousals alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for affinity, Hyrcanus being here called father-in-law to Herod, because his grand-daughter Mariamne was betrothed to him, although the marriage was not completed till four years afterwards. See Mat. i. 16.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit el-Má*, near Antioch.

also dead, and Lysanias his son succeeded him, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and for that end made use of the satrap Barzapharnes, who had great influence with him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women, if they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and also kill Herod. And although he did not give what he promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judæa on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, and the satrap Barzapharnes through the interior of the country. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians and those of Ptolémaïs<sup>1</sup> received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horse into Judæa, to make a reconnoissance of the country, and to assist Antigonus, and sent the king's butler as its commander, who had the same name as himself. And when the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judæa, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance; the place was called Drymi.<sup>2</sup> And when some others came and met them, the men marched on Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and marched against the king's palace and besieged it. But as Phasaelus' and Herod's party came to the others' assistance, and a battle took place between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, who however being destitute of support were burnt, houses and all, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his soon afterwards for this injury they had done him, for he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

§ 4. But though there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the people out of the country to Pentecost (a feast of ours so called), and when that

<sup>1</sup> *Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.*

<sup>2</sup> *Comp. Jewish War, i. 13, § 2. Probably an oak-grove at the foot of Carmel.*

day was come, many myriads of the people were gathered together near the temple, some in armour, and some unarmed. Now those that came guarded both the temple and the city, except near the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought valiantly, and put many myriads to flight, some fleeing into the city, and some into the temple, and some to the outer vallum that was there. Phasaelus also came to his assistance. And Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, was admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretext indeed of stilling the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done treacherously. And Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not approve of what was done, because of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, but bade Phasaelus rather to fight against those that were come into the city.

§ 5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassy; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horse, and ten men who were called Freemen, and conducted the others on their journey. And when they got to Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in arms. And Barzapharnes received them at first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterwards conspired against them; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the seaside. But when they heard that Antigonus had promised to bribe the Parthians by a thousand talents and five hundred women to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, as a guard secretly surrounded them. And they would then have been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were at Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and so escape out of their hands. And these were the cir-

cumstances they were now in, and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed advised Phasaelus to ride off immediately, and not to stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was urgent with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships for flight; for the sea was near. But he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Bartzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly in plotting thus against them, for if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, it was monstrous to slay ambassadors that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done no injury. And the barbarian swore to him that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false fancies, and then went back to Pacorus.

§ 6. But as soon as he was gone away, some of the Parthians came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, and Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. Now the butler who was sent against Herod had been told to get him without the walls of the city and seize upon him. But messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians: and when Herod knew that the enemy had seized Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he went to Pacorus, and to the most influential of the Parthians, as the lords of the rest. And they, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said that he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those who were bringing him letters, for they had not yet been taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had. But Herod did not credit what they said; for he had heard from others that his brother had been seized. And the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, advised him also [not to credit them,] which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, he believed her to be a woman of very great wisdom.

§ 7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done (for they did not think it proper to make



an open attempt upon a person of his character), and put off the matter to the next day, Herod was in great anxiety; and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined that, when evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if danger from the enemy was still uncertain. He therefore set out with the armed men whom he had with him, and set the women upon beasts of burden, as his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to marry [Mariamne], the daughter of Alexander (the son of Aristobulus), and her mother the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' knowledge pursued his way to Idumæa<sup>1</sup>: nor could any enemy of his, who had seen him then in this case, have been so hard-hearted, as not to have commiserated his fortune, as the women dragged along their infant children, and with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, left their own country, and their friends in prison, and expected nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

§ 8. But Herod raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes, and, as he passed along, bade every one be of good cheer, and not give way to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. So they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were in, as Herod exhorted them to do; but he once almost killed himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed, not only because of his great concern for her, but also because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit. But as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself with it, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number were too much for him, and told him that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself

<sup>1</sup> The country south of Hebron and west of the Dead Sea is referred to here.

from the distresses he was in, and to leave his friends to struggle in the same. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly from shame at what they said to him, and partly from regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. And he revived his mother, and took all the care of her the conjuncture would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada.<sup>1</sup> And though he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

§ 9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews during his flight; for by the time he had got sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, and he also put them to flight and overcame them, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in the very place where he overcame the Jews, some time afterwards, when he became king, he built a most fine palace, and a city round it, and called it Herodium.<sup>2</sup> And when he was come to Idumæa, to a place called Thresa,<sup>3</sup> his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done under the circumstances, as he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the fortress of Masada, where he proposed to flee to, was too small to contain so great a multitude. So he sent away the greater part of his company, who were more than nine thousand, and bade them go some one way and some another, and save themselves in Idumæa, and gave them what would buy them provisions on their journey; but he took with himself those that were the least encumbered, and were most friendly to him, and reached the fortress, and placed there his wives, and his followers (who were eight hundred in number), there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water and other necessaries, and himself set out directly for Petra in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*, on the west shore of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Jebel Fureidis*, south of Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8; Antiq. xiv. 15, § 2. Site not known.

plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus' money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, especially all that he had been so prudent as to send into Idumæa beforehand. However, what was in the city did not suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and razed to the ground the powerful city of Marissa.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. Thus was Antigonus restored to Judæa by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus as prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as he had promised they should have them, with money, for their reward. And being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was guarded by the Parthians, would have the kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and so took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was thus maimed, and the law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire.<sup>2</sup> But one cannot but admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death terrible at all; but he thought it a most pitiable and dishonourable thing to die at the hands of the enemy, and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, for the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself with them, he dashed his head against a great stone, and so took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such straits as he was in, and so put it out of the power of the enemy to put him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent surgeons as if to heal it, and ordered them to infuse poison into the wound, and so killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing from a certain woman, before he was quite dead, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

<sup>1</sup> *Kh. Mer'ash.*

<sup>2</sup> This law of Moses, that the priests were to be 'without blemish,' as to all the parts of their bodies, is in Levit. xxi. 17-24.—W.

## CHAP. XIV.

*How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went away in haste also to Rome: and how, by promising a great deal of money to Antony, he was made by the Senate and Augustus King of the Jews.*

## § 1.

AS for Herod, the great hardships he underwent did not discourage him, but made him sharp in inventing bold plans. For he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive a return now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan or as a free gift, as he had received many benefits from him; for not knowing what had happened to his brother, he was in haste to ransom him out of the hands of his enemies, being willing to give three hundred talents as the price of his ransom. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, in order that he might be a hostage to the Arabs for the repayment of the money; but there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be off, for the Parthians had charged him not to receive Herod. This was only a pretext which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him: and he was further induced to this by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of the sums they had received from Antipater as a trust. He made answer, that he had not intended to be troublesome to them by his coming to them, but that he had desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were of the greatest importance to him.

§ 2. He then resolved to go away, and very prudently took the road to Egypt. And that night he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there, but on the next day he reached Rhinocurura,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *el. Arish*, on the coast between Egypt and Palestine.

and there heard what had befallen his brother. However, Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod, but with no success, for he had got a very great way off, making post haste on the road to Pelusium.<sup>1</sup> And when the ships that lay at anchor there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to the rulers of the place, by whom, in their reverence and great regard for him, he was conducted to the city, and was detained there by Cleopatra. However she was not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that affairs in Italy were in great disorder and in a most unsettled condition.

§ 3. So he set sail from thence for Pamphylia,<sup>2</sup> and, falling in with a violent storm, had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden. And there two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemy, met him; and as he found Rhodes had been very much damaged in the war against Cassius, he neglected not to do it a kindness, though he was in necessity himself, but did what he could to restore it to its former state. He also built there a trireme, and set sail thence with his friends for Italy, and arrived at the port of Brundisium;<sup>3</sup> and when he had got from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judæa, and how Phasaelus his brother had been seized by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them no less a sum of money than a thousand talents, and five hundred women (who were to be of the principal families and of the Jewish stock), and how he himself had carried off the women by night, and by undergoing a great many hardships had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and despised all these terrible dangers, in order to come as soon as possible to him, who was his hope and only succour at this time.

§ 4. This account made Antony commiserate the change

<sup>1</sup> *Tineh.*

<sup>2</sup> On the south coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>3</sup> *Brindisi.*

that had happened in Herod's condition, and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they too are liable to fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, partly because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, partly because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly done because he was made tetrarch, but chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Augustus was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which his father had undergone with Antipater in Egypt, and of the hospitable way in which he had treated him, and the kindness he had always showed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very attached to Herod. So the senate was convened, and Messala and after him Atratinus introduced Herod, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and reminded them of the good-will he had himself borne to the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but because he had now neglected the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated, and Antony came forward and informed them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators, and they made a decree to this effect accordingly.

§ 5. And this was the principal proof of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, for he did not suppose the Romans would grant it him, who generally bestowed it on some of the royal family, but intended to ask it for his wife's brother, who was grandson on the father's side to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus on the mother's side), but procured it for him so soon, little as he expected it, that he left Italy in as few days as seven in all. The young man his brother-in-law Herod afterwards took care to have slain, as I shall show in its proper place. And when the senate was dissolved, Antony and

Augustus went out of the senate-house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the Capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did he receive the kingdom, having obtained it in the hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time].

§ 6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, and were only in want of water, so that on that account Joseph, Herod's brother, intended to desert from it with two hundred of his men to the Arabians; for he heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod. But God, by sending rain in the night-time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and so he was under no necessity of flight any longer, but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of, seemed a token of divine providence; so they made a sally, and fought with Antigonus' soldiers, some openly, others from ambush, and slew a great number of them. Meautime Ventidius, the general of the Romans, having been sent to drive the Parthians out of Syria, marched after them into Judæa, ostensibly to succour Joseph, but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem to get money from Antigonus. So he pitched his camp very near Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then retired himself with the greater part of his army; but, that his motive might not be found out, he left Silo there with a certain part of his soldiers; and Antigonus also paid court to him, that he might cause him no disturbance, though he still hoped that the Parthians would come again and aid him.

## CHAP. XV.

*How Herod sailed from Italy to Judæa, and fought against Antigonus; also what other things happened in Judæa about this Time.*

## § 1.

BY this time Herod had sailed from Italy to Ptolemais, and had got together no small army both of mercenaries and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also and Ventidius came and assisted him, being urged by Dellius (who was sent by Antony) to assist in restoring Herod. As for Ventidius, he was employed in settling the disturbances that had been made in the cities because of the Parthians; and as for Silo he was in Judæa, having been bribed by Antigonus. Now as Herod went along, his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some few exceptions, joined him; but as he was marching to those that were at Masada (for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were besieged in that fortress because they were his relations) Joppa<sup>1</sup> was a hindrance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city hostile to him, that no *point d'appui* might be left in his enemies' hands on his rear, when he should go to Jerusalem. And as Silo made this a pretext for departing and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and not only put the Jews to flight but saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself. And when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his friends that were in Masada.<sup>2</sup> Now some of the people of the country joined him because of the friendship they had had to his father, and some because of his own reputation, and others by way of return for the benefits they had received from both of them, but most came to him in hope of getting something from him, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

§ 2. Herod had now a strong force, and as he marched

<sup>1</sup> *Jaffa.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sebbeh.*



on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them, but in truth he did thereby little or no damage to his enemy. But Herod recovered his friends out of Masada, and took the fortress of Thresa,<sup>1</sup> and marched on for Jerusalem. The soldiers also that were with Silo accompanied him, as did many of the citizens, being awed at his power. And as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him. And as some sallied out *en masse*, and fought hand to hand with the front ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation near the walls, that he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to revenge any old grudge on even his most open enemies, but was ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversaries had done him. But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, said to Silo and the Roman army, "That they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was only a private man, and an Idumæan, *i.e.*, only half a Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was. For if they now bore ill-will to him (Antigonus), and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family who might by their law take it, and those such as had no way offended against the Romans, and as they were priests, it would be an unworthy thing to pass them by." Now, as they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men to repel the enemy from the walls. And they using their bows, and showing great energy against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

§ 3. And now Silo made it plain that he had taken bribes. For he set many of his soldiers to complain aloud of their want of provisions, and to demand money to buy food, and to insist on being led into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, because Antigonus' soldiers had looted everything, so he

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiv. 13, § 9.

was for removing the army, and endeavoured to march away. But Herod pressed him not to depart, and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, as Augustus and Antony and the senate had sent him there, for he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required. After this entreaty he went immediately into the country, and left not the least pretext to Silo for departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who dwelt near Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be a plentiful supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus got to know this, and sent at once all over the country such as might hinder, and lie in ambush for, those that went out for provisions. And they obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and sat upon the mountains on the look out for those that brought provisions. However, Herod did not idly look on at their doing this, for he took ten cohorts of soldiers, of whom five were composed of Romans, and five of Jews, and some mercenaries also, and some few horsemen, and marched to Jericho; and he found the city deserted, but five hundred occupied the tops of the hills with their wives and children, and these he took and sent away; but the Romans fell upon the city and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. And the king left a garrison at Jericho, and returned, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the parts of the country that had come over to him, as Judæa and Galilee and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda,<sup>1</sup> to please Antony. And the Romans now laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty.

§ 4. But Herod was not pleased with being inactive, but despatched his brother Joseph against Idumæa with two thousand armed foot, and four hundred horse, while he himself went to Samaria, and left his mother and his other

<sup>1</sup> *Ludd.*

relations there, for they were already gone from Masada, and set out for Galilee, to capture certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus. And he reached Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> in a snow-storm, and as Antigonus' garrisons had withdrawn, he had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy some robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country, so he sent a troop of horse and three companies of foot against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela;<sup>2</sup> and on the fortieth day he came up himself with his whole army; and as the enemy sallied out boldly against him, the left wing of his army gave way, but he himself, coming up at the nick of time with a compact body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and rallied his men that had fled away. He also pressed hard upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they fled by different roads. And he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmæ apiece, and much more to their commanders, and sent them into winter quarters. Meantime Silo and the commanders who were in winter quarters came to him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month. Nay, he had sent to all the country round about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine. But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to rebuild Alexandria<sup>3</sup> also. And he quickly made the soldiers to abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandria, which had before been desolate.

§ 5. About the same time Antony continued some time at Athens, and Ventidius, who was now in Syria, summoned Silo against the Parthians, and commanded him first to assist Herod to finish the present war, and then to

<sup>1</sup> *Sefûrieh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Irbid*, on the hills west of the Sea of Galilee, and above *Mejdel*, Magdala.

<sup>3</sup> *Kefr Istûna.*

summon their allies to the war they were themselves engaged in. As for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he himself marched against them. These caves were in mountains<sup>1</sup> that were exceedingly steep, and in the middle had precipitous entrances, and were surrounded by sharp rocks, and the robbers lay concealed in these caves with all their families about them. But the king caused certain cases to be made bound about with iron chains, and hung down by a mechanical contrivance from the top of the mountain, it not being possible to get up to them by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountain, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these cases were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they could pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down the precipices, and kill them by so doing. But the letting down the cases proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down; and they had their provisions inside with them. But when the cases were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but remained quiet from fear, one of the armed men girt on his armour, and with both of his hands took hold of the chain by which the case was let down, and went into the mouth of one of the caves, because he fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out. And when he was at any of those mouths, he first killed many of those that were in the mouths with his darts, and afterwards pulled to him those that resisted with his hook, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the cave and killed many more, and then returned to his case again, and lay still there; and terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping. However, when night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and, as the king permitted it, many made overtures and delivered up themselves to him as his subjects. The same method of assault was made use of the next day, when Herod's men went further, and got out in baskets to them, and fought them

<sup>1</sup> The caves are in the precipitous rocks of the gorge through which *Wady Hammâm* runs down to the Plain of Gennesareth.

at their doors, and threw fire in among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of wood inside them. Now there was one old man who was shut up in one of these caves with seven children and a wife, and they prayed him to give them leave to go out and yield themselves up to the enemy, but he stood at the cave's mouth, and still slew that son of his who went out, till he had killed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipices, and himself after them, preferring death to slavery. But before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although Herod (who saw what he meant to do) stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of security for his life. In this way all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

§ 6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horse and three thousand foot, intending to fight against Antigonus. But this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, for those that had been troublesome in Galilee before attacked him and slew him; and when they had done this, they fled to the marshes and to places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering all that part of the country. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done; for some of those rebels he slew, and others of them (who had fled to strongholds) he besieged, and both slew them and demolished their strongholds: and when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

§ 7. Meantime as Pacorus had fallen in battle, and the Parthians had been defeated, Ventidius sent Machæras to the assistance of Herod, with two legions and a thousand horsemen, at the instigation of Antony. But Machæras, at the invitation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, being corrupted by money, went away as if to reconnoitre Antigonus' position. But Antigonus, suspecting the intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance by hurling stones at him from slings, and so plainly showed what he himself meant. And when Machæras was sensible that Herod had given

him good advice, and that he had made a mistake in not hearkening to it, he retired to the city of Emmaus; <sup>1</sup> and whatever Jews he met on the road, he slew, whether they were enemies or friends, from the rage he was in at the hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more harm than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus. But Machæras followed him, and begged that he would remain, or, if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph to them, and let him fight against Antigonus. And he was reconciled to Machæras upon his earnest entreaties; and he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, and not to quarrel with Machæras.

§ 8. But he himself made haste to Antony (who was then besieging Samosata, <sup>2</sup> a place near the Euphrates), with troops both of horse and foot who went to his aid. And when he reached Antioch, and found there a great number of men got together, that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go from fear, because the barbarians fell upon them on the road, and slew many, he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians laid an ambush there for those who were going to join Antony; and where the woods made the passes narrow to the plains, there they laid not a few of their cavalry, who were to lie still until those who were to pass by had got into a place where cavalry could manœuvre. Now as soon as their first ranks were gone by (for Herod brought up the rear), those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost of them to flight, the king came up riding hard, with the forces that were with him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before now rallied, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king

<sup>1</sup> Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amwās*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Samsât*, on the Euphrates above *Birajik*.

also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage (among which were a great number of beasts of burden and slaves) and proceeded on his march; and whereas there were a very great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the outlet into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men, and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after; and they called Herod their saviour and protector.

§ 9. And when he was near Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their pomp to meet him, partly to pay Herod this respect, partly as a reinforcement, for he had heard of the attacks the barbarians had made upon him. He also was very glad to see him, having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road, and he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him in a most affectionate manner, and highly honoured him, as having himself lately made him a king. And in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and so the war was at an end; so Antony handed over the command to Sossius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and himself went to Egypt. And Sossius sent two legions on to Judæa to the assistance of Herod, and followed himself with the main body of his army.

§ 10. Now Joseph had been already slain in Judæa in the following manner. He forgot the injunctions his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, as Machæras had lent him five regiments, he went hastily with them to Jericho, in order to reap the corn in that district; and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskilled in war (for they were in great part collected out of Syria) he was attacked by the enemy, and entangled on difficult ground, and was himself slain fighting bravely, and lost his whole army, for six regiments were cut to pieces. And when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although his brother Pheroras would have redeemed it for fifty talents. After this defeat the Galilæans revolted from their commanders, and drowned those of Herod's party in

the lake, and a great part of Judæa became seditious; but Machæras fortified the place Gittha.<sup>1</sup>

§ 11. Meantime messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had happened, and when he was come to Daphne near Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which he had indeed expected from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshowed his brother's death. So he hastened his march, and when he came to mount Libanus, he took about eight hundred of the men of that neighbourhood, having already with him also one Roman legion, and went to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded through Galilee. Here the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same fortress whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning, but by reason of a great storm that then broke out, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; but as soon as a second legion that Antony sent him had come, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night-time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother. And when he had encamped there, he made a feast for the principal people, and after this collation was over, he dismissed his guests, and retired to his own chamber. And here one may see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed nobody, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

§ 12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight, which greatly terrified the Romans; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the king's guards who had come out with him with darts and stones, and one of them hit the king himself on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander whose name was Pappus, with some forces against Samaria, being desirous to show the

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Gittah-Hepher, or Gath-Hepher, of Josh. xix. 13, and 2 Kings xiv. 25. Now *el-Mesh-hed*, three miles N.E. of Nazareth.



enemy how strong he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: while he himself sat down to oppose Machæras. But Herod, when he had taken five cities, slew those who were left in them, who were about two thousand, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas; <sup>1</sup> and there flocked to him many from Jericho and Judæa, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so confident were they, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight, and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them hotly, and killed them as they ran away. And as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them fled to the tops of the houses, he got possession of these, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the rooms below full of soldiers that were caught all together. And they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and so killed them: nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than outside the walls, where an immense number of dead bodies lay heaped upon one another. It was this action which chiefly broke the spirits of the enemy, who looked anxiously to the future. For there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but ran away; and had it not been that the depth of winter prevented them, the king's army would have gone to Jerusalem, being very courageous at this good success, and would have brought the whole war to an end. For Antigonus was already on the *qui vive* to flee away and leave the city.

§ 13. Then the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper (for it was late at night) while he himself went into a chamber to have a bath (for he was very weary), and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet by God's providence he escaped. For as he was naked, and had but one servant with him as he was bathing in an inner room, some of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled there out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Jeshanah of 2 Chron. xiii. 19; now 'Ain Sinia, in the valley N. of Beitin, Bethel.

with his sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second and a third, armed in like manner, and were in such consternation that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves, but getting safe out of the house. On the next day Herod cut off the head of Pappus (for he was already slain) and sent it to Pheroras, in revenge for what their brother had suffered at his hands, for he had slain him with his own hand.

§ 14. When the winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by that city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome. And as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched his camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as Pompey had done formerly. So he threw up three bulwarks round the place, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands in the work, and cut down the trees that were round about. And when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, while the army still lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria to marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander (the son of Aristobulus), to whom he was already betrothed, as I have before related.

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the Assistance of Sossius, by Force, and how the Reign of the Asamoneans was put an end to.*

### § 1.

AFTER the wedding was over, came Sossius through Phœnicia, having sent on his army before him through the interior of the country. The commander also followed himself with a great number of horse and foot. The king also himself came from Samaria,<sup>1</sup> and brought with him

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustich.*

no small army, besides that which had been there long before, for they were about thirty thousand : and they all mustered together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped near the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions of foot, and six thousand horse, besides reinforcements from Syria. The generals were two, Sossius sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus (who was declared an enemy to Rome) and that he might himself be king according to the decree of the senate.

§ 2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great energy and zeal (for the whole nation was gathered together); they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and foretold many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in ; they had also carried off whatever they could that was outside the city, that they might not leave anything to afford sustenance either to men or beasts, and by private robberies they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod observed this, he set ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of necessaries. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon them ; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder their erection, either from the atmosphere or from the workmen : so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in. However, they did not terrify those within, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines with. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not completed, but those that were ; and when they fought hand to hand, their daring was not less bold than that of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former ones were demolished, and making mines underground, met each other in battle there ; and in reckless daring rather than prudence, they persisted in this war to the very last : and that though a mighty army lay round them, and they were dis-

tressed by famine and want of necessaries, for it happened to be a sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty picked men, the next were Sossius's centurions, for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the porticoes that were round the temple were burnt, which Herod alleged were burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple and the lower part of the city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple and into the upper part of the city: but fearing that the Romans would hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassy, and begged that they would permit them only to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he expected, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault on the city, and took it by storm. And at once all parts of it were full of those that were slain by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive. So they were murdered continually in the narrow streets and in the houses by crowds, and as they were fleeing to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken either of infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex; nay, although the king sent round, and besought them to spare the people, yet none restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages without distinction. At last Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sossius, who took no pity on him in this change of fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him Antigone [*i.e.*, a woman and not a man]; however, he did not treat him as if he were a woman by letting him go free, but put him into bonds and kept him in close custody.

§ 3. And now Herod, having overcome his enemies, had to check those foreigners who had been his allies, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple and the sacred

things in the sanctuary. But the king thinking victory a more severe affliction than defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and sometimes even force itself, to restrain them. He also stopped the plundering that was going on in the city, and many times asked Sossius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole world as by no means an equivalent for such a wholesale murder of his citizens; and when Sossius said, that this plunder was justly permitted the soldiers in return for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one a reward out of his own money, and so he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction. And he performed what he promised, for he gave a handsome present to every soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and a most royal present to Sossius himself, so that all went away with plenty of money.

§ 4. This destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninus Gallus were consuls at Rome, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> in the third month, on the solemn fast day, as if a cycle of calamity had come round since that which befell the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by Sossius on the same day twenty-seven years after. And when Sossius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, taking Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony. But Herod was afraid that Antigonus would be kept in bonds and carried to Rome by Antony, and might get his cause heard by the senate, and might show, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that it belonged to his sons to have the kingdom, on account of their family, if he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Herod fearing this, by giving Antony a great deal of money, persuaded him to have Antigonus slain, which being done, he was free from fear. And thus did the reign of the Asamonæans cease, a hundred and twenty-six years after it was first set up. This family

<sup>1</sup> In B.C. 37.

was a splendid and an illustrious one, not only on account of the nobility of its stock and the dignity of the high priesthood, but also for the glorious actions its ancestors had performed for our nation. However they lost the kingdom by their dissensions with one another, and it was transferred to Herod the son of Antipater, who was of a common family, and of private extraction, and a subject of the kings. And this is what history tells us of the end of the Asamonæan family.

## BOOK XV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.

### CHAP. I.

*Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus' Friends, and spoils the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.*

#### § 1.

HOW Sossius and Herod took Jerusalem by storm, and how they also took Antigonus captive, has been related by me in the previous book. I shall now proceed in the narrative. Since Herod had now the government of all Judæa put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off punishing and revenging himself every day on those that had chosen the party of his enemies. But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas a disciple of Pollio, were honoured by him above all the rest, because when Jerusalem was besieged, they had advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited. Now this Sameas, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold Hyrcanus and the other

judges reproachingly that this Herod, if they suffered him to escape, would afterwards avenge himself on them all. This prediction had its fulfilment in time, when God made good the words Sameas had spoken.

§ 2. At this time Herod, now that he had got Jerusalem in his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and also spoiled the wealthy men of what they had got, and when he had heaped together by these means a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony and his friends that were about him. He also put to death forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus' party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatever was found on them, either silver or gold or other treasure, was carried to the king. Nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was partly occasioned by Herod's own covetousness, who was still in want of more, and partly by the sabbatic year, which was on, which forced the country to lie uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow the land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he had determined to keep him in bonds till his triumph; but when he heard that the nation was growing rebellious, and that they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, because of their hatred to Herod, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia<sup>1</sup> bears out what I have said, where he speaks as follows. "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there beheaded him: and this Antony seems to me to have been the first of the Romans that beheaded a king, supposing he could in no other way bend the minds of the Jews to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead; for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness had they for their former king. So he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus' memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bore to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo was born at Amasia, in Pontus.

## CHAP II.

*How Hyrcanus was set at liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod, and what Alexandra did when she heard that Ananelus was made High Priest.*

## § 1.

NOW after Herod got possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest (who was then a captive among the Parthians) hearing of it returned to him, being set free from his captivity in the following manner. Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterwards king, and Herod's brother Phasaelus, captives, and intended to carry them away into Parthia. Phasaelus, indeed, could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatever, committed suicide, as I have formerly related.

§ 2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him in a very kind manner, having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and allowed him to dwell at Babylon,<sup>1</sup> where there was a quantity of Jews. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as the Euphrates; which was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him as having been himself from the beginning of a kind disposition towards him, and he expected that Herod would bear in mind the favour he had received from him when he was upon his trial, for when he ran risk of a capital sentence being pronounced against him, he delivered him from

<sup>1</sup> The city here called Babylon by Josephus, seems to be one which was built by some of the Seleucidæ upon the Tigris, which long after the utter desolation of Old Babylon was commonly so called, and I suppose not far from Seleucia; just as the latter adjoining city Bagdat has been often called by the same old name of Babylon to this very day.—W.



that risk and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews who often came to him from their great affection to him. But they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, reminding him of the services and honours they had done him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they argued, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judæa] because of that mutilation on his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus. They said also that kings did not usually requite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune producing usually no small change in them.

§ 3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and begged him to ask Phraates and the Jews that were there not to grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for now was the proper time to make him a return for the favours he had received from him, having been brought up by him, and saved alive by him also, and for Hyrcanus to receive it. As he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he also send his ambassador Saramallas to Phraates with many presents, and begged him in the most obliging way to be no hindrance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from the principle of gratitude, but because he had been made king of Judæa without having any just claim to that position, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so was anxious to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: which last thing he compassed eventually.

§ 4. However, when Hyrcanus came full of assurance, on the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him, calling him father, and endeavouring in all possible ways that he might have

no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his power, which occasioned strife in his own family; for being wary how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest from Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

§ 5. Now Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander (the son of king Aristobulus), who had children by Alexander, could not from the first bear this outrage. Her son was of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus; and her daughter, Mariamne, married to Herod, was eminent for her beauty also. Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceedingly ill, that while he was alive, any foreigner should have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. So she wrote to Cleopatra (a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letter transmitted) to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

§ 6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius who came into Judæa upon some affairs, when he saw Aristobulus, marvelled at the tallness and handsomeness of the lad, and no less at Mariamne the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children. And when she had a conversation with him, he urged her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for he said Antony, when he saw them, would deny her nothing that she should ask. And Alexandra was elated with these words of his, and sent their pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said, that those children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other. His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it also because of the reproaches he would have from Cleopatra on that account, but he sent in the most decent manner he could for the young man, adding withal, "Unless it would give offence." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as Aristobulus

was, in the prime of his life (for he was but sixteen years of age) and of so noble a family, and particularly to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, being a man that openly indulged himself in pleasure (as his power allowed him) without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that if the lad should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and of having another king over them.

§ 7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not leave either the lad or Alexandra entirely without honour, and his wife Mariamne was vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother, and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because, if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called all his friends together, and brought many charges against Alexandra, and said that she had privately conspired against his royal authority, and had endeavoured by means of Cleopatra so to bring it about that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means Aristobulus might have the management of public affairs in his stead, and that this wish of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had got it by undergoing extraordinary dangers. He said also that, though he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood, and that he had formerly set up Ananelus, only because Aristobulus was then so very young a boy. Now when he had said this, not at random, but (as he meant) most advisedly, in order to deceive the women and those friends whom he had taken into consultation, Alexandra, from the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and from fear at the suspicions she lay under, fell a-weeping, and made the following apology for herself. She said, that as to the high priesthood, she was very much concerned at the slight put on her son, and so used her utmost endeavours to procure it for him, but that as to

the kingdom she had made no attempts, and if it were offered her she would not accept it, for now she had enough honour, and as Herod himself occupied the throne, she had thereby security from his exceptional ability in governing for all her family. She added that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted the honour for her son, and would hereafter be entirely obedient; and she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family and her freespokenness had made her act too precipitately from her indignation. When they had spoken thus to one another, they came to a mutual understanding, and all suspicion, as far as appearances went, vanished away.

### CHAP. III.

*How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High Priest, took care that he should be murdered in a little time: and what apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus; as also concerning Joseph and Mariamne.*

#### § 1.

SO king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as I said before, was not a native of our country, but was descended from one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond the Euphrates. For not a few myriads of our people had been carried away captive, and dwelt in Babylonia, whence Ananelus came, who was of the stock of the high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; who when he was first made king, conferred that dignity upon him, and now took it away from him again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful. For at no period had any one that had once been in that dignity been deprived of it, till Antiochus Epiphaues first broke the law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother Hyrcanus: and Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananelus], and gave it to the lad Aristobulus in his stead.

§ 2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family ; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case after an apparent reconciliation, for he thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovation, he had reason to fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing. So he ordered her to dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs : her guards also watched her so, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All this put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod. For as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, being desirous rather to undergo anything that could befall her than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the specious pomp of a guard of honour, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra thereupon advised her to take her son with her, and escape immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her, and she planned the following contrivance for getting away : she got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions to carry them away in the night-time. Now their road thence lay to the sea-side, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Æsop, one of her servants, happened to fall in with Sabbion, one of her friends, and spoke of this matter to him, thinking he already knew of it. When Sabbion got to know this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and been esteemed one of those that had plotted against and given the poison to Antipater,) he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness, so he told the king of this stratagem of Alexandra. And he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very act of flight, but still passed by her offence : for though he had a great mind to do so, he durst not inflict any severe treatment upon her (for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused,

on account of her hatred to him), but made believe that it was rather his generosity of soul, and great moderation, that made him forgive her and her son. However, he fully determined to put the young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he would probably evade notice in doing so, if he did not do it quickly, or immediately after what had just happened.

§ 3. So upon the approach of the feast of Tabernacles (which is a festival very much observed among us) he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were very merry therein. Nevertheless the envy which at this time arose in him, caused him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoked him to do it. For when the youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, to offer the sacrifices according to the law, and that in the dress of the high priest, as he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men of his age usually were, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of the high family he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus evidently came to their minds. And their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not conceal their feelings. They at once rejoiced and grieved, and mingled with good wishes the joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident, and they proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family more rashly than it was fit under a monarchy to do. In consequence of all this Herod resolved to carry out his intention against the young man. When, therefore, the festival was over, and he was feasting at Jericho with Alexandra, who entertained him there, he was very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the temperature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they soon went out *en masse* from languor, and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were several large ones about the house, they proceeded to cool themselves [by bathing], because it was the noon of a very hot day. At first they were only spectators

of Herod's servants and acquaintances as they were swimming, but after a while, the young man, at the suggestion of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintances as he had appointed to do so ducked him, as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, as the darkness came on, as if it was in sport only, nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated. And thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and had the high priesthood one year only, and Ananelus now got back the high priesthood again.

§ 4. When what had happened was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also on the spreading of this news was in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it belonged not to another, but one of themselves had died. But Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge of her son's death. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed, but she was under a necessity of bearing up under it, from the prospect of greater mischief that might otherwise follow. Indeed she often thought of killing herself with her own hands, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus ingeniously committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to let it be thought she suspected her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a position to revenge it at a fit opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be thought to entertain any such suspicion. And Herod plausibly contrived that none abroad should believe that the lad's death was caused by malice prepense, so he not only used the ordinary signs of sorrow, but shed tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul: and perhaps his emotions overcame him, when he saw the lad's countenance, so young and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security; so far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him. Moreover he took care that his funeral should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulchre to lay his body in, and by provid-

ing a great quantity of spices, and by burying many ornaments with him, till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at his conduct, and received in this way some consolation.

§ 5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief, but the remembrance of this tragedy made her sorrow both deep and obstinate. And she wrote an account of Herod's treacherous behaviour to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; and Cleopatra, who had even formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but egged him on to punish the lad's murder; for she said it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been made king by him of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were the kings *de jure*. Antony was persuaded by these arguments, and when he went to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defence as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for he said that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now afraid both of this charge, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such, that she was ever endeavouring to make Antony hate him. He, therefore, determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it: and he left his uncle Joseph regent and at the head of public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for he said he had a tender affection for his wife, and was afraid of the injury that would be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be courted by some other man. But his intimation was nothing but this at bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her because he had formerly casually heard of her beauty. And when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had, indeed, no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he set out for Antony.

§ 6. Now as Joseph administered the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, both because his business required it, and because of the respect he ought to pay to the queen, he fre-



quently fell into discourse about Herod's great love and affection towards her. And when the women, and especially Alexandra, rallied him on his words in feminine manner, Joseph was so over desirous to show the king's state of mind, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his proof that Herod was not able to live without her, for if he should come to an ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spoke Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be a proof of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his savageness, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself, so that this communication made them entertain grave suspicion of Herod.

§ 7. Meantime a report went about the city of Jerusalem, set in motion by Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod and had him put to death. This report, as was natural, agitated those that were in the palace, but chiefly the women. And Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and flee to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for so, if any disturbance should happen in the palace, they would be in greater security, having the Romans favourable to them; they hoped also to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they might recover the kingdom, and want nothing which it was natural for them to hope for because of their royal extraction.

§ 8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, a letter arrived from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and to what they had anticipated. For when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, through the presents he had brought for him from Jerusalem, and soon induced him, upon conversing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's words had less force than the arguments and presents he brought to regain his friendship. And Antony said that it was not good to require an account of a king as to the management of his kingdom, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but those who

had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also said the same to Cleopatra, and told her that it would be best for her not to inquire too closely into the acts of princes. Herod wrote home an account of all this, and enlarged upon the other honours which he received from Antony, how he sat by him on the judgment seat, and feasted with him every day, and enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the calumnies of Cleopatra, who having a great desire for his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with the utmost diligence to get him out of the way. He added that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of harsh treatment from him; and that he should soon return, with a firmer assurance of his favour to him in his reign and management of public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's cupidity, as Antony had given her Cœle-Syria instead of what she desired, by which means he had at once pacified her, and got rid of the entreaties which she made to him for Judæa to be bestowed upon her.

§ 9. When this letter was brought, the women abandoned their project of fleeing to the Romans, when Herod was supposed to be dead, yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; for when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judæa, where both his sister Salome and his mother informed him at once of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added further the calumny against her own husband Joseph that he had often had criminal connexion with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she had for a long time borne her ill-will, for when they had had disputes with one another, Mariamne had with too much pride reproached her and her mother with the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was at once greatly agitated at this, and could not bear his torments of jealousy, but was restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her, yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him question Mariamne by herself about this charge in connection with Joseph. And she denied it upon her oath, and said all

that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence, so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop his suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and made her many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour, and confessed the great affection and love he had for her, till at last, as is usual with lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with the most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief in her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, "The command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, was no sign of thy love to me." When these words had fallen from her, the king was in a violent rage, and at once let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his hands, and said that now he had a clear proof that Joseph had had criminal connexion with her, for he would never have uttered what he had been privately told, unless there had been great familiarity and mutual understanding between them. And while he was in this passion he had liked to have killed his wife, but being overcome by his love for her, he restrained this impulse, though not without lasting grief and disorder of mind. However, he gave orders to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he had her kept in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Cleopatra, when she had got from Antony some parts of Judæa and Arabia, came into Judæa; and how Herod gave her many Presents, and conducted her on her way back to Egypt.*

## § 1.

NOW at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion owing to Cleopatra's constantly urging Antony to make an attempt upon everybody's dominions. For she

kept urging him to take their dominions away from the several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, because of his passion for her. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he would be king, when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by means of Antony, when she was a suppliant at Diana's temple at Ephesus. Indeed if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres, nor was there any holy place, that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not strip the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but would suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this abandoned creature. Yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted everything she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she was ever egging Antony on to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she purposed getting it into her possession; so she slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of bringing the Parthians into those parts. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judæa and Arabia, and desired him to take those countries away from their present kings. As for Antony, he was so entirely enthralled by the woman, that one would not think her intimacy with him only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatever she would have him; yet did her injustice when manifest make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her, to do those flagrant enormities she would urge him to. That therefore he might not either totally deny her, or, by doing everything which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an unjust man, he took some parts only of each of those countries away from their rulers, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were on this side the river Eleutherus<sup>1</sup> as far as Egypt, except Tyre and

<sup>1</sup> The *Nahr el-Kebtr*, north of Tripolis.

Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

§ 2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia as far as the Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamea<sup>1</sup> and Damascus, and passed on to Judæa, where Herod met her, and hired from her those parts of Arabia that had been given to her, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious thing that is there, and grows there alone, and also palm-trees, both numerous and excellent. When she was there, she was very often with Herod, and endeavoured to have criminal intercourse with him, nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had some passion for him, or rather (as is more probable) she laid a treacherous snare for him if adulterous intercourse with him resulted; however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love for him. Now Herod had a long while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, knowing that she was a woman troublesome to everybody, and at this time he thought her particularly worthy of hatred, if her attempt proceeded from lust; he also thought of preventing her intrigues, if such were her motives, by putting her to death. And he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a council of his friends to consult with them, whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power? for he would thereby deliver from a multitude of evils all those to whom she was already troublesome, and was expected to be so also for the time to come; and this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, if any conjuncture or necessity should make him stand in need of her fidelity. But when he thought of this, his friends would not hear of it, but told him in the first place that it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the plainest danger; and they urged and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly, for

<sup>1</sup> *Kal'at el-Medyk.*

Antony would never stand it, no, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the idea of having lost her by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more in a flame than before. Nor did it appear that Herod could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence, this attempt being against a woman of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation on account of the insolence of carrying it out. These considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his reign filled with great and lasting mischiefs both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject the wickedness she wanted to persuade him to, and to come off honourably at the same time. By thus frightening Herod, and representing to him the hazard he would, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he paid court to Cleopatra, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

§ 3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, prisoner to Egypt with his sons and satraps, and made a present of them and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom to Cleopatra. But Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia, and was afterwards ejected by Archelaus and Nero Cæsar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom: but this happened some time afterwards.

§ 4. Now as to the tribute which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for the territory which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, not deeming it safe for him to give Cleopatra any reason to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod also received, for some time indeed he paid him the two hundred talents, but he afterwards became very disaffected to him and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some portion of it, and was not willing to pay even that without fraud.

## CHAP. V.

*How Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and after they had fought many Battles, at length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be Ruler of their Nation; as also concerning a great Earthquake.*

## § 1.

THEREUPON Herod got ready to march against the king of Arabia, because of his ill conduct, and because he would no longer do what was just, but made the Roman war an occasion of delay. For the battle off Actium was now expected, which came off in the hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad, in which Augustus and Antony were to fight for the sovereignty of the world: and Herod having enjoyed now for a long time a country that was very fruitful, and having got great taxes and resources, enlisted a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, as auxiliaries for Antony. But Antony said he had no need of his assistance, but commanded him to punish the king of Arabia (for he had heard both from him and from Cleopatra of his perfidy). And this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage that these two kings should mutually weaken one another. On this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. And when his army of horse and foot was ready, he marched to Diospolis,<sup>1</sup> where the Arabians came to meet him, for they were not unapprized of this war that was coming upon them; and after a well-contested battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory. But afterwards a numerous army of Arabians concentrated at Cana, which is a place in Coele-Syria. Herod was informed of this beforehand, so he marched against them with most of the forces he had; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself, and began to entrench his camp, that he might take an advantageous

<sup>1</sup> Lydda, *Ludd*.

season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out, that he should make no delay, but lead them at once against the Arabians. They were impetuous for the fray because they believed in their excellent discipline, and especially those who had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted the enemy so much as to come to close quarters with them. And as they were so tumultuous, and showed such great zeal, the king resolved to avail himself of the readiness the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and was at their head in his armour, all the men following him in their several ranks. And a panic fell at once upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, most of them after a short resistance ran away and avoided fighting, and they would have been cut to pieces, had not Athenion fallen upon the Jews and Herod. He was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had in those parts, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be: for he had resolved, if the Arabians did anything that was brilliant, to remain still, but if they were beaten, as really happened, to attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that had flocked to to him from that region. And he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, and made a great slaughter of them, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy. For as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in fancied security after the victory, they were easily beaten by these that now attacked them, and received great loss in ground which was stony, and where their horses could not be of service, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the ground than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this reverse, the Arabians plucked up their spirits again and returned back and slew those that were already routed: and indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that fled only a few got back safe to the camp. And king Herod, as he



despaired of the battle, rode off to them to bring them assistance, however he did not come up in time enough to do them any service, though he tried hard to do so, for the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which by themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and having slain a great part of the enemy's army. And thenceforward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make incursions into many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden raids, encamping among the mountains, and avoiding by any means coming to a pitched battle, yet greatly harassing the enemy by his assiduity and the pains he took in the matter. He also took great care of his own men, and used all the means he could to correct this reverse.

§ 2. Meantime the sea-fight happened off Actium,<sup>1</sup> between Augustus and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod;<sup>2</sup> and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judæa, such as had not happened at any other time, and which brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About thirty thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews took pleasure in exaggerating the facts, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they seized on the Jewish ambassadors (who came to them after all this had happened to make peace with them) and slew them, and marched with great energy against their army. And the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by their calamities, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to

<sup>1</sup> The promontory of Actium was at the entrance of the Ambraciot Gulf, now the *Gulf of Arta*, and opposite the modern town of *Prevesa*.

<sup>2</sup> The reader is here to take notice, that this 'seventh' year of the reign of Herod, and all the other years of his reign, in Josephus, are dated from the death of Antigonus, or at the soonest from the conquest of Antigonus, and the taking of Jerusalem a few months before, and never from his first obtaining the kingdom at Rome above three years before, as some have very weakly and injudiciously done.—W.

despair, for they had no hope that they should be upon an equality with them again in battle, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere while their affairs at home were in such great distress. When matters were in this condition, the king tried to animate the commanders by his words, and to raise their spirits which were quite sunk. And first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided doing, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of their reverses. And he made an hortatory speech to the multitude in the following words.

§ 3. "You are not ignorant, fellow-soldiers, that we have had not long since many reverses that have put a stop to what we are about; and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that has happened is of such a nature but it may by ourselves be restored to a good state by one brave action, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement and at the same time some information, that you may still continue in your fortitude. I will then, in the first place, prove to you that this war is a just one on our side, and a war of necessity owing to the outrages of our adversaries, for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be the greatest cause of zeal in you, after which I shall further prove that the misfortunes we are in are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses of what I say. You are not ignorant certainly of the lawlessness of the Arabians, who are as treacherous to all other men, as barbarians wholly without conception of God are likely to be. They have mostly come into conflict with us from covetousness and envy, and they have attacked us suddenly, when we were in disorder. And what need is there for me to give many proofs of such being their procedure? But when they were in danger of losing their independence, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, who but we freed them from that fear? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he

was in towards us, that was the reason that even these Arabians were not utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake anything which might be suspected by us. And when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him many presents of my own, I might obtain security for both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute; and this they have defrauded us of. And yet it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxed, but even if it had been, yet ought we not to pay tribute for those Arabians, whom we ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they, who have professed, and that with great effusion and sense of our kindness, that it is owing to us that they retain their independence, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and that while we are not their enemies but their friends. And whereas observance of covenants takes place even among the bitterest enemies, and among friends is absolutely necessary, it is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatever, and that injustice is no harm, if they can but get money by it. Is it therefore a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not, when God wills this, and commands us ever to hate injuries and injustice, and that when people are pursuing a not only just but necessary war? For these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be most lawless, for they have beheaded our ambassadors, though the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable, and for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law by angels; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is able to reconcile enemies to one another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can enjoy a tranquil life, or be successful in war? In my

opinion it is impossible. But perhaps some one will say, that what is holy and righteous is indeed on our side, but that the Arabians are more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself, and where God is, there are both numbers and courage. And to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle, and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attack and courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion and made war against us without declaring it. Pray, is this an instance of their manhood, or a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we, therefore, of less courage, on account of what ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and why are we terrified at those who, when they fight fairly, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, gain the victory unfairly? And if any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will he not be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valour is not shown in fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the strongest. But if the distresses we are ourselves now suffering from, and the miseries that have come from the earthquake dismay any one, let him consider in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, who will think that what has befallen us is greater than it really is, and next that it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us. For these men, you see, do not derive their courage from any advantage of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but if we boldly march against them, we shall soon abate their insolent self-conceit, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so valiant when we come to the battle. For our distresses are not so great, nor is what has happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine, for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things: and even if it happened by the will of God it is clear that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what has

already happened, for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he would not have changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he has himself shown that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war; for while some of the people in the country perished by the earthquake, all you who were in arms suffered nothing, but were all preserved alive: whereby God makes it plain that if you had all been in the army, with your children and wives, you would not have undergone anything that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector, and go out with a just bravery against these men, who in friendship are false, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

§ 4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much cheered in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took and led his men against the Arabians; and with a view to that, crossed over the Jordan, and pitched his camp near the enemy. He also thought it well to seize upon a certain fortress that lay between the two armies, hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner pull on a battle, and if the battle had to be postponed, he should by it have his camp protected. And as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it: at first they were but skirmishes, after which more soldiers came up, and it proved a sort of fight, and several fell on both sides, till those on the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately; and when Herod observed that the enemies' army was disposed to anything rather than to come to a general engagement, he ventured boldly to attack their earthworks and demolish them, so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least vigour or hope of victory. Yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a strait that they were obliged to come on boldly: so

a terrible battle ensued, wherein not a few fell on each side. However, at last the Arabians were routed and fled; and so great a slaughter was made on their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and by the great rush of people in disorder, and fell under the weight of their own armour. So five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within their entrenched camp, but had no firm hope of safety, because of their want of necessaries, and especially want of water. The Jews pursued them, but could not get in with them into their entrenched camp, but invested it, and prevented the entrance of any assistance to them, and also their coming out that desired.

§ 5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, first to propose terms of accommodation, and afterwards to offer him (so pressing was their thirst) to undergo whatever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress. But he would hear of no ambassadors, or ransom, or any moderate terms whatever, being very desirous of revenge for their lawless conduct to his nation. So they were necessitated by other things, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days four thousand were taken prisoners so, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if it so must be, to die so, than to perish ingloriously by little and little. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too weak both in mind and body, and having no room to fight gloriously, so they thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; accordingly on the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them. After this stroke they lost all the courage they had before, and were amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his calamities; and thenceforward they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, having won prestige from this valiant exploit.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hastened away to Augustus, and obtained the Kingdom from him also ; and how, a little time afterwards, he entertained Augustus in a most honourable manner.*

## § 1.

HEROD'S other affairs were now very prosperous, and he was not open to attack on any side, yet did there come upon him a danger that might hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle off Actium by Augustus. For at that time both Herod's enemies and friends thought his fortunes desperate, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had shown so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired and had no hopes of his escape, and as for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad at it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal rank left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer ; for if he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of a man, who was more worthy of the kingdom than himself, to make any attempt against him at such a juncture of affairs ; and if he himself should be put to death by Augustus, his envy prompted him to slay the only man that would be king after him.

§ 2. While Herod had these things in view, an opportunity was afforded him by Hyrcanus' family. Hyrcanus himself was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what she afforded him. But Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of contention, and was exceedingly desirous of change, and urged her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious

treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and asked him to write about the matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, and to ask him to receive them and protect them; for if, after their departure, Herod's affairs proved to be as it would likely they would be because of Augustus' enmity to him, they would then be the only persons that could take over the kingdom, both on account of their royal blood, and the good will of the multitude to them. When she urged this, Hyrcanus rejected her suit, but as she was a very woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about it, and about Herod's treacherous designs against them, she at last prevailed on him to intrust Dositheus (one of his friends) with a letter, wherein it was arranged that the Arabian governor should send him some horsemen, who should take and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites,<sup>1</sup> which is three hundred furlongs from the bounds of Jerusalem. And he trusted Dositheus with this letter, because he paid court to him and Alexandra, and had no small reasons to bear ill-will to Herod: for he was a kinsman of Joseph, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that had been formerly slain at Tyre by Antony. However, these motives could not induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus faithfully in this affair, for he gave Herod the letter, preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he might have from him. And he took his kindness in good part, and bade him, besides doing what he had already done, to go on serving him, by folding up the letter and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then bringing back his letter in answer to it; for it was very important for him to know Malchus' intentions also. And as Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus and all his retinue, and also all the Jews that were of his party: and that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them on their journey, and that he should be in no want of anything he should desire. Now, as soon as Herod had re-

<sup>1</sup> The Dead Sea.



ceived this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the agreement he had made with Malchus ; and, when he denied it, he showed his letter to the sanhedrim, and had Hyrcanus put to death.

§ 3. We give the reader this account, because it is that contained in the commentaries of king Herod. But other historians do not agree with this, for they think that Herod did not find, but rather made this an opportunity for thus putting Hyrcanus to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him. For they thus write ; that Herod and he were once at a supper-party, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased with him,] but put this question to Hyrcanus, whether he had received any letters from Malchus<sup>?</sup> and when he answered, that he had received letters, but only letters of civility, and when he asked further, whether he had not received any present from him<sup>?</sup> and when he replied, that he had received only four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him ; they say that Herod charged this upon him as proof of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be strangled. And in order to prove that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they recount how mild his temper was, and how even in his youth he had never given any signs of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, for even then he committed the management of most public affairs to Antipater ; and that now he was above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's throne was in a secure state. He had also crossed the Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river, to be entirely in Herod's power. So it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise anything by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, so they argue that the whole affair was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

§ 4. Thus did Hyrcanus end his life, after having undergone various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime. For he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of the reign of his mother Alexandra, who held the government nine years ; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three

months, he was ejected from it by his brother Aristobulus. He was afterwards restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honours from him, which he enjoyed forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and mutilated in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still battled with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, as I have related already, he came to a bad end in his old age. He appears to have been a man of a mild and moderate disposition in all things, and to have suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to business, nor had he shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom: and both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness because of his mildness, and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

§ 5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Augustus; and because he could not have any hopes of favour from him, on account of the friendship he had had for Antony, he felt suspicious about Alexandra, lest she should avail herself of this opportunity to bring the multitude to revolt, and introduce rebellion into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of everything to his brother Pheroras (placing his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome,] and the whole family, at Masada <sup>1</sup>), and charged him, if he should hear any bad news about him, to seize the government. As to Mariamne his wife (because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister and mother, which made it impossible for them to live together), he placed her at Alexandria <sup>2</sup> with her mother Alexandra, and left his treasurer Joseph, and Sohemus of Ituræa, <sup>3</sup> to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left to guard the women under pretext of paying them due respect. They also had it in charge,

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbek*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kefr Istûna*.

<sup>3</sup> The present district of *Jedûr*, extending from Mount Hermon towards the *Lejah*.

if they should hear any mischief had befallen Herod, to kill them both, and as far as they were able to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

§ 6. When he had given them this charge he set out post haste to Rhodes to meet Augustus, and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else that marked his rank. And when, upon his meeting Augustus, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited much more the nobility of his great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor did he offer any petition as if he were an offender, but gave an account of what he had done with impunity. He made the following speech to Augustus. He said that he had had the greatest friendship for Antony, and done everything he could that he might be master of the world, that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him. "For," (he added) "if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he ought to hazard everything, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he has, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself that so far I have done right, in that I did not desert him after his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortunes did I transfer my hopes from him to another, but preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow-soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I suggested to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to put Cleopatra to death; for when she was once dead, there would have been room for him to retain his authority, and I recommended him rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity with thee any longer. None of which advice would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolution, which has happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my zeal in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I cannot deny what I have

done, nor will I disown, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him; but if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behaved myself to my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that I shall do and be the same to thyself. For it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that I shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

§ 7. By this speech, and by his behaviour, which showed Augustus the openness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, as he was himself of a generous and noble character, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, won him Augustus' favour. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again, and exhorted him to show himself as great a friend to him as he had been to Antony, and held him in great esteem. Moreover he added that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, got his crown more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Augustus' gift, as well as by the decree of the Romans, which Augustus took care to procure for his greater security, he escorted Augustus on his way to Egypt, and made presents even beyond his means to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also begged that Augustus would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's; but Augustus had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that petition. And he returned to Judæa again with greater honour and security than ever, and dismayed those that had expected the contrary, acquiring from his very dangers still greater splendour than before owing to the favour of God to him. And he prepared at once for the reception of Augustus, as he was going from Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Augustus' most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Augustus, and had a hundred and fifty chambers, well appointed in all respects

in a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they would want especially as they passed over the desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of. He also presented Augustus with eight hundred talents, and made all think that he was assisting them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford. Thus he more and more demonstrated to Augustus the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was the greatest advantage to him was that his liberality came at a seasonable time also. And when they returned back from Egypt, his assistance was no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Herod slew Sohemus, and Mariamne, and afterwards Alexandra, and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the Sons of Babas also.*

### § 1.

HOWEVER, when he returned to his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very displeased. For, as they supposed (as was natural enough), that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over anything, either of others or of their own, they were very displeased; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, than real, looked upon it as feigned. She was also grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself, and recollected the commands he had formerly given to Joseph, so that she began to pay court to her keepers, and especially to Sohemus, being well apprized how all was in his power. And at first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had en-

trusted to him ; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections, he was by degrees overcome, and at last disclosed to them all the king's injunctions, chiefly because he did not expect that Herod would come back with the same authority he had before ; so that he thought he would escape any danger from him, and would not a little gratify the women, who were not likely to lose their present rank, and so would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they would either reign themselves, or be very near to him that did reign. He had a further ground of hope also, in that, though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for Mariamne was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to disclose the injunctions that had been given him. And Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was in from Herod, and was very vexed at it, and wished he might obtain no favours [from Augustus,] and esteemed it almost unbearable to live with him any longer. Indeed she afterwards showed this very clearly, not concealing her resentment.

§ 2. And now Herod sailed home, in great joy at the unexpected good success he had had, and went first of all, as was likely, to his wife, and told her the good news before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and embraced her. But it so happened, as he told her of the good success he had had, that she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she was rather sorry for it ; nor was she able to conceal her resentment, but, thinking of her dignity and the nobility of her birth, on his embracing her she gave a groan, and showed evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success, and that till Herod was disturbed no longer by suspicion but proof evident of her dislike to him. It made him almost mad to see that this unreasonable hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, and he took it so ill, and was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled to her ; and by

always changing from one passion to another, he was in great discomfort. And thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her contemptuous behaviour to him ; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he had not the heart to get rid of her. In short, though he would gladly have had her punished, yet was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring unawares a heavier punishment upon himself.

§ 3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this state of mind with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to satisfy their hatred against her, so they provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite both his hatred and jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet he had not courage enough to do anything to her, as if he believed them. But still he became more ill-disposed to her, and their evil passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, as she did not hide her dislike to him, and he turned his love for her into wrath against her. But when he was just on the eve of putting matters past all remedy, he heard the news that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that Augustus was victor in the war, and had conquered Egypt, whereupon he made haste to go and meet him, and left the affairs of his family *statu quo*. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and confessed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king a governorship for him, and accordingly that honour was bestowed upon him. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he enjoyed great freedom with Augustus, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him ; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's body-guards, and restored to him again that territory which had by her been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom Gadara<sup>1</sup> and Hippos<sup>2</sup> and Samaria<sup>3</sup> ; and besides these, the

<sup>1</sup> *Umm Keis.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sebastieh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Süsiyeh.*

maritime cities of Gaza,<sup>1</sup> Anthedon,<sup>2</sup> Joppa,<sup>3</sup> and Strato's Tower.<sup>4</sup>

§ 4. Upon these new acquisitions, Herod grew more magnificent, and escorted Augustus as far as Antioch; but upon return, in proportion as his prosperity was augmented by the external additions that had been made to his kingdom, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his marriage, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most fortunate. For the passion he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to such passions as are famous in history, and that on very good grounds; while as for her, she was in other respects chaste and faithful to him; but she had somewhat of the woman in her, and was haughty by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be her slave. She did not also consider (as would have been well) that she lived under a monarchy, and was at another's disposal, and so she would behave in a haughty manner to him, while he usually concealed his vexation, and bore her tauntings with moderation and good temper. She would also jeer at his mother and sister openly, and speak ill of them on account of the meanness of their birth, so that there was before this a disagreement and deadly hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater calumnies than formerly. And these suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Augustus. And this hatred, which had been kept under somewhat for a great while, burst out all at once upon the following occasion. As the king one day about noon was laid down on his bed to rest, he called for Mariamne out of the great affection he always had for her. She came to him accordingly, but would not lie with him though he was very desirous of her company, but showed her contempt of him; and also twitted him with having caused her father and brother to be slain.<sup>5</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> *Ghuzzeh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Agrippias*. Comp. *Antiq.* xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaffa*. <sup>4</sup> *Cæsarea Palæstina, Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>5</sup> Whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the murder of her father [Alexander,] as well as her brother [Arisebulus,] while it was her grandfather Hyrcanus, and not her father



as he took this contemptuous treatment very unkindly, and was inclined to use violence to her, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily put out, sent to the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bade him tell the king that Mariamne had asked him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appeared to be troubled, and asked what that love potion was, he was to tell the king that she had the potion, and that he was asked only to supply it, but in case he did not appear to be much concerned about this potion, he was to let the matter drop, for no harm would come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she then sent him in to say this. So he went in with a plausible and earnest manner, and said that Mariamne had given him presents, and had urged him to give the king a love potion. And when this greatly moved the king, he said, that this love potion was a composition she had given him, whose properties he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king. When Herod heard this, being prejudiced against Mariamne before, his indignation grew more violent, and he ordered the eunuch of Mariamne's who was most faithful to her to be brought to torture about this potion, well knowing that it was not possible that anything great or small could be done without him. And when this man was in the utmost agony he could say nothing concerning the matter he was tortured about, but that Mariamne's hatred against Herod was occasioned by something that Sohemus had told her. Now, while he was still saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said that Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him and to his throne, would not have disclosed the injunctions he had given him, unless he had been unduly intimate with Mariamne. So he gave orders that Sohemus should be arrested and put to death immediately, but he put his wife on her trial, and got together those

Alexander, whom he caused to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, chap. 6, § 2,) we must either take Zonara's reading, which is here grandfather rightly, or else we must, as before, chap. 1, § 1, allow a slip of Josephus' pen or memory in the place before us.—W.

who were most faithful to him, and made a formal accusation against her as to this love potion and composition, which had been laid to her charge calumniously. And he was intemperate in his words, and was in too great a passion for judging right about the matter; and so, when the court was at last satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed sentence of death upon her: but when sentence had been passed upon her, it was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be imprisoned in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom. But Salome and her party laboured hard to have the poor woman put to death, and they prevailed upon the king to do so, urging that the multitude would be riotous if she were suffered to live. And so Mariamne was led out to execution.

§ 5. When Alexandra saw how things went, and that there was small hope that she herself would escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour to quite the reverse of her former boldness, and that in a very unseemly manner. For wishing to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she jumped up, and reproached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out, that she had been peevish and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her for such insolent behaviour, for she had not made a proper return to him who had been their common benefactor. And when she had for some time acted in this hypocritical manner, and even gone so far as to tear her hair, this unseemly dissembling, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as was manifested still more by the poor woman who was to suffer; for she spoke to her not a single word, nor did she seem disturbed or to regard her unfriendliness, yet did she, in her greatness of soul, discover her concern for her mother's offence, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming. As for herself, she went to her death with unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing colour, and so evidently showed the nobility of her descent to the spectators even in the last moments of her life.

§ 6. And thus died Mariamne, a woman of an excellent

character both for chastity and greatness of soul ; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contentiousness in her nature, but she surpassed all the women of her time more than can be said in the beauty of her body and charm of her society, which was the principal reason why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done ; for as she was most indulgently used by the king, from his fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her she took too excessive liberty. But what most distressed her was what Herod had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak out of all they had suffered at his hands, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister (till they became enemies to her), and also the king himself, on whom alone she relied to escape extreme punishment.

§ 7. But when she was once dead, the king's passion for her was kindled more than before, he being such as I have already described. For his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with in other husbands, for at its commencement it was enthusiastic, nor was it weakened by long cohabitation and free intercourse. And now his love for Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar way as looked like divine vengeance upon him for taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most unseemly manner. Moreover, he bethought him of everything he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and company for that purpose, but nothing would suffice ; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so overcome by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could hear. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, that carried off many of the people, and his most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought on them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he went into retirement, and, under a pretence of going a hunting, bitterly mourned, and had not borne his grief

there many days before he fell into a most dangerous illness. He had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and the remedies that were used did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at last his life was despaired of. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to take whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery to the power of that diet, and left him to fortune. And thus was he ill at Samaria, now called Sebaste.<sup>1</sup>

§ 8. Now Alexandra lived at Jerusalem, and being informed of the condition Herod was in, endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; for whoever could get them into their hands had the whole nation ever in their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer the sacrifices; and to think of leaving off those sacrifices is to all Jews plainly impossible, for they are more ready to lose their lives than to leave off the divine worship which they have been wont to pay to God. So Alexandra told those that had the keeping of those strongholds, that they ought to deliver up the same to her and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government; and if he recovered none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not taken by them at all in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they resolved to continue so more than ever, not only because they hated Alexandra, but also because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive. For they had been his old friends, and one of them, whose name was Achiabus, was his cousin. They therefore sent messengers to acquaint Herod with Alexandra's design; and he without any delay gave orders to have her put to death. And it was only with difficulty, and after he

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustieh.*

had endured great pain, that he got rid of this illness. He was still sorely afflicted both in mind and body, so that he was very morose, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his power. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, as Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Gadias, who was also called Antipater, as also Dositheus, for the following reason.

§ 9. Costobarus was an Idumæan by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and his ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumæans esteem a god; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their polity, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod after he got the kingdom made Costobarus governor of Idumæa and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife, after putting to death Joseph, who had that government before, as I have related already. When Costobarus had got so highly advanced, it pleased him, being more than he had hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good fortune, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod his ruler commanded him, or that the Idumæans should adopt the Jewish customs, or be subject to the Jews. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumæans had been always under her progenitors, and for that reason it was but just that she should ask that country of Antony, and added that he himself was ready to transfer his friendship to her. This he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire rule over the Idumæans, and somewhat more also; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small advantages both from his birth and those riches which he had got by his constant attention to filthy lucre, and it was no small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra asked this country of Antony, but did not get it. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon inclined to kill Costobarus, but upon the entreaties of his sister and mother he let him go, and vouchsafed to pardon him, though he was suspicious of him ever afterwards for this attempt of his.

§ 10. But some time afterwards, when Salome happened

to be at variance with Costobarus, she sent him at once a bill of divorce,<sup>1</sup> and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws. For with us it is lawful for a husband to do so, but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot herself marry another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her own will, and so renounced her wedlock, and told her brother Herod that she left her husband out of good-will to him, because she had found out that Costobarus and Antipater and Lysimachus and Dositheus were raising a rebellion against him: as an evidence whereof she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, who had been preserved alive by him twelve years, as proved to be the case. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of this, he was greatly surprised at it, and the more so because the affair appeared incredible to him. For Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring those sons of Babas to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time between. Now, the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them was because, when Antigonus was king, Herod with his army besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries that the besieged endured were so harassing, that many invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. But the sons of Babas, who occupied a high position and had much influence with the multitude, were faithful to Antigonus, and were always calumniating Herod, and encouraging the people to preserve the kingdom to the royal family who held it by inheritance. Now they acted thus for their own advantage, as they thought; but when the city was taken, and

<sup>1</sup> Here is a plain example of a Jewish lady giving a bill of divorce to her husband, though in the days of Josephus it was not esteemed lawful for a woman so to do. See alike among the Parthians. *Antiq.* xviii. 9, § 6. However, the Christian law, when it allowed divorce for adultery, *Matt.* v. 32, allowed the innocent wife to divorce her guilty husband, as well as the innocent husband to divorce his guilty wife, as we learn from the shepherd of Hermas, *Mand.* iv., and from the second Apology of Justin Martyr, where a persecution was brought upon the Christians upon such a divorce; and I think the Roman laws permitted it at that time, as well as the laws of Christianity.—W.

Herod had become master of the position, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus, knowing that the sons of Babas were held in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in any changes of government afterwards, took them out of the way, and concealed them on his own estate. And when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of the matter, and so allayed his suspicions. Moreover after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for their discovery, and devised all sorts of methods for searching out the matter, he would not confess, but being persuaded that, owing to his having at first denied it, he would not escape unpunished, if the men were found, he was forced to keep them secret, not only from his goodwill to them, but from necessity. But when the king knew the facts of the case from his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, so that now there were none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such high position as could interfere with what he did against the Jewish laws.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How ten of the Citizens [of Jerusalem] made a Conspiracy against Herod, because of the foreign Practices he had introduced, which was a Transgression of the Laws of their Country. Concerning the building of Sebaste and Cæsarea, and other Erections of Herod.*

### § 1.

THIS was why Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted our ancient polity, which ought to have been preserved inviolable, by the intro-

duction of foreign practices; by which we became guilty of great wickedness afterwards, as those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety were now neglected. For, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Augustus, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish notions; for we have had no such shows handed down to us by tradition as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did Herod celebrate these games every five years in the most splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring people, and called men together out of all the nation. Wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of all the land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory there to be gained. So the principal persons that were most renowned for these sorts of exercises were got together, for there were very great rewards proposed for victory, not only to those who performed gymnastic exercises, but also to those who were professional musicians, and who were called Thymelici; indeed Herod spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to the contest. He also proposed no small rewards for those who contended for the prizes in chariots drawn by four horses, or by a pair, or with race-horses. He also imitated everything, though ever so costly or magnificent, that was practised by other nations, being ambitious to give public demonstration of his grandeur. Incriptions also of the great actions of Augustus, and trophies of the nations which he had got in his wars, all made of the purest gold and silver, were all round the theatre. Nor was there anything that could conduce to display, whether precious garments or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He also got together a great quantity of wild beasts, and of lions in very great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were trained either to fight one with another, or men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly



surprised and delighted at the vast expense of the shows, and at the great danger of the spectacles, but to the Jews it was a palpable breaking up of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than barefaced impiety to throw men to wild beasts, to afford delight to the spectators, and it appeared no less impiety to change their own laws for such foreign practices. But above all the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews, for as they imagined them to be images inclosed in the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honour to such things.

§ 2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with their emotion, and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence, he tried to conciliate and console some of them, and to free them from their religious scruples, but he could not satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, from their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they might bear all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city (meaning the trophies), because this was against the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them so put out, and that they would not easily change their sentiments unless they received satisfaction on this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them to the theatre, and showed them the trophies, and asked them what sort of things they took these trophies to be? And when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he ordered that they should be stripped of the ornaments which were about them, and showed them the bare wood; which wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, as indeed they had always before had the ornaments of images in derision.

§ 3. When Herod had thus baffled the multitude, and dissipated the vehemence of passion under which they laboured, most of the people were disposed to change their ideas, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but some of them still continued to be offended with him for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin

of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to run any risk than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod's action in changing their polity, and violently introducing such customs as they had never been used to before; for he was indeed to appearance a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation. So ten men that were citizens conspired together against him, and swore to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among these conspirators, who was moved by indignation in consequence of what he heard had been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if they should come to any harm, insomuch that he became a very great encouragement to the conspirators.

§ 4. When they had taken their resolution, they went by common consent into the theatre, hoping that Herod himself would not escape them, as they would fall upon him so unexpectedly, and supposing that, if they missed him, they should anyhow kill a great many of those who were about him; and feeling they would be satisfied, even though they should die for it, if they brought home to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, being thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great zeal. But there was one of Herod's spies, who were appointed to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that were made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to enter the theatre. And when he reflected on the hatred which he knew most of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their names; and as, by his guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very act, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their deaths with all the decency they could, and so as not to recede at all from their resolute behaviour. For they showed no shame at

their act, nor did they deny it, but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed that their conspiracy was a holy and pious action, that what they intended to do was not for gain, or to indulge their passions, but rather for those common customs of their country, which all Jews were obliged to observe or to die for them. This is what these men boldly said, in their undaunted courage evinced in this conspiracy, as they were led away to execution by the king's guards that surrounded them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before the spy who had informed against them was seized on by some of the people, from the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb by limb, and given to the dogs. This action was seen by many of the citizens, but not one of them would discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict and severe search for them, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; and the authors of the act were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for their rash attempt. But the obstinacy of the people, and the undaunted constancy they showed in the defence of their laws, made Herod afraid unless he strengthened himself in a more secure manner. So he resolved to hem in the multitude on all sides, lest faction should end in open rebellion.

§ 5. When therefore he had fortified the city by the palace in which he lived, and the temple by a strong fortress rebuilt by himself, called Antonia,<sup>1</sup> he contrived to make Samaria also a *point d'appui* for himself against all the people, and called it Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> supposing that it would overawe the country as much as the other. So he fortified the place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, so as to be useful to him both in keeping the country and city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation, which was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him called Cæsarea.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he chose out some

<sup>1</sup> The castle of Antonia was on the north side of the Temple, and is supposed to have partly occupied the site on which the Turkish Barracks stand at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> *Sebustich*.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

picked cavalry to wait upon him in the great plain, and built [for them] a place in Galilee called Gaba,<sup>1</sup> and Esebonitis in Peræa.<sup>2</sup> And these were the places which he particularly built, as he was always inventing something fresh for his own security, and surrounding the whole nation with garrisons, that they might by no means get out of his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it, as some of his spies would be upon them from the neighbourhood, and would both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he started fortifying Samaria, he took care to convey there many of those that had assisted him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the others. This he did partly from an ambitious desire of building a temple, and making the city more eminent than it had been before, but chiefly that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parcelled out the adjacent country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a prosperous condition on their first coming to inhabit it. He also surrounded the city with a wall of great strength, and availed himself of the steepness of the place to make its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but it was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in compass. And within in about the middle of it he built a sacred enclosure, a furlong and a half in circumference, and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and erected a temple in it, which was most notable both on account of its size and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also: and seeing what was necessary to provide for his own safety, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the most part a citadel; and as to elegance of building, that was

<sup>1</sup> Now *Jebâta*. See *Life*, § 24; *Jewish War*, iii. 3, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Heshbon, now *Heshbân*; near the border between Reuben and Gad.

looked after also, that he might leave a memorial of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Famine that happened in Judæa and Syria ; and how Herod, after he had married another Wife, rebuilt Cæsarea, and other Greek Cities.*

## § 1.

NOW in this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country, whether from the anger of God, or whether this evil recurs naturally in certain periods of time. For in the first place there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it usually produced ; and next to this the change of food which the want of corn occasioned produced diseases in the bodies of men, and a pestilence prevailed, one misery following hard upon the back of another. And the circumstance that they were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilence, which began in a violent manner, the more intense, and the death of men in such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient to meet the distress they were in. As therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatever they had laid up beforehand was expended, there was no hope of relief remaining, but the evil, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them; and not only in that year, when they had nothing for themselves left at the end of it, but the seed they had sown perished also, because of the ground not yielding its fruits in the second year. The distress they were in made them also out of necessity eat many things that were not usually eaten ; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as he was deprived of the tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and had already

expended what money he had in his liberality to those whose cities he had built. Nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, for this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects, for it is a constant rule that misfortunes are laid to the account of those that govern.

§ 2. Under these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some relief; which was a difficult matter, as their neighbours had no food to sell them, as they had suffered as much themselves, and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it well not to leave off by any means his endeavours to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture both of silver and gold that was in his palace, nor did he spare the finest vessels he had, or those that had been made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Augustus. And as not a few had already fled to him in their necessities, and as he was a particular friend of Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, Petronius gave them first leave to have corn from Egypt, and assisted them every way both in purchasing and conveying it to Judæa, so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them help in this matter. And Herod took care the people should know that this help came from himself, and so not only changed the bad opinions of those that formerly hated him, but gave the greatest proof of his good-will to them and care of them. For, in the first place, to those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed their proportion of corn in the exactest manner, while for those many that were not able to provide food for themselves, either because of old age or any other infirmity, he made this provision for them, seeing that the bakers made their bread for them. He also took care that they should not be hurt by the dangers of winter, as they were in great want of clothing also, because of the utter destruction and loss of their flocks, so that they had no wool to make use of, nor anything else to cover themselves with. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he also attempted to provide necessaries for the

neighbouring cities, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned as much to his own advantage, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. And when the harvest of the land was generally approaching, he sent no less than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he not only repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, but also very much lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were suffering from the same calamities. For there was nobody who had been in want, that was left destitute of a suitable assistance from him: nor were there either any peoples or cities or private persons, who had to make provision for multitudes and so were in want, who had recourse to him, without receiving what they stood in need of, inso-much, that it appeared upon computation, that the number of cors of wheat (now a cor is ten Attic medimni) that was given to foreigners amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benevolence, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, that it wiped off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and this liberality of assistance in their greatest necessity was reckoned full requital. It also procured him great fame among foreigners, and it seems as if those calamities, that afflicted his kingdom to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage. For the greatness of his liberality in those distresses, which he displayed beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him long ago by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities now showed him to be.

§ 3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred picked men of his body-guards as auxiliaries to Augustus, whom Ælius Gallus conducted to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. And when his affairs

were in a good and flourishing condition again, he built himself a palace in the upper part of the city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold and precious stones and decorations, and built apartments so large that they could contain very many men, and had particular names given them according to their size, for one apartment was called Augustus', another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this marriage was as follows. There was one Simon, a native of Jerusalem (the son of one Boethus, an Alexandrian), who was a priest of great note, and had a daughter who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of her time; and as the people of Jerusalem talked much about her, it happened that Herod was much affected first with what was said about her, and afterwards when he saw the damsel he was deeply smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, believing, as was the truth, that if he did so he would be stigmatized for violence and tyranny, so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And as Simon was of a rank too low to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he followed his inclination in the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of his family, and making it more honourable. So he forthwith deprived Jesus, the son of Phabes, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and then married his daughter.

§ 4. When the wedding was over, he built another citadel in the place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his kingdom, when Antigonus was at the head of affairs. This citadel<sup>1</sup> is about threescore furlongs from Jerusalem. It is a place strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a greater height by the hand of man, so that its circuit is like the shape of a woman's breast. It has circular towers at intervals, and a steep ascent up to it, composed of two hundred steps of polished stones. Within it are royal and very costly apartments, constructed both for

<sup>1</sup> The ruins are still to be seen on the summit and at the base of *Jebel Fureidis*, south of Jerusalem.



security and beauty. At the bottom of the hill there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought there from a great way off,<sup>1</sup> and at vast expense, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain below is full of buildings, and not inferior to any city in size, having the hill above it as a citadel.

§ 5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles would arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in his punishments, as by the provident care he had showed towards them, in the most magnanimous manner, when they were in their distresses. Still he took care to have external security as a fortress against his subjects. For to the cities he was courteous and full of kindness, and cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition, so that his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and all his affairs be every way more and more augmented. But that magnificent temper of his, and the court which he paid towards Augustus and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, both by building cities in an ambitious manner, and erecting temples; not in Judæa indeed (for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, like the Greeks), but he did thus in the country and cities out of our bounds. The apology which he made to the Jews for this was that all was done, not by his own inclination, but by command and order, to please Augustus and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had paying honour to the Romans, while yet he had himself in view entirely all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his reign to posterity; whence

<sup>1</sup> The water was brought from the *Wády Úrtás*, in which are the 'Pools of Solomon.'

it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

§ 6. Now upon his observing a place near the sea, which was very well adapted for a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about planning a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great care all over it of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven sheltered from the waves of the sea, in size not less than the Piræus [at Athens,] and containing inside two stations for ships.<sup>1</sup> It was excellently constructed, which was the more remarkable from its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable for such a noble structure, but had to be brought to perfection by materials fetched from other places at very great expense. The city is situate in Phœnicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa<sup>2</sup> and Dora,<sup>3</sup> which are smaller maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the fierce south winds that beat upon them,—which, rolling the sand that comes from the sea against the shore, do not give good anchorage for ships, but merchants are generally forced to ride at anchor out at sea. This inconvenience Herod endeavoured to rectify, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein great fleets might lie in safety; and this he effected by putting down huge stones of above fifty feet in length, and not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, twenty fathoms deep, and as some stones were less, so others were bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea-side was too hundred feet long, and half of it was opposed to the force of the waves, so as to keep them off (and so was called break-water), and the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers at intervals, the largest of which was called Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, who died young. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt; there was also in front

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of *Kaisariyeh* and of its ancient port are still very extensive; see "Memoirs of Western Palestine," ii. 15-28.

<sup>2</sup> *Jaffa*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tantûrah*.

of them a quay which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind for exercise. And the entrance or mouth of the port faced north, which wind brings the clearest sky. And the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you sail into the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves; while on the right hand stood two huge stones, each of them larger than the turret which was opposite them, which stood upright, and were joined together. And there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation in the middle, whereon was erected a temple of Cæsar,<sup>1</sup> visible a great way off to those who were sailing for that haven, which had in it two statues, one of Rome, the other of Cæsar.<sup>1</sup> The city itself was called Cæsarea, and was itself built of fine materials, and handsomely constructed; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had as much care bestowed on them as the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at regular distances to the haven and to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and undergirt all the rest, that both the rain and sewage of the citizens were conveyed away with ease, and the sea itself at full tide entered the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south side of the harbour behind an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a sea view. This city was finished thus in twelve years;<sup>2</sup> during which time the king did not fail both to go on with the work, and to pay the necessary expenses.

<sup>1</sup> Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> It is ten years in Antiq. xvi. 5, § 1.—W.

## CHAP. X.

*How Herod sent his Sons to Rome ; also how he was accused by Zenodorus and the Gadarenes, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the Good-will of Augustus. Also concerning the Pharisees, the Essenes, and Manahem.*

## § 1.

WHEN Herod was engaged in these matters, and had already built Sebaste [Samaria], he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to visit Augustus. And they, when they got there, lodged at the house of Pollio,<sup>1</sup> who was very proud of Herod's friendship ; and they had leave to lodge in Augustus' own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all kindness, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased : and moreover he bestowed on him Trachon,<sup>2</sup> and Batanæa,<sup>3</sup> and Auranitis,<sup>4</sup> which he gave him for the following reason. One Zenodorus had hired the house of Lysanias, and, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, he became a partner with the robbers that infested Trachon, and so got a larger income ; for the inhabitants of that region lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, and Zenodorus did not restrain them, but shared himself in the booty. Now, as the neighbouring people were thereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria], and entreated him to write to Augustus about this wrong-doing of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Augustus, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lodged at Rome, was not Pollio the Pharisee, already mentioned by Josephus, chap. 1, § 1, and again presently after this, chap. 10, § 4, but Asinius Pollio, the Roman, as Spanheim here observes.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Now *el-Lejah*.

<sup>3</sup> The name is still retained in *Ard el-Bathanyeh*.

<sup>4</sup> *Haurân*. Trachon, Batanæa, and Auranitis were three of the four districts into which Bashan was divided.

countries might be no longer disturbed by these doings of the Trachonites. For it was no easy thing to restrain them, since this habit of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some dens and caves in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get water, and laid up corn for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them. For the entrances of their caves were narrow, so that but one could go in at a time, and the places within were incredibly large and roomy; and the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain. And the rocks were altogether hard and difficult of access, unless any one followed the track of another, for these roads are not straight, but have many windings. And when those men were hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom was to prey one upon one another, so that no sort of wrong-doing came amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant of land from Augustus, and went into this country, he procured skilful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and gave peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

§ 2. Thereupon Zenodorus was angry, first because his district was taken away from him, and next even still more because he envied Herod who had got it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to govern in the name of Augustus the countries beyond the Ionian Sea, and Herod visited him when he was wintering at Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned to Judæa again. And some of the Gadarenes went to Agrippa, and accused Herod, but he sent them back bound to the king, without giving them a hearing. And the Arabians, who of old bore ill-will to Herod's sway, were excited, and now attempted to raise a rebellion in his dominions; and, as they thought, for a justifiable reason. For Zenodorus, despairing already of success as to his own affairs, anticipated [his enemies] by

selling to those Arabians a part of his district, called Aurantia, for fifty talents; and as this was included in the grant of Augustus, they contested the point with Herod, as being unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were hostile to Herod in the constant hope of an insurrection, a thing which those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life most rejoice in. And although Herod had been a long time aware of this, yet did he not act with severity to them, but by reason tried to conciliate them, being unwilling to give any handle for tumults.

§ 3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Augustus came into Syria: at which time most of the inhabitants of Gadara<sup>1</sup> clamoured against Herod, as imperious in his orders, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement and calumny of Zenodorus, who swore that he would never desert them till he had got them severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Augustus' jurisdiction. The Gadarenes were induced thereby, and raised no small outcry against Herod, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa to him were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm; for indeed he (if anyone) appeared inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting offences that were committed elsewhere. And as they accused Herod of violence and plunder and overthrowing of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However Augustus gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this uproar of the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further on the following days. For as the Gadarenes saw the bias of Augustus and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they would be delivered up to the king, some of them, in dread of the torments they

<sup>1</sup> *Umm Keis.*

might undergo, cut their own throats in the night, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and committed suicide; which seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and fault they had been guilty of; and there-upon Augustus without any further delay acquitted Herod of what he was accused of. Another fortunate event also befriended Herod at this time; for Zenodorus' belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his illness, and he departed this life at Antioch in Syria. And Augustus bestowed his district, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha<sup>1</sup> and Paneas,<sup>2</sup> and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that nothing should be done without his approbation; in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the Roman empire, first Augustus, and then Agrippa, who was Augustus' principal favourite, Augustus preferred no one to Herod after Agrippa; and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod except Augustus. And when he had acquired such great influence, he begged of Augustus a tetrarchy<sup>3</sup> for his brother Pheroras, and himself bestowed upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that if he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and his sons might not have dominion over him. And when he had escorted Augustus to the sea, and had returned home, he built in his honour a most beautiful temple of white stone, in Zenodorus' district, near the place called Panium; <sup>4</sup> where there is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is precipitous, and prodigiously deep, and full of stagnant water;

<sup>1</sup> The district round the Lake Semechonitis, Merom, now *Baheiret el-Hüleh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bániás*, Cæsarea Philippi.

<sup>3</sup> A *tetrarchy* properly and originally denoted *the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country*; and a *tetrarch*, one that was a ruler of such *fourth part*; which always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belong to a kingdom and to a king.—W.

<sup>4</sup> The cavern at *Bániás* from which one of the sources of the Jordan issues; there are still several niches with inscriptions cut in the rock.

over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the cavern arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod still further adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Augustus.

§ 4. At this time Herod remitted to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretext indeed of relieving them after the dearth they had had; but his main reason was, to recover their good-will, for they were vexed at him because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, to the dissolution of their religion, and to the disuse of their own customs; and the people everywhere talked against him, like people who were still provoked and put out. Against these discontents he greatly guarded himself, taking away the opportunities the people might have to disturb him, and enjoining them to be always at work; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk or eat together, but watched everything they did. And when any were caught they were severely punished, and there were many who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania,<sup>1</sup> both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set everywhere, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met together. Nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part, but that he would often himself put on the dress of a private man, and mix among the multitude in the night-time, and so find out what opinion they had of his government. And as for those that could no way be induced to acquiesce in his scheme of government, he persecuted them in all manner of ways, while for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will in his government. And indeed most, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them, but such as had more spirit, and were indignant at force, he by one means or other made away with. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and most of their scholars, to take this oath; but they

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3.



would not submit to do so, nor were they punished with the rest, from the regard he had to Pollio. The Essenes also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this necessity. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans, concerning whom I shall speak more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reason why Herod held these Essenes in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature warranted; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essenes.

§ 5. One of these Essenes, whose name was Manahem, had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life in an excellent manner, but had also the foreknowledge of future events given him by God. This man once saw Herod when he was but a lad, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, reminded him that he was but a private person; but Manahem quietly smiled and clapped him on the backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem has given thee, as a token to thee of the change of thy fortunes. And truly this will be the best determination for thee, that thou love justice and piety towards God, and clemency towards the citizens; yet do I know thy whole conduct, that thou wilt not be such a one. For thou wilt excel all men in good fortune and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and justice. And these crimes will not be concealed from God, for at the conclusion of thy life thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at the time Herod did not attend at all to what Manahem said, having no hopes of such advancement; but afterwards, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced by degrees to the dignity of king, and was at the height of his power, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, How long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, so upon his silence he asked him further, Whether he should reign ten years, or not? when he replied, "Yes, twenty, nay,

thirty years," but did not state the precise period of his reign. Herod was satisfied with this answer however, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essenes. I have thought it proper to relate this to my readers, however strange it seems, and to declare what has happened among us, because many of the Essenes have, by their excellent virtue, been honoured [by God] by the knowledge of divine things.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning the Tower which he called Antonia.*

### § 1.

AND now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is to build at his own expense the temple of God, and to make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent height, esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and thinking this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him. But as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so great a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself, so he called them together, and spoke to them as follows. "I think I need not speak to you, fellow countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself: for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings I have erected been so much to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of prosperity which they never had before. And as for the particular edifices belonging to

your own country, and your own cities, that we have lately acquired, which we have erected and greatly adorned, and so augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves. But as to the undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence in our power, I will now speak about it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they returned from Babylon, built this temple to Almighty God, yet does it want sixty cubits in height compared with the first temple which Solomon built. But let no one condemn our fathers for negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher; for it was Cyrus and Darius (the son of Hystaspes) who determined the measures for its rebuilding; and because of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, they had not opportunity to follow the archetype of this holy edifice, nor could they raise it to its ancient height. But since I am now, by God's will, your governor, and have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches, and large revenues, and, what is the principal thing of all, am at amity with and favourably regarded by the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection which has arisen from necessity and the slavery which we were under formerly, and to make a thankful return in the most pious manner to God, for the blessings I have received from him in giving me this kingdom, by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

§ 2. Such was the speech which Herod made to them, but still it astonished most of the people, being unexpected by them; and because it seemed incredible to hope, it did not encourage them, but put a damper upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions for rebuilding it to perfection, and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them, he would not pull down their temple till

all things were got ready for building it up entirely again. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stone for the building,<sup>1</sup> and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught how to be builders, and others how to be carpenters, and then began to build, but not till everything was well prepared for the work.

§ 3. And Herod took up the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, which was in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty,] upon the sinking of their foundations,<sup>2</sup> fell down; and this part it was that we decreed to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and the length of each was twenty-five cubits, the height eight, and the breadth about twelve.<sup>3</sup> And the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal portico, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, so that it was visible to those that dwelt in the country for many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived opposite, or approached

<sup>1</sup> The stones for the Temple were apparently taken from the large subterranean quarry near the Damascus Gate.

<sup>2</sup> Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here, when they imagine that Josephus affirms the entire foundation of the temple, or holy house, sunk down into the rocky mountain on which it stood, no less than twenty cubits; whereas he is clear, that they were the foundations of the additional twenty cubits only above the hundred, (made perhaps weak on purpose, and only for show and grandeur,) that sunk or fell down, as Dr. Hudson rightly understands him; nor is the thing itself possible in the other sense. Agrippa's preparation for building the inner parts of the temple twenty cubits higher, (*Jewish War*, v. 1, § 5,) must, in all probability, refer to this matter, since Josephus says here, that this which had fallen down was designed to be raised up again under Nero, under whom Agrippa made that preparation. But what Josephus says presently, that Solomon was the first king of the Jews, appears by the parallel place, *Antiq.* xx. 9, § 7, and other places, to be meant only the first of David's posterity, and the first builder of the temple.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus here gives the size of one or two of the largest stones in the wall, and has rather exaggerated the height of the courses. The stones have weathered a yellowish brown; when fresh from the quarry they must have been of a pearly white colour.

it. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height as the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered veils, with flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven; and over these, but under the cornices, was spread out a golden vine, with its clusters hanging down from a great height, the size and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators to see, such vast materials were there, and with such great skill was the workmanship done. He also surrounded the entire temple with very large porticoes, contriving them all in due proportion, and he laid out larger sums of money than had ever been done before, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he did. There was a large wall to both the porticoes, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that sloped gradually towards the east of the city up to its topmost peak. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, surrounded by divine revelation with a wall of excellent workmanship above and round the top of it.<sup>1</sup> He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and on the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them to one another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great depth, and till both the size of the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, and the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immoveable for all time. When this work was joined together to the very top of the hill, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, each angle containing a furlong in length;<sup>2</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> This sentence should be read as a parenthesis. The following 'He' refers to Herod.

<sup>2</sup> This direct statement of Josephus that each side of Herod's temple measured a furlong, or 600 feet, agreeing as it does with his statement below (§ 5) that the royal cloister was also a furlong, is of great importance in connection with the controversy relating to the site of the Temple at Jerusalem.

within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having on the east ridge a double portico of the same length as the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This portico faced the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times. And round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these were dedicated to the temple by Herod, who added those he had taken from the Arabians.

§ 4. Now in an angle on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, well fortified and of extraordinary strength. This citadel was built before Herod by the kings of the Asamonæan race, who were also high priests, and they called it the Tower, and in it were deposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> These vestments king Herod kept in that place, and after his death they were in the power of the Romans, until the days of Tiberius Cæsar; in whose reign Vitellius, the governor of Syria, when he visited Jerusalem, and was most magnificently received by the multitude, had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had showed him; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar, who granted his request; and this power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa. And after him Cassius Longinus, who was governor of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judæa, bade the Jews deposit those vestments in the Tower of Antonia, on the plea that the Romans ought to have them in their power, as they had formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him as to this matter, on whose coming king Agrippa, junior, being then at Rome, asked for and obtained power over them from the emperor, who ordered Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time, they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple, which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the

<sup>1</sup> The castle of Antonia; it is that to which St. Paul was taken for safety. Acts xxiii. 10.

Roman commander of the fortress, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, brought them back to the same place, and showed the commander of the fortress their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and deposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterwards [about them] are sufficient evidence. As for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gave the Tower the name of Antonia, to gratify Antony, who was his friend and a ruler of the Romans.

§ 5. Now in the western part of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the rest of the city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again to the ascent.<sup>1</sup> For the city lay opposite the temple like a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter. But the fourth front of the temple, facing south, had indeed itself gates in its midst, and over it the royal portico, which was triple and reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any further: and this portico deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun. For as the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen if you looked from above into the depth, the high elevation of the portico stood upon that height, that if any one looked down from the top of the roof to those depths, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach down to such an abyss. And there were pillars that stood in four rows one over-against the other all along (for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which was built of stone), and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might with their arms extended span it, and its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral

<sup>1</sup> The first gate is that which led over 'Wilson's Arch' to the Upper City and Herod's palace; the last led over 'Robinson's Arch'; the remaining two are probably 'Barclay's Gate' and 'Warren's Gate,' in the west wall of the *Harim Area* at Jerusalem.

at its base. And the number of all the pillars was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapters were made with sculptures in the Corinthian style, that caused amazement from the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of the portico; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived in the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length a furlong,<sup>1</sup> and the height above fifty feet, but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side. And the roofs were adorned with deep carving in wood, representing many sorts of figures: the middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall in front was adorned with lintels, resting upon pillars that were interwoven into it, and the front was all of polished stone; insomuch, that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was marvellous. Such was the first enclosure, and in the midst, not far from it, was the second, to be ascended to by a few steps; this was surrounded by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription forbidding any foreigner to enter under pain of death. Now, this inner enclosure had on its south and north sides three gates, equi-distant from one another; but on the east side, towards the sunrising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure went in with their wives. But within was a sanctuary not open to the women; and still further within was there a third sanctuary, which it was not lawful for any but the priests to enter. The temple itself was within this, and before it was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden because he was not a priest. However, he laboured at the porticoes, and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

§ 6. And the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months, upon which all the people were full

<sup>1</sup> The royal cloister commenced at the S.W. angle of the *Harâm Arca*, and ran for 600 feet along its southern wall. The approach to the central aisle, from the west, was over 'Robinson's Arch,' the ruins of which were found by Sir C. Warren during his excavations.



of joy, and returned thanks in the first place to God for the speed with which it was finished, and in the next place for the zeal the king had shown, feasting and celebrating this rebuilding of the temple. As for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest, every one according to his ability; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to be set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it. For at the same time as this celebration of the work about the temple, fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of old as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of both made the festival most notable.

§ 7. There was also an underground passage built for the king, which led from Antonia to the inner temple to its eastern gate, above which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of an underground ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any rebellion which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported that, during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but showers fell in the night, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have handed down to us, nor is it incredible, if any one looks to the other manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

## BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.—FROM  
THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE  
DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

## CHAP. I.

*A Law of Herod about Housebreakers. Salome and Pheroras calumniate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their Return from Rome, for whom Herod yet provides Wives.*

## § 1.

AS king Herod was very zealous in the administration of all his affairs, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals in the city and country, he made a law no way like our original laws, which he enacted of himself, to sell housebreakers to be taken out of his kingdom, which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it an infringement of the customs of our forefathers. For slavery to foreigners and such as did not live after the manner of the Jews, and necessity to do whatever such men should command, was an offence against our religion rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws. For those laws ordained that the thief should restore fourfold, and if he had not so much, he should be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so as to be in perpetual slavery, for he had to be released after six years. But this law, thus enacted in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of arrogance in Herod, as he did not act as a king but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, ventured to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became one of

the charges brought against him, and caused hatred to himself.

§ 2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, being very desirous to meet Augustus, and to see his own sons who lived at Rome. And Augustus was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as they had already completed their education. And as soon as the young men returned from Italy, the people were very desirous to see them, and they became the observed of all observers, being adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they at once appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome the king's sister, and to those who had done Mariamne to death with their calumnies; for they were suspicious, that when these sons of her's came to the throne, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother. So they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also; and gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it did not appear agreeable to piety to live with their mother's murderer. Now, by retailing these stories, that were untrue<sup>1</sup> and only built on probabilities, they were able to do them mischief, and to take away that kindness from his sons which Herod had before borne to them. For they did not say these things to him outright, but scattered abroad such words among the multitude generally; from which words, when carried to Herod, hatred was by degrees generated, which natural affection itself, even by length of time, was not able to overcome. Yet did the king at this period prefer the natural affection of a father to all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under; and he honoured them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were grown up. To Aristobulus he gave for wife Berenice Salome's daughter, and to Alexander Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia.

<sup>1</sup> I read *ἄπρο*.

## CHAP. II.

*How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the complaint of the Jews in Ionia against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.*

## § 1.

WHEN Herod had despatched these affairs, on hearing that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again from Italy to Asia, he hastened to him, and besought him to come to his kingdom, and receive that welcome he might justly expect from one that had been his guest and friend. This request he urgently pressed, and Agrippa agreed to it, and came into Judæa. And Herod omitted nothing that might please him, but entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and showed him Sebaste, and the port that he had built at Cæsarea, and the fortresses which he had erected at great expense, as Alexandrium<sup>1</sup> and Herodium<sup>2</sup> and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city of Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hetacomb to God, and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties. As for himself he enjoyed himself so much there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have stayed longer, but that the season of the year made him haste away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to sail later, as he was obliged to return again to Ionia.

§ 2. So Agrippa sailed away, after Herod had bestowed many presents on him, and on the chief persons of his suite. And king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to join him again in the spring, as he knew he meant to go on a campaign to the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes and Cos, he touched at Lesbos,<sup>3</sup> thinking he should find

<sup>1</sup> *Kefr Istûna.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jebel Fareidis.*

<sup>3</sup> The island now called Mytilene, from the name of its principal town.

Agrippa there, but he was delayed there by a north wind, which hindered his ship from entering port. So he continued many days at Chios, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts; and when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down (which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, was not so easy to rebuild as the rest) he furnished a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but more than sufficient to finish the building, and ordered them not to neglect that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its principal ornament. And when the wind ceased, he sailed to Mytilene,<sup>1</sup> and thence to Byzantium;<sup>2</sup> and when he heard that Agrippa had sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks,<sup>3</sup> he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him at Sinope<sup>4</sup> in Pontus. He was sighted by the fleet most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly greetings passed between Agrippa and him, for Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of Herod's kindness and affection towards him possible, since he had come so long a voyage, and at a very fit season for his assistance, and had left the administration of his own dominions, and thought it better worth his while to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving advice as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for Agrippa when he relaxed himself, and a partner with him in all things, in difficulties because of his good-will, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as they had finished those affairs in Pontus, for which Agrippa was sent there, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and travelled

<sup>1</sup> The chief town of Lesbos; it is now called *Castro*, and faces the mainland.

<sup>2</sup> The old name of Constantinople.

<sup>3</sup> The islands off the mouth of the Bosphorus; Strabo calls them "two little isles, one upon the European, and the other on the Asiatic side of the strait, separated from each other by twenty stadia."

<sup>4</sup> On the north coast of Asia Minor, now *Sinûb*.

thence by land over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then sailed across from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed Herod bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them, but supplied the former himself at his own expense; he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour, and he so managed that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of Herod was of very great weight to stimulate Agrippa, who was himself not slow to do good; for he made a reconciliation between him and the people of Ilium,<sup>1</sup> with whom he was angry, and paid the money the people of Chios owed Augustus' agents, and relieved them of their tribute; and helped all others according as their several necessities required.

§ 3. But now when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great number of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and seizing the opportunity and freedom now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, as they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their lawsuits by the ill-usage of the judges upon their holy days, and were deprived of the money they used to send to Jerusalem, and were forced into the army and into other services, and obliged to spend their sacred money, from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. As they vociferated this, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews as follows.

§ 4. "It is of necessity incumbent, most mighty

<sup>1</sup> Troy. *Hissarlik*.

Agrippa, on all who are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from injury, and those that are now your suppliants, approach you with great assurance. For as they have formerly often found you what they wished, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favours you have already granted them shall not be taken away from them. We have received these favours from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as know they are as much subjects as we are. And certainly, if persons have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to their commendation who have obtained them, as having been found deserving of such great favours; and if those favours be but small ones, it is dishonourable for the donors not to confirm them. And as to those that thwart the Jews and use them ill, it is evident that they affront not only the receivers of these favours, as they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne testimony, but also the donors, as they desire that those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one were to ask them which of the two they would rather part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, as their solemn processions, their sacrifices, and their festivals, which they celebrate in honour of those they suppose to be gods, I know very well that they would choose to suffer anything whatever, rather than to give up any of the customs of their forefathers. For most choose rather to go to war on that account, being very solicitous not to transgress in such matters: and indeed we measure that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy owing to you by this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship and live as our institutions require. And although they would not like to be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety, to profanely dissolve the religious solemnities of others, as to be negligent in the observance of their own duty towards their gods. And now let us consider another case. Is there any people or city, or community of men, to whom your

government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours thence proceeding? No one is certainly so mad: for there are no men who have not been partakers of those favours both publicly and privately; and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance but that every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also. And yet these grants of yours can never be sufficiently valued; for if people were to compare the old government under kings with the present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government has bestowed on them for their happiness, this is above all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery but of freedom. Now our circumstances, even at the best, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state through you, but only in common with all others; and we desire no more than this, to preserve our national religion without any prohibition; which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be grudged us, so is it for the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if the divinity delights in being honoured, he delights also in those that permit him to be honoured. And there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all are pious and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal these precepts of ours, by which we govern our lives, as they are suggesters of piety, and of friendliness to men: and the seventh day we set apart from labour for the learning of our customs and laws,<sup>1</sup> as we think it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to avoid sin. If any one, therefore, examine our customs, he will find that they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, so that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, from the honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously observed them.

<sup>1</sup> We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the Sabbath-day not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rights and religious customs, and to meditation on the law of Moses. The like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus, as *Against Apion*, i. § 22.—W.



Now our adversaries are for unjustly taking our privileges away, they violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called sacred money, and that openly in a sacrilegious manner; and they impose tribute upon us, and bring us before tribunals and make us do other services on holy days, not because the laws require it, or for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, which they know as well as we, indulging themselves in an unjust and involuntary hatred. For your government over all your subjects is one, and tends to the establishing of benevolence and abolishing of ill-will among such as are disposed to it. This then is what we implore of thee, most mighty Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from following our own customs; nor be despoiled of our goods; nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves do not force them to do: for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have also been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tablets that contain them, which are still extant in the Capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you, and which would be valid, even if no such fidelity had previously been shown by us. For you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only but to almost all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your sway has become a great advantage to them. And if any one were to enumerate the benefits you have conferred on every nation, he would never put an end to his discourse; but that we may prove that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of the king who now governs us, and is one of thy assessors. For indeed, in what instance of good-will, as to your house, has he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it has he omitted? What token of honour has he not devised? What occasion of assisting you has he not regarded first? What hinders, therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his so great benefits to you have been?

It may also perhaps be fit here not to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater, who, when Cæsar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved second to none, either in the battles on land, or in the management of the fleet. And what need to say anything of the great importance those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Cæsar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the letters which Cæsar wrote to the senate at that time, and how Antipater had public honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome bestowed upon him. For these are proofs that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and so we petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we should have had reason to hope for them, even though they had not been given us before, looking both to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. We have also been informed by those Jews, that were there, with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offeredst perfect sacrifices to God, and honoured him with perfect vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and didst accept their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and city to a man who has management of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou feelest in return to the Jewish nation, and which has been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things, in the presence of the king now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves, you will not see taken away from us by others."

§ 5. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made as in a court of justice, but a petition to prevent violence being offered to the Jews any longer. Nor did the Greeks deny that they had done so, but their excuse was that as the Jews inhabited their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship]. But the Jews proved that they were natives, and that, though they worshipped according to their own institu-

tions, they did nothing to harm them. So Agrippa, perceiving that they had been oppressed by violence, made the following answer: that because of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested anything further, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided it was no way to the detriment of the Roman empire; and that, while their request was no more than this, that the privileges they had already had given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observance of their own customs, without any one offering them injury." And when he had said this, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up, and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him back, and embraced him, and then left Lesbos.<sup>1</sup> But Herod determined to sail homewards, and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he set sail, and landed at Cæsarea<sup>2</sup> in a few days' time, having favourable winds, from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there from the country also. So he came forward, and gave a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, and how owing to him they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of all the good fortune he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected anything which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. And they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

<sup>1</sup> The island of *Mytilene*.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

## CHAP. III.

*How great Disturbances arose in Herod's Family because of his preferring Antipater, his eldest Son, to the rest, and how Alexander took that Injury very much to heart.*

## § 1.

BUT now the affairs in Herod's family grew to more disorder, and became worse and worse, from the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus], which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne]; and as she had completely succeeded against their mother, so she proceeded to that degree of reckless daring as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her murder. The young men had also somewhat of a haughty and ill-affected air towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own desire for reigning. The old grudge was again renewed, and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malice and laid treacherous snares for them. As for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of showing it was different; for as for the young men they were rash, reproaching and affronting Salome and Pheroras openly, being inexperienced enough to think it most noble to declare their minds in that frank manner; but Salome and Pheroras did not take that method, but made use of calumnies in subtle and spiteful manner, provoking the young men on every occasion, and imagining that their boldness might in time come to offering violence to their father. For inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, and thought she suffered unjustly, Salome and Pheroras supposed that their feelings might at length exceed all bounds, and might induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, even though they despatched him with their own hands. At last it came to this, that the whole city was full of talk of this kind, and, as is usual in such contests, the inexperience of the young men was pitied, but the contrivance of Salome

was too much for them, and the imputations she laid upon them came to be believed owing to their own conduct. For they were so deeply affected at the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and likely to experience the same treatment.

§ 2. These family feuds increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad afforded a fit opportunity for their increase. And as soon as Herod had returned, and had made his speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome immediately let fall words as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able through him to go to Augustus and accuse their father. Herod was immediately disturbed at hearing such things, and indeed was the more dismayed because the same things were related to him by some other persons also. This recalled to his mind his former calamity, and he reflected that family troubles had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, and from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would be even heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind. For divine Providence had indeed conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he had never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both good and bad fortune happened to him more than one could have anticipated, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, it was desirable to have had so much success in outward things with such great misfortunes at home, or whether it would not have been better to avoid family troubles, though he had never possessed the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

§ 3. As he was thus embarrassed and unhappy, in order to put down these young men, he summoned to his court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private individual (whose name was Antipater), but he did not indulge him then as he did afterwards, when he was quite mastered by him, and let him do everything he pleased, but rather in the design of repressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a warning to them; for their audacity would not (he thought) be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or need of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their rival, and imagined this a good plan for abating their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a likelihood of their being of a better disposition. But the event proved other than he expected. For the young men thought he had done them a very great injury, and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this position, and begun to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one design, and that was to hurt his brothers, and not to yield them the pre-eminence, but to stick to his father, who was already alienated from them by calumnies, and easy to be worked upon in any way his zeal against them urged him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion of those discoveries coming from him, for he mainly used those persons as his creatures who were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth because of the goodwill they bore to the king. And indeed there were already not a few who paid court to Antipater in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their goodwill to him. And while these accusations from various sources corroborated each other, the young men themselves afforded further occasion for suspicion. For they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the dishonour that was done them, and often had their mother in their mouths, and among their friends

openly ventured to reproach their father as not acting justly by them; all which things were with an evil intention kept in memory by Antipater for a fit season, and when they were repeated to Herod with exaggerations, increased very much the family troubles. For as the king was very angry at what was alleged against the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honours that he bestowed on Antipater; and was at last so much under his influence that he actually brought his mother to court. He also wrote frequently to Augustus in his favour, and most earnestly recommended him to him. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judæa, and when he met with Agrippa, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to him, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Augustus' friend; insomuch, that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were entirely shut out of any hopes of the kingdom.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How, during Antipater's Abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Augustus, and accused them. Alexander's Defence of himself before Augustus, and Reconciliation with his Father.*

##### § 1.

AND now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brothers, for he made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had recommended him by letter to all his friends there. Only he was grieved that he was not at home, and had no opportunities for perpetually calumniating his brothers; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne. And as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his

purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brothers, under pretence indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth, such as his malignity suggested, in order to add to his hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself; and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger and indignation in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men. But as he shrank from publicly showing his violent disgust with them, that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Augustus, and not to indulge himself in any such act as might from its enormity be suspected of impiety. And on his going up to Rome, it happened that he hastened to meet Augustus at the city of Aquileia; <sup>1</sup> and when he came to speech with Augustus, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and produced his sons there, and accused them of their desperate conspiracy against him. He said that they were enemies to him, and did their utmost to show their hatred to him their father, and wished to take away his life in the most barbarous manner, and so obtain his kingdom, which he had authority from Cæsar to dispose of, not by necessity but by choice, to him who should show the greatest piety towards him. He said also that his sons were not so desirous of ruling, as they were (upon being disappointed thereof) to expose their own lives, if they might but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted had their minds become from their hatred to him. And whereas he had a long time borne this misfortune, he was now compelled (he said) to lay it before Augustus, and to pollute his ears with the hearing of it. And yet what severity had they ever suffered from him? or what hardships had he ever laid upon them to make them complain of him? and how could they think it just, that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he had gained in a long time and with great danger, and that they should not allow him to keep it, and dispose of it to him who should deserve best? And

<sup>1</sup> The modern *Aquileia*, near the head of the Adriatic. It was the capital of the province of Venetia.



that, with other advantages, he proposed as a reward for the piety of such a one as would hereafter imitate the care he had taken of it, and such a one would gain so great a requital. But it was an impious thing for them to intrigue for it beforehand, for he who had ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckoned on the death of his father, because otherwise he could not come to the throne. As for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and all that was fit for such as were subject to royal authority, and were the sons of a king, pomp and servants, and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families, Aristobulus to his sister's daughter, and Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus. And what was the greatest favour of all, though their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Augustus, their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which he might have done, either as a father who had been impiously treated, or as a king who had been conspired against, but made them stand upon the same level as himself in judgment. Lastly he said that it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor he himself live in the greatest fears; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they had aimed at, even if they should escape that time, since they had done the vilest things that ever were known among mankind, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishment.

§ 2. These were the accusations which Herod brought with great vehemence against his sons before Augustus. Now the young men wept and were in confusion while he was speaking, and still more at his concluding. As to themselves, they knew in their own consciences that they were innocent, but because they were accused by their father, they knew, as was indeed the case, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute their father's accusation, yet it was not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak,

and tears and at last deep groans followed, for they were afraid, if they said nothing, that they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready because of their youth and the alarm they were in. Nor did Augustus fail to perceive, when he saw the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of crime, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those who were present, nay they privately moved their father with genuine emotion.

§ 3. So when they saw there was a kind disposition both in him and Augustus, and that every one else present did either shed tears, or at least sympathize with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, addressed his father, and attempted to answer his accusations, and said, "O father, the benevolence thou hast shown to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadst thou had any bad intentions in regard to us, thou wouldst not have produced us here before the common saviour of all. For it was in thy power, both as a king and as a father, to punish the guilty, but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Augustus himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us, for no one that has a design to slay a man will bring him to temples and sanctuaries. But our circumstances are still worse, for we cannot endure to live any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps, it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die innocent. But if our bold defence be received as true, we shall be happy, both in persuading thee, and in escaping the danger we are in, but if this calumny still prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day, for why should we see it with this suspicion fixed upon us? Now, it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign, and to add charges about our unhappy mother, is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former. But consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously? For nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but that he may have

a suspicion of all his sons, as intending some treachery against him; but a mere suspicion is not sufficient to prove such impiety. Now let any man say, whether we have actually dared to attempt any such things as would make actions otherwise incredible to appear credible. Can anyone prove the preparation of poison, or a conspiracy of our comrades, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been invented by calumny, though they were never done. For a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and the throne, which thou callest a reward of piety, often excites in very wicked men such hopes as make them draw back from no criminality. However no one will actually lay any crime to our charge. And as to calumny, how can he put an end to it, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? not against thee, for that would be wrong, but against those that never conceal anything that is spoken to them. Have either of us lamented our mother? yes, but not because she is dead, but because she was ill spoken of by unworthy persons. Are we desirous of the throne which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we be so? if we already have royal honours, as we have, should we not labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet are not we in hope of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? why, neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that: nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prevented parricides from being at the head of affairs, and from entering into the most holy temple built by thee. And suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished, while Augustus is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious or thoughtless as that, though perhaps more unfortunate than was well for thee. But if thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such wickedness credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but what befell her would be an instruction to us to caution, and not

an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a longer apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of argument. Wherefore we make this agreement with thee before Augustus, the lord of all, as mediator now between us: if thou, O father, canst bring thyself by the evidence of truth to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall not be happy; for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou in thy pious life, we will see to ourselves,<sup>1</sup> our life is not so desirable to us as for us to wish to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

§ 4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Augustus, who did not even before believe so grave a charge, was still more moved, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confused; and the persons present were in anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad at court made the king hated. For the incredibility of the charge, and the pity felt for the young men, who were in the flower of youth and beauty of body, inspired sympathy, and the more so because Alexander had made his defence with dexterity and prudence. Nay, the young men themselves did not any longer continue in their former guise, bedewed with tears and with eyes cast down to the ground, for now there arose in them a hope of better things, and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence to convict them, so that some apology seemed required from him. But Augustus, after some delay, said, that although the young men were innocent of that with which they had been charged, yet they had been to blame for not having demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent the suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay aside all such suspicion and to be reconciled to his sons; for it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and this change of mind on both sides might not only heal those breaches that had happened between them, but might even

<sup>1</sup> A euphemism for committing suicide.

improve their good-will to one another, whereby on both sides, apologizing for the rashness of their suspicions, they might resolve to feel more affection towards each other than they had before. After Augustus had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men, and when they were disposed to fall down at their father's feet, he took them up, and embraced them, in tears as they were, and took each of them in turn into his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected.

§ 5. Then did they return thanks to Augustus, and went away together, and with them went Antipater, who hypocritically pretended that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And on the following days Herod made Augustus a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows, and bestowing largesses on the people of Rome; and Augustus made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: and as to his kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased as his successor, or to distribute it in parts to each, that the royal rank might so come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement at once, Augustus said that he would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.

§ 6. After this Herod returned to Judæa again. But during his absence from home, the Trachonites, no small part of his dominions, had revolted, but the commanders he left there had vanquished them, and compelled them to submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and put in near Cilicia at Elæusa, which has now had its name changed to Sebaste,<sup>1</sup> he met with Archelaus king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, and rejoiced that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became

<sup>1</sup> The island and town of Elæusa, called Sebaste, was near the river *Lamas*, on the south-east coast of Asia Minor. It is now a small peninsula covered with ruins, and connected with the main land by an isthmus of sand.

kings to make. From thence Herod went to Judæa, and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done during his absence from home, telling them about Augustus' kindness to him, and about as many of the particular things he had done, as he thought it for his advantage they should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons, and exhorted the courtiers and the multitude to concord, and informed them, that his sons were to reign after him, Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne; but at present he desired that they should all pay court to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet effete from old age, but was at that period of life when he was most skilful in governing, and that he was not deficient in other arts that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He also told the rulers and soldiers, that in case they looked to him alone, they would pass their lives in tranquillity, and would make one another happy. And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. His speech was acceptable to most of the audience, but not to some, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovation among some of them.

## CHAP. V.

*How Herod celebrated Games, to take place every fifth Year, upon the Building of Cæsarea; and how he built and adorned many other Places in a magnificent manner; and how he did many other Actions gloriously.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time Cæsarea Sebaste, which Herod had built, was finished. The entire building being concluded in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell in the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations were made

at once for its dedication. For the king appointed contests in music and athletic exercises, and also got ready a great number of gladiators, and of beasts for like purpose: horse races also, and the most costly of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome and in other places. He consecrated these contests to Cæsar Augustus, and ordered them to be celebrated every fifth year. He also provided all the apparatus for it at his own expense, to set off his liberality; and Julia, the Emperor's wife, sent a great part of her most costly things privately from Rome, insomuch that he had no want of anything. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to Cæsarea, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom various people sent because of the benefits they had received from Herod, he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts, the festival having in the day-time the attractions of the fights, and in the night-time such merry-making as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the greatness of his soul, for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatever had been done before. And they say that Augustus himself and Agrippa often said, that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, for he deserved to have the kingdom of all Syria, and of Egypt also.

§ 2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain which is called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil for what was there planted, as a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for size was round about it. This he named Antipatris after his father Antipater.<sup>1</sup> He also built, upon another spot of ground above Jericho, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros<sup>2</sup> after the name of his mother. He also dedicated the finest monument to his brother Phasaelus, on account of

<sup>1</sup> Now *Râs el-'Ain*, near the point at which the Roman road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea left the hills for the plain.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Beit Jubr et-Tahtâni*. See Jewish War, i. 21, §§ 4, 9; ii. 18, § 6.

the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not smaller than the tower of Pharos,<sup>1</sup> which he called Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the defences of the city and a memorial of him that was deceased, because it bore his name. He also built a city which he called after him in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northwards, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation which its inhabitants introduced; and this he called Phasaelis.<sup>2</sup>

§ 3. As for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon up those which he bestowed on cities both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he went to in his travels. For he seems to have contributed very liberally to many public burdens and to the building of public works, and furnished the money that was necessary for such works as wanted it upon the failure of their revenues. But the greatest and most illustrious of all his works was the erection of Apollo's temple at Rhodes at his own expense, and his giving the people of Rhodes a great many talents of silver to build a fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis<sup>3</sup> near Actium: and for the inhabitants of Antioch, the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built porticoes along it on both sides, and paved the open road with polished stone, which was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the Olympian games, which were in a very low condition because of want of money, he revived their reputation, and appointed revenues for keeping them up, and made that general festival more stately as to the sacrifices and other displays. And because of this great liberality, he was almost unanimously registered as one of the perpetual judges of those games.

§ 4. Now there are some who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes. For when we look at his magnificence, and at the benefits which he bestowed on

<sup>1</sup> The present 'Tower of David' at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Fusâil*.

<sup>3</sup> Built by Augustus in commemoration of the victory of Actium; the ruins are near *Prévesa*.



all people, there is no possibility even for those that had the least respect for him to deny, or not to admit, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did not only to his subjects but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition, he will be forced to allow that he appears brutish, and a stranger to all humanity; whence some people suppose his nature to be various and sometimes self-contradictory. But I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the cause of both these sort of actions was one and the same. For being an ambitious man, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes either of future memory or of present reputation; and as his expenses were beyond his means, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects. For the persons on whom he expended his money were so many that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and as he was conscious that he was hated by those under him for the injuries he had done them, he thought it no easy thing to amend his offences, for that was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other hand to make their ill-will an opportunity to add to his gains. As to his own people, therefore, if anyone was not very obsequious to him in language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or seemed to think of any innovation in his realm, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were his enemies; and he committed such faults from a desire that he might himself alone be honoured. Now for this my assertion about that feeling of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Augustus and Agrippa and his other friends; for those honours he paid to those who were his superiors he desired also to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he showed an inclination to have also presented to himself. But the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples, or any

other such things. And this seems to me to have been at once the cause of Herod's harsh acts to his own courtiers and counsellors, and of his benefits to foreigners and to those that had no relation to him.

## CHAP. VI.

*An Embassy of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Augustus, concerning the Complaints they had to make against the Greeks; with Copies of the Letters which Augustus and Agrippa wrote to the Cities for them.*

### § 1.

NOW the Greek cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia, and also all those of the same nation who lived in Libya<sup>1</sup> near Cyrene, though the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks oppressed them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on particular occasions. As therefore they were thus evil intreated, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Augustus about these matters. And he gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonies of the favourable disposition the Roman emperors formerly had towards us.

§ 2. "Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, and tribune of the people, ordains as follows. Since the nation of the Jews has been found friendly to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and especially Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Cæsar the emperor,<sup>2</sup> it has seemed good to me and my council, according to the wish and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews should

<sup>1</sup> Libya was that portion of Africa which lay to the west of Lower and Middle Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus here calls Julius Cæsar his 'father,' though by birth he was only his 'uncle,' on account of his adoption by him. See the same, Antiq. xiv. 14, § 4.—W.

have liberty to follow their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they did under Hyrcanus the high priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to appear in court either on the Sabbath-day, or on the day of preparation before it, after the ninth hour.<sup>1</sup> And if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue, or from the men's apartments, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be confiscated to the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the decree which they have given me, on account of the piety which I exercise to all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, and the present edict, be put up in the most eminent place consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra.<sup>2</sup> And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 3. "Cæsar Augustus sends greeting to Norbanus Flaccus. Let those Jews, however numerous they be, who have been used according to their ancient custom to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 4. Agrippa also himself wrote in the following manner on behalf of the Jews. "Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, greeting. I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and flee to a sanctuary, shall be torn from thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are torn from thence. I have also written to Silanus the

<sup>1</sup> This is authentic evidence, that the Jews, in the days of Augustus, began to prepare for the celebration of the Sabbath at the ninth hour on Friday, as the tradition of the elders did, it seems, then require of them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Angora* in Asia Minor; the inscription was on one of the walls of the Temple.

prætor, that no one compel the Jews to appear in court on the Sabbath-day."

§ 5. "Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have petitioned me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, who was then prætor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money should be sent to Jerusalem without hindrance, as has been their custom from their forefathers, for they complain that they are harassed by certain informers, and, under pretence of taxes which are not due, are hindered from sending them; which I command to be restored them without any diminution or trouble; and if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be duly returned to the Jews in that place."

§ 6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, sends greeting to the magistrates and senate of the Sardians. The Emperor has written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, however numerous they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, or from sending their money to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both the Emperor and I would have you act accordingly."

§ 7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise. "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus on the Ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia pointed out to me, that Cæsar Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without let or hindrance. They also petitioned me, that I would also confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own decree. I would therefore have you take notice, according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, that I permit them to use, and do according to, the customs of their forefathers without let or hindrance."

§ 8. I have felt obliged to set down these decrees, because the history of our acts will go generally among the

Greeks, and I have thus shown them that we were formerly held in great esteem, and were not prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we were supported by them in following our own religion and worship of God. And I frequently mention these decrees to reconcile other people to us, and to remove any reasons for that hatred which inconsiderate men seem naturally to bear to us. As for our customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with different ones; but justice is most for the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws pay the greatest regard, and so render us, if we observe them rightly, benevolent and friendly to all men. On which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, nor ought they to esteem difference of institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but should look rather to virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and is sufficient of itself alone for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

## CHAP. VII.

*How, upon his going down into David's Tomb, the Troubles in Herod's Family greatly increased.*

## § 1.

AS for Herod, he had spent vast sums on the cities both without and within his own kingdom: and as he soon heard how Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's tomb, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and how there was much more left, indeed enough to suffice for all his wants, he had long intended to make an attempt on it, so now he opened the tomb by night, and went into it, and to prevent its being known in the city took only his most faithful friends with him. As for money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but golden ornaments and various treasures laid up there, all of which he took away. However, he had a

great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go further in, even as far as the very coffins of David and Solomon. But two of his body-guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report went, so he was terribly frightened, and went out and built a propitiatory memorial in white stone at the mouth of the tomb at great expense, to mark the fright he had been in. Even Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this building of Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the tomb, as he knew that action was indecorous. And many other things he treats in the same manner in his history. For he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and during his reign, and so as to please and serve him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put a good colour on the murder of Mariamne and her sons, which were barbarous actions on the part of the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous plots of her sons, and thus he proceeded in his whole work, passing excessive encomiums upon the just actions Herod did, and earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. However, as I said, one might say a great deal by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so much write a history for others, as what might serve the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonæan kings, and so have the honour of the priesthood, we think it unbecoming to say anything that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions in an honest and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and that though it has sometimes happened that we have incurred their displeasure by so doing.

§ 2. Now Herod's family troubles seemed to be augmented by the attempt he made upon David's tomb, whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he suffered from, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him in those cases, wherein the opportuneness of the case made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety. For

the quarrels were like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was such that each strove to exceed one another in calumnies. And Antipater was always undermining his brothers, and that very cunningly: he got them loaded with accusations, but took upon himself frequently to apologize for them, that this seeming benevolence to them might make him get believed, and forward his attempts against them. By this means he in various ways circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was the manager of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater, and consulted with his mother about important matters also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry with any other persons, as they thought would be to their own advantage. So the sons of Mariamne got in a worse and worse condition perpetually, and as they were passed over, and set in a more dishonourable rank, though by birth the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. As for the women, Alexander's wife Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, was hated by Salome, both because of her love to her own husband, and because of Glaphyra's seeming to behave herself somewhat insolently towards her daughter,<sup>1</sup> who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of rank to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

§ 3. Now, besides this second strife that had fallen out among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but gave private grounds for suspicion and hatred. For he was overcome by the charms of his wife to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly adhered to his wife, who had been but a slave. So Herod was vexed at the dishonour done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he did not make him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras' refusal,

<sup>1</sup> Berenice, the daughter of Salome.

he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son: but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affection for his wife was abated, he blamed him for his former conduct, and asked him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to put away her whom he loved, for it was disgraceful to be so enamoured of a slave, as to deprive himself of the king's good-will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice was for his good, particularly as he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put the poor woman away, although he had already a son by her, and promised the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and swore he would have no further intercourse with her whom he had put away. But when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed anything he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This plainly grieved Herod and made him angry, so that the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for calumniating him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but some fresh quarrel or other arose among his relations and those that were dearest to him. For Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons, nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to live happily with her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he said anything to her in private; and when any misunderstanding happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it; by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves, and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, if they once got the kingdom, that they would make Herod's sons by his other wives village-clerks, for the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment; while as



for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were at once carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters; but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed everybody against everybody. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing their defence, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse troubles came upon him.

§ 4. For Pheroras went to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as I have already stated, and said, that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured of Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was vehement. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire from his youth and jealousy, and put the worst interpretation on Herod's attentions to her, which were very frequent, from the suspicions he had on account of what fell from Pheroras. Nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but went to his father and informed him of what Pheroras had said. Upon this Herod was more put out than ever, and not being able to bear such a false calumny, which tended to his shame, was much disturbed at it: and often did he complain of the wickedness of his relations, and how good he had been to them, and what ill return they had made him. And he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose but to speak such things of me? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are, it is not thy aim only to reproach me, in using such words to my son, but thereby to tempt him to plot against me, and take me off by poison. For who, if he had not a good genius like my son, would have such a suspicion of his father, and not revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather put a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, by pretending kindness to them, only

to raise calumnies against me, and by talking of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in mind or declare in words. Begone, thou that art such a vile plague to thy benefactor and brother, and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee ; and may I still overcome my relations by kindness, and be so far from avenging myself on them as they deserve, as to bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

§ 5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villainy, said, that Salome had concocted this plot, and that the words came from her. And as soon as she heard that (for she happened to be at hand), she cried out plausibly that no such word ever came out of her mouth, and that they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to get rid of her, because of the good-will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him ; and that at present there were more plots against him than usual ; and as she was the only person who had urged her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to marry the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she was hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial somewhat plausible, but the malignity of her character argued her dissimulation. But Pheroras was in a fix, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence, for he confessed that he had said what was charged against him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome. So the confusion among them, and their quarrelsome words to one another, increased. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away ; and when he had commended the moderation of his son in himself telling him of the report, as it was now late he went to rest. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny ; and the king's wives hated her, knowing she was a very ill-natured woman and unreliable, as she would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy. So they perpetually said one thing or other against her to Herod, and some-

thing that now happened made them the bolder in speaking against her.

§ 6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; and Syllæus managed most of his affairs for him. He was an able man, although but young, and was handsome also. This Syllæus upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow he made up to her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, and looked upon Syllæus with some passion, she was very earnest to be married to him; and on the following days, as they went to supper, there appeared many and very great indications of their mutual understanding. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the unseemliness of it; whereupon Herod inquired further about it of Pheroras, and desired him to observe at supper how they behaved to one another; and he told him that by their nods and looks they were both evidently in love. After this the Arabian being suspected went away, but came again two or three months afterwards, as if on that very design, and spoke to Herod about it, and asked that Salome might be given him to wife; for he said that affinity with him might be not unprofitable to Herod through his connection with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect in his hands, and would be still more so hereafter. And when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her, whether she were disposed to the match, she quickly agreed to it. But when Syllæus was asked to conform to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her (for it was impossible to do so on any other terms), he would not hear of it, but went his way, for he said if he should do so, he would be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras twit Salome with her lust, as did the women much more, who said that Syllæus had had connection with her. As for the damsel, whom the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, who had not taken her, as I have before stated, because he was enamoured of his wife, Salome asked Herod that she might be given to her son by Costobarus, which match Herod had no objection to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras,

who pleaded that this young man would not be kind to her, because of the murder of his father, and that it was much more just that his son should have her, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy. So he sued for pardon, and the king's wrath was over. And the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving her also as her portion a hundred talents.

### CHAP. VIII.

*How Herod arrested Alexander, and put him in prison, and how Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled him to his Father Herod again.*

#### § 1.

HOWEVER affairs in Herod's family grew no better, but were every day more troublesome. And the following circumstance happened, which arose from no decent occasion, and proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs whom the king was very fond of on account of their beauty; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them, of bringing him his supper to another, and of putting him to bed to the third, who almost managed the principal affairs of the kingdom. Now some one told the king that these eunuchs had been corrupted by Alexander the king's son with great sums of money. And when Herod asked them if Alexander had had criminal dealings with them, they confessed that he had, but said they knew of no further criminality on his part against his father. But when they were tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, for the tormentors to gratify Antipater stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bore great ill-will and innate hatred to his father: and that he had told them, that Herod despaired of living much longer, and that in order to cover his great age, he dyed his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but if they would join him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father,

would come to no one else, they should quickly have the first place in the kingdom under him; and he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birthright, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends were zealous partisans of his, ready both to do and to suffer anything.

§ 2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts of it seeming to him insulting, and some making him suspicious of dangers that awaited him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some worse plot should be actually laid against him than he should be able to escape from now. So he did not any longer make any open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred against everybody, and indulging his suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continually suspected those that were innocent. Nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who were near him had the most power to hurt him, they were his bugbears; and for those that were not used to come to him, it seemed enough generally to name them [to make them suspected], and he thought himself safer when they were at once put to death. At last his courtiers were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself. Yet, when any had thus overthrown others, they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others only thereby to anticipate being accused themselves. Nay, at last they avenged their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught they were punished in the same way, using this opportunity as an instrument and snare against their enemies, yet when they tried it often themselves caught in the same snare which they laid for others. And the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

§ 3. And in this troubled state were the affairs of the palace; and Herod had already told many of his friends not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was that [when they were there] he had less freedom of action, or greater restraint on himself on their account. And at this time it was that he dismissed Andromachus and Gemellus, men who had been very old friends of his, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family in their embassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He dismissed Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was intimate with Alexander, and Gemellus, because he knew that he wished Alexander well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth when he was at school, and also with him when he was absent at Rome. These he expelled from his palace, and would have liked to have done worse to them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their rank and power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

§ 4. Now Antipater was the cause of all this, who when he saw the mad and licentious conduct of his father, as he had been a great while one of his counsellors, egged him on, and thought he would gain his own ends more, when everyone that could oppose him was removed out of the way. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no freedom of access or speech with the king any longer, the king in the first place examined by torture all whom he thought faithful to Alexander, to see whether they knew of any plot against him; but they died under the torture without having anything to say, which made the king more furious, that he could not find out the evil proceedings he suspected. As for Antipater, he was very clever in raising calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander,] and instigated Herod by the torture of more persons to discover any hidden plots. Now a certain person among the many that were tortured, said that he knew that Alexander had often said (when he was commended as a tall man in his body. and a

skilful marksman, and told that in his exercises he exceeded all men), that these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; so that when he walked with his father he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall, and that when he shot at anything as he was hunting, he missed his mark on purpose when his father was by, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being first in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had his body given ease after, he added, that Alexander had his brother Aristobulus as his assistant, and that they resolved to lie in wait for their father, as he was hunting, and kill him: and when they had done so, to flee to Rome, and ask to have the kingdom given to Alexander. There were also letters of the young man found written to his brother, wherein he complained, that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod at once thought he had something to depend on as to his suspicion about his sons; so he arrested Alexander and put him in prison. Yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he considered the matter, he found that they had only exhibited juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, if his son should slay him, that he should go openly to Rome; so he was desirous to have some surer proof of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly. So he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting out of them any of the things which he suspected. And as Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the young men, when he was in the utmost agony, said that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and asked that he might be quickly invited there by Augustus, and that he could discover a plot against him, for Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in a friendship with his father against the Romans;

he also added that Alexander had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Ascalon.

§ 5. To this Herod gave credit, and enjoyed thereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation for his rashness, in flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition. But as for the poisonous potion, though he was anxious to find it, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was desirous from a contentious spirit to aggravate the great misfortunes he was in, so he denied not the accusation, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater fault of his own; and perhaps he wished to make his father thereby ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him and his whole kingdom. For he wrote four letters, and sent them to Herod to tell him, that he need not torture any more persons, nor search any further, for he had himself plotted against him, and that he had as his partners Pheroras and the most faithful of the king's friends; and that Salome came to him by night, and lay with him against his will; and that all men were come to be of one mind to make away with the king as soon as they could, and so get rid of the continual fear of him they were in. Among others he accused Ptolemy and Sapinius, who were the most faithful friends of the king. And what more can be said, but that those who were before the most intimate friends were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, and there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, others those that had been put to death, others that they were in the expectation of the same miseries: and dejection and solitude rendered the kingdom quite the reverse of the happy state it formerly enjoyed. Herod's own life also was bitter to him, so greatly alarmed was he; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of further misery, for he often fancied in his imagination, that his son had made an insurrection against him, or even stood by him with a sword in his hand. Thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and he revolved it over and over, just as if he



were distracted. Such was the sad condition Herod was now in.

§ 6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband,] and sorry for Herod as a man that was his friend, on account of the great trouble he was in, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to arrange matters. And when he found Herod in such a state, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to say that he had acted rashly, for he would thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and make him the more irritated by his having still more to apologize for himself. He went therefore another way to work, in order to improve matters, and appeared angry with the young man, and said, that Herod was so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, for he could not in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of anything, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared in this mood, far otherwise than Herod expected, and in the main angry on Herod's account, the king abated his harshness, and took occasion, from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father; and was on both sides to be pitied, for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he fell into a passion, but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and great sorrow; and begged that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, or be so angry at his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he shifted the charges to his friends, and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one without a touch of malice, was corrupted, and thought there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon this Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed had now no one that could reconcile him and his brother; so when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest influence with Herod, he betook himself to him in the guise of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of a ruined man. Upon this Archelaus did not

neglect the intercession he made to him, but said that he could not change the king's disposition to him immediately, and said that it was best for him to go himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all the trouble, and beg the king's pardon, for that would mitigate the king's anger towards him, and he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them, and the calumnies raised against the young man were contrary to all expectation wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made this reconciliation between Pheroras and Herod, went away to Cappadocia, having proved at this critical juncture the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents as tokens of his respect to him, being on all occasions magnificent, and esteemed him as one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Augustus about these affairs, and they went together as far as Antioch. And there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus (the president of Syria), who had been greatly at variance, and then returned to Judæa.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonites; how Syllæus accused Herod before Augustus; and how Herod, when Augustus was angry with him, resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome.*

### § 1.

WHEN Herod had been at Rome, and had come back again, a war broke out between him and the Arabians, for the following reason. The Trachonites,<sup>1</sup> after Augustus had taken their country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, were no longer permitted to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like: and though they took pains, the ground did not produce much profit.

<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Trachonitis, *el-Lejah*.

However, from the first, the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which got Herod a great reputation for his pains; but when he sailed to Rome (it was when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit his son Antipater to Augustus' protection), the Trachonites spread a report that he was dead, and revolted from his sway, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours. For the time the king's commanders subdued them during Herod's absence, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by the punishment of those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Syllæus entertaining them now he had missed of marrying Salome, and giving them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. And they overran and pillaged not only Judæa but all Cœle-Syria also, while Syllæus afforded *points d'appui* and security to these illdoers. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered at their hands, and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the security which the protection of the Arabians afforded them, being very angry at the injuries they had done him, he went over all Trachonitis, and slew their relations. Thereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means, so they continued to harry and plunder all Herod's dominions with impunity. Then did Herod speak about these robbers to Saturninus and Volumnius, and demanded that they should be punished; upon which they waxed stronger, and became more numerous, and by their rising threw everything into confusion, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and butchering men whom they took prisoners, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and demanded the surrender of the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas through Syllæus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him. But Syllæus, who had set

Obodas aside, and managed everything himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money: about which there was a discussion before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the governors of Syria. At last he, on their decision, agreed that within thirty days Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either for committing any crime or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

§ 2. When the day appointed for payment of the money was past, Syllæus, without performing any part of his agreement, set out for Rome. So Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up, and, by permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, took the law into his own hands against those that were refractory. He took the army that he had, and led it into Arabia; and in three days' time, by forced marches, he arrived at the garrison wherein the robbers were, and took it by storm, and captured them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raipta,<sup>1</sup> but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to the assistance of the robbers, under Nacebus their captain, a battle ensued, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Nacebus, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his men fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when Herod had punished them, he settled three thousand Idumæans in Trachonitis, and so restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account of these things to the captains that were in Phœnice,<sup>2</sup> showing that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon exact inquiry, they found to be true.

§ 3. However, messengers hurried away to Syllæus to Rome, and informed him of what had been done, and, as is usual, exaggerated everything. Now Syllæus had already wormed himself into the acquaintance of Augustus, and was then about the palace, and as soon as he heard of

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Phœnicia.

these things, he changed his dress to black, and went in, and told Augustus that Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, because of Herod's laying it waste with his army: and added, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had fallen, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, had been slain; and that the riches that were at Raipta had been carried off; and that Obodas was despised, as his infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present. When Syllæus had said this, and added invidiously that he would not himself have left the country, unless he had believed that Augustus would have provided that they should all have peace with one another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage; Augustus was nettled at what was said, and asked only this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, "Whether Herod had led an army there?" And as they were forced to admit this, Augustus, without staying to hear why and how he did so, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his letter was that, whereas of old he had treated Herod as his friend, he should now treat him as his subject. Syllæus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians. And they were so elated at it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due, and retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now humiliated because of Augustus' anger with him. The inhabitants of Trachonitis also seized their opportunity, and rose up against the Idumæan garrison, and followed the same way of robbing as the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more active in their unjust proceedings, not only for gain, but for revenge also.

§ 4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Augustus' favour used to inspire him, and his spirit failed him. For Augustus would not so much as receive an embassy from him to

make an apology, and when the envoys came a second time, he sent them away without success. So Herod was in dejection and fear, and Syllæus grieved him exceedingly, as he was now trusted by Augustus, and was present at Rome, nay, aspired even higher. For Obodas was dead, and Æneas, whose name was now changed to Aretas,<sup>1</sup> took over the rule over the Arabians. And Syllæus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his kingdom that he might himself take it: with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Augustus, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not written to him first before he took the kingdom. But Aretas afterwards himself also sent a letter and presents to Augustus, and a golden crown of the weight of many talents. And his letter accused Syllæus of having been a wicked servant, and of having killed Obodas by poison, and while he was alive, of having governed him as he pleased, and of having also debauched the wives of the Arabians, and of having borrowed money, in order to obtain the kingdom for himself. But Augustus did not listen to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents. And meantime affairs in Judæa and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the disorder they were in, and partly because, bad as they were, nobody had power to bring them round. For of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain evildoers; and as for Herod, Augustus was angry with him, for having so soon avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At last, when he saw no end of the evils which surrounded him, he resolved to send an ambassador to Rome again, to see whether through his friends he could mitigate the wrath of Augustus, and to have an interview with Augustus himself. And the ambassador he sent was Nicolaus of Damascus.

<sup>1</sup> This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia, that when the crown came to this Æneas, he changed his name to Aretas, as Havercamp here justly observes. See *Antiq.* xiii. 15, § 2.—W.

## CHAP. X.

*How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's Sons, and how their Father put them in prison, and wrote to Augustus about them. Of Syllæus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.*

## § 1.

THE troubles in Herod's family and about his sons at this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Their progress and increase at this time was due to the following cause. One Eurycles, a Lacedæmonian (a person of note in his own country, but a man of perverse mind, and so cunning in his pleasures and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither), visited Herod's court, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also seized such opportunities of worming himself into Herod's friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He lodged in Antipater's house, but he had access to and intimacy with Alexander, for he told him that he was in great favour with Archelaus the king of Cappadocia. He also pretended much respect to Glaphyra, and secretly cultivated a friendship with them all, but always observed what was said and done, that he might with calumnies please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to everybody as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his associating with any one was for that person's advantage. So he won over Alexander, who was but young, and persuaded him that he might open his grievances to him with safety, but to nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, and how his father was alienated from him, and related also the affairs of his mother, and how Antiochus had driven him and his brother from their proper honour, and had the power over everything himself. He added that all this was intolerable, as his father had already come to hate them, and would neither admit them to his table, nor

to his presence. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander, as to the things that troubled him; and Eurycles retailed these words to Antipater: and told him, he did not inform him of them on his own account; but that, being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the matter obliged him to do so, and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for what he said was spoken with vehemence, and in the words themselves lay murder. So Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him great presents upon all occasions, and at last persuaded him to inform Herod of this. So when he related to the king Alexander's displeasure, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed, and brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words and irritating him, that he made his hatred implacable: as he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents. And he, when he had received them, went to Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander to him, and told him that he had been many ways useful to him in making reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out; and when Eurycles returned to Lacedæmon, he did not leave off mischief making, and at last for his many acts of injustice was banished from his own country.

§ 2. As for Herod, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with only hearing calumnies of them when others told him, for he was now come to that pass of hatred as to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to everyone that would but speak, if they could but say anything against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander, which news was to Herod the most agreeable and sweetest imaginable.

§ 3. But a still greater misfortune came upon the young men, for new calumnies against them were continually being fabricated, and, so to speak, as if it was everyone's task to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which



might appear to be for the king's safety. There were two body-guards of Herod held in honour for their strength and height, Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased with them, and now used to ride with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were held in honour by him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed upon them. Now the king having at once suspicion of these men, had them tortured, and they endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed that Alexander urged them to kill Herod when he was hunting wild beasts; for it could be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for he had once met with such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in a stable under ground, and convicted the king's chief hunter of having given them the royal hunting spears, and weapons to Alexander's attendants, at Alexander's command.

§ 4. Next to these the commander of the garrison of Alexandria<sup>1</sup> was arrested and tortured; for he was accused of having promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with money of the king which was stored up in that fortress. He confessed nothing himself; but his son came forward, and said it was so, and delivered up a letter which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand-writing. Its contents were as follows. "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you: but endeavour, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no longer any doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said that Diophantus the scribe had imitated his hand-writing, and that the letter was a forgery of Antipater. For Diophantus appeared to be very clever in such practices, and was afterwards convicted of forging other papers, and therefore put to death.

§ 5. And the king produced before the multitude at Jericho those that had been tortured, in order to have them accuse the young men; and many of the people

<sup>1</sup> *Kefr Istûna.*

stoned these accusers to death. But when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude by the help of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, and nobody might any longer have access to them: and all that they did or said was observed, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from that of condemned criminals. And one of them, Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he induced Salome, who was his aunt and mother-in-law, to sympathize with him in his calamities, and to hate him who had been persuaded to let things come to that pass; when he said to her, "Are not you also in danger of destruction, as the report goes that you disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Syllæus, when you were in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried these words to her brother. And he, being no longer able to control his rage, gave command to bind them and keep them apart from one another, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and send them on to Augustus. And when this was enjoined them, they wrote that they had laid no treacherous design, nor formed any plot against their father, but that they had intended to flee away, and that from the distress they were in, their lives being now suspected and full of anxiety.

§ 6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia<sup>1</sup> from Archelaus, one Melas, who was a ruler under him. And Herod wishing to show Archelaus' ill-will to him, sent for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning their proposed flight, as to whither and how they had resolved to flee? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them thence to Rome, but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father, and that none of the charges fabricated against them by their adversaries was true; and that they wished Tyrannus and his associates were yet alive that they might have been examined more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by means

<sup>1</sup> The portion of Asia Minor lying west of the Anti-Taurus range. The principal town was Mazaca, Cæsarea, *Kaisariyeh*.

of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose.”]

§ 7. When he had said this, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, and that she should be asked whether she did not know anything of plots against Herod? Now as soon as they came to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in great consternation gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a sight to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or do anything; but at last Ptolemy, who had been ordered to bring Alexander, bade him say, if his wife were privy to his actions? He replied, “How is it possible, that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?” Upon which she cried out, that “she knew of no wicked designs of his; but yet, if accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess all.” Then Alexander said, “There is no such wickedness as those (who ought least to do so) suspect, which either I have intended, or you know of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome.” And when she also confessed this, Herod, supposing that Archelaus’ ill-will to him was fully proved, gave a letter to Olympus and Volumnius, and bade them, as they sailed by, to touch at Elæusa<sup>1</sup> in Cilicia, and give it to Archelaus, and when they had expostulated with him for having a hand in his sons’ plot against him, to sail thence to Rome; and if they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Augustus was no longer displeased with Herod, to give him the letters and proofs which he sent ready prepared against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father’s advantage to do so, lest he should take some violent step in the anger he was in because of his present suspicions; but that he had not promised to send them to Augustus, nor had he promised anything else to the young men that could show ill-will to him.

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xvi. 4, § 6; Jewish War, i. 23, § 4.

§ 8. When Olympus and Volumnius reached Rome, they had a good opportunity of delivering their letters to Augustus, because they found him reconciled to Herod. For Nicolaus' embassy had gone off as follows. As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first only set about what he was come for, but he thought fit also to accuse Syllæus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, openly quarrelled with one another, and some of them left Syllæus' party, and joined themselves to Nicolaus', and informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and showed him evident proofs of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas' friends by Syllæus, for when they left Syllæus' party, they had carried off with them letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity offered him, he made use of it in order to gain his own ends afterwards, being anxious to reconcile Augustus and Herod. For he knew very well that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod's acts, he would not be allowed that liberty; but that, if he desired to accuse Syllæus, an opportunity would present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the case was ready for hearing, and the day appointed, Nicolaus, in the presence of Aretas' ambassadors, accused Syllæus of various other things, and imputed to him the destruction of his king and of many others of the Arabians, and said he had borrowed money for no good purpose, and proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with women in Arabia but in Rome also. And he added, as the heaviest charge, that he had estranged Augustus from Herod, having said nothing true about the actions of Herod. When Nicolaus was come to this point, Augustus stopped him from going on, and desired him only to say as to Herod that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. To this Nicolaus answered that he could prove conclusively that either none at all or but very few of those imputations of which he had been informed were true, for had they been true, he might justly have been angry at Herod. At this unexpected assertion Augustus was very attentive, and Nicolaus said, that there

was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed for payment had elapsed, it should be lawful to make reprisals in any part of the country. As for the expedition into Arabia, he said it was no hostile expedition, but a just demanding back of his own money, and that not immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Herod had frequently gone to Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria; and that at last Syllæus had sworn at Berytus,<sup>1</sup> by the Emperor's fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up those that had fled from Herod's dominions. "And when Syllæus performed nothing of this, Herod went again before those governors, and upon their permission to make reprisals for the money, he went reluctantly out of his own dominions with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; this was the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war, when thy governors permitted it, and the bond allowed it, and it was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar Augustus, with that of the other gods, had been profaned? And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis;<sup>2</sup> at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more numerous afterwards, and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their head-quarters. Syllæus received them, and supported them with food to the detriment of all men, and gave them a country to inhabit, and received himself the gains they made by robbery. But he promised on oath that he would deliver up these men on the day that he fixed for payment of his debt; nor can he show that any other persons besides these were at this time taken out of Arabia, and indeed not all these either, but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the odious calumny of the captives appear to be no better than a fiction and lie, made on purpose to provoke thy indignation. For I say, that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, Herod only defended

<sup>1</sup> *Beirût* in Syria.

<sup>2</sup> The district *el-Lejah*.

himself, and Nacebus the Arabian general fell, and about twenty-five others in all, and no more; whereas Syllæus, by multiplying every single soldier by a hundred, reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

§ 9. This speech greatly moved Augustus, and he turned to Syllæus full of rage, and asked him how many Arabians had been slain? And as he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon, the conditions about the borrowed money were read, and the letters of the governors of Syria, and the complaints of all the cities that had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion of the matter was this, that Syllæus was condemned to die, and that Augustus was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for the severe things he had written to him occasioned by calumny, and told Syllæus that he had induced him by his lying account to be guilty of ingratitude to a man that was his friend. In fine Syllæus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be executed. But Augustus was still offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the kingdom, without his consent being first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but the letters Herod had sent hindered him from doing so now. For Olympus and Volumnius, on finding that Augustus was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons and the proofs of their crimes. When Augustus had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another kingdom to him, now he was old, and on bad terms with his sons, so he admitted Aretas' ambassadors; and after he had just reprov'd his rashness, in not waiting till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted his presents, and confirmed him in his kingdom.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Herod, by Permission of Augustus, accused his sons before a Council of Judges at Berytus; and what Tero suffered for using too much Liberty of Speech. Concerning also the Execution of the young Men, and their Burial at Alexandria.*

## § 1.

AND Augustus being now reconciled to Herod wrote to him that he was grieved for him on account of his sons, and said if they had been guilty of any grave crimes against him, it would behove him to punish them as parricides (and he gave him authority to do so), but if they had only designed to flee away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremities with them. He also advised him to appoint and convene a council at Berytus, where the Romans had a colony, and to include the governors of *Syria* and Archelaus the king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought remarkable for their merit and friendship to him, and determine what should be done by their advice. These were the directions that Augustus gave. And Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was very glad of Augustus' reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had complete authority given him over his sons. And somehow it happened that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed shown himself severe, he had not been very rash or precipitate in procuring the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to glut his hatred against them. He therefore sent round and invited whom he thought fit to this council, except Archelaus, for he would not invite him, either out of hatred to him, or because he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

§ 2. When the governors of *Syria* and the others whom he invited from the various cities were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called

Platana,<sup>1</sup> but near Berytus, that if they were called he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the council. And when there were one hundred and fifty persons present, Herod came in by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and painful necessity in consequence of misfortune, but in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons in. For he was very vehement and impassioned when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of fury and barbarity: nor would he suffer the council to judge of the weight of the evidence, but played the part of advocate himself in a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read what they had written, wherein there was no mention of any plot or contrivance against him, but only a confession that they had meant to flee away, containing also certain reproaches against him because of the ill-will he bore them. And when he came to those reproaches, he bellowed out most of all, and exaggerated what was said, as if they had confessed plotting against him, and swore that he would rather lose his life than hear such words. Lastly he said that he had sufficient authority both by nature and by Augustus' permission [to do what he thought fit.] He also mentioned a law of their country which enjoined that, if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the bystanders were obliged to cast stones at him, and so to kill him. But though he was ready to do this in his own country and kingdom, yet he said he waited for their determination; though they came not thither so much as judges, to condemn his sons for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished, but as persons who had an opportunity of joining him in his anger, for it was unworthy in any, even the most remote, to pass over such conspiracy [without punishment.]

§ 3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the members of the council perceived there was no

<sup>1</sup> See Jewish War, i. 27, § 2. Apparently a castle guarding a narrow pass between the sea and Lebanon, near the river Damuras, *Nahr Damūr*.



chance of mildness and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And Saturninus, a person who had been consul, and one of great influence, first pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and considering the circumstances. He said, "That he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, and to put one's son to death was a greater misfortune than any that could befall one by them." After him Saturninus' sons (for he had three sons that accompanied him, and were his lieutenants) pronounced the same sentence as their father. Volumnius' sentence, on the contrary, was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and most of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion was that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately afterwards Herod went away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him, having sailed back from Rome; of whom Herod inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his friends at Rome thought about his sons. He answered, "What they had resolved to do to thee is impious, and thou oughtest to keep them in prison: and if thou thinkest anything further necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou appear not to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of most of thy friends at Rome." On this Herod was silent and very thoughtful, and bade Nicolaus sail along with him.

§ 4. On Herod's reaching Cæsarea,<sup>1</sup> everybody there was talking of his sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation as to what would become of them. For a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the old dissensions of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great anxiety about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any hasty thing about the matter, or even to hear another saying it; but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which made their

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

sorrow silent. But there was an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero (who had a son of the same age as Alexander, and his friend), who was so bold as openly to speak out what others silently thought about the matter, and felt forced to cry out often among the multitude, saying in the most unguarded manner that truth had perished, and that justice was taken away from men, and that lies and malice prevailed, and brought such a mist upon public affairs, that offenders were not able to see the greatest ills that could befall men. And as he was so bold, he seemed to bring himself into danger by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved with great courage and seasonably. So every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they provided for their own safety by keeping silent themselves, yet did they approve of the great freedom he took; for the expected tragedy constrained them to speak in behalf of Tero whatever they pleased.

§ 5. This man thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, when he spoke as follows. "Since I am not able, O king, to bear the great concern I am in, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take (which is necessary and advantageous to you) to my own safety. Where is your understanding gone, and left your soul empty? Where is that extraordinary sagacity of yours gone, whereby you performed so many and such glorious actions? Whence comes this absence of friends and relations, though I judge those neither friends nor relations who overlook such horrid wickedness in your once happy kingdom. Do you not perceive what is doing? Will you slay these two young men, your sons by your queen, who are proficients in every virtue, and leave yourself destitute in your old age, and in the power of one son, who has very ill sustained the confidence placed in him, and to relations whose death you have so often resolved on yourself? Will you not take notice that the silence of the multitude at once sees the crime and abhors the case, and that the whole army and its officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are

the authors of this?" The king heard these words, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the tragedy and the perfidiousness of Herod's domestics, he was moved at it: but when Tero went on further, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, (for he was too boorish to accommodate himself to the occasion,) Herod was greatly vexed, and seeming to be rather reproached by his speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, as he learned thereby that the soldiers abhorred what he was about, and the officers were indignant at it, he gave orders that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

§ 6. When this was done, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and told the king, that Tero often urged him, when he shaved the king, to cut his throat with the razor, for so he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave orders that Tero and his son and the barber should be tortured, which was done accordingly. And though Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and without hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said that if the king would free him and his father from those torments for what he should say, he would tell the truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to approach him when he was alone; and if, when he had done so, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done on behalf of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the torture, but it is uncertain whether he had been thus forced by the torture to speak what was true, or whether it was a contrivance of his own to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their pain.

§ 7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about putting his sons to death, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but as he had rejected whatever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning

better about the matter, so he made haste at once to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He therefore brought three hundred of the officers that were accused, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly, and brought charges against them all; and the multitude stoned them with whatever came to hand, and so killed them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste<sup>1</sup> by their father's command, and there strangled; and their dead bodies were carried by night to Alexandrium, where their uncle on the mother's side, and most of their ancestors, had been buried.

§ 8. And now perhaps it may not seem strange to some that such a long-standing hatred should so grow, and proceed so far as to overcome nature: but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it is to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such a handle to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way made things past remedy, and caused him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it is to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very greedy in the desire of power and of other kinds of glory, that he would take no one into partnership with him, that so whatever he wished might be law; or indeed, whether Fortune has not greater power than all prudent forecasting, whence we are persuaded that human actions are determined beforehand by her by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her. However, I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the perversity of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical view of our ancient law. As to the other two causes of this sad event, anybody may partly lay the blame on the young men, who under the influence of youthful vanity, and pride at their royal birth, listened to the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not kindly judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustich.*

speaking of them, and so on both accounts easily led away by those who observed them, and informed of them to gain favour. However, their father cannot be thought worthy of excuse as to his impiety to them, seeing that, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparation for such an attempt, he had the heart to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies and the great darlings of all other men, and no way deficient in their pursuits, whether hunting, or warlike exercises, or speaking upon occasional topics. For in all these things they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest. And certainly it would have been sufficient, even though Herod had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to have let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, as he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, and would prevent his suffering anything from either a sudden attack or from open force. But for him to kill them so quickly, in order to gratify a passion that mastered him, was a proof of excessive impiety; especially as he was guilty of so great a crime in his old age. Nor will the delay that he made, and the late time in which the crime was done, plead at all for his excuse. For when a man is taken by surprise and moved to commit a wicked action, although it be a grave crime, yet it is a thing that is always happening; but to do it deliberately, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent delays, to undertake and accomplish it at last, was the action of a murderous mind, and one not easily moved from what is evil. Moreover Herod showed this temper in what he did afterwards, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, in regard to whom, though the justice of their punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man as great, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter either. But of these persons I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

## BOOK XVII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.—FROM  
THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS TO THE  
BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

## CHAP. I.

*How Antipater was hated by all the Nation for the Death of his Brothers ; and how, for that Reason, he courted his Friends at Rome, by giving them many Presents ; as he did also to Saturninus, the Governor of Syria, and to others. Also concerning Herod's Wives and Children.*

## § 1.

WHEN Antipater had thus got rid of his brothers, and brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted by the Furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind as to his future. For although he was delivered from the fear of his brothers being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation was become very great against him. And besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the alienation of the soldiers from him grieved him still more, for these kings derived from them all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation ; and he had drawn all this danger upon himself by his destruction of his brothers. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already ; and he was the more trusted by Herod and got his greater good-will for what it would have been well for him to have been put to death, as he seemed to have informed against his brothers from his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and still more to his father himself. Such was the accursed state he was in. Now, all Antipater's contrivances tended

to pave the way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising, and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him assistance, if Antipater became his open enemy; inso-much that the very plots he had laid against his brothers were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. And at this time he was more than ever set upon the carrying out of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were once dead, the kingdom would now be firmly secured to him; but, if Herod were to live any longer, he would himself be in danger upon discovery of the wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy. And so he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order so to take off men's hatred against him. He also sent great presents to his friends especially at Rome, to gain their good-will, and above all to Saturninus, the governor of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus' brother by the large presents he bestowed on him; and also used the same treatment to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And as he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very clever in gaining their belief, and very cunning in hiding his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who had understood him a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, as she had already used every possible caution to prevent his malicious designs. And although Antipater's maternal uncle had married her daughter, and that by Antipater's contrivance and management, as she had before been married to Aristobulus, while Salome's other daughter was married to Callias the son of her husband, yet that marriage was no obstacle to her discovering his wicked designs, any more than her former relationship to him could prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, when she was in love with Syllæus the Arabian, and had a great fondness for him, to marry Alexas, which match was arranged by Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest there should be open enmity between the brother and sister, as Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with

Salome, if she would not accept Alexas for her husband. And she listened to Julia as being the Emperor's wife, and also because she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her advantage. At this time, also, Herod sent back king Archelaus' daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

§ 2. Now Herod himself brought up his sons' children with very great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons and two daughters by Berenice, Salome's daughter; and once when his friends were with him, he produced the children before them, and deploring the fortune of his own sons, prayed that no such ill fortune might befall their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and so might make him return for his care of their education. He also promised them in marriage when they should come to the proper age, the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras' daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus' son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus' daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus' other daughter to Herod, a son of his own by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have several wives at the same time. Now, the king made these betrothals for the children out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to continue in the same temper of mind to his brothers' children as he had been in to his brothers themselves; and his father's affection for them irritated him, as he thought that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been, especially when they came to men's estate, as Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would have one of the daughters as wife for his son. What provoked him further was that all the multitude commiserated these fatherless children, and so hated him, and he feared that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his malignity to his brothers. He manœuvred, therefore, to upset his



father's arrangements, thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be powerful. And Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty: and the arrangement now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus' daughter, and Antipater's son Pheroras' daughter. And the betrothals were changed in this manner against the king's real wishes.

§ 3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives, one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter, but these two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, and her sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and her daughter Olympias, who afterwards married Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up at the house of a certain private man at Rome. Herod also had as wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had Herod and Philip, which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was another of his wives, who bore him a son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for wives Phaedra and Elpis, by whom he had two daughters, Roxane and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother as Alexander and Aristobolus, and whom Pheroras had refused to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the Babylonian Jew Zamaris. Also concerning the Plots laid by Antipater against his Father. Also about the Pharisees.*

### § 1.

AND now Herod, being desirous of securing himself against the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews between him and them, which might make his own country difficult of access, and which he might make a *point d'appui* to make sudden sallies

upon the enemy from a short distance, and so do them a mischief. So when he heard that there was a man that was a Jew come out of Babylonia with five hundred horsemen (all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback) who with a hundred of his relations had crossed over the Euphrates, and now dwelt at Antioch near Daphne in Syria, where Saturninus, who was then governor of Syria, had given them a place to dwell in called Valatha, he sent for this man and his companions, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanæa, which is bounded by Trachonitis, wishing to make his settlement a *point d'appui* against the enemy. He also promised to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell there without paying any such customs as used to be paid, and gave it them tax free.

§ 2. This Babylonian was induced by these offers to settle there, and took possession of the land, and built fortresses in it and a village, which he called Bathyra.<sup>1</sup> And he became a protection to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and also kept those Jews who came out of Babylon to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that many came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people because of the universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took over the government, he made them pay a few taxes, but for a little while only; and although Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, harassed them greatly, yet they would not take their liberty away. And though the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands from them, they still give them the privilege of their freedom, and oppress them merely with the imposition of taxes. But I shall treat these matters more fully in the progress of this history.

§ 3. At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died, having lived virtuously, and left good children behind him, one of whom was Jacimus, who was famous for his valour, and

<sup>1</sup> *el-Bethirra*; probably the same place as Baththora, one of the Roman military stations east of Jordan.

taught the Babylonians under him how to ride their horses, and a troop of them were body-guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacimus died in old age, he left a son whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any one; so that there was a firm friendship and lasting good-will between him and king Agrippa; and whatever army the king kept he constantly trained and led wherever they had occasion to march.

§ 4. The affairs of Herod being in the condition I have described, everything depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do what he pleased, by his father's concession, who believed in his good-will and fidelity to himself, and he ventured to use his powers still further, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe everything he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much because of the power and authority he had as for his cunning malice; and Pheroras especially paid court to him, and received the like friendship in return. And Antipater had cunningly surrounded him by a company of women, whom he placed about him; for Pheroras was completely under the influence of his wife, and her mother, and her sister; and that notwithstanding the hatred he bore them for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he put up with them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got round this man, and continued still to assist each other in all things, so that Antipater was entirely under their influence, owing both to himself and his mother, for these four women<sup>1</sup> all said the same thing; and the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater only differed in a few points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had pried into all their affairs, and knew that this friendship of theirs was made in order to do Herod some harm, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And as they knew that their friendship did not please Herod, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered, and pretended to hate one another, and

<sup>1</sup> Pheroras' wife, and her mother and sister, and Doris, Antipater's mother.—W.

abused one another as time and opportunity allowed, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him ; but their intimacy was greater than ever in secret. This was the course they took ; but they could not conceal from Salome either their contrivance when first they set about this plan, or when they had made some progress in it, but she searched out everything ; and, exaggerating the matter to her brother, disclosed to him their secret meetings and computations, and counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, might well enough have been open and public. And though to appearance they were at variance, and spoke about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, they agreed well enough together when they were out of the sight of people ; for when they were alone by themselves, they acted in concert, and professed that they would never leave off their friendship, but would fight against those from whom they concealed their designs. And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them ; who was himself aware of a great deal of what she said, but still durst not act upon it, because of the suspicion he had that much of his sister's tales was calumny. Now there was a certain sect of Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the strict observance of the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, and had great influence over women. They were called Pharisees, and ventured even to oppose kings. They were a cunning set, and prompt to open fighting and mischief. And when all the rest of the Jewish people gave assurance by oath of their good-will to the Emperor and to the king's government, these very men would not swear, who were more than six thousand ; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras' wife paid the fine for them. And they to requite that kindness of hers (for they were believed to have foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration) foretold that God had decreed that Herod's sway should cease, and that his posterity should be deprived of it, and that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras and their children. These predictions (for they were not concealed from Salome) were told the king ; as also how they had cor-

rupted some persons about the palace itself: and the king slew such of the Pharisees as were chiefly accused, and the eunuch Bagoas, and one Carus the royal catamite, who excelled all his contemporaries in beauty. He slew also those of his own household who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold. As for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them as though he should be called father and benefactor of him who was by the prediction to be their king: for this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry and beget children.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Enmity between Herod and Pheroras; how Herod sent Antipater to Augustus; and of the Death of Pheroras.*

## § 1.

WHEN Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of these crimes, he gathered together an assembly of his friends, and accused Pheroras' wife; and ascribing the outrages done to the virgins to the audacity of the woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon him. He added that she had stirred up strife between him and his brother, and had by her ill temper brought them into a state of war, to the best of her power, both by her words and actions; and that the fines which he had imposed had not been paid, for the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her. "And so Pheroras will do well, if he will, of his own accord, and at his own initiative, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of strife between us. And now Pheroras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away; for so thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras, (although moved by the force of Herod's words,) that he would neither do so unjust a thing as renounce his brotherly relation to him, nor leave off his

affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than live and be deprived of a wife that was so dear to him. Thereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he exacted a severe punishment, for he forbade Antipater and his mother to associate with Pheroras, and bade them take care to avoid the assemblies of the women: which they promised to do, but still got together when an opportunity presented itself, and both Pheroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went also, that Antipater had criminal connection with Pheroras' wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

§ 2. But Antipater was now suspicious of his father, and afraid that his hatred to him would increase: so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bade them signify to Herod, that he was to send Antipater without delay to Augustus. And Herod did this, and sent most handsome presents with Antipater, as also his testament, wherein he appointed Antipater to be his successor: and if Antipater should die first, Herod his son by the high priest's daughter was to succeed. And Syllæus the Arabian went with Antipater to Rome, though he had done nothing of all that Augustus had enjoined, and Antipater accused him of the same crimes as he had been formerly accused of by Nicolaus. Syllæus was also accused by Aretas of having without his consent slain many of the chief Arabians at Petra, and particularly Sohemus, a man that deserved to be honoured by all men, and of having slain Fabatus a slave of Augustus. Syllæus was also accused on the following account. Corinthus was one of Herod's body-guards, and greatly trusted by him. Syllæus had tempted this man by the offer of a great sum of money to kill Herod, and he had promised to do so. When Fabatus learnt of this, for Syllæus himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; and he had Corinthus arrested and put to the torture, and so wormed the whole conspiracy out of him. He also got two other Arabians arrested, trusting to the information of Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend of Syllæus, who were both put by the king to the torture, and confessed that they had come to encourage Corinthus not to fail in courage, and to assist him with their own hands in the

murder, if need should require their assistance. And Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole matter to him, sent them to Rome.

§ 3. Herod also commanded Pheroras, since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, to retire to his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and swore many oaths that he would not come back again, till he heard that Herod was dead. Indeed, when Herod was ill, and Pheroras was asked to come to him before he died, that he might entrust him with some injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him. But Herod did not imitate Pheroras in his conduct, but changed his purpose [not to see him,] which he before had, and as soon as Pheroras began to be ill, went to him without being sent for. And when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. Now this [death of Pheroras] became the beginning of Antipater's misfortunes, although he had already sailed for Rome, God being now about to punish him for the murder of his brothers. I shall narrate this matter very fully, that it may be a warning to mankind, that they take care to conduct their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Pheroras' Wife is accused by his Freedmen of poisoning him; and how Herod, upon examining the Matter by Torture, found the Poison; but also that it had been prepared for himself by his son Antipater; and how, upon Inquiry by Torture, he discovered the dangerous Designs of Antipater.*

##### § 1.

AS soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras' freedmen, who were much esteemed by him, went to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother unavenged, but to examine into the cause of his strange and unhappy death. As he was moved by these words, for they seemed to him to be true,

they said that Pheroras had supped with his wife the day before he fell ill, and that a certain potion was brought him in a kind of food he was not used to eat, and that when he had eaten it he died of it; that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, nominally as a love potion, (for it was called a philter,) but in reality to kill Pheroras; for the Arabian women were skilful in making such poisons, and the woman to whom they ascribed this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Syllæus' mistresses, and both the mother and sister of Pheroras' wife had been to the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had returned with it the day before Pheroras' last supper. At these words the king was exasperated, and put the women slaves and also some free women to the torture, and as the matter was by no means clear, because none of them would speak out, at last one of them, after suffering extreme agonies, said no more but that she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the cause of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered: the merry-makings, the secret meetings, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras' women.<sup>1</sup> (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was the gift of a hundred talents to him not to have any dealings with Pheroras.) It also came out what hatred Antipater bore to his father, and how he complained to his mother how very long his father lived, and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch, that if the kingdom ever came to him, it would not afford him the same pleasure; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brothers' children, being reared in hopes of the kingdom, as well as himself, all which made his own hopes of it uncertain; and even now, if he should himself not live, Herod had ordered that the kingdom should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on his brother. He had also accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons, and had said that it was the fear he was in, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive his

<sup>1</sup> His wife, her mother and sister.—W.



journey to Rome, and made Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy.

§ 2. All this tallied with what Herod's sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of unfaithfulness to him. And the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as Antipater himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras' women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son was one Antipater, a Samaritan, the steward of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, said among other things that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras, bidding him give it to his father during his own absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him as to it: and that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought the potion out of Egypt, and that it was sent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of the king's son Antipater, and so came to Pheroras' wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king questioned her about it, she confessed, and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top, but did not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet. And so, when the king comforted her, and promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but threatened her with the utmost tortures if she obstinately determined to conceal anything, she promised and swore that she would speak out and tell how everything was done; and said what most took to be entirely true. "The potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus, and his brother, who is a physician, procured it; and when Theudion brought it us, I kept it upon Pheroras' committing it to me, and it was prepared by Antipater for you. So when Pheroras was fallen ill, and you came to him and took care of him, and when he saw the kindness you had to him, his mind was broken thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me; 'Antipater has deluded me, wife, in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and

procuring a potion for that purpose. Go therefore and fetch the potion, (since my brother appears to have still the same kind disposition to me as he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself), and, that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother, burn it before my face:’ and I immediately brought it, and did as my husband bade me, and burnt most of the potion, but left a little of it, that if the king, after Pheroras’ death, should treat me ill, I might poison myself, and so get rid of my miseries.” Upon her saying this, she brought out the potion, and the box it was in, before them all. And another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, under the agony of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and recognised the box. The high priest’s daughter also, who was the king’s wife, was accused of having been privy to all this, and of having resolved to conceal it; so Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

§ 3. Meantime Bathyllus, Antipater’s freedman, also came from Rome, and upon being tortured, was found to have brought another potion, to give to Antipater’s mother and to Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod’s friends at Rome, by the advice and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths; and as if they concluded, because they were sent for home (for their father had already recalled them), that they themselves were also to be put to death. These letters were concocted for great rewards by Antipater’s friends. And Antipater himself also wrote to his father about Archelaus and Philip, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, for he said they were but striplings, and so imputed their words to their youth. He added that he had himself been very busy in the affair

relating to Syllæus, and in paying court to great men, and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them with, which had cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, while so many accusations were laid against Antipater in Judæa for seven months before this, that he was not made acquainted with any of them. The explanation of this is that the roads were carefully guarded, and that men hated Antipater: for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to procure Antipater's safety.

## CHAP. V.

*Antipater sails Home from Rome to his Father; and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then Governor of Syria; and how he was imprisoned till the Emperor should decide on the Case.*

## § 1.

NOW Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and as he was to do it, he would soon return, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bade him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaints about Antipater's mother, but promised that he would drop those complaints on Antipater's return. He also expressed his entire affection for him, fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey home, and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should plot for the kingdom, and do him some harm. Antipater got this letter in Cilicia, but had received an account of Pheroras' death before at Tarentum,<sup>1</sup> which news affected him deeply, not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he had died without having murdered Herod, as he had promised to do. And when he was at Celenderis<sup>2</sup> in Cilicia, he began

<sup>1</sup> *Taranto* in Italy.

<sup>2</sup> *Kilindria*, on the south coast of Asia Minor, opposite Cyprus.

to deliberate whether he should sail home, as he was much put out at the banishment of his mother. Now, some of his friends advised him to tarry a while and wait for further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay, for if he were once arrived there, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and nothing now afforded any weight to his accusers but his absence. He was persuaded by these last and set sail, and landed at the haven called Sebastus,<sup>1</sup> which Herod had built at vast expense, and called Sebastus in honour of Cæsar Augustus.<sup>2</sup> And now Antipater was evidently in a sorry plight, as nobody came to him or saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now anything to hinder the people from receiving him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, as they supposed he was come to receive punishment for the murder of his brothers.

§ 2. Now, Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus as governor of Syria, and was come as an adviser to Herod, who had asked his advice in the present state of affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came in, without knowing anything of the matter; so he entered the palace clothed in purple. The porters received him indeed in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great alarm, and clearly perceived the position he was in, for upon going to salute his father he was repulsed by him, and Herod called him a murderer of his brothers, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should hear everything and be his judge the very next day. So he found that the misfortune he now first heard of was already upon him, the greatness of which dismayed him, and his mother and wife soon had an interview with him (his wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod), from whom he learned everything, and prepared for his defence.

§ 3. The following day Varus and the king sat together in judgment, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, and his sister Salome, and as many as could discover anything, and all those who had

<sup>1</sup> The harbour of Cæsarea Palestina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Sebastus would be Greek for Augustus.

been tortured ; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who had been arrested a little before Antipater's coming, having on them a letter, the sum of which was that Antipater was not to return home, as all was come to his father's knowledge, and that Augustus was the only refuge he had left to prevent both him and her falling into Herod's hands. Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him not to prejudge his case, but that his father would first hear him, and not decide against him except upon evidence. Then Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then lamented that he had had children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes before, and now Antipater plotted against him in his old age. He also touched on the maintenance and education he had given his sons, and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them as they desired, though none of those favours had hindered them from plotting against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom in an impious manner, by taking away his life before either the course of nature, or their father's wishes, or justice, required that the kingdom should come to them. As to Antipater, he wondered what hopes could bring him to such a pass as to be bold enough to attempt such things ; for he had by his testament declared him in writing his successor in the kingdom, and while he was alive he was in no respect inferior to him either in his splendid dignity or in power and authority, as he had no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no less than thirty talents. He also accused him as to his brothers, saying if they were guilty he had imitated their example, and if they were innocent, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations ; for he had been informed of all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what he had done by his advice, and he now absolved them from all that was criminal, as he had become the inheritor of the guilt of their parricide.

§ 4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a-weeping, and was not able to say any more ; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, who was the king's friend, and very intimate with him, and well acquainted with all his affairs,

proceeded to what remained, and stated all that concerned the proofs and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in his defence, turned to his father, and enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him; and enumerated the honours that had been done himself, which would not have been done, had he not deserved them by his regard to his father; for he had made provision for everything that could be foreseen, as to giving his father the wisest advice; and whenever there was occasion for the labour of his hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. He added that it was unlikely that he who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances of others against him, should himself plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue then by the wickedness which succeeded it, and that though he was already appointed his successor, and had nothing to prevent his enjoying the royal honour with his father at present; nor was it likely that a person who had half the royal authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole with infamy and danger, and that when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not, and when he had seen the punishment of his brothers, and was both the informer and accuser against them when otherwise their guilt would not have been discovered; nay, was himself the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evident that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and even the contentions there were in the king's family, were proofs that he had ever managed affairs in the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome Augustus was a witness, who was no more to be imposed upon than God himself: of whose opinion his letters sent there were sufficient evidence, and it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances to those letters; most of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave opportunity to his enemies to forge them, which they would not have been able to do if he had been at home. Moreover, he descanted on the weakness of evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false; because the distress men were in under

such torture naturally obliged them to say many things in order to please those in power. He also offered himself to the torture \* \* \*.

§ 5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, as they greatly pitied Antipater, who, by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, moved even his enemies to compassion; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to recapitulate what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the witnesses. He mainly enlarged upon the king's virtue, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons, though he had never gained any advantage thereby, but had still fallen from one misfortune to another. And although he owned that he was not so much surprised at the thoughtless behaviour of Herod's other sons, who were younger, and were besides corrupted by wicked counsellors, who had caused them to wipe out of their minds all the righteous dictates of nature, and that from a desire of coming to the throne sooner than they ought to do; yet he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrible wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, yet was not more tamed in mind than the most envenomed serpents, and even those creatures admitted of some mitigation, and would not bite their benefactors; and Antipater had also not let the misfortunes of his brothers be any hindrance to him, but had gone on to imitate their barbarity none the less. "Yet wast thou (he continued) O Antipater! the informer as to the wicked actions they had dared, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but we are astounded at thy endeavours to imitate their wicked behaviour; and we discover thereby that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brothers, that by thy expressed hatred of their impiety thou mightest be believed to be a lover of thy father, and mightest so get

power enough to do mischief with the greater impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true thou tookest thy brothers off, because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs, but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their fellow-conspirators, and so didst make it evident to all men, that thou madest covenant with them against thy father, as thou chocest to be the accuser of thy brothers, wishing to gain for thyself alone the advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of the evil disposition which thou didst openly show against thy brothers; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that thought unworthy of thee. But if thy intention was otherwise, then art thou worse than they; for while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou wouldst not thyself have fallen into the like crime, but as successors to his throne, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brothers, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldst suffer the punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment from thy unhappy father, and didst devise such an uncommon sort of parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou, who art his son, didst not only plot against a father, but against one who loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, and had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, so that thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst sure hope of what was to come by thy father's determination and the security of a written testament. But certainly thou didst not estimate these things according to thy father's virtue, but according to thy own wicked thoughts, and wert desirous to take away the part of the kingdom that remained from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy with thy deeds him whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou also filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raisedst disturbances among thy brothers, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild



beast; whilst thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artifices of both men and women against an old man; as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great a hidden hatred as thou didst bear to him. And now thou appearest here, after the tortures of freemen and domestics and men and women on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow-conspirators, as anxious to contradict the truth, and hast thought on ways not only to take thy father out of the world, but to set aside that law which is written against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice. Nay, so great is that impudence in which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, though thou allegest that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have saved thy father from thee may not be thought to have spoken the truth, but that thy tortures forsooth may be esteemed the discoverers of truth! Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, who has pretended kindness to his father in order to destroy his brothers, while yet he is himself alone ready to take the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most deadly enemy to his father of them all? For thou art well aware that parricide is an injury alike to nature and life, and that the intention of parricide is as great a crime as its perpetration: and he who does not punish it does an injury to nature itself."

§ 6. Nicolaus added further what concerned Antipater's mother, as whatever she had prattled with womanish garrulity, and also about the predictions and sacrifices relating to the king; and whatever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and amours with Pheroras' women. He touched also upon the result of the examinations by torture, and the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many and of various kinds, some prepared beforehand, and others sudden answers, which confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were acquainted with any of Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of

fear, lest if he got off he would avenge himself on them, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of those who had begun to accuse him, and that fortune, which had often supported him before, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were insatiable in their hatred to him, now told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those who were his accusers, as by the great audacity of his wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and brothers, as he had filled their house with dissension, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship, but only so far as was likely to serve his own turn. Now there were many who had for a long time observed all this, and especially those who were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to decide about facts without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before, who now, upon the leave given them, produced all that they knew before the public. There were also various wicked crimes alleged against him, which could no way be refuted, because the many witnesses did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep back what they had to say from suspicion of any danger they were in, but they spoke what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved every punishment, not so much indeed for Herod's safety, as on account of his own wickedness. Many things were also said by a great number of persons who were not called upon to say them, so that Antipater, who used generally to be very clever in his lies and brazen-faced impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had finished producing his evidence, Varus bade Antipater betake himself to his defence, if he had prepared any whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also, to find him entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God and to all men to testify to his innocency, desiring that God would declare, by some evident signs,

that he had not laid any plot against his father. This is the usual method of all men destitute of virtue; when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God did not interfere in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavour to upset all the evidence against them by appealing to God; which was the very thing which Antipater now did. For whereas he had done everything as if there was no God in the world, now that he was on all sides hemmed in by justice, and was destitute of proofs by which he might rebut the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power that he had been preserved hitherto, and enumerated before them all the bold acts he had never failed to do for his father's safety.

§ 7. But when Varus, upon frequently asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found he had nothing to say besides appealing to God, and saw that there would be no end of all this, he bade them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drunk it by Varus' command, he died at once. Then Varus got up, and left the court, and the day following went away to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the royal city of the Syrians. And Herod at once put his son in prison. Now what Varus said to Herod was not known to the generality, nor his last words before he went away: though it was generally supposed that whatever Herod did afterwards to Antipater was done with his approbation. But when Herod had imprisoned his son, he sent letters to Rome to Augustus about him, and messengers also to inform Augustus by word of mouth of Antipater's crimes. Now, at this very time there was intercepted a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater from Egypt (where Antiphilus lived), and, when it was broken open by the king, it was found to contain what follows. "I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I am discovered. I wish thee

good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter; but the king made inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear, and Antiphilus' slave, who brought the letter which was read, denied that he had received any other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends, seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave (for he had two coats on), guessed that the letter might be hidden within the lining, which proved to be the case. So they took out the letter, and its contents were as follows. "Acme to Antipater. I have written to thy father such a letter as thou desiredst me. I have also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my mistress; and when he reads it, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him." Now, this pretended letter of Salome's to her mistress was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome as to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was as follows. "Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavour that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my mistress against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee, with risk to myself, but for thy advantage. The reason why she wrote it was because she had a mind to be married to Syllæus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, to inform him that, in compliance with his command, she had not only herself written to Herod, as if Salome was intensely eager to plot against him, but had also sent a copy of a letter, as coming from Salome to her mistress. This Acme was a Jewess by birth, and a slave to Julia, the Emperor's wife; and she did this out of friendship to Antipater, having been bought by him with a large sum of money, to assist in his evil designs against his father and aunt.

§ 8. Thereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was eager to have him slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also, and even corrupted the Emperor's household. Salome also incited him

to it, beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and questioned him, and bade him contradict it if he could, and not suppress anything he had to say from mistrust. But as he did not speak one word, he asked him, since he was every way detected of villany, at least to discover without delay his associates in his wicked designs. And he laid all upon Antiphilus, and discovered nobody else. Thereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was eager to send his son to Rome to Augustus, there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But afterwards he feared lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in; so he kept him in prison as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters [to Rome] to accuse his son, as also an account of the assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the letters before mentioned.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Illness that Herod had, and the Rebellion which the Jews raised in consequence, as also the Punishment of the Rebellious.*

## § 1.

NOW Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome, having been instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the letters with them. But Herod now fell ill, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas], his youngest son; and that out of hatred to Archelaus and Philip owing to the calumnies of Antipater. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to the Emperor, and five hundred to Julia, the Emperor's wife, and to the Emperor's children, and friends, and freedmen. He also distributed his money revenues and lands among his sons and grandsons. He also made Salome his sister very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and had never ventured to do him any harm. And as he despaired of recovering, for he

was in the seventieth year of his age, he grew very fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the reason whereof was that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a rebellion which some of the people excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows.

§ 2. Judas, the son of Sariphæus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, were two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of the youth; for all those youths that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they heard that the king's illness was incurable, incited the young men to pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and so obtain the rewards which the law would confer on them for such actions of piety, for it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden that his other misfortunes, which were so unusual among mankind, and this illness also, with which he was now afflicted, had come upon him. For Herod had caused some things to be made which were contrary to the law, for which he was accused by Judas and Matthias. For example the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, as an offering to the temple. Now, the law forbids those that propose to live according to it to erect images or representations of any living creatures. So these wise men bade [their scholars] pull down the golden eagle; saying that, though they might incur danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them was evidently far more advantageous to them than the pleasure of living, since they would die for the preservation and maintenance of the law of their fathers, and would also acquire everlasting fame and commendation, and would be commended not only by the present generation, but leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity. And as death could not be avoided by living to escape danger, it was well for those who aimed after virtue to accept their fate so as to go out of the world with praise and honour; and it would alleviate death to a great degree,

thus to come at it by noble actions which danger brought, and, at the same time, to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether men or women, which would be of great advantage to them afterwards.

§ 3. With such words did they incite the young men, and a report having come to them that the king was dead co-operated with the wise men's arguments. So at midday they went and pulled down the eagle and cut it in pieces with axes, while a great many people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, hearing of the affair, and supposing it was more serious than it proved to be, went to the spot with a large force, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who were trying to pull down what was dedicated to God: and he attacked them unexpectedly, as they were upon this bold attempt in foolish presumption rather than cautious prudence (as is usual with the multitude), and while they were in disorder and incautious of what was for their advantage; and he arrested no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to wait his attack when the rest ran away, as also the instigators of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, (who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach,) and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God, "Yes, (said they,) we contrived what was contrived, and we performed what has been performed, and that with such virtue as becomes men; for we have given our assistance to those things which are dedicated to the honour of God, and we have paid heed to the hearing of the law; and it ought not to be wondered at at all, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested and taught to him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. And we will with pleasure undergo death, or whatever punishment thou mayst inflict upon us, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall not die for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was equal to their words, as also to the spirit with which they had set about their bold action. And the king ordered them to be bound,

and sent them to Jericho, and summoned the principal men of the Jews. And when they were come, he assembled them in the theatre, and as he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account, and how he had built the temple at great expense, though the Asamonæans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their rule, had not been able to perform so great a work for the honour of God; and how he had also adorned it with very valuable votive offerings, so that he hoped he had left himself a memorial and fair fame after his death. He then cried out that these men had not abstained from affronting him even in his life-time, but in the very day-time, and in the sight of the multitude, had outraged him to that degree, as to lay their hands upon what he had dedicated, and by way of abuse to pull it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they had done so to affront him, but if any one considered the matter, he would find that they were really guilty of sacrilege against God.

§ 4. But those present, because of Herod's temper, and for fear he would be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said that what was done was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the deed deserved punishment. But Herod dealt more mildly with the others, but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part the cause of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias' wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, during the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, that another person was made high priest for a single day, which the Jews observed as a fast, for the following reason. This Matthias the high priest, during the night before the day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed in a dream to have connection with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, performed the sacred duties for him. Herod now deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood, and burnt alive the other Matthias, who had raised this insurrection, with his companions. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This eclipse of the moon (which is the only eclipse of either of the luminaries mentioned by our Josephus in any of his writings) is of the



§ 5. And now Herod's disease greatly increased upon him, God inflicting judgment upon him for his sins; for a slow fire consumed him, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; and brought on him a vehement appetite for eating, which he could not but satisfy. His intestines were also ulcerated, and he had especial pain in his colon; an aqueous and transparent humour was also in his feet, and a similar ailment afflicted him in his abdomen. His privy-member also was putrified, and bred worms; and when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very unpleasant, on account of the foulness of his breath, and his frequent panting; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which made him preternaturally strong. It was said by those who practised divination, and were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety. And though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear, yet had he some hopes of recovering, and sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his relief, and he crossed the river Jordan, and bathed in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe,<sup>1</sup> which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; these waters run into the lake called Asphaltites.<sup>2</sup> And when the physicians thought fit to revive him there, by placing him in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was dying; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he came round, and having no longer the least hopes of recovery, gave orders that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ. He also gave a great deal of money to their commanders, and to his friends, and returned to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it made him do all things savagely, and though he was near his death, he contrived the following wicked design. Having commanded that all the principal men of the entire

greatest consequence for the determination of the time for the death of Herod and Antipater, and for the birth and entire chronology of Jesus Christ. It happened March 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4710, and the 4th year before the Christian era.—W.

<sup>1</sup> The hot-springs in the *Wady Zerka Ma'in*, on the east of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> The Dead Sea.

Jewish nation, wherever they lived, should come to him (and a great number came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this decree, and death was the penalty of such as should neglect the letters sent to call them), the king was in a wild rage against them all, as well innocent as guilty, and ordered them to be all shut up in the hippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spoke to them as follows. "I shall die at no distant time, so great are my pains; and death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as usually takes place at a king's death." He added that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, and knew that his death would be a thing very desirable and exceedingly acceptable to them, for even during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him and despise his measures. He told them it was therefore their duty to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrow under these circumstances. For if they did not refuse him their consent in what he desired, he would have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never any king had had before him, for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore that as soon as they saw he had given up the ghost, they should place soldiers round the hippodrome, who did not know that he was dead, and that they should not announce his death to the multitude till this was done, and that they should give orders to have those that were in the hippodrome shot with these soldiers' darts; and this slaughter of them all would cause him not to fail to rejoice on two accounts, first at their performing what he charged them with his dying breath to do, and secondly at his having the honour of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition with tears in his eyes, and appealed to them by the kindness due from kindred, and by their faith in God, and conjured them not to debar him of this honourable mourning at his funeral. And they promised him to do what he wished.

§ 6. Now one may easily discover the temper of this

man's mind, even if one were satisfied with his former acts, as having been done to his relations from love of life, by these last commands of his which savoured of great inhumanity, since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning by the loss of their dearest ones, as he gave orders that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; though it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue to lay aside at the hour of death their hatred even to those whom they justly esteem their enemies.

## CHAP. VII.

*Herod has thoughts of killing himself with his own hands, and a little afterwards orders Antipater to be slain.*

## § 1.

AS he was giving these instructions to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors who had been sent to Rome to Augustus, and when they were read, their purport was as follows: that Acme had been put to death by Augustus, in consequence of his indignation at the hand she had had in Antipater's wicked practices; and that, as to Antipater himself, Augustus left it to Herod to act as became a father and king, and either to banish him or take away his life, which he pleased. When Herod heard this, he felt somewhat better from the pleasure he had at the contents of the letters, and was elated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but as his pains became very great, he was now ready to faint for want of something to eat; so he called for an apple and a knife; for it was his custom even formerly to pare an apple himself, and gradually to cut it and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and would have done so, had not his cousin Achiabus prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a

woeful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great noise was made, as if the king was dead. Upon this Antipater, who verily believed his father was dead, grew bold in his language, hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his own hands without any more ado; so he talked with the jailor about letting him go, and promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailor not only refused to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and of the many solicitations he had had from him. Thereupon Herod, who had not formerly been overpowered by good-will towards his son, when he heard what the jailor said, cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his body-guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any further delay, and to do it quickly, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Concerning Herod's Death, Testament, and Burial.*

#### § 1.

AND now Herod changed his testament again upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa,<sup>2</sup> and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. And Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Batanæa,<sup>3</sup> and Panias,<sup>4</sup> he gave to Philip, his son, and own brother to Archelaus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiii. 16. § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Peræa extended from Pella in the north to Machærus in the south, and from the Jordan eastward to Philadelphia, Rabboth Ammon. Jewish War, iii. 3. § 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Life, § 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsarea Philippi, now *Baniás*.

<sup>5</sup> When it is said that Philip and Archelaus were own brothers, or born of the same father and mother, there must be here some mistake; because they had indeed the same father Herod, but different mothers; the former Cleopatra, and Archelaus, Malthace. They were indeed

by the name of a tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jamnia,<sup>1</sup> and Azotus,<sup>2</sup> and Phasaelis,<sup>3</sup> to his sister Salome, as also five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of coined silver. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them suns of money and revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Augustus ten millions of [drachmæ] of coined silver, besides vessels both of gold and silver, and to Julia, Augustus' wife, exceedingly costly garments, and to some others five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused his son Antipater to be slain; having reigned thirty-four years since he had had Antigonus slain, and thirty-seven since he had been declared king by the Romans. He was a man of great cruelty to all men alike, and a slave to his anger, and indifferent to justice, yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king, and though he was surrounded by ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and protracted his life to a very old age. But as to the affairs of his family and sons, in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, he was in my opinion very unfortunate.

§ 2. However Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was generally known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome to their own homes, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and look after their own affairs. They thus conferred on the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, and Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiers together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the first thing they did was to read Herod's letter written to the soldiers, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to treat his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed as their king, with like fidelity and good-will. After this Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was not to be of force till Augustus had inspected it. And there was accla-

brought up all together at Rome like own brothers, which is perhaps all that Josephus intends by the words before us.—W.

<sup>1</sup> *Yebnah.*

<sup>2</sup> *Esdûd.*

<sup>3</sup> *'Ain Fusûil.*

nation made at once to Archelaus as king, and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and zeal in serving him, as they had exhibited to Herod, and they prayed God to be his helper.

§ 3. After this was over, they prepared for the king's funeral, Archelaus taking care that his father should be buried in a very sumptuous manner. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments to add to the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and the bier was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself, which had a diadem upon its head, and above it a crown of gold, and a sceptre in its right hand. Round the bier were Herod's sons and numerous relations; next to these were the soldiers, disposed according to their several countries and names, and placed in the following order: first of all went the body-guards, then the band of Thracians, after them the Germans, and next them the Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, preceded by their commanders and centurions; and these were followed by five hundred domestics carrying spices. And they went eight furlongs on the road to Herodium;<sup>1</sup> for there by his own command Herod was to be buried. And thus did he end his life.

§ 4. Now Archelaus paid his father so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed by the custom of our country. And when he had feasted the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; and he had acclamations and praises given him, whichever way he went, every one vying with one another who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. And he ascended a high platform made for him, and took his seat on a throne made of gold, and spoke kindly to the multitude, and declared with what joy he received their acclamations and marks of good-will; and returned them thanks for not remembering to his disadvantage the injuries his father had done them, and pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Jebel Fureidis.*

mised them he would endeavour not to be slack in rewarding their zeal to him. He said he should abstain at present from the name of king, but he would have the honour of that dignity if the Emperor should confirm the testament his father had made; and that was the reason why, when the army would have put the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who had the authority of bestowing it would give it him. But if he got the kingdom he would not (he said) come short in the virtue of gratitude for their good-will; for it should be his endeavour, in all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every respect better than his father. Whereupon the multitude, as is usual with them, supposed that the first days show the intentions of those that enter upon such sovereignty, and the more gently and civilly Archelaus spoke to them, so much the more highly did they commend him, and made application to him to grant what they desired. Some cried out to him to ease them of some of their annual payments, others to release those that had been put into prison by Herod (who were many, and had been there a long time); others asked that he would do away with those heavy taxes which had been laid upon what was publicly sold or bought. And Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, as he was anxious to do all things so as to conciliate the good-will of the multitude, looking upon that good-will as a great step towards the preservation of his power. He then went and offered sacrifice to God, and afterwards betook himself to feasting with his friends.

## CHAP. IX.

*How the People raised a Rebellion against Archelaus, and how he Sailed to Rome.*

### § 1.

**M**EANTIME some of the Jews assembled together out of desire of innovation, and lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not had

at the time any respect paid them by mourning, from the fear men were in of Herod, and had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. These people made a great clamour and lamentation, and threw out some reproaches against the king also, as if that was a solace to the deceased. They assembled together, and demanded of Archelaus, that, to avenge them, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod: and first and foremost that he would deprive the high priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. To this Archelaus assented, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome shortly, to see what the Emperor had determined about him. However, he sent his general to use persuasion, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law, and to represent to them that their petitions about these things were highly insulting to him, and that the time was not now fit for such petitions, but rather required their unanimity until he should be established on the throne by the consent of the Emperor, and should have come back to them; for he would then consult with them in common as to what they asked; but they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem factious.

§ 2. When the king had suggested this line of argument, and instructed his general what he was to say, he sent him to the people. But they made a clamour, and would not let him speak, and put him in danger of his life, as they also did to all who ventured upon saying openly anything which might bring them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses; because they had more desire to have all their way than to yield obedience to their rulers, thinking it monstrous that, while Herod was alive, they should have lost those who were most dear to them, and that now he was dead, they should not get their revenge. So they went on with their designs in a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, being unskilful in foreseeing what danger they ran, and if they had suspicion



of any such thing, the present pleasure they took in the idea of the punishment of those they deemed their very great enemies outweighed all such considerations. And although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons who came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not suffer one of them to speak. The rebellion was also set in motion by such as were in a great passion, and it was evident that it would grow, as the people joined the movement in great numbers.

§ 3. Now on the approach of the feast of Unleavened Bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews (which feast is called the Passover,<sup>1</sup> and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, when they offer sacrifices with zeal, and when it is customary to slay more victims than at any other festival, and when an innumerable multitude come out of the country—nay, from beyond its limits also, to worship God), the innovators lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, having plenty of food, because those factious persons were not ashamed to demand it. And as Archelaus was afraid that some terrible thing would happen owing to these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violence of the rebellious, before the whole population should be infected with the like madness; and charged them, if they found any more openly rebellious than others, to bring them before him. But those that were rebellious because of those dead teachers of the law, incited the people by noise and clamour, so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and went up to them, and stoned most of them, but a few ran away wounded, and their captain with them. And when they had thus done, they attended to the sacrifice again. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to keep his throne but by cutting off those of the people who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out his whole army against them, and despatched his cavalry to prevent those that had

<sup>1</sup> This Passover, when the rebellion here mentioned was moved against Archelans, was not one, but thirteen months after the eclipse of the moon already mentioned.—W.

their tents outside the temple from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as fled from the infantry when they thought themselves out of danger. And the cavalry slew some three thousand men, and the rest betook themselves to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made that all should go to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival fearing that something worse might follow, although they had been so bold because of their stupidity. Then Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many of his friends, and left his brother Philip governor of all things belonging both to his family and the realm. There also went with him Herod's sister Salome, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred went with her, under pretext of assisting Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, the Emperor's administrator in Syrian affairs, as he was making haste to Judæa to take charge of Herod's money, met with Archelaus at Cæsarea; but Varus came up and restrained him from meddling with it, for he had been sent for there by Archelaus through Ptolemy. And Sabinus, to gratify Varus, did neither seize upon any of the fortresses that were among the Jews, nor seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, till the Emperor should declare his will about them, and having promised that, he remained at Cæsarea. But after Archelaus had sailed for Rome, and Varus had removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those who had had the charge of Herod's affairs, and declared publicly that he should call them to account, and disposed of the fortresses as he pleased. However, those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had commanded them, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretext was that they kept them all for the Emperor.

§ 4. At the same time, also, did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, to claim the kingdom, being buoyed up by Salome with promises that he should have

it, as<sup>1</sup> being much fitter than Archelaus for that authority; since Herod had, in his former testament, which ought to be esteemed most valid, deemed him the worthiest to be made king. Antipas also took with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, who had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas; but it was Irenæus the orator, who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to think of claiming the kingdom. That was why, when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as his elder brother, who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not do so. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations came over to him, not out of good-will to him, but out of hatred to Archelaus, though indeed they were most desirous of gaining their liberty, and of being put under a Roman governor; but if opposition were made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so tried to get the kingdom for him. Sabinus also accused Archelaus to the Emperor in a letter.

§ 5. Now, when Archelaus had despatched a letter to the Emperor, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, and sent Ptolemy with Herod's seal and the accounts of Herod's money, he waited the event. And when the Emperor had read Archelaus' letter, and Varus' and Sabinus' letters, and the accounts of the money, and the statement of the annual revenues of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent a letter laying claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together to give their opinions, and among them Caius, the son of Agrippa and his daughter Julia whom he had adopted, whom he made to sit first of all, and bade such as pleased speak their minds about the affairs now before them. And Salome's son Antipater, a very clever orator, and a very bitter enemy to Archelaus, spoke first, and said that it was jesting of Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had in reality assumed the authority already, before Augustus had granted it. He also inveighed against his bold action in slaying so many at the

<sup>1</sup> For *kai* I read *ὡς*. It is well known how similar the abbreviation of these two words is, and how frequently this mistake is made in MSS.

Jewish festival, for if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those who were out of the country, and had the right to punish them, and not been executed by a man who, if he pretended to be a king, wronged Augustus by ignoring his authority, and if he owned himself a private person, his case was much worse, since he who put in claim to the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him over the Jews, of which he had already deprived Augustus. He also charged and upbraided him with changing some commanders in the army, and sitting on the royal throne, and deciding lawsuits, just as if he were king, and assenting to the requests of those that publicly petitioned him, and indeed his management of all things, which could in his opinion be no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Augustus. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that had either been done by him, or might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature as were done by young men, and by such as in desire of ruling grasped at power too soon. He also charged him with neglect in mourning for his father, and with revelling the very night he died; and said that was why the multitude began raising a tumult; and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, pretending to shed tears for him in the day-time like an actor on the stage, but every night making merry at having got the kingdom, he would show himself the same Archelaus to Augustus, if he granted him the kingdom, as he had been to his father; for he had then danced and sung, as though an enemy of his had fallen, and not as though a man was being carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related to him, and had been so great a benefactor. But he said that the most monstrous thing of all was, that he came now before Augustus to obtain the kingdom by his grant, when he had before acted in all things as he would have acted if the Emperor himself had already fixed him firmly in the kingdom. And what he most exaggerated in his pleading was the slaughter of those in the temple, and the impiety of its being done

at festival time, and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of them foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies: and all this was not done by an alien, but by one who laid claim to the lawful title of king, that he might fulfil the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which was hated by all men. That was no doubt the reason why his father had never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his character, and in his former and more authentic testament had appointed his enemy Antipas to succeed; for Archelaus was called by his father to the kingdom, when Herod was in an ailing condition both of body and mind, while Antipas was called when Herod was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs. And even if his father had had the like notion of him formerly that he had now showed, yet Archelaus had given a sufficient specimen of what sort of a king he was likely to be, when he deprived Augustus of the power which he justly had of disposing of the kingdom, and had not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow-citizens in the temple when he was but as yet a private person.

§ 6. When Antipater had said thus much, and had confirmed what he said by producing many witnesses from among his own relations, he ended his speech. Upon which Nicolaus rose up on behalf of Archelaus, and said that what had been done in the temple was rather to be attributed to the behaviour of those who had been killed than to the authority of Archelaus; for those who were the authors of such things, were not only wicked in the injuries they themselves did, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. And it was evident that their hostile action was taken in pretext, indeed, against Archelaus, but in reality against the Emperor himself, for those riotous persons attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings, having no regard either to God or to the custom of the festival; and yet Antipater was not ashamed to advocate their cause, whether to indulge his enmity against Archelaus, or because of his own hatred of virtue and

justice. For those who began such tumults, and attacked people who little expected it, forced men even against their will to betake themselves to arms to punish them. Nicolaus also ascribed all the rest that was done to all those who had acted in counsel with the accusers, for nothing which was here accused of as unjust had been done, but what had been approved of by them; nor were those things bad in themselves, but only so represented to harm Archelaus. So great was these factious persons' desire to do injury to a man that was of their kindred, and their father's benefactor, and one familiarly acquainted with them, who had ever lived in friendship with them. And as to Herod's testament, it was made by the king when he was in a sound mind, and so ought to be more valid than his former testament, for Augustus was left by it the judge and sole disposer of all its contents. And certainly Augustus would not imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's life, had on all occasions been benefited by his power, and yet now zealously endeavoured to hinder his will, though they had not themselves deserved as well of Herod as Archelaus had. Augustus would not therefore disannul the testament of a man who had put everything at his disposal, and had been his friend and ally, and had committed everything to him in trust. Nor would Augustus' virtuous and upright disposition, which was known and uncontested throughout all the world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as having lost his reason, and as a madman, for having bequeathed the succession to a good son, who fled to Augustus' uprightness for refuge. Nor could Herod ever have been mistaken in his judgment about his successor, when he showed so much prudence as to submit all things to the decision of Augustus.

§ 7. When Nicolaus had laid these arguments before Augustus, he ended his speech. And Augustus kindly raised Archelaus up when he threw himself down at his feet, and said that he was most worthy of the kingdom, and showed that he was not disposed to act otherwise than his father's testament directed, which was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, though he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to rely on him and banish all

fear, he made no full determination about him. And, when the assembly was broken up, he debated with himself, whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should divide it among all Herod's posterity, as these too stood in need of much assistance.

## CHAP. X.

*An Insurrection of the Jews against Sabinus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Punishment.*

## § 1.

BUT before these things could be brought to a settlement, Archelaus' mother, Malthace, fell ill and died, and letters came from Varus, the governor of Syria, informing Augustus of a revolt of the Jews. For, after Archelaus had sailed, the whole nation was in an uproar, and Varus himself, as he was on the spot, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had mostly composed this rising, which was a formidable one, he set out for Antioch, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, if they made any new rising. But this did not at all avail to put an end to their rebellion; for after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Augustus' procurator, stayed behind, and greatly harassed the Jews, believing that the forces that were left there would by their numbers be too many for the Jews. For he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, so oppressing and troubling the Jews, that they rebelled; for he used force to seize the citadels, and zealously made violent search for the king's money, on account of his love of gain, and extraordinary covetousness.

§ 2. Now on the approach of Pentecost (which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forefathers) a great many myriads of men assembled together not only to keep the festival, but also in consequence of their indignation at the mad insolence of Sabinus. They were chiefly Galilæans and Idumæans, and from Jericho, and those who inhabited the districts on the other side of the

river Jordan, who all banded together, and were more zealous than the others to avenge themselves on Sabinus. And they divided themselves into three bands, and encamped in the following places, some of them seized upon the hippodrome, and one of the other two bands encamped on the east quarter from the north part of the temple to the south, while the third band occupied the west part of the city where the king's palace was. Their action tended to besiege entirely the Romans, and to shut them in on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's numbers and spirit, for they had little regard to their lives from their desire not to be overcome, and they thought it virtue to conquer their enemies; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as was usual with him, was very urgent with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, as the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be intercepted and cut to pieces. But he himself occupied the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus (which had been built in honour of Phasaelus,<sup>1</sup> king Herod's brother, and so called when the Parthians had brought him to his death<sup>2</sup>), and thence gave a signal to the Romans to attack the Jews, and although he did not himself venture even to come down to his friends, expected that all the others should expose themselves to death for his greediness. And as the Romans ventured to make a sally, a terrible battle ensued; and though the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews cowed in spirit even at the sight of the terrible slaughter that was made of many of them, but they made a circuit, and got upon those porticoes which surrounded the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still maintained, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly from slings, being very expert in that kind of warfare. All the archers also drawn up in battle-array did the Romans a great deal of mischief, because they were on higher ground, and so not easy to get at, for when the Romans tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, so that the

<sup>1</sup> The 'Tower of David' at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> See Antiq. xiv. 13, § 10, and Jewish War, ii. 12, § 9.—W.



Jews were too much for their enemies here. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly enraged at what was done, set fire to the porticoes so stealthily, that those Jews who were upon them did not perceive it. This fire being fed by a great deal of combustible matter,<sup>1</sup> soon caught the roof of the porticoes; and the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, especially as its gold was smeared over with wax, yielded to the flames at once; and those vast works, which were so worthy of esteem, were destroyed utterly, and those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for, as the roof tumbled in, some of these men fell down with it, and others were killed by their enemies who surrounded them. Many also, in despair of saving their lives, and dismayed at the fate that awaited them, either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their own swords, and so got out of their misery. And as to those that endeavoured to escape by the same way by which they ascended, they were all killed by the Romans, being unarmed, and their courage failing them; their reckless fury being now unable to serve them, as they were destitute of armour; so that not one of those that ascended to the roof escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it was practicable, and seized on the treasure where the sacred money was; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers, but Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

§ 3. Now the loss of their friends, who fell in this battle, grieved the Jews, as did also the plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. So that body of them which was most compact and most warlike surrounded the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it, and commanded them to go out quickly, and promised, if they would do so, that they would not hurt them, or Sabinus either. And most of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus,

<sup>1</sup> These great devastations made about the temple here, and Jewish War, ii. 3, § 3, seem not to have been fully repaired in the days of Nero; till whose time there were 18,000 workmen continually employed in rebuilding and repairing the temple, as Josephus informs us, Antiq. xx. 9, § 7.—W.

who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of bodily activity, went over to the Romans. There was also a troop of horse under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the walls, and besought those that had gone over to the other side not to hinder them, now they had such an opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty. As for Sabinus, he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but dared not trust himself with the enemy on account of the mischief he had already done them, and this great clemency of theirs (*which he suspected*) made him reject their offer. He also expected that Varus was coming, and so endured the siege.

§ 4. At this time there were myriads of other troubles in Judæa, many people in many places stirring up war either in hope of gain to themselves, or from enmity to the Jews. And two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, mustered in Judæa itself, and fought against the king's troops, and Achiabus, Herod's cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by their military skill, he kept on ground not easy of approach, and saved what he could.

§ 5. There was also one Judas, the son of that Ezekias who had been a robber-chief, a very strong man, who had with great difficulty been taken by Herod. This Judas having got together a multitude of men of profligate character at Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there,] and seized upon all the weapons that were stored up in it, and armed with them every one of his men, and made off with all the money that was left there, and became terrible to all men by plundering those that came near him, in consequence of a thirst for power, and an ambitious desire for royal rank, which he hoped to obtain, not as the reward of his virtue, but of his power to do harm.

§ 6. There was also one Simon, who had been a slave of

<sup>1</sup> *Sefûrich.*

Herod the king, but was in other respects a comely person, tall and of a robust body, and had had great things committed to his trust. He, being elated at the disorderly state of affairs, was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, and a certain number of the people stood by him, and by their madness he was hailed as king, and he thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else, and burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it, and also set fire to many other of the king's houses in various parts of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those who were associated with him to take what was left in them as spoil. And he would have done greater things, if care had not been taken to repress him quickly; for Gratus, after he had joined himself to the Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and obstinate fight, most of those that came from Peræa, who were a disorderly body of men, and fought in rather a bold than skilful manner, were cut to pieces, and although Simon tried to save himself by flight through a certain defile, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace at Amatha,<sup>1</sup> near the river Jordan, was also burnt down by a party of men that mustered together, like those belonging to Simon. Thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king of their own to keep the multitude in virtue, and because those foreigners, who came to reduce the rebellious to order, did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of their avarice and outrageous treatment of them.

§ 7. At this time also Athronges, a person eminent neither for the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great virtue or wealth of his own, as he was only a shepherd, and obscure in all respects, because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, was so bold as to set up for king, and thought it so sweet a thing to do injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in such actions. He had also four brothers, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in

<sup>1</sup> *Amateh*, east of the Jordan and north of the Jabbok.

the strength of their hands, and he thought that strength of theirs would aid him in retaining his kingdom. Each of them ruled over a band of men of their own; for those who mustered to them were very numerous. They were also every one of them commanders, but when they came to fight, they were subordinate to Athronges, and fought for him, and he put a diadem on his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things were to be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And he retained his power a great while, being called king, and having nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased, and he and his brothers slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, acting with the like hatred to each of them, to the king's forces because of their outrageous conduct during Herod's reign, and to the Romans because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men alike, nor could any one escape, for they slew some in the hope of gain, and others from the mere habit of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and surrounded Areus, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot down him and forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; and the rest of them were dismayed at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but escaped themselves by the aid of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were with him to their assistance. They continued such guerilla warfare a long while, and much harassed the Romans, but did their own nation also a great deal of injury. But they were afterwards put down, one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; and Archelaus took the eldest of them prisoner, when the last of them was so dejected at the others' misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, being left alone and worn out with continual labours, and having lost his men, that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things happened some time afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> Emmaus Nicopolis, 'Amwās.

§ 8. And now Judæa was full of bands of robbers, and, as the several companies of the seditious lit upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the community. They did some small harm to a few of the Romans, but their murders of their own people lasted the longest.

§ 9. Directly Varus was informed of the state of Judæa by Sabinus' writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left; so he took the two other legions (for there were three legions in all in Syria), and four troops of horse, and all the auxiliary forces that either the kings or any of the tetrarchs supplied him with, and made what haste he could to assist those who were then besieged in Judæa. He also gave orders to all who were sent forward to hasten to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus<sup>1</sup> also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries, as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petræa,<sup>2</sup> from his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent no small assistance, besides foot and horse. And when Varus had concentrated all his forces at Ptolemais,<sup>3</sup> he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais; and they attacked the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pushed on to Samaria<sup>4</sup> with the main army: but he did not meddle with the city of that name, because it was not accused of rebellion, but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, called Arus,<sup>5</sup> which the Arabians burnt from their hatred to Herod, and from the enmity they bore to his friends. The Arabians marched thence to another village called Sampho,<sup>5</sup> which they plundered and burnt, although it was a very strong and fortified place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus' order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had been

<sup>1</sup> *Beirût.*

<sup>2</sup> The desert of Petra and the Peninsula of Sinai.

<sup>3</sup> *'Akka.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

slain there. From thence Varus marched at once to Jerusalem, and those Jews whose camp lay there, and who were besieging the Roman legion, at first sight of the approach of his army raised the siege and fled. But as to the Jews in Jerusalem, when Varus reproached them bitterly, they cleared themselves of the charges laid against them, and said that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast, and that the war was not made with their approbation, but came from the rashness of the strangers, for they were on the side of the Romans, and rather besieged with them, than desirous at all to besiege them. Now Joseph, the cousin of king Herod, had also come before this to meet Varus, as had also Gratus and Rufus (who brought their soldiers with them), and those Romans who had been besieged. But Sabinus did not come into Varus' presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.

§ 10. Next Varus sent a part of his army all over the country, to seek out the authors of the revolt; and when they were discovered, he punished some of those that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: the number of those that were crucified on this account was two thousand. After this he disbanded his army, which he found not at all useful, for the soldiers behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed Varus' orders and wishes, being intent on the gain which they made by malpractices. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had mustered together, he made haste to crush them; but they did not venture to fight him, but, at the advice of Achiabus, surrendered to Varus. Thereupon he forgave the multitude their crime of revolting, but sent their several commanders to Augustus. The Emperor dismissed many of them, and the only persons whom he punished were those relations of Herod who had joined these men in this war, who, without the least regard to justice, had fought against their own kindred.

## CHAP. XI.

*An Embassy of the Jews to Augustus, and how he confirmed Herod's Testament.*

## § 1.

WHEN Varus had settled these affairs, and left the legion that had been formerly there to garrison Jerusalem, he set out for Antioch. As for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome from the following circumstances. An embassy of the Jews came to Rome (Varus having permitted the nation to send it) to petition for the liberty of living according to their own laws. Now, the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the will of the nation was fifty, who were joined by more than eight thousand Jews who dwelt at Rome. And Augustus assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at great expense, and the ambassadors came there, and the multitude of Jews that lived at Rome with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends. But as for the various kinsmen of the king, they would not join themselves with Archelaus, from their hatred to him; and yet they thought it monstrous to vote with the ambassadors against him, supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Augustus' opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also had arrived there from Syria, at the instigation of Varus, with the principal intention of assisting his brother (for Varus was his great friend), but still so, if any change should happen in the form of government (for Varus expected the kingdom would be divided, because of the many who desired the liberty of living in accordance with their own laws), that he might not be behind, but might have his share of it.

§ 2. Now upon liberty being given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped by their words to put down kingly government betook themselves to accusing Herod of various lawless acts, and declared that he had been nominally indeed a king, but had usurped that absolute

authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and had not abstained from introducing many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclination. And although a great many had perished during his reign by various kinds of deaths, so many indeed as no previous history related, they that had survived were far more miserable than those that had suffered, not only from the anxiety they were in as to his look and disposition, but also from the danger their estates were in. They said Herod had never ceased adding to the beauty of those neighbouring cities that were inhabited by foreigners, but the cities belonging to his own kingdom were ruined and utterly destroyed, and whereas when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinarily flourishing condition, he had afflicted the nation with extreme poverty, and when he had slain any of the nobility upon unjust pretences, he had taken away their estates, and when he permitted any of them to live, he had condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they had had to make liberal presents to him and his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers, because there was no way of obtaining freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. They would say nothing of the deflowering of their virgins, or the debauching of their wives, and that carried out in a wanton and inhuman manner, because it was almost equal pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed as not to have suffered them. They said Herod had ill treated them worse than a wild beast would have done, if he had had power given him to rule; and although their nation had passed through many vicissitudes and changes, their history gave no account of any calamity it had ever undergone, that could be compared with what Herod had brought upon the nation. And so they had thought they might reasonably and gladly hail Archelaus as king, upon the supposition that whoever should be set over the kingdom would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and they had joined with him in the mourning for his



father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they found him mild in his dealings with them. But he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he immediately let the nation understand his disposition, and that before his position on the throne was secure, since Augustus could either give it him or not, as he pleased. Moreover he had given his subjects a specimen of his future virtue, and of the kind of moderation and good administration with which he would govern them, by his first action in the sight of the citizens and God himself, when he slaughtered three thousand of his own countrymen in the temple. How, then, could they help justly hating him who, besides his other barbarity, had alleged as one of their crimes that they had opposed and thwarted him in the exercise of his authority? They concluded by saying that the main thing they desired was that they might be delivered from kingly and similar governments, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such chief magistrates as should be sent to them; for it would thereby be made evident, whether they were really rebellious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they had mild rulers set over them.

§ 3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said that as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused during his life, it was not right for those that might during his lifetime have accused him before just judges, and procured his punishment, to bring an accusation against him now that he was dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' insolence, who, striving after what was contrary to the laws, and beginning to kill those who would have hindered them from their insolence, now complained of just reprisals. He also accused them of their love of innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, because of their not having learned to submit to justice and the laws, through their desiring to have their way in all things. This was what Nicolaus said.

§ 4. When Augustus had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly, and a few days afterwards appointed

Archelaus not indeed king, but ethnarch of half the country that had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity subsequently, if he deserved it. As for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus the whole kingdom. Now Peræa and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, to Antipas, while Batanæa and Trachonitis and Auranitis, with a certain portion of what was called the house of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip. But Idumæa, and Judæa, and Samaria, paid tribute to Archelaus, but had a fourth part of their tribute taken off by order of Augustus, who decreed them that abatement because they had not joined in revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also other cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, as Strato's tower,<sup>1</sup> and Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> and Joppa, and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza and Gadara<sup>3</sup> and Hippos,<sup>4</sup> they are Greek cities, which Augustus separated from Archelaus' jurisdiction, and added to the province of Syria. And the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his dominions amounted to six hundred talents.

§ 5. So much of their father's inheritance came to Herod's sons. As to Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, namely, Jamnia,<sup>5</sup> and Azotus,<sup>6</sup> and Phasaelis,<sup>7</sup> and five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of coined silver, Augustus made her a present of the royal habitation at Ascalon; <sup>8</sup> her revenues in all amounted to sixty talents a year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus' jurisdiction. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Augustus made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand [drachmæ] of silver, and married them to Pheroras' sons; he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, except a few of the vessels,

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Samaria, *Sebustieh*.

<sup>3</sup> *Umm Keis*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sûsiyeh*. See Life, § 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ychnah*.

<sup>6</sup> *Esdûd*.

<sup>7</sup> *'Ain Fusûil*.

<sup>8</sup> *'Ascalân*.

which he reserved for himself ; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for their great value as because they were memorials to him of king Herod.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning a spurious Alexander.*

## § 1.

WHEN these affairs had been thus settled by Augustus, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freedman in the city of Sidon, palmed himself off as akin to Herod, by the resemblance of countenance, which those who saw him attested him to have to Alexander the son of Herod, whom Herod had had put to death. And this was an incitement to him to endeavour to seize the kingdom. So he took to him as an assistant a man of his own tribe (one who was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but in other respects a bad man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great mischief, and who taught this wicked contrivance to the other), and declared himself to be Alexander the son of Herod, who had been stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who slew two others to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus alive. Thus was this man puffed up, and proceeded to impose on all that saw him, and when he landed at Crete, he made all the Jews that came into his company believe his story. And when he had got much money, which was presented to him there, he crossed over to Melos,<sup>1</sup> where he got much more money than he had before, from the belief the people of Melos had that he was of the royal family, and from their hopes that he would recover his father's kingdom, and reward his benefactors : so he made haste to Rome, and was escorted there by his private friends. He was also so fortunate, upon landing at Dicearchia,<sup>2</sup> as to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion ; and not only other

<sup>1</sup> This island, now *Milo*, is the most westerly of the Cyclades.

<sup>2</sup> Puteoli, now *Pozzuoli*, near *Naples*.

people, but also all those who had been intimate with Herod, or had good-will to him, joined themselves to him as their king. The reason was that men gladly listened to his tale, which was confirmed by his appearance, which made those who had been intimately acquainted with Alexander believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath. And so, when the report went about him that he was come to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to divine providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful because of their affection to his mother's family. And wherever he went, he was carried in a litter through the streets, and all the ornaments about him were such as kings wore, and all this was done at the expense of his private friends. The multitude also flocked about him perpetually, and made auspicious acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought proper treatment for such as had been so unexpectedly preserved alive.

§ 2. When news of this was told Augustus he did not believe it, because Herod was not so easily to be imposed upon in affairs of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent Celadus, one of his freedmen, who had intimately known the young men, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence. And he brought him, being no better in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. However the young man did not deceive Augustus, for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as had good discernment. For this spurious Alexander had his hands rough from the labour he had undergone, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, derived from his delicate and noble bringing up, this man, for the contrary reason, had a hard body. When, therefore, Augustus saw how the master and scholar agreed in this lying story, and in their audacious fiction, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what had become of him, who (according to his story) was stolen away also, and why he had not come with him, and endeavoured to recover the rights due to his high birth also? And he said, that he had been left in the island of Cyprus, for fear of the

dangers of the sea, that, in case anything should happen to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that had plotted against them. And as he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture bore him out, Augustus took the young man aside and said to him, "If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this; for this contrivance is too great a piece of villany to have been undertaken by one of thy age." And as he had no other course to take, he told Augustus of the contrivance, and how, and by whom, it was made up. Then Augustus, observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands (for he would not break his promise to him) put him to row in his galleys, but had him executed who had induced him to do what he had done. As for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. Such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance in regard to this spurious Alexander.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How Archelaus, upon a second Accusation, was banished to Vienne.*

#### § 1.

WHEN Archelaus had taken over his ethnarchy, and returned to Judæa, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of having assisted the rebellious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother into his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace at Jericho, and diverted half the water with which the village of Neara<sup>1</sup> used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, which he had planted with palm-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Naarah or Naarath of Josh. xvi. 7, now *Kh. el-'Aūjah*, in the Jordan valley.

trees. He also built a village which he called Archelais;<sup>1</sup> and he transgressed the law of our fathers<sup>2</sup> by marrying Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, who had three children by her, though it was a thing detestable among the Jews to marry their brothers' wives. But Eleazar did not continue long in the high priesthood; Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

§ 2. Now in the tenth year of Archelaus' rule, the principal men of Judæa and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him to Augustus, especially as they knew he had broken the commands of the Emperor, namely to behave himself with moderation among them. And Augustus, when he heard this accusation, was very angry, and called for Archelaus' agent, who looked after his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bade this agent sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome: and he made haste in his voyage, and when he reached Judæa, found Archelaus feasting with his friends; and he told him what Augustus had sent him for, and hurried him off. And when he reached Rome, Augustus, upon hearing what his accusers had to say, and his reply, banished him, and appointed Vienne,<sup>3</sup> a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

§ 3. Now, before Archelaus had gone up to Rome upon being summoned by Augustus, he related the following dream to his friends, that he saw ten ears of corn full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen. And when he woke (for the vision appeared to be of great importance to him) he sent for the wise men who understood dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the

<sup>1</sup> *Tell el-Mazâr*, in the Jordan valley.

<sup>2</sup> Spanheim seasonably observes here, that it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife, when she had children by her first husband, and that Zenoras interprets the clause before us accordingly. —W.

<sup>3</sup> *Vienne*, on the left bank of the *Rhone*.

sect of the Essenes, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said that the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in its labours, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted further a change of affairs, because the land which was ploughed by oxen could not remain in its former state: and that the ears of corn being ten marked the same number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus' rule was over. Thus did this man expound the dream. Now, on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judæa by Augustus to recall him, arrived also.

§ 4. Something similar befell Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, and was married, as I said before, while she was a virgin, to Alexander the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but after Alexander was put to death by his father, she married Juba, the king of Libya, and when he was dead, and she living in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glaphyra. And she, during her marriage to him, had the following dream. She thought she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection, but he complained of her, and said, "O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bore to thee, in thy desire for a second husband. Nor wast thou satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and impudent manner hast entered into my house, having married Archelaus, thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from all reproach, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." When she had related this dream to her female companions, a few days after she departed this life.

§ 5. Now, I do not think these stories unsuitable in my

present history, because my narrative is now concerning kings; and besides I thought them fit to be set down, as they confirm the immortality of the soul, and the providence of God over human affairs. But if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another, that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. However Archelaus' country was added to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, who had been consul, was sent by Augustus to take a valuation of property in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

## BOOK XVIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS, TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

### CHAP. I.

*How Cyrenius was sent by Augustus to take a Valuation of Syria and Judæa; and how Coponius was sent to be Procurator of Judæa; also of Judas of Galilee, and the Sects that were among the Jews.*

#### § 1.

NOW Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other offices, and had passed through all till he became consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great merit, came at this time into Syria with a few others, being sent by Augustus to be a judge of that nation, and to take a valuation of their substance. Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Cyrenius also came into Judæa, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take a valuation of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus' money. But the Jews, although at first they took the report of a taxation very ill, yet left off any further opposition to it, at the persuasion of Joazar, who



was high priest, and the son of Boethus. For they listened to Joazar's words, and gave an account of their estates without any dispute. But one Judas,<sup>1</sup> a Gaulanite, of a city whose name was Gamala,<sup>2</sup> joining himself to Sadduc a Pharisee, was eager to draw them to a revolt. Both said that this taxation was nothing but a direct introduction of slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty, as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and if they failed in the happiness that would result from this, they would acquire honour and glory for magnanimity. They also said that God would not assist them unless they joined with one another energetically for success, and still further set about great exploits, and did not grow weary in executing the same. And the men heard what they said with pleasure, and so this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected by them to an incredible degree: one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends who used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies, and murders of our principal men, under pretext indeed of the public welfare, but in reality from the hopes of private gain. Hence arose seditions, and owing to them political murders, which sometimes fell on their own people, (from the madness of these

<sup>1</sup> Since St. Luke once, Acts v. 37, and Josephus four times, here, § 6, and xx. 5, § 2; Jewish War, ii. 8, § 1, and 17, § 8, calls this Judas, who was the pestilent author of that seditious doctrine and temper which brought the Jewish nation to utter destruction, a Galilæan, but here, § 1, Josephus calls him a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, it is a great question where this Judas was born, whether in Galilee on the west side, or in Gaulanitis, on the east side of the river Jordan; while in the place just now cited out of the Antiquities, xx. 5, § 2, he is not only called a Galilæan, but it is added to his story, 'as I have signified in the books that go before these,' as if he had called him a Galilæan in those Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place, as Dean Aldrich observes, Jewish War, ii. 8, § 1. Nor can one well imagine why he should here call him a Gaulanite, when in the 6th sect. following here, as well as twice in Jewish War, he still calls him a Galilæan. As for the city of Gamala, whence this Judas was derived, it determines nothing, since there were two of that name, the one in Gaulanitis, the other in Galilee. See Reland on the city or town of that name.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn.*

men towards one another, and their desire that none of their rivals should be left.) and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also came upon us, and reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities, nay, faction at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by the enemies' fire. So greatly did the alteration and change from the customs of our fathers tend to bring all to destruction who thus banded together, for Judas and Sadduc, who introduced a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our state with tumults at the time, and laid the foundations of future miseries by their system of philosophy which we were before unacquainted with, concerning which I shall discourse a little, and that the rather, because the infection which spread thence among our younger men, who were zealous for it, brought our nation to destruction.

§ 2. The Jews had had for a great while three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves, the sect of the Essenes, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees. And although I have already spoken of these sects in the second book of the Jewish War, yet will I touch a little upon them also now.

§ 3. As for the Pharisees, they live simply, and despise delicacies, and follow the guidance of reason, as to what it prescribes to them as good, and think they ought earnestly to strive to observe its dictates. They also pay respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in anything which they have introduced. And when they say that all things happen by fate, they do not take away from men the freedom of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it has pleased God to mix up the decrees of fate and man's will, so that man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe, that souls have an immortal power in them, and that there will be under the earth rewards or punishments, according as men have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter souls are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former will have power to live again. On account of these doctrines they have very great influence with the people, and whatever they do about divine worship, or

prayers, or sacrifices, they perform according to their direction. Such great testimony do the cities bear them on account of their constant practice of virtue, both in the actions of their lives, and in their conversation.

§ 4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is that souls die with the bodies; nor do they pretend to regard anything but what the law enjoins on them; for they think it virtue to dispute with the teachers of the philosophy which they follow, and their views are received by only a few, but those are of the highest rank. But they are able to do hardly anything so to speak, for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to do, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the people would not otherwise put up with them.

§ 5. The doctrine of the Essenes is that all things are left in the hand of God. They teach the immortality of souls, and think that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for. And when they send what they have dedicated to God to the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, and offer their sacrifices by themselves. But their course of life is better than that of other men, and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed in justice all other men that addict themselves to virtue, to such a degree as has never appeared among any other men, either Greeks or barbarians, and that not for a short time, but it has endured for a long while among them. This is shown by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer anything to hinder them from having all things in common, so that a rich man enjoys no more of his wealth than he who has nothing at all. There are more than four thousand men who live in this way, and they neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep slaves, thinking that the latter tempts men to be unjust, and that the former gives a handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister to one another. They also appoint good priests to receive their revenues, and the fruits of the ground, so as to get their corn and food. They live all

alike, and mostly resemble those Dacæ who are called Polistæ.<sup>1</sup>

§ 6. But Judas the Galilæan was the author of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy. Its pupils agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions, but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is their only ruler and lord. They also do not mind dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the tortures of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no further about that matter; for I am not afraid that anything I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear that what I have said comes short of the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus' time, who was our procurator, that the nation began to suffer from this madness, for by the abuse of his authority he made the Jews go wild and revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

## CHAP. II.

*How Herod and Philip built several Cities in Honour of Cæsar Augustus. Concerning the Succession of Priests and Procurators; also concerning Phraates and the Parthians.*

### § 1.

WHEN Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus' money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year after Augustus' victory over Antony off Actium,<sup>2</sup> he deprived Joazar of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest. Now Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled

<sup>1</sup> Founders of cities, that is. Possibly communists might be the best rendering. But the matter is very obscure.

<sup>2</sup> At the entrance of the *Gulf of Arta*.

affairs therein. Herod also fortified Sepphoris,<sup>1</sup> (which is the ornament of all Galilee,) and dedicated it to the emperor. He also built a wall round Betharamptha,<sup>2</sup> which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife.<sup>3</sup> Philip also built Paneas,<sup>4</sup> a city at the springs of the Jordan, and called it Cæsarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida,<sup>5</sup> situate near the lake of Gennesar, to the dignity of a city, both from the number of inhabitants it contained, and its opulence in other respects, and called it by the name of Julias, from the name of the emperor's daughter.<sup>6</sup>

§ 2. As Coponius, who I said was sent out with Cyrenius, was administrating Judæa, the following event happened. When the Jews celebrate the feast of Unleavened Bread, which we call the Passover, it is customary for the priests to open the temple gates just after midnight. When, therefore, these gates were first opened at this Passover, some of the Samaritans who had come privately to Jerusalem threw about dead men's bones in the porticoes; so the Jews afterwards excluded them all from the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. Soon after this event Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in the government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia Jannia<sup>7</sup> and all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais,<sup>8</sup> where is a great plantation of palm-trees, whose fruit is most excellent. His successor was Annius Rufus, during whose term of office died Augustus, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years six months and two days, (of which time Antony ruled with him fourteen years,) and the duration of his life was seventy-seven years; and on his

<sup>1</sup> *Sefûrieh*.

<sup>2</sup> The Beth-Haram of Josh. xiii. 27; afterwards called Livias; it is now *Tell Râmeh*, east of Jordan, and near the mouth of *Wâdy Hesbân*.

<sup>3</sup> Julia.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsarea Philippi, now *Bâniâs*.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly *et-Tell*, on the left bank of the Jordan, near the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>6</sup> Julia.

<sup>7</sup> *Yebnah*.

<sup>8</sup> See *Antiq.* xvii. 13, § 1.

death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor, and he sent Valerius Gratus as procurator of Judæa, to succeed Annius Rufus. He deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ishmael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and appointed Eleazar, the son of Ananus (who had been high priest before) to be high priest; which office, when he had held it for a year, Gratus deprived him of, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus, and, when he had held that dignity only a year, Joseph, also called Caiaphas, was made his successor. When Gratus had done all these things, he returned to Rome, after he had stayed in Judæa eleven years, and Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

§ 3. And Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name as him, and called it Tiberias.<sup>1</sup> He built it in the best part of Galilee near the lake of Gennesar. There are warm baths at no great distance from it, in a village called Emmaus.<sup>2</sup> Strangers came and inhabited this city, a great number of the inhabitants were Galilæans also; and many were made to go there from the country belonging to Herod, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants, some of these being persons of condition. Herod also admitted poor people, gathered from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen, and these he was a great benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also; for he knew that to colonize this place was to transgress the ancient Jewish laws, because many sepulchres there had to be taken away to make room for this city of Tiberias, and our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.<sup>3</sup>

§ 4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, for the following reason. Though Phraates had legitimate sons of his own, he had an amour with an Italian maid (whose name was

<sup>1</sup> *Tubariya*.

<sup>2</sup> The Hammath of Josh. xix. 35. Now *Hummâm Tubariya*.

<sup>3</sup> Numb. xix. 11-14.—W.

Thermusa, who had been formerly sent to him among other presents by Julius Cæsar), and being a great admirer of her beauty, and in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he eventually made her his legitimate wife, and held her in great honour. Now, though she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said, and strove to procure the throne of Parthia for her son, she saw that her endeavours would not succeed, unless she could contrive to remove Phraates' legitimate sons. So she urged him to send those sons of his as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now, as Phraataces was alone brought up to succeed to the throne, he thought it very tiresome and tedious to wait for that throne by his father's donation as his successor; he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance, with whom (so the report went), he had also criminal relations. And he was hated for both these things, as his subjects esteemed this incestuous love of his mother to be as bad as his parricide; and he was expelled out of the country by them, in an insurrection, before he grew too great, and so died. But, as the noblest of the Parthians agreed that it was impossible they could be governed without a king, while it was also their constant practice to choose one of the descendants of Arsaces (nor did their law allow of any others, and they thought the kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue,) they sent ambassadors and invited Orodes [to take the crown;] for though the multitude did not like him, and though he was accused of very great cruelty, and was of an intractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet he was one of the descendants of Arsaces. However, a conspiracy was made against him, and he was slain, as some say, at a festival and at table (for it is the universal custom there to carry swords); but the more general report is that he was slain when he was induced to go a-hunting. They then sent ambassadors to Rome, and asked for one of those that were pledged there to be their king. And Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them, for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest

kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own and a foreign one. However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, being naturally of a fickle disposition, and supposing that he was not worthy to be their king (for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave, for so they called those that had been hostages, nor could they bear the ignominy of that name); and this was the more intolerable, because the Parthians were now to have a king set over them, not by right of war, but by insolence in time of peace. So they forthwith invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, who was one of the descendants of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. And Vonones met him, and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in battle array, and Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media; but a little while after he gathered a great army together, and fought again with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia.<sup>1</sup> And when Artabanus had slain a great number in the rout from the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he betook himself to Ctesiphon<sup>2</sup> with a great number of his people. And so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia, and as soon as he got there, he desired to have the government of that country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome about it. But as Tiberius refused it him, partly because he wanted courage, partly because of the Parthian king's threats (who sent ambassadors to threaten war), and as he had no other way to get the kingdom (for the people of authority among the Armenians near Niphates<sup>3</sup> joined themselves to Artabanus), he delivered himself up to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria,

<sup>1</sup> Near the junction with the Tigris of the great dyke which crossed Mesopotamia from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and was called the 'Royal River.'

<sup>2</sup> On the left bank of the Tigris, in the south part of Assyria. The ruins are opposite those of Seleucia, about sixteen miles below *Baqhdad*.

<sup>3</sup> The mountain country east of Commagene, near the present Persian frontier.



and Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

§ 5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene,<sup>1</sup> whereupon the people disputed with the aristocracy, and both sent ambassadors to Rome, for the men in power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a Roman province; but the people desired to be under kings, as their fathers had been. And the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent out to settle affairs in the East, fortune hereby taking opportunity to deprive him of his life. For when he had gone to the East, and settled all affairs there, he was taken off by poison by Piso, as has been related elsewhere.

### CHAP. III.

*Insurrection of the Jews against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, and what befell Paulina and the Jews at Rome.*

#### § 1.

NOW Pilate, the procurator of Judæa, removed the army from Cæsarea, and put it in winter quarters at Jerusalem, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. And he thought of introducing into the city the Emperor's busts, which were upon the standards, whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such standards as had not such ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night-time. But as soon as they knew it, they flocked in great numbers to Cæsarea, and besought Pilate many days that he would remove the images. And when he would not grant their request, because it would seem an insult to the Emperor, as they persevered in their request, he ordered his soldiers on the sixth day to take their weapons privately, and

<sup>1</sup> Between Cilicia and the Euphrates; its capital was Samosata, now *Samsât*.

himself came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which was so prepared in the open part of the city, that it concealed the army that lay in ambush. And when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to surround them, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than speedy death, unless they left off disturbing him, and went their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and bared their necks, and said they would welcome death rather than that the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed. Thereupon Pilate was astonished at their determination to keep their laws inviolable, and instantly commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.

§ 2. Pilate also introduced water into Jerusalem, paying for the work with the sacred money, and brought the water a distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what was done about this water; and many myriads of the people assembled together and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should abandon his intention. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused Pilate, as crowds love to do. So he dressed a great number of his soldiers in the Jewish dress, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround the Jews, and then himself bade the Jews go away. But as they began to abuse him, he gave the soldiers the signal which had been agreed on beforehand, and they laid about them with much greater vigour than Pilate had commanded, and equally punished those that were riotous, and those that were not. But the Jews abated not a whit their obstinacy, and as they were unarmed, and roughly handled by men provided with weapons, a great number of them were slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. Thus an end was put to this insurrection.

§ 3. Now about this time lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it be lawful to call him a man. For he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of men who receive the truth with pleasure; and drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the information of the leading men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him

at first did not cease to do so. For he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold this and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

§ 4. About the same time, also, another sad calamity troubled the Jews, and certain shameful practices took place in the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I shall first relate the wickedness done in the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of what befell the Jews. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina, who, on account of the rank of her ancestors, and because of the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation; she was also very rich, and although she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, she led a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, who well assorted in every way to her from his excellent character. Decius Mundus, a man very high in the equestrian order, fell in love with Paulina, and as she was of too great rank to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent her in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love for her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmæ for one enjoyment of her. And as not even this would prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this ill success in his amours, he thought it the best way to starve himself to death, on account of his trouble at Paulina's refusal. And he determined to die in this manner, and went on with his purpose accordingly. Now, Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, a woman up to all sorts of mischief. She was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself (for he did not conceal his intention to destroy himself), and went to him, and encouraged him by her words, and made him hope that he might yet enjoy Paulina. And when he joyfully listened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmæ to entrap Paulina. Now when she had encouraged in this way the young man, and got as much money as she asked for, she did not take the same methods as had been taken

before, because she perceived that the lady was by no means to be tempted by money; but knowing that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem. She went to some of Isis' priests, and told them the passion of the young man, and with the strongest promises of concealment urged them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, twenty-five thousand drachmæ in hand, and as much more when the thing had been done, to use all possible means to seduce the woman. And they were induced to promise to do so by the large sum of gold they were to have. So the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina, and upon his being admitted desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who had fallen in love with her, and bade her visit him. And she took the message very kindly, and boasted to her lady friends of this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband, that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and sleep with Anubis. And he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, being fully satisfied of the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when the lights were also put out in the inner sanctuary. Then did Mundus leap out, (for he was hidden there,) and did not fail to enjoy her, and she was at his service all the night long, supposing he was the god; and when he had gone away, which was before the priests who knew not of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina went home early in the morning to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her, and also boasted about the matter to her lady friends. And they partly disbelieved the thing when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, but had no pretext for not believing it, when they considered her modesty and merit. But on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Truly, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmæ, which sum thou mightest have given thine own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in what I asked of thee. As for the reproaches thou hast heaped upon Mundus, I care not about names; but I rejoice

in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, when I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way, but she rent her garments, now first knowing what she had done, and told her husband of this wicked and black contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her. And he discovered the matter to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired into it thoroughly, examining the priests about it, and ordering them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the cause of their ruin, and had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to Paulina. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave orders that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber. But he only banished Mundus, and did no more to him, because he supposed that the crime he had committed was done from the violence of his love. These were the circumstances as to the temple of Isis, and the outrage done by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I said before I should.

§ 5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation of transgressing the laws, and by the fear he was in of punishment for the same, but he was in all respects a wicked man. He, then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and also got three other men, entirely of the same character as himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great rank, who had become a disciple of theirs, and embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem, and, when they had got these, they employed them to their own use, and spent the money themselves, which was the very reason why they had first asked it of her. Whereupon Tiberius (who had been informed of the thing by his friend Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it) ordered all the Jews to be banished from Rome. And the consuls enlisted four thousand of them, and sent them to the island of Sardinia; <sup>1</sup> but punished very many, who were unwilling to become soldiers, because of their respect

<sup>1</sup> Of the banishment of these 4,000 Jews into Sardinia by Tiberius, see Suetonius, Tiber. § 36.—W.

for the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished from Rome owing to the wickedness of four men.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How the Samaritans made a Tumult, and how Pilate slew many of them: also how Pilate was accused, and what was done by Vitellius as regarded the Jews and the Parthians.*

##### § 1.

**B**UT the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumult. The man who excited them to it was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived everything to please the multitude. So he bade them assemble together upon Mount Gerizim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they came there, he would show them the sacred vessels that were buried there, because Moses had them put there. And they went there armed, and thought the statement of the man probable; and as they encamped at a certain village, which was called Tirathana,<sup>1</sup> they got together as many as they could, desiring to go up the mountain *en masse*. But Pilate prevented them by occupying the ascent with a band of horse and foot, who attacked those who were concentrated in the village; and when it came to an action, they slew some, and put others to flight, and took a great many alive, the leaders of whom, and also the most influential of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be put to death.

§ 2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that had been killed, for they said they had gone to Tirathana not to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. And Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to see to the affairs of Judæa, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer the accusa-

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

tions of the Jews before the emperor. And Pilate, who had spent ten years in Judæa, hastened to Rome in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict. But before he got to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

§ 3. But Vitellius came into Judæa, and went up to Jerusalem; it was at the time of that festival which is called the Passover. And as he was magnificently received there, Vitellius released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, and allowed the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, to be under the charge of the priests in the temple, as they had been in old times, although at this time they were laid up in the fortress called Antonia,<sup>1</sup> and that for the following reason. One of the high priests called Hyrcanus, the first of many of that name, built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and kept these vestments (which were in his charge) there, because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he deposited them there when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments; and the same practice was continued by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner; and because he was a friend of Antony, he called it by the name of Antonia. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, believing that the people would not rise against him because he had them in his custody. The same as Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was appointed king after him; after whom the Romans, when they took over the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest, and had them deposited in a stone chamber, under seal of the priests and keepers of the treasury, the commandant of the fortress lighting a lamp there every day. And seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the commandant of the fortress, when the high priest having purified them, and used them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before the very day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the

<sup>1</sup> On the north side of the Temple.

three yearly festivals, and on the fast day.<sup>1</sup> But Vitellius put these vestments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the commandant of the fortress not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. He also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan (the son of Ananus, the former high priest,) to succeed him. After this he returned to Antioch.

§ 4. And Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to negotiate a friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for he was his enemy, and terrified him, as he had seized Armenia, lest he should proceed further, and Tiberius said he should only trust him upon Artabanus giving him hostages, and especially his son. Upon Tiberius' writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia,<sup>2</sup> and the king of Albania,<sup>3</sup> to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do so themselves, yet they gave the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates<sup>4</sup> to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and their leading men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to the kinsmen and friends of his father Artabanus, that he had almost got him slain by those who had taken the bribes. And when Artabanus

<sup>1</sup> This mention of the high priest's sacred garments received seven days before a festival, and purified in those days against a festival, as having been polluted by being in the custody of heathens, in Josephus, agrees well with the traditions of the Talmudists, as Reland here observes. Nor is there any question but the three feasts here mentioned were the Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles; and the Fast, so called by way of distinction, as Acts xxvii. 9, was the great day of expiation.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Iberia corresponds very nearly with the modern *Georgia*.

<sup>3</sup> On the S.W. shore of the Caspian, and embracing a portion of the Caucasus.

<sup>4</sup> The *Pass of Derbend*.



perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by many persons and by the leading men, so that it would certainly take effect, and compared the number of those who were truly faithful to him with those that were already corrupted, and deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, if any attempt were made upon him, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper satrapies. And he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahæ and Sacæ, and fought with his enemies, and recovered his throne.

§ 5. When Tiberius heard of these things, he desired to have friendship negotiated between himself and Artabanus. And when, upon this invitation, Artabanus received the proposal kindly, he and Vitellius met at the Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them, attended by their guards, had an interview with one another in the middle of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent in the middle of the passage, and feasted them there. Artabanus also, not long afterwards, sent his son Darius to Tiberius as a hostage, with many presents, among which was a man seven cubits in height, a Jew by race, whose name was Eleazar, and who for his height was called Giant. After this Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylonia. And Herod, wishing to give Tiberius the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent letter-carriers, and accurately described all the particulars, and left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. So when Vitellius' letters were sent, and Tiberius let him know that he was acquainted with the affair already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much vexed at it; and supposing that he had been thereby more injured than was really the case, he nourished a secret anger for it, till he could be revenged on Herod, which was after Caius had succeeded to the empire.

§ 6. About this time Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This calculation is exactly right: for since Herod died about Sep-

after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis, and Batanæa also, thirty-seven years. He had shown himself a person of moderation and quietness in his rule. He always lived in the country which was subject to him, and used to make his progresses with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progresses, and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wherever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard the case; and ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that were accused unjustly. He died at Julias,<sup>1</sup> and when he was carried to the tomb which he had already had erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. Tiberius took his dominions, for he left no sons behind him, and added them to the province of Syria, but gave orders that the tribute collected in his tetrarchy should be kept in it.

## CHAP. V.

*Herod the Tetrarch makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; also concerning the Death of John the Baptist; and how Vitellius went up to Jerusalem; together with some Account of Agrippa, and of the Posterity of Herod the Great.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time Aretas, the king of Arabia Petraea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the following account. Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a long time. But on his journey to Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but

tember, in the fourth year before the Christian era, and Tiberius began, it is well known, August 19, A.D. 14, it is evident that the thirty-seventh year of Philip, reckoned from his father's death, was the twentieth of Tiberius, or near the end of A.D. 33 (the very year of our Saviour's death also), or, however, in the beginning of the next year, A.D. 34. This Philip seems to have been the best of all the posterity of Herod, for his love of peace and love of justice.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Bethsaida. Julias. See p. 269, note 5.

not by the same mother; for this Herod<sup>1</sup> was the son of the high priest Simon's daughter. And he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, (who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great,) and ventured to talk to her of marriage. And as she agreed to his proposal, it was arranged that she should change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: it was also stipulated that he should divorce Aretas' daughter. When he had made this agreement, he sailed to Rome; and when he had done there the business he went about, and returned home again, his wife having heard of the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned of it before her husband was aware of her knowledge of his whole design, she desired him to send her to Machærus,<sup>2</sup> a fortress on the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her there, not thinking his wife had any inkling of his arrangement with Herodias. Now she had sent various things a good while before to Machærus, which was at that time subject to her father, and so all necessary preparations for her journey were made by the general of Aretas' army; and so she soon started and reached Arabia, passed on by one general to another, and soon got to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. And Aretas made this a *casus belli*, having previously had some difference with Herod about their frontiers in the district of Gamalitis.<sup>3</sup> So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and, when they joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treason of some fugitives, who, as they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, served under Herod. And Herod wrote about this to Tiberius, who, being very angry at the aggression of Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to

<sup>1</sup> This Herod seems to have had the additional name of Philip, as Antipas was called Herod Antipas, and as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner the very same name, yet were the names of two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch and this Herod Philip be two different sons of the same father.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Mekaur*, east of the *Dead Sea*.

<sup>3</sup> The district of Gamala, now *Kul'at el-Husn*.

take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave the president of Syria.

§ 2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, who was called the Baptist. For Herod had had him put to death, though he was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to justice towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for baptism would be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not in order to expiate some sins, but for the purification of the body, provided that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, as many flocked to him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, fearing that the great influence John had over the people might lead to some rebellion, (for the people seemed likely to do any thing he should advise,) thought it far best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of his leniency when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, in consequence of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the fortress I before mentioned, and was there put to death. So the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and was a mark of God's displeasure at him.

§ 3. Now Vitellius prepared to make war upon Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men: he also took with him all the light-armed troops and cavalry with them, which were drawn from those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and pushed on for Petra,<sup>1</sup> and arrived at Ptolemais. And when he was going to lead his army through Judæa, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not march through their land; for the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook images being brought into it, of which there were a great many on their standards. And he listened to what they said, and changed the resolution which he had before taken in

<sup>1</sup> The present Petra, east of the 'Arabah.

the matter, and ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself with Herod the tetrarch and his friends went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, as an ancient festival of the Jews was then at hand. And when he arrived there, and was honourably received by the people of the Jews, he stayed there for three days, during which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus; but on the fourth day, when letters came to him informing him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the people to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home to their winter quarters, because, as the empire had devolved upon Caius, he had not the same authority for making this war as he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting the auguries, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius' should enter Petra; for one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire to carry out his will, or else he against whom this army was prepared. And Vitellius retired to Antioch. Now Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, had gone to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted to do so. I have now a mind to describe at some length Herod and his family, and how it fared with them, partly because it concerns this history to speak of the matter, and partly because Herod's family history is a signal proof that a great number of children is of no advantage, any more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, apart from piety towards God: for it happened, within a hundred years, that the posterity of Herod, who were very numerous, with but few exceptions completely died out.<sup>1</sup> One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, to

<sup>1</sup> Whether this sudden extinction of almost the entire lineage of Herod the Great, which was very numerous, as we are both here and in the next section informed, was not in part as a punishment for the gross incests they were frequently guilty of, in marrying their own nephews and nieces, well deserves to be considered. See Levit. xviii. 6, 7; xxi. 10.—W.

learn thence how unhappy they were; it will also be well to relate the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond the expectation of all that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly, but I shall now speak more in detail.

§ 4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus; one was Salampsio, who married Phasaelus her cousin, who was himself the son of Herod's brother Phasaelus, her father making the match; the other was Cypros, who herself married her cousin Antipater, the son of Herod's sister Salome. Phasaelus had three sons by Salampsio, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros. Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married this Cypros, and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters; the daughters were called Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of whom Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty. And their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brothers Herod and Aristobulus, who were also the sons of *Aristobulus the son of Herod the Great* by Berenice; this Berenice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Herod's sister Salome. Aristobulus left these infants, when he and his brother Alexander were put to death by their father, as I have already related. But when they arrived at years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was the daughter of Herod the king), and of Joseph (the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king), and had by her a son, Aristobulus. And Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa;<sup>1</sup> they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape. These so far are the children of the male line. And Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great by Mariamne the daughter of Simeon the high priest, and they had a daughter

<sup>1</sup> Now *Homs*.

Salome; after her birth Herod took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and married Herod [Antipas], (her husband's brother on the father's side,) who was tetrarch of Galilee. And her daughter Salome married Philip (the son of Herod), tetrarch of Trachonitis. And, as he died childless, Aristobulus (the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa) married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. This was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. And the daughter of Antipater by Cypros was Cypros, who married Alexas Helcias, the son of Alexas, and they had a daughter Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as I said, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was put to death by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus the king of Cappadocia; Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; but Alexander had a son of the same name as his brother Tigranes, who was sent out as king of Armenia by Nero; and he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagene;<sup>1</sup> Vespasian made him king of an island<sup>2</sup> in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks. And the rest of the daughters of Herod the king all died childless. And as the descendants of Herod, whom I have enumerated, were in existence when Agrippa the Great got the kingdom, and I have now given an account of their pedigree, it now remains that I relate the various vicissitudes that befell Agrippa, and how he lived through them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the island of Elæusa, near the river *Lamas*.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Agrippa sailed for Rome to Tiberius; and how, upon his being accused by his own freedman, he was put in prison; and how he was set at liberty by Caius, after Tiberius' death, and was made King of the Tetrarchy of Philip.*

## § 1.

A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa living at Rome, and being brought up with and very intimate with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius' son, also contracted a friendship with Antonia (the wife of the elder Drusus), who held his mother Berenice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now though Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and very generous in respect to giving, he did not manifest this inclination of his mind while his mother was alive, thinking it best to avoid her anger for such extravagance; but when Berenice was dead, and he was his own master, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily course of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly to the emperor's freedmen, hoping for their support, so that in a little time he was reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would be thereby revived.

§ 2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and set sail for Judæa, but in evil circumstances, being dejected by the loss of the money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and gave him no chance of avoiding them; so that he knew not what to do, and in shame at the state of his affairs, retired to a certain tower at Malatha<sup>1</sup> in Idumæa, and had thoughts of killing himself. But his wife Cypros perceived his intention, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from taking such a course.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently *Tell el-Milh*, thirteen miles east of Beersheba.



So she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and the necessities that drove him to it, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to help him and to engage her husband to do the same, as Herodias could see how she (Cypros) alleviated her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the means they had. And they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and assigned him some money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honouring him. However, Herod did not long continue in the resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him. For as they were once at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups abused one another, Agrippa thought it was not to be borne, that Herod threw in his teeth his poverty, and his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, who had been consul, and a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

§ 3. And Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but they both received equal honour from him. However, Aristobulus did not abate his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he got him to be on bad terms with Flaccus, bringing on the estrangement as follows. The Damascenes had a difference with the Sidonians about their frontiers, and when Flaccus was about to hear the case pleaded, on hearing that Agrippa had great influence with him, they begged that he would be on their side, and promised him a great deal of money. So he was zealous in assisting the Damascenes as far as he was able; but Aristobulus (who had got intelligence of this promise of money) accused him to Flaccus. And when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly to be so, Flaccus discontinued his friendship to Agrippa. So he was reduced to the utmost straits, and went to Ptolemais,<sup>1</sup> and because he knew not where else to get

<sup>1</sup> 'Akka.

a livelihood, he thought of sailing to Italy. But as he was prevented from doing so by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freedman, to find some method of procuring him as much money as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing it of some person or other. So Marsyas desired Peter, who was the freedman of Agrippa's mother Berenice, but by virtue of her testament belonged to Antonia, to lend Agrippa money upon his own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond for 20,000 Attic drachmæ, to accept 2,500 drachmæ less than that sum. This the other allowed because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa went to Anthedon,<sup>1</sup> and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamnia,<sup>2</sup> sent a band of soldiers to demand of him 300,000 drachmæ of silver, which were owing by him to the emperor's treasury at Rome, and tried to force him to stay. He pretended at the time that he would do as he was told, but when night came on, he cut cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the Alabarch to lend him 200,000 drachmæ; but he said he would not lend it him, but did not refuse it to Cypros, as he greatly admired her affection to her husband, and all her other virtue; and she undertook to repay it. And Alexander gave them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of the sum at Dicæarchia,<sup>3</sup> and this he did from the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. And Cypros, having thus set her husband free to sail on to Italy, returned to Judæa with her children.

§ 4. And when Agrippa reached Puteoli, he wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who then lived at Caprææ,<sup>4</sup> and told him that he was come so far to wait on him and pay him a visit, and asked that he would give him leave to come over to Caprææ. And Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects, and also told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Caprææ; and when he was come he did not

<sup>1</sup> Agrippias. See *Antiq.* xiii. 13, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> Puteoli, *Pozzuoli*.

<sup>2</sup> *Yebnah*.

<sup>4</sup> The island of *Capri*.

fail to welcome him and treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to the emperor from Herennius Capito, informing him, that Agrippa had borrowed 300,000 drachmæ, and not paid it at the time appointed; but, when it was demanded of him, had run away like a fugitive from the places in his jurisdiction, and had put it out of his power to get the money from him. When Tiberius had read this letter he was much vexed at it, and gave orders that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid the debt. But he, being no way dismayed at the emperor's anger, entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and also of Claudius, who was afterwards emperor himself, to lend him those 300,000 drachmæ, that he might not lose Tiberius' friendship. And she, out of regard to the memory of Berenice his mother (for these two women had been very intimate with one another), and out of regard to his having been brought up with Claudius, lent him the money, and, upon the payment of his debt, his friendship with Tiberius continued as before. After this, Tiberius Cæsar recommended to him his grandson,<sup>1</sup> and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went out. But Agrippa, after the kind treatment of Antonia, paid great court to Caius, who was her grandson, and was held in very high honour because of the popularity of his father.<sup>2</sup> Now there was one Thallus, a freedman of Tiberius, a Samaritan by race, of whom Agrippa borrowed a million drachmæ, and so repaid Antonia the debt he owed her, and by spending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, he became a person of great influence with him.

§ 5. Now as the friendship which Agrippa had with Caius rose to a great height, they once had a conversation about Tiberius, as they were in a chariot together, Agrippa praying (for they two sat by themselves) that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the empire to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now Euty-chus, who was Agrippa's freedman, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at the time said nothing about them: but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some

<sup>1</sup> Tiberius junior.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Germanicus.—W.

garments of his (which he really did steal) he ran away from him; and when he was captured and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and asked why he ran away? he replied, that he had something private to say to Tiberius, that regarded his security and safety: so Piso sent him in bonds to Capreae. [And Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him in bonds, being a procrastinator, if ever king or tyrant was so; for he did not receive ambassadors quickly, and no successors were despatched to governors or procurators of provinces that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead. This made him also negligent in hearing prisoners. And when he was once asked by his friends, what was the reason of his delay in such cases? he said, that he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismissal, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return to him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself by their receptions and dismissals. He said also that he permitted those governors who had been once sent to their governments to stay there a long time from regard to the subjects that were under them; for all governors were naturally disposed to get as much as they could, and those who were not to remain there, but to stay a short time only, and that in uncertainty when they would be turned out, were all the more tempted to fleece the people. Whereas, if their government was long continued to them, they were at last satiated with their spoil, as having got a great deal, and so became less keen in their pillaging; but if a rapid succession of governors took place, the poor subjects, who were exposed to them as a prey, would not be able to bear the new ones, for they would not have the same time allowed them, as their predecessors had filled themselves in, and so grown indifferent to getting more, because they would be recalled too soon for making a rich harvest otherwise. He gave them an illustration to show his meaning. A great number of flies swarmed about the sore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the bystanders pitied the man's misfortune, and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him. But he prayed him to let them alone, and when the other asked him in rejoinder the reason of such indiscretion in not getting relief from

his present misery, he replied, "If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse. For as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are somewhat more remiss, while fresh ones that came almost famished, and found me quite tired out already, would be my destruction." Tiberius said this was why he was himself careful not to send new governors perpetually to his subjects (who were already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions), who, like these flies, would further distress them, and, besides their natural desire of gain, would have this additional incitement to it, that they expected to be soon deprived of the pleasure which they derived from it. And, as a further attestation to what I say of the character of Tiberius, I appeal to his practice itself; for, although he was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all only two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, namely Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor had he one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He also gave out that he made such delay in hearing prisoners, because immediate death to those that were condemned to die would be an alleviation of their present miseries, whereas those wicked wretches did not deserve any such favour; but their being harassed by the anticipation of calamity would make them undergo greater misery.

§ 6. This was why Eutyclus could not obtain a hearing, but was kept still in bonds. However, some time afterwards, Tiberius went from Capreæ<sup>1</sup> to Tusculanum,<sup>2</sup> which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome, and Agrippa asked Antonia to procure a hearing for Eutyclus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, not only from her connexion with him (for she was his brother Drusus' wife), but also from her eminent chastity; for though she was still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to marry somebody, and all her life long preserved her reputation free from reproach. She had also been privately

<sup>1</sup> The island of *Capri*.

<sup>2</sup> The villa of Tiberius at Tusculum.

the greatest benefactress to Tiberius when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest power at that time because he was in command of the army, and when many members of the senate, and many of the freedmen joined with him, and the soldiers were tampered with, and the plot became very formidable, and Sejanus would certainly have gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus' villainy. For when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her slaves, and sent him to Capreæ to Tiberius; and Tiberius, when he heard of it, slew Sejanus and his fellow-conspirators, and though he had held Antonia in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and regarded her as trustworthy in all things. So, when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutyclus, he answered, "If indeed Eutyclus has falsely accused Agrippa in what he has said of him, he has had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, in desire of punishing his freedman, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's continually importuning her to beg for this, seized the following opportunity. As Tiberius once reclined in his litter, and was being carried about in it, and Caius, her grandson, and Agrippa walked before him, after dinner, she went close to the litter, and begged Tiberius to call Eutyclus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy entreaty." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who had succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutyclus to him; and he was brought without any delay. Then Tiberius asked him what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty. Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, and I sat at their feet, and among other con-

versation that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, 'O that the day would come, when this old man would die, and appoint thee as master of the world! for Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hindrance to us, if taken off by thee, and the world would be happy, and I should be happy still more.'" Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and having an old grudge also at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay court to Tiberius his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had neglected him, and disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his homage to Caius, he said to Macro, "Bind this person." But Macro, not distinctly knowing whom it was he bade him bind, and not expecting that he would wish any such thing done to Agrippa, delayed until he should know more distinctly what Tiberius meant. But, when Tiberius had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing there, and said "Why, Macro, here is the person I meant to have bound;" and when he still asked, "Which of them?" he said "Agrippa." Then Agrippa betook himself to making supplication for himself, reminding him of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated: but all to no purpose, for they took him off bound in his purple robe. It was also very hot weather, and they had had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also distressed and vexed at this treatment. Seeing therefore one of Caius' slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink. And as he readily gave him some water to drink, he drank, and said, "Boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get rid of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom from Caius, seeing thou hast not been wanting to minister to me, though I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but requited him for what he had done, for, when Agrippa afterwards came to be king, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him manager of his affairs, and when he died, left him to Agrippa his son, and to Berenice his daughter, to minister to them in the

same capacity. Thaumastus also grew old in that honourable post, and died in it. But all this happened some time afterwards.

§ 7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, with many others who were in bonds also, and leaned against a certain tree in dejection, and as a certain bird sat upon the tree against which Agrippa leaned, (the Romans call this bird *bubo*,<sup>1</sup>) one of those that were bound, a German by nation, seeing the bird, asked a soldier who that man in purple was. And when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by race a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound,<sup>2</sup> to let him come nearer to him, to speak with him; for he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country. And when he had obtained leave, he stood near him, and spoke as follows to him by an interpreter. "This sudden change of thy condition, young man! troubles thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get rid of this present misery, and how divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore (and I appeal to my own country's gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us,) that all I am going to say about thy concerns, shall neither be said to please thee by its babbling, nor in the endeavour to cheer thee without cause, for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief in the end more bitter than if one had never heard them at all. However, though I expose myself to danger by so doing, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shalt continue long in these bonds, but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and wilt be envied by all who now pity thy fortunes, and wilt be happy in thy death, and wilt leave happiness to thy children. But remember, whenever thou seest this bird again, thou wilt then live but five days

<sup>1</sup> That is, owl.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hudson here takes notice, out of Seneca, Epistle v., that this was the custom of Tiberius, to couple the prisoner, and the seldier that guarded him, together with the same chain.—W.



longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who has sent this bird here to be a sign unto thee. I think it wrong to conceal from thee what I foresee concerning thee, that by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest lightly regard thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall come to thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavour to deliver me." When the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart: however, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she saw to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable; but she got leave of Macro, that the soldiers that guarded him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was bound to him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might bathe every day, and that his freedmen and friends might have access to him, and that other things that tended to ease his body might be allowed him. So his friend Silas had access to him, and two of his freedmen, Marsyas and Stœcheus, brought him such kind of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments, under pretence of selling them, and, when night came on, laid them under him, and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had ordered beforehand. Such was Agrippa's condition for six months, and such was the state of his affairs.

§ 8. As for Tiberius, on his return to Capreæ, he fell ill. At first his illness was but mild, but as it increased upon him, he was anxious about his condition, and bade Euodus, who was the freedman whom he most of all valued, to bring the children to him; for he said he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had no longer any sons of his own alive; for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead; but Drusus' son Tiberius was still living, who was also called Gemellus. There was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son of his brother [Drusus]. He was now grown up, and had finished his education, and was in esteem and favour with the people because of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honour among the

multitude by his consistent behaviour, and the easiness and affability of his intercourse with the multitude, for the rank he had did not hinder his treating all persons as if they were his equals. In consequence of this behaviour he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but also by every one of the nations that were subject to the Romans; some of whom were captivated, when they met him, with the grace of their reception by him, and others by the report of those who had met him. So upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men, not counterfeit sorrow such as is made in flattery to rulers, but real sorrow, for everybody grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. So affable was he to all men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and the soldiers in particular were so devoted to him, that they reckoned it a gain, if need were, to die, if he might but become emperor.

§ 9. Now when Tiberius had given orders to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country's gods to show him a manifest sign which of the two should be his successor, being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still intending to depend more upon what God should foreshow concerning them, than upon his own opinion and inclination. So he made this to be the omen, that the empire should belong to him who should come first to him the next day. When he had thus resolved, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, supposing that God would not interfere about who should be made emperor. But God thwarted his intention. For as Tiberius was thus contriving matters, directly it was day, he bade Euodus to call in the child which should be ready there first. And he went out, and found Caius before the door, (for Tiberius was not yet come, for his breakfast was late, and Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended,) so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, he reflected then first on the power of God, and how the power of bestowing the empire on whom he would was entirely taken from him, and so he was not able to make good what he had intended. And he greatly lamented

that the power of carrying out his intention was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his mode of divination, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more powerful than himself, who would think it a thing insufferable that a kinsman should live with them, and so his relationship would not be able to protect him, but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, partly because he would be perpetually plotting, not only to preserve himself, but also to be at the head of affairs. Now Tiberius was very much given to the casting of nativities, and had spent his life more successfully in the science than those whose profession it was. For example, when he once saw Galba coming to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came a man that would one day have the rank of Roman emperor. And Tiberius was more addicted to all sorts of divinations than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to reveal the truth about his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress at this chance that had befallen him, and was very much grieved about his grandson as if he were already murdered, and vexed with himself that he should have made use of such a method of divination, when it was in his power to have died without grief in ignorance of the future, whereas he must now die tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortunes of such as were dearest to him. But although he was troubled at this unexpected succession to the empire of those for whom he did not intend it, he spoke as follows to Caius, though unwillingly and against his inclination: "O child! though Tiberius is nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination and the vote of the gods, do give, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire. And I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, in setting thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relationship to Tiberius; and as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of such great blessings to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relationship to

thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a bulwark to thee, both as to the empire and as to thy own preservation ; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes ; for to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs is very dangerous ; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to the law which directs men to act otherwise, to go unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised to do so, for when he was settled in the empire, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by his grandfather, as he was also himself, no long time afterwards, slain by a conspiracy formed against him.

§ 10. After Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he lived only a few days, and then died, after he had been emperor twenty-two years, five months, and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor. And when the Romans heard that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it, not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given large sums of money that it might prove to be so, but because they were afraid, if they showed their joy prematurely, and the news proved false, they would be accused and ruined. [For this Tiberius had brought a vast load of misery on the patrician families of the Romans, for he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger uncontrollable till he had wreaked it, even though he hated anyone without reason, for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offences.] And so, though the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were restrained from the full enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill grounded. Now as soon as Marsyas, Agrippa's freedman, heard of Tiberius' death, he came running to tell Agrippa the news ; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead."<sup>1</sup> And he, understanding his meaning, and being

<sup>1</sup> The name of a lion is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his freedman Marsyas, in effect were,

delighted at the news, said, "All thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine: I only hope that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion, who was set to guard Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had at what he said, suspected that his words announced something startling, and asked them about the subject of their conversation. They at first turned the subject, but, upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him (for he was already his friend), and he joined with him in the pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But, as they were feasting and drinking merrily, there came one who said, that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days. At this news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, in feasting so jovially a prisoner, and that upon the news of the death of the emperor; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he reclined, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt not thou pay for this report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, (for he had loosed him before,) and kept a severer guard over him than formerly. In that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead, insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius, one of them to the senate, informing them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own succession to the empire, another to Piso, the governor of the city, which announced the same thing. Caius also gave orders that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to the house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for, although he was still in custody, yet he had considerable freedom. And as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius' body

Ezek. xix. 1, 2; Esth. xiv. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 17. They are also sometimes compared to or represented by wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal. Dan. vii. 3, 8; Apoc. xiii. 1, 2.—W.

with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day, but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but from regard to decency in Caius, lest it should make men believe that he heard of the death of Tiberius with pleasure, if he set free so soon one whom Tiberius had put in bonds. However, not many days elapsed before Caius sent for Agrippa to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment, after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias,<sup>1</sup> and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent out Marullus to be master of the horse in Judæa.

§ 11. Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar, Agrippa asked for leave to sail home, and settle affairs in his kingdom, and promised to return again when he had put everything in order, as it ought to be put. And, upon the emperor's permission, he returned to his own country, and appeared before all men unexpectedly as king, and thereby demonstrated to those that saw him the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present prosperity. And some called him a happy man, because he had not been foiled of his hopes, others could scarce believe what had happened.

## CHAP. VII.

### *How Herod the Tetrarch was exiled to Lugdunum.*

#### § 1.

**B**UT Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who was wife of that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, was envious of this authority of her brother, particularly as she saw that he had far greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had, though, when he ran away, he

<sup>1</sup> Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet was it not actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn, *Antiq.* xix. 5, § 1.—W.

was not able to pay his debts, but now he was come back, he had great position and prosperity. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a change, and especially when she saw him walking about among the multitude with the usual marks of royal authority, and was not able to conceal how miserable she was from her envy, but she incited her husband, and begged him to sail to Rome, to court honours equal to Agrippa's: for she said life was unbearable for them, if Agrippa (the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to death by his father), who came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that all the necessaries of life had to be supplied him day by day, and had fled away from his creditors by sea, now returned a king, while he himself, the son of a king, whom his near relationship to royalty called upon to claim the same dignity, sat still, and was contented with a private life. "And if," she continued, "before, Herod, you did not mind being in a lower condition than your father, who begot you, had, yet now at any rate seek after a similar dignity; and do not bear this come down that a man who has paid court to your riches should be in greater honour than yourself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance; nor esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one, who, the other day, lived upon your charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains or expenditure of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for procuring a kingdom."

§ 2. As for Herod, he opposed her request for a time, from his love of ease, and a suspicion that he would have trouble at Rome, and he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned to be king: and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, in as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias with him. And Agrippa, when he heard of their intention and preparations, also made his preparations. And as soon as he heard they had set sail, he sent

Fortunatus, one of his freedmen, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to speak to Caius himself, if he should have an opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little time after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he also arrived, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicæarchia,<sup>1</sup> and found Caius at Baiæ,<sup>2</sup> which is itself a little town in Campania, about five furlongs from Dicæarchia. There are in that place royal palaces with sumptuous apartments, each emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also has warm baths that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and also minister to men's luxury. Now Caius simultaneously addressed Herod (it was the first time he had met with him) and looked at the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in accusation of Herod, wherein he was accused of having been in conspiracy with Sejanus against Tiberius' government, and of being now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius, as a proof of which Agrippa said that Herod had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod, whether what was said about the armour was true. And when he admitted there was such armour there (for he could not deny it, the truth of it being too notorious), Caius took that as a sufficient proof of the accusation that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and punished Herod by perpetual exile, and appointed Lugdunum,<sup>3</sup> a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of the money that was her own, and told her, that it was only her brother who prevented her sharing the calamity of her husband. But she replied, "You, indeed, O emperor! say this in a magnificent manner, and as be-

<sup>1</sup> Puteoli, Pozzuoli.<sup>2</sup> Baja.<sup>3</sup> Lyon.



comes you, but the love which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of your gift; for it is not right that I, who have been a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Thereupon Caius was angry at her pride, and sent her into exile with Herod, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy of her brother, and Herod for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius administered public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he thought himself because of the vast extent of his dominions as something more than a man, and made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things so as to insult the Deity.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning the Embassy of the Jews to Caius, and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his Statue.*

### § 1.

NOW a tumult having arisen at Alexandria between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks, three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who greatly slandered the Jews, and, among other things that he said, charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to the emperor; for while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in all other respects treated him as one of the gods, these Jews alone thought it unseemly to erect statues in honour of him, or to swear by his name. When Apion had said many of these severe things, by which he hoped to exasperate Caius against the Jews, as was likely to be the case, Philo, the principal person of the Jewish embassy, a

man eminent on all accounts, and the brother of Alexander the Alabarch,<sup>1</sup> and not unskilled in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations. But Caius prohibited him, and bade him be gone, and was also in such a rage, that it was clear he was about to do them some very great mischief. And Philo having been thus ill treated went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that they ought to be of good courage, for Caius' words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality he had already set God against him as an enemy.

§ 2. Then Caius, indignant that he should be thus despised by the Jews only, sent Petronius as his lieutenant to Syria, and as successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him orders to invade Judæa with a large force, and, if they would admit his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God, but, if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius took over the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Caius' injunctions. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and went to Ptolemais<sup>2</sup> to winter there, intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had determined to do, and he commended him for his energy, and ordered him not to be slack in the work, but to make war with them, if they would not obey his commands. Then many ten thousands of the Jews went to Ptolemais to Petronius, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers. "But if (said they) you are absolutely determined to bring this statue and erect it, first kill us, and then do what you have resolved on; for while we are alive, we cannot permit such things to be done as are forbidden us by the authority of our legislator and our forefathers, who have decided that such prohibitions are proofs of virtue." But Petronius was angry with them, and said,

<sup>1</sup> This Alexander the Alabarch, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother of Philo, is supposed by Bishop Pearson to be the same as that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kindred of the high priests, Acts iv. 6.—W.

<sup>2</sup> 'Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.

“ If I were myself emperor, and meant to follow my own will in acting thus, these words of yours would be properly spoken to me, but now the emperor has sent me, I am under the necessity of carrying out his decrees, because disobedience to them would bring upon me inevitable destruction.” Then the Jews replied, “ Since, therefore, you are so disposed, O Petronius, that you will not disobey Caius’ commands, neither will we transgress the bidding of our law; and as we, relying on God and virtue, and the efforts of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws, which God has ordered for our advantage, from the fear of death. And if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them in order to preserve our laws, knowing that those who expose themselves to dangers have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, if, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertainties of fortune. But, if we should submit to you, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even in your own judgment, is superior to Caius.”

§ 3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was fixed, and that he would not be able without a war to obey Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there would be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends and retinue, and pushed on to Tiberias, wishing to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were. And many ten thousand of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias, for they thought they would run a mighty hazard if they should have war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such straits, nor defile their city with the erection of Caius’ statue. Then Petronius said to them, “ Will you war then with the emperor, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?” And they replied, “ We will not by any means war with him, but we will die before we see our laws transgressed.” Then they threw them-

selves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain. And this they did for forty days together, and in the meantime left off the tilling of their ground, though the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus firm did they continue in their resolution, and proposal to die willingly, rather than to see the erection of Caius' statue.

§ 4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family, and the leading Jews with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, since he saw the determination of the multitude, not to drive them to despair, but write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of his statue, and how they assumed a hostile attitude, and left off the tillage of their ground: and that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, if the land continued unsown, robberies would be on the increase, from their inability of paying tribute. They added that perhaps Caius would be thereby moved to pity, and not entertain any savage idea, or think of destroying the nation, but if he continued inflexible in his former opinion to war against them, he might then set about it himself. Thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. And Petronius,<sup>1</sup> partly on account of the earnest entreaties of Aristobulus and the rest, and because of the great importance of what they asked, and the skilful way in which they made their supplication; partly because he saw the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, and thought it monstrous for him so to carry out the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and to pass all

<sup>1</sup> This Publius Petronius was after this still president of Syria, under Claudius, and, at the desire of Agrippa, published a severe decree against the inhabitants of Dora, who, in a sort of imitation of Caius, had set up a statue of Claudius in a Jewish synagogue there. This decree is extant, xix. 6, § 3, and greatly confirms the present accounts of Josephus, as do the other decrees of Claudius, relating to the like Jewish affairs, xix. 5, § 2, 3.—W.

his life after that in remorse; Petronius, I say, thought it much better to write to Caius, although he knew what intolerable rage he would be in against him for not obeying sooner his commands. But perhaps he thought he might persuade him, or if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them; nay, even if Caius should turn his anger against him (Petronius), it was good for persons who laid claim to virtue even to die for such vast multitudes of men. So he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

§ 5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias (who came many ten thousands in number), and went up to them, and pointed out that the present expedition was not undertaken at his own option, but at the commands of the emperor, whose wrath would immediately and without delay be executed on such as had the temerity to disobey what he had commanded; nor was it fit for him, who had obtained such great honour by his favour, to contradict him in any thing. "Yet," added he, "I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, as you are so many in number, and endeavour to preserve the respect due to your law (which because it has come down to you from your forefathers, you esteem worth fighting for) and to the supreme authority and power of God, whose temple I will not venture to allow to fall into contempt by the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your determination is, and will assist your suit as far as I am able, that you may not suffer on account of the virtuous designs you have proposed to yourselves. And may God be your helper (for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men), and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and not be deprived, by the unreasonable wishes of men, of his accustomed honours! But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all the danger and affliction that may come either upon my body or soul, than see so many of you perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your ways about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your land. I will myself send

to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, either by myself or by my friends."

§ 6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired those in authority to see to the cultivation of the fields, and to encourage the people to hope for better things. Thus did he soon make the multitude cheerful again. And now did God show his presence to Petronius, and signify to him, that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down at once great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation, for the day was a clear day in the morning, and gave no indication by the appearance of the sky of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any rain from above, even if at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; so that when such a great quantity of rain fell then, and that in an unusual manner, and without any expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would not fail in his supplication for them. And as to Petronius, he was amazed, evidently seeing that God took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, so that those that were actually much inclined to a contrary opinion were unable to contradict it. This also among other particulars he wrote to Caius, all tending to dissuade him from his purpose, and entreating him by all means not to drive so many ten thousands of these men mad, whom if he should slay (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them through all future ages. He added that God, who was their protector, had shown his power most clearly, and that such a power as left no room for doubt about it. Such was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

§ 7. Now king Agrippa, who at this time chanced to be living at Rome, grew more and more in favour with Caius; and when he had once made him a feast, and was careful to exceed all others, both in the expense of the feast, and in such preparations as might contribute to his pleasure, which were not only far out of the means of all others, but such

as Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed (such care did Agrippa take to exceed all men, and particularly to do all he could to please the emperor), Caius admired his generous disposition and magnificence, that he should strive to do every thing to please him even beyond his means, and wished to imitate the generosity which Agrippa exhibited in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drunk wine plentifully, and was merrier than usual, said during the feast, when Agrippa urged him to drink, "I knew before now what great regard you had for me, and what great kindness you showed me, though with risk to yourself from Tiberius, nor have you omitted anything to show your good-will towards me, even beyond your means. So, as it would be a base thing for me to come short of you in affection, I am desirous to make you amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient. For all that I have bestowed on you, that may be called my gifts, is but little; every thing therefore that may contribute to your happiness shall be at your service, and that gladly, and as far as my power will reach." And this Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some province or the revenues of certain cities. But, although he had made up his mind beforehand what he would ask, yet did he not discover his intentions, but made answer to Caius immediately, that it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid court to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing to please him with an eye to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him: for the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a grasping man; for, although they might be beneath the emperor's power, they were greater than the expectation and merit of the receiver. [And, as Caius was amazed at Agrippa's virtue, and pressed him still more to make his request for something which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since, my lord! you declare, such is your liberality, that I am worthy of your gifts, I will ask nothing that will contribute to my own happiness, for what you have already bestowed on me has made me remarkable for that; but I ask something which may make you glorious for piety, and render the Deity a helper of your designs,

and may be an honour to me among those that hear of it, as showing that I never fail to obtain what I ask of you. Now my petition is this, that you will no longer think of the dedication of the statue which you have ordered Petronius to set up in the Jewish temple.”]

§ 8. Thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so important was the matter in his opinion, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak ; for, had not Caius approved of his request, it would have tended to no less than the loss of his life. But Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa’s obliging behaviour, and also thought it unseemly to break his word before so many witnesses, as he had with such eagerness forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and thought it would look as if he soon repented of his offer, and because he greatly admired Agrippa’s virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with large revenues, or greater authority, but in thinking of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Deity, granted him what he requested, and wrote as follows to Petronius, commending him for mustering his army, and consulting him about this affair. “ If (he said,) thou hast already erected my statue, let it continue up ; but, if thou hast not yet done so, do not trouble thyself further about it, but dismiss thy army, and go to the business which I sent thee about first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of the statue. I have granted this as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour so very greatly, that I am not able to refuse him what he would have, or what he has desired me to do for him.” Now Caius wrote this to Petronius, before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were ripe for revolt about the statue, and that they seemed absolutely resolved to threaten war against the Romans. Upon receipt of this letter Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his supreme authority, being as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and paying no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and if he resolved to show his anger against any one for any reason whatever, suffering not himself to be restrained by any advice, but thinking the indulging his anger a real pleasure. So he wrote as follows to Petronius. “ Seeing thou



esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that none may dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

§ 9. This was the letter which Caius wrote to Petronius, but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive; the ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before it, by which he learned that Caius was dead. For God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken to gratify the Jews, and to do him honour, but when he had taken Caius off in indignation at his so insolently attempting to claim for himself divine worship, he discharged his debt to Petronius. And Rome and all the empire co-operated with Petronius, especially those of the senators that were of most merit, because Caius had been unmercifully severe to them. For Caius died not long after he had written to Petronius the letter which threatened him with death; but as to the cause of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of my narrative. Now the letter which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first, and a little afterwards came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. And Petronius rejoiced at this circumstance of the death of Caius, and at the same time marvelled at the providence of God, who without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had had to the temple, and for the assistance he had afforded the Jews. Thus easily and unexpectedly did Petronius escape the danger of death.

## CHAP. IX.

*What befell the Jews that were in Babylon, because of two Brothers, Asinæus and Anilæus.*

## § 1.

A DREADFUL calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. It was inferior to none, and accompanied by great slaughter of them, and that greater than any recorded before; concerning all which I shall speak explicitly, and set forth the causes of their calamity. There was a city in Babylonia called Naarda,<sup>1</sup> not only a populous one, but one that had a fertile and large territory round it, and, besides its other advantages, was full of men also. It was also not easy to be assaulted by enemies, because the river Euphrates encompassed it all round, and because it had strong walls. There was also the city Nisibis,<sup>2</sup> situate on the same current of the river. So the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel<sup>3</sup> which every one, by the custom of our country, offers to God, as well as they did other things devoted to him, for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at the proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook to carry those donations, from fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom Babylonia was then subject. Now, there were two brothers, Asinæus, and Anilæus, natives of the city of Naarda, who had lost their father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving, it not being esteemed a disgrace among those people for men to spin wool. Now, he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes: and they took this punishment as an outrage, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a cer-

<sup>1</sup> Called in the Peutinger, Table Nabarra; it was not far from Sippara.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Nisibin*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare St. Matthew, xvii. 24.

tain place where was a partition of the rivers, a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for getting hay to be stored up for the winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had got, and became their captains, and nothing hindered them from being their leaders in mischief. And they soon became invincible, and built a citadel, and sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, and stated that they would be their friends if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their enemies on every side, but that they would kill all the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals (for they could do nothing else), and sent them as many sheep as were required of them, so that their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they made sudden and unexpected raids, so that everybody who had to do with them chose to pay them court, and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

§ 2. Now when the satrap of Babylonia heard of this, desiring to nip them in the bud, before greater mischief should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them and destroy them, before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped in the marshes, and lay still, but on the next day, (which was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all work,) supposing that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he could take and carry them off prisoners without fighting, he advanced stealthily, and thought to take them by surprise. Now Asinæus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay beside them, and he said, "Men, I hear a neighing of horses, not of such as are feeding, but such as have riders on their backs, for I also hear the noise of their bridles, and am afraid that some enemies are stealing upon us to surround us. However, let somebody go and reconnoitre,

and make a sure report of the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm!" And when he had said this, some of them went to spy out what was the matter, and soon came back and said to him, "Neither were you mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will they permit us to do harm to people any longer. We are caught by their stratagem, like brute beasts, for there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves with, because we are restrained from doing so by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day.]" But Asinæus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this emergency, and break their law by avenging themselves, even if they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies by submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage in those that were with him to act as bravely as himself. So they engaged with their enemies, and slew a great many of them, (because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory,) and put the rest to flight.

§ 3. Now when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brothers, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his body-guards to say to them, "King Artabanus, although he has been wronged by you, as you have invaded his kingdom, yet has more regard to your courageous behaviour than to the anger he bears to you, and has sent me to offer you his right hand and friendship, and he permits you to come to him safely and without any injury on the road, and he wants you to address yourselves to him as friends, and means no guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and so to honour you as by his power to augment your present fame." But Asinæus himself put off his journey there, but sent his brother Anilæus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anilæus coming alone, he inquired why Asinæus had not come with him. And when he learnt

that he was afraid, and stayed in the marshes, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and offered Anilæus his right hand, which is the greatest pledge of security with all those barbarians to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you, when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of an intention to harm you. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anilæus to try to persuade his brother to come to him. Now the king acted in this way, because he wanted by the courage of these Jewish brothers to curb his own satrapies, lest they should violate their friendship with him, for they were ripe for revolt, and disposed to rebel, and he was about to make an expedition against them. He was also afraid that, while he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those satrapies that revolted, the party of Asinæus and the Babylonians would be augmented, and either make war upon him when they should hear of their revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that, would not fail of doing him very much harm.

§ 4. With these intentions the king sent away Anilæus, and Anilæus prevailed on his brother [to go to the king,] when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken; accordingly, they made haste to go to Artabanus. And he received them, when they were come, with pleasure, and marvelled at Asinæus' courage in the actions he had done, and that because he was a little man to look at, and at first sight appeared contemptible also to such as met him, so that they might deem him of no value at all, and he said to his friends that, upon both being compared together, Asinæus showed his soul to be superior to his body. And, as they were once drinking together, he showed Asinæus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he had exhibited in war. And when Abdagases desired leave to kill him, and so to inflict punishment on him for the injuries he had done to the Parthian kingdom, the king replied, "I will never give leave to kill a man who has trusted in my good faith, especially after I have sent

him the offer of my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his confidence by oaths by the gods. But if you are a good warrior, you stand not in need of my perjury to avenge the outraged Parthian kingdom. Attack this man, when he is gone home, and conquer him by the forces that are under your command, without my privity." And the king sent for Asinæus early in the morning, and said to him, "It is time for you, young man! to return home, and not to provoke the indignation of my generals here any more, lest they attempt to murder you, and that without my approbation. I commit to you the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by your care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischief. I have kept my faith inviolable to you, and that not in trifling matters, but in such as concerned your safety, and I therefore deserve your kindness in return." When he had said this, and given Asinæus some presents, he sent him away immediately. And he, when he was come home, built fortresses, and made those that were previously built stronger, and became great in a little time, and managed affairs with such courage and success, as no other person, that had had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; for the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed too small, and beneath his deserts, although he was in no small dignity and power there: nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended on him, and he flourished more and more in this happy condition for fifteen years.

§ 5. But as the two brothers were in so flourishing a condition, the beginning of calamity came upon them for the following reason, after they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained so great power, and affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fallen under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, was accompanied by his wife, who had a great reputation for other accomplishments, and was particularly admired above all other women for her great beauty; and Anilæus, the brother of Asinæus, either heard of her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself

also, and so at once became her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy her but by obtaining power over her as his captive, partly because he thought he could not conquer his passion for her. As soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy of theirs, and had fallen in a battle forced on him, the widow of the deceased was captured and married to her lover. However, she did not come into their house without causing great misfortune not only to Anilæus himself, but also to Asinæus, for she brought great mischief upon them both from the following cause. When she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were her and her husband's national gods, for it is the custom in that country for all to keep the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land, according to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. And at first she performed her worship of them privately, but when she became Anilæus' wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same ceremonies which she used in her former husband's life. Thereupon their most esteemed friends first blamed him for not acting after the manner of the Hebrews, and for doing what was not agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that neglected the observance of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies; and bade him look to it, lest by conceding too much to the pleasures of the body, he might lose his position and the power which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But, as they prevailed not with him at all, he slew one of them, who was most highly esteemed, because of the liberty he took with him; and he, as he was dying from regard to the laws, imprecated curses upon his murderer Anilæus, and upon Asinæus also, and prayed that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; the two first as the principal actors in this lawlessness, and the rest because they would not assist him when he suffered in defending their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than the bravery of the two

brothers. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians honour, they thought the outrage that Anilæus offered to their laws could be borne no longer; so a great number of them came to Asinæus, and loudly complained of Anilæus, and told him, if he had not previously noticed what was advantageous to them, that now it was high time anyhow to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added that the marriage of this woman took place without their consent, and without regard to their laws; and that the worship which she paid to her gods was an outrage to the God whom they worshipped. Now, Asinæus knew that his brother's offence had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would continue to be so, but he tolerated it because of the good-will he had to so near a relative, and made allowance for him, considering that his brother was quite overcome by his wicked passion which mastered him. But as more and more came to him every day, and the clamours became greater, he at last spoke to Anilæus about the matter, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs. And as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anilæus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she put poison into Asinæus' food, and so took him off, and was now free from fear, as her lover was now sole judge of what should be done about her.

§ 6. When Anilæus had thus got all the power himself alone, he led out his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a leading man in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus' daughter, and plundered them. So he got much money, and many slaves, and much cattle, and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now, when Mithridates, who was in that region at the time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very enraged that Anilæus had begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, though he had not offered any injury to him previously; so he got together



the largest body of cavalry he was able, and picked out of that number those who were in their prime, and went to fight Anilæus. And when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he rested there, intending to fight Anilæus on the day following, because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anilæus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger from another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would feast, he took his supper betimes, and marched by night, intending to fall upon the Parthians while they were ignorant of what he was going to do; and fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and slew some of them while they were asleep, and put others to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass, which is esteemed the greatest reproach possible among the Parthians. And when he had brought Mithridates into a wood in such guise,<sup>1</sup> and his friends desired him to kill him, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary; for he said it was not well to kill a man who was one of the principal families among the Parthians, and still more honoured by contracting a royal marriage; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had insulted Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that had conferred it on him; but if he were once put to death, the king would not rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon, whose safety they ought to regard, both on account of their relationship to them, and because, if any misfortune befell them, they had no other place to retire to, since the king had got the flower of their youth. By this suggestion and speech of his made in council he persuaded them, so Mithridates was let go. But when he returned home, his wife reproached him, that, although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those who had insulted him, and took no heed of it, but was contented to have been made captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them. And she bade him either go back like a man of courage, or

<sup>1</sup> I read *πορίσματος*. What can *ὀρίσματος* mean here?

else she swore by the gods of their royal family, that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon this, partly because he could not endure the annoyance of her daily taunts, partly because he was afraid of her high spirit, lest she should in earnest dissolve her marriage with him, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as large an army as he could, and marched along with them, himself now thinking it insufferable that he, a Parthian, should be defeated by a Jew who warred against him.

§ 7. Now as soon as Anilæus heard that Mithridates was marching with a large force against him, he thought it ignoble to remain in the marshes, and not to be first in meeting his enemies, and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat the enemy as he had done before; so he ventured boldly upon the like attempt. Accordingly, he led out his army, and a great many more men joined themselves to his army, to betake themselves to plunder other persons' property, and to terrify the enemy again first by their appearance. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, as their road lay through waterless places, they became very thirsty about the middle of the day, and Mithridates suddenly appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anilæus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, as they were faint and yet had to attack men that were fresh and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousands killed. Now Anilæus and all that remained round him fled as fast as they were able into a wood, and gave Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. And now there flocked unto Anilæus a countless number of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease, so that, by their thus coming to him, they compensated for the number of those that had perished in the fight. But they were not equal in quality to those that had fallen, because they had had no practice in war; however, with them Anilæus attacked the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty destruction of all things there was made by his violence. So

the Babylonians, and those that joined in the war, sent to Naarda to the Jews there, and demanded them to deliver up Anilæus. And although they did not obey their demand (for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power to do so), yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the others replied, that they also wanted conditions of peace, and sent envoys with the Babylonians, to treat with Anilæus about peace. But the Babylonians, having made a reconnaissance, and found out where Anilæus and his men were encamped, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk and had fallen asleep, and slew with impunity all of them they fell in with, and killed Anilæus himself also.

§ 8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anilæus' raids (which had been a great hindrance to their carrying out their hatred to the Jews, for they were almost always at variance because of the difference of their laws, and whichever party grew boldest attacked the other first), and so now, upon the slaughter of Anilæus' party, they attacked the Jews. And they, dreading the injuries they received from the Babylonians, and being unable to fight them, and thinking it intolerable to live with them, migrated to Seleucia,<sup>1</sup> the principal city in those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator; and was inhabited by many Macedonians, but principally by Greeks, and not a few Syrians also dwelt there. And there did the Jews take refuge, and lived there five years without any misfortunes. But in the sixth year a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, and because of it a stampede took place to Seleucia. And a still heavier calamity came upon them for the reason which I am going to relate.

§ 9. The life of the Greeks and Syrians in Seleucia was mostly quarrelsome, and full of strife, though the Greeks had the best of it. But when the Jews came there and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too much for the Greeks, owing to the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and are very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now, as the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiii. 7, § 1.

way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the unity of the Jews and Syrians, they each talked with such of the Syrians as were formerly acquainted with them, and offered to be at peace and friendship with them. And they gladly agreed to this, and a conference was held by both parties; and as the principal men of both nations agreed to a reconciliation, it was soon brought about. And when they were so agreed, they both felt that the chief token of such a union would be common hostility to the Jews; so they fell upon them suddenly, and slew about fifty thousand of them. Indeed the Jews were all destroyed, except a few who escaped from the compassion of their friends or neighbours, and migrated to Ctesiphon,<sup>1</sup> a Greek city near Seleucia, where the king winters every year, and where the greatest part of his treasures are deposited. But the Jews had no certain settlement here, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. For the whole nation of the Jews were afraid both of the Babylonians and Seleucians, because all the Syrians that lived in those places agreed with the Seleucians to war against the Jews: so most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Naarda and Nisibis,<sup>2</sup> and obtained security there from the strength of those cities; and also their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. Such was the state of the Jews in Babylonia.

<sup>1</sup> On the left bank of the Tigris. See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Antiq. xviii. 9, § 1.

## BOOK XIX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF.  
—FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON,  
TO FADUS, THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

## CHAP. I.

*How Caius was slain by Chærea Cassius.*

## § 1.

NOW Caius showed his outrageous madness not only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in Judæa, but also exhibited it in every land and sea that was subject to the Romans, and filled the empire with ten thousand woes, such as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dire effects of his acts, as he held it in not a whit more honour than all other cities, but savagely oppressed all its citizens, and especially the senate and patricians, and such as were honoured for their illustrious ancestors. He also found out ten thousand devices against those of the equestrian order, as it was called, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth to the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; he treated these in an ignominious manner, and degraded them from their position, and they were not only slain, but their wealth plundered, for he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours being paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind, for he frequented the temple of Jupiter which they call the Capitol, which is among the Romans the most honoured of all their temples, and had the audacity to call Jupiter his brother. And other things he did like a madman, as when he laid a bridge from the city of

Dicæarchia<sup>1</sup> in Campania to Misenum,<sup>2</sup> another city upon the seaside, a distance of thirty furlongs by sea from one promontory to the other. And this he did because he disliked crossing over in a trireme, and thought also that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might demand from it as much as from the land, so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to make such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Greek temples, but gave orders that all the paintings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and votive offerings should be brought to him, saying that beautiful things ought to be set nowhere but in the best place, and that was the city of Rome. He also adorned his own house and gardens with what was brought from those temples, as also his houses which he occasionally stayed at when he travelled in Italy; and he did not scruple to command that the statue of Olympian Zeus, the work of Phidias the Athenian, which was honoured by the Greeks, should be transferred to Rome. But he did not compass his end in this, for the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Zeus, that it would be broken if it were removed. It is also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some mighty prodigies such as are of an incredible nature, deferred the removing it, and wrote these circumstances to Caius, as his apology for not having done what his letter required of him; and when he was in consequence in danger of his life, he was saved by Caius dying himself, before he had him put to death.

§ 2. Nay, Caius' madness rose to such a height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and affirmed that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers was the greatest he left undetermined. And yet men put up with such actions! He also gave leave to slaves to

<sup>1</sup> Puteoli. *Pozzuoli*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Casaluce*, on the south side of the *Porto di Miseno*, at the northern limit of the Bay of Naples.

accuse their masters of any crimes whatever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him and at his suggestion, inso-much that Pollux, Claudius' slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself, and Caius was not ashamed to be present, and to hear the trial for his life of his own uncle, in hope of being able to take him off, although the result did not turn out to his mind. But when he had filled the whole world which he governed with false accusations and miseries, and had made slaves in a great measure their masters' masters, many plots were laid against him, for some conspired against his life in rage and to revenge themselves for the miseries they had already undergone from him, and others to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries. And so his death happened very opportunely for the preservation of the laws of all nations, and had a great influence upon the public welfare, and happened most happily for our nation in particular, which would almost have utterly perished if he had not been soon slain. I intend to give a complete account of his murder, especially as it affords great proof of the power of God, and great comfort to those who are in afflictions, and soberness to those who think their happiness will never end, instead of bringing them at last to the most enduring miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.)

§ 3. Now there were three conspiracies made to murder Caius, and each of these three was headed by excellent persons. Æmilius Regulus, a native of Corduba<sup>1</sup> in Iberia, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off either by them, or by himself. Another conspiracy was laid under the lead of Chærea Cassius, a tribune [of the Prætorian guard]. Minucianus Annius was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to put an end to Caius' tyranny. Now the reasons of these men's hatred and conspiracy against Caius were as follows. Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice (for he was by nature hot-tempered and frank, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them

<sup>1</sup> Cordova in Spain.

to many of his friends, and to others who seemed to him men of action); and Minucianus entered into conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the best of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, and also because he was afraid of him himself, as Caius' wrath revelled in the slaughter of all alike: and as for Chærea, he thought it no illiberal deed to kill Caius, being ashamed of Caius constantly twitting him with being effeminate,<sup>1</sup> as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with Caius, and the observance he paid him. These men opened their plot to all who saw the injuries that were done them, and who were desirous that by Caius' death they might escape all this: for perhaps they would succeed, and it would be a happy thing if they should to have so many excellent fellow-conspirators, who earnestly wished to share in their design for the delivery of the city and empire, even at the hazard of their own lives. But Chærea was the most zealous of them all, not only from a desire of getting himself the greatest name, but also because of his access to Caius' presence with less danger, because he was a tribune [of the Prætorian guard], and so could the more easily kill him.

§ 4. Now at this time came on the horse-races, the view of which games is eagerly desired by the people of Rome, for they come with great alacrity into the Circus at such times, and crowd round in great multitudes, and petition their emperors for what they stand in need of; and they usually do not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and graciously grant them. Accordingly now they most importunately desired that Caius would ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them. But he would not listen to their petition, and, as their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way, and some another, and gave orders that they should arrest those that made the clamours, and without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius' commands, and those who were commanded carried them out, and the number of those slain on this

<sup>1</sup> See Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56.



occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it, and soon left off clamouring, because they saw with their own eyes that this petition to be somewhat relieved of the payment of their taxes brought immediate death upon them. These things made Chærea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this savageness of Caius against men. Frequently he thought to fall upon Caius as he was feasting, but he restrained himself by some considerations, not that he had any doubt about killing him, but because he watched for a proper season, that the attempt might not be in vain, but might be carried out effectually.

§ 5. Chærea had been in the army a long time, but was not pleased with much intercourse with Caius. And when Caius appointed him to exact the tribute and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to the emperor's treasury, he made some delay in exacting them, because those burdens had been doubled, and rather indulged his own mild disposition than carried out Caius' commands, and indeed provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the money. And indeed he not only affronted him in other respects, but whenever he gave him the word for the day in his turn, he gave him feminine words,<sup>1</sup> and those of a very reproachful nature. And this he did, having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries which he had himself invented: for as he sometimes put on women's clothes, and devised false curls, and did a great many other things, in order to get taken for a woman, so he ventured to taunt Chærea with the like womanish behaviour. And whenever Chærea received the word for the day from him, he was indignant at it, but still more whenever he had to pass it on to others, being laughed at by those that received it, insomuch that his fellow-tribunes made him their sport. For they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual amusing words whenever he was to bring the word for the day from the emperor. For these

<sup>1</sup> See Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56.

reasons he took the bold step of joining to him certain associates, having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius, a senator, who had gone through almost all offices, but was in other respects an Epicurean, and one who for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, informed Caius that Pompedius had used unseemly reproaches against him, and called Quintilia as a witness, a woman who was much run after by many that frequented the theatre, and also by Pompedius, because of her great beauty. Now as this woman thought it monstrous to bear witness to a lying accusation that touched the life of her lover, Timidius desired to have her put to the torture. And Caius in his exasperation commanded Chærea without any delay to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Chærea in such bloody matters, and whenever the rack was required, because he thought he would do it the more severely to avoid the imputation of effeminacy. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of any consequences from her tortures; for she would bear them bravely. And Chærea tortured her in a cruel manner, unwillingly indeed, and only because he was compelled to act so for his own safety, and then brought her, without her being the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a condition as was sad to behold. And Caius, being somewhat affected by the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably racked with pain, acquitted both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her honourable amends, and comfort her for the injury to her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such dreadful torments.

§ 6. This matter sorely grieved Chærea, as having been the cause, as far as he could be, of such miseries to human beings as seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself; and he said to Clemens and to Papinius (of whom Clemens was commander of the Prætorian body-guard, and Papinius tribune,) "Certainly, Clemens, we have no way failed in guarding the emperor; for as to those that have con-

spired against his government, some have been slain by our forethought and pains, and some have been tortured by us, and that to such a degree, that he has himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to lead his armies!" Clemens was silent, but showed the shame he felt in obeying Caius' orders both by his looks and blushing countenance, though he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest his own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon this Chærea took courage, and spoke to him without fear of danger, and descanted on the sore calamities under which the city and empire then laboured, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words that Caius is the person to whom such miseries ought to be imputed; but in the opinion of such as try to investigate the truth, it is I, O Clemens, and Papinius here, and before us both you yourself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans and upon all mankind, not by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but by following our own wish, for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who has so terribly outraged the citizens and his subjects, we are his body-guards and executioners rather than soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We carry weapons not for our liberty, nor for the Roman empire, but only for his preservation, who has enslaved both the bodies and minds of his subjects, and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon them, until somebody shall become Caius' instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us out of good-will to us, but rather because he is suspicious of us, as also because when many more have been killed (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he acts thus not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure,) we shall also ourselves be a mark for his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of everybody, and at the same time we ought to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

§ 7. Then Clemens openly commended Chærea's intention, but bade him be silent, for in case his words should get out among many, and such things should spread abroad

as were well to be concealed, the plot would be discovered before it was executed, and they would be brought to punishment: so he recommended that they should leave all to the future and the hope which arose thence that some fortunate event would aid them; as for himself, his age would not permit him to take any active part in the attempt. "Although perhaps," he added, "I could suggest what might be safer than what you, Chærea, have contrived and urged, yet how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for your reputation?" And Clemens went his way home, reflecting on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Chærea was also in anxiety, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus (who was himself also a tribune, and one whom he also knew to be a worthy man and lover of liberty, and so very much opposed to the present management of public affairs), being desirous to carry out quickly what had been determined, and thinking it well for him to propose it to him, not only being afraid lest Clemens should inform against them, but also looking upon procrastination and delay as next door to abandoning the enterprise.

§ 8. Now all this was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself the same design as Chærea, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate his views, so now having met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who also opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Chærea that no delay might be made. So they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions, as themselves, and was suspected by Caius on account of his murder of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus had been intimate friends, and both in fear of their common dangers. For Caius was terrible to all great men, not ceasing to rage against each of them in particular, and all of them in general; and men were afraid of one another, while yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, and hesitated to let one another see their mind and hatred against Caius, from fear of danger, although they perceived in other ways their mutual hatred of Caius, and so did not cease to feel mutual good-will.

§ 9. When Minucianus and Chærea met together, and

saluted one another, as they had been used in former intercourse to give the first place to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent merit (for he was the noblest of all the citizens) and because he was highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches, Minucianus began first, and asked Chærea, what was the word he had received for that day from Caius. For the insults which were offered Chærea in giving the words for the day were notorious all over the city. And Chærea made no delay to reply to that question, from the joy he had that Minucianus had such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "And do you," said he, "give me Liberty as the word! And I return you my thanks for having so greatly encouraged me to exert myself in an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to embolden me, if you and I are of the same mind, and sharers in the same resolution, even before this conversation. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but it will be enough for us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do you go first, if so minded, and bid me follow you, or else I will go first, and you shall assist me, and I will rely on your co-operation. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to action, for by the mind the sword is wont to be sharpened. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous as to what I may myself undergo; for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery of our once free country, and at the abeyance of our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men's heads owing to Caius. I hope that I may in your judgment be esteemed worthy of credit in these matters, seeing that we are both of the same opinion, and that there is no difference between us."

§ 10. When Minucianus saw the vehemence with which Chærea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending and embracing him, and so let him go with his good wishes and prayers. And some affirm that Minucianus confirmed him in the execution of what had been agreed among them. For, as Chærea entered the senate-house, they say that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage

him, which bade him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that providence afforded : and that Chærea at first suspected that one of the conspirators had turned traitor, and that he was detected, but at last perceived that it was by way of exhortation, whether someone who knew what he was about gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, encouraged him to go on boldly in his design. The plot had now been communicated to a great many, and the conspirators were all armed, some of them being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and all the rest soldiers who were privy to the plot. For there was not one of them who did not reckon it happiness to remove Caius, and so they were all very zealous in the affair, however they might compass it, and resolved not to be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but to be ready with all their alacrity and power, both in words and actions, to slay the tyrant. Another conspirator was Callistus (who was a freedman of Caius), and was the only man who had arrived at a very great degree of power under him, such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, from the dread that all men had of him, and from the great riches he had acquired ; for he took bribes most freely, and insolently treated everybody, using his power contrary to equity ; he also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had once resolved on ; he had also many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and not least the vastness of his wealth. So he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his court to him, hoping if, after the removal of Caius, the empire should come to him, his interest in such changes would lay a foundation for his preserving his position under Claudius, as he would have laid in beforehand a stock of gratitude and good-will. He had also the audacity to pretend that he had been ordered to kill Claudius by poison, but had contrived ten thousand ways of delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me that Callistus only pretended this to ingratiate himself with Claudius, for if Caius had resolved in earnest to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of excuses from Callistus, nor would Callistus have

put it off, if he had been enjoined to do such an act because it was desired by Caius, or, if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, he would have had immediate punishment: so that Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain divine providence, and Callistus pretended to have done him such a kindness as he never had done.

§ 11. However, the execution of Chærea's design was put off from day to day, from the hesitation of many of the conspirators: for as to Chærea himself, he did not willingly make any delay in carrying it out, thinking every time a fit time for it. For frequent opportunities offered themselves, as when Caius went up to the Capitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood on the roof of his royal palace, and threw pieces of gold and silver among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the roof of the palace overlooking the forum was very high; and also when he celebrated the mysteries which he had himself instituted, *he might easily be attacked*, for he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing formally and duly, and was free from all suspicion that he would then be attacked by any body. And although the gods should afford Chærea no indication that he would be able to take away Caius' life, yet had he strength sufficient to despatch him even without a sword. So Chærea was angry with his fellow-conspirators, fearing they would suffer opportunities to slip by; and they were sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage; however, they desired that he would have a little longer patience, lest, if their attempt failed, they should agitate the city, and when search should be made for the conspirators, should make the courage of those that were to attack Caius ineffectual, as he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them. They thought therefore that it would be best to set about the work when the shows were exhibited in the palace. These shows were acted in honour of that Cæsar<sup>1</sup> who first changed the common-

<sup>1</sup> Here Josephus supposes that it was Augustus, and not Julius Cæsar, who first changed the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy; for these shows were in honour of Augustus, as we shall learn in the next section but one.—W.

wealth into a monarchy ; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians sat as spectators, with their children and wives, and the emperor himself also ; and the conspirators reckoned, as many ten thousands would be crowded there in a narrow space, that they would have a favourable opportunity to make their attack upon Caius as he came in ; because his body-guards, even if any of them had a mind to do so, would not be able to give him any assistance.

§ 12. Chærea consented to this delay, and it was resolved to do the deed the first day that the shows were exhibited. But fortune, which allowed a further delay, was too much for their preconcerted plan, and, as three days of the regular time usual for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. So Chærea called the conspirators together, and spoke to them as follows. “ So much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us, for delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in ; but this delay will prove more fatal, if we be discovered and the design be frustrated ; for Caius will then become much more savage. Do we not see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them, whereas we ought to have procured them security for the future, and by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, have gained for ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come ? ” Now, as the conspirators had nothing particular to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but were silent and seemed dazed, he said further, “ O my brave comrades ! why do we delay ? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is about to go to sea ? ” (for he had made preparations to sail to Alexandria in order to visit Egypt.) “ Is it then for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go about in a magnificent procession of Romans both by land and sea ? Shall we not be justly ashamed of ourselves, if some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to freemen, shall kill him ? As for myself, I will no longer bear your procrastination, but will expose



myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatever shall be the consequences of the attempt, let them be ever so great, for I will not put off the affair any longer. For what can be more miserable to a man of spirit than the thought that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action."

§ 13. When Chærea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without further delay. And he was at the palace early in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on, for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the word for the day from the emperor with their swords on, and this was the day on which Chærea's turn was to receive the word. And the multitude had already come to the palace, in great crowds and jostling one another, to get a good place early for seeing the shows; and Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude, so no peculiar seats were appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order, but all sat promiscuously, men and women together, and free men mixed up with slaves. So a way was made for Caius, and he offered sacrifice to Cæsar Augustus, in whose honour indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, as one of the victims was slain, that the toga of Asprenas, a senator, was sprinkled with blood, which made Caius laugh, and was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also stated that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual nature, so very affable and courteous in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, and his chief friends sat round him. Now the theatre was constructed as follows, as it was put together every year. It had two doors, one leading to the open air, the other for going in or out of the portico, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there was an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants, and to the musicians, to go out as occasion served. When the multitude had sat down,

and Chærea and the other tribunes were not far from Caius (now the right corner of the theatre was allotted to the emperor), one Vatinius, a senator, and commander of the prætorian band, asked of Cluvius, who sat near him, and was of consular dignity, whether he had heard any news or not, but took care that nobody should hear what he said. And when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news, "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the play of tyrannicide is to be played to-day." And Cluvius said, "Brave comrade! hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achæans hear thy tale."<sup>1</sup> And as there was much fruit scrambled among the spectators, as also a great number of birds of great value to such as got them on account of their rarity, Caius was amused with the fights and scuffles of the spectators for them. Here also I understand<sup>2</sup> there were two omens. For a Mime was introduced, in which a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomimic dancer brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himself was slain and his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of sham blood seemed to flow, both round him that was crucified, and also round Cinyras. It is also admitted, that this was the same day whereon Pausanias, a friend of Philip (the son of Amyntas), king of Macedonia, slew him as he was entering the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he would stay to the end of the shows, as it was the last day, or whether he would not go first to bathe and dine, and then return as on previous days, when Minucianus, who sat above Caius, afraid that the opportunity would fail them, got up, because he saw that Chærea had already gone out, and was hastening out to confirm him in his resolution, when Caius took hold of his garment in a free and easy way, and said to him, "My good fellow, where are you going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to the emperor apparently, he sat down again, but his fear prevailed, and in a little time he got up again, and this time Caius did not at all oppose his going out, thinking he went out to do some necessary act of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the conspirators also, persuaded Caius to go out to bathe and dine, as he had done

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to Homer, *Iliad*, xiv. 90.

<sup>2</sup> I read *μανθάνω*.

on previous days, and then to come in again, being desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

§ 14. And Chærea and his associates posted themselves as conveniently as they could, but it was not without great effort that they could keep the place which was appointed them. And they were put out by having to wait so long to carry out their purpose, for it was already about the ninth<sup>1</sup> hour of the day, and Chærea, upon Caius' tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in to him and attack him on his seat. He foresaw however that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present; but although he knew this must result, yet had he a great mind to do so, thinking it right to procure security and freedom to all, even at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back to the entrance to the theatre, the great applause told them that Caius had risen up. Then the conspirators turned and thrust back the crowd, on the pretext that they annoyed Caius, but in reality being desirous to murder him securely through depriving him of any to defend him. Now Claudius, his uncle, and Marcus Vinicius, his sister's husband, as also Valerius Asiaticus, preceded him, and though the conspirators would have liked to thrust them out of the way too, respect to their dignity hindered them from doing so, and Caius came last with Paulus Arruntius. And when Caius got within the palace, he left the direct road, along which his servants stood that were in waiting, and which Claudius and those with him had taken, and turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the baths, as also to look at some boys that had come from Asia, who had been sent from thence partly to sing hymns in the mysteries which were now being celebrated, partly to dance the Pyrrhic dance at the theatres. And Chærea met him, and asked him for the word; and upon Caius' giving him one of his mocking words, Chærea immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible but not

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius says Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day; Josephus, about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.  
—W.

mortal stroke with it. And although some say that it was so contrived on purpose by Chærea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a number of wounds, yet this story appears to me incredible, because the fear men are in in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Chærea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, for so indulging his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and his fellow-conspirators from the danger they were in; for many things might still happen for Caius' help, if he had not already given up the ghost. For certainly Chærea would not regard so much the punishment of Caius as himself and his friends, when it was in his power after such success to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius' defenders; far less, when it was uncertain whether he had gained the end he aimed at or not, would he in a stupid way have been likely to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity. But every one may conjecture as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius staggered from the pain that the blow gave him (for the sword wounded him between the shoulder and the neck, but was prevented by the collarbone from proceeding any further,) but did not either cry out in his astonishment, or call out for any of his friends; whether he had no confidence in them, or because he was lightheaded, but he groaned from the excessive pain, and moved forward to flee. Then Cornelius Sabinus, who had already made up his mind, received him and thrust him down upon his knee, and many others stood round about him with one consent, and hacked at him with their swords, and encouraged one another to repeat their blows. And all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which instantly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this murder to Chærea, for although many had a hand in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first that spoke boldly of it to the rest; and upon their approving of the project, he got the dispersed conspirators together, and prepared every thing in a clever manner, and by suggesting good advice showed himself far superior to the rest, and conciliated them by clever speeches, inso-

much that he compelled even the timid to go on with the enterprise, and when the time came for action, he appeared ready first and gave the first blow, and also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice and bravery of Chærea, and to the labours of his hands.

§ 15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead from the many wounds which had been given him. And Chærea and the other conspirators, now Caius was dead, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves if they should all go the same way. For not only were they unnerved by what they had done (for they had incurred no small danger by killing an emperor who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people, and the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers), but the road was narrow where the deed was done, and also crowded with a great number of Caius' attendants, and with such of the soldiers as were the emperor's guard that day. So they went by different ways, and reached the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius whom they had just killed (which house joined on to the palace; for though the palace was one edifice, it had been built in its several parts by previous emperors, and those parts bore the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of them), and so they got away from the attack of the multitude, and were for the present out of danger, as long as what had happened to the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first that perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were his body-guards, and had their name from the country where they had been enlisted, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is not unfrequently the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as they do not much reason about what they do, but are strong in their bodies, and rush upon their enemies at the first onset, and wherever they go perform great exploits. When, therefore, they knew that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not judge public affairs on their merits, but measured them by the advantages they themselves received, (Caius being beloved by them because

of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their good-will,) so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was their tribune, not because of the virtue and nobility of his ancestors, for he had only been a gladiator, but he had obtained that position over these men by his strength of body. Now these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caius' murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell in with, whose garment the blood of the sacrifice had stained, as I have stated already, which was ominous that his meeting with the soldiers would not be for his good. The next that met them was Norbanus, who was one of the noblest of the citizens, and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors, but they paid no regard to his rank, but he was of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and showed plainly that he would not die without a fight for his life, but he was surrounded at last by a great number of assailants, and died in consequence of the many wounds which he received. The third they met was Anteius, a senator, and a few others were with him. He did not meet these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and to feast his eyes with seeing Caius lie dead, and took a pleasure in the sight, because Caius had banished Anteius' father, who was of the same name as himself, and, not being satisfied with that, had despatched soldiers to slay him. So he had come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead; but as the house was now all in confusion, though he tried to hide himself, he could not escape the careful search which the Germans made, for they barbarously slew alike those that were guilty and those that were innocent. And thus were these persons slain.

§ 16. But when the news that Caius was slain reached the theatre, there was both panic and incredulity. For some that heard of his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than of almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, could not believe it for fear. There were also others who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should happen to Caius, nor could they believe it,

though ever so true, because they thought no one able to kill Caius. These were the women, and youths, and slaves, and some of the soldiers. These last had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had ill-treated the best of the citizens, in obedience to his outrageous commands, and to gain honours and advantages to themselves; and the women and youths had been captivated, as crowds are, with shows, and the fightings of gladiators, and distributions of meat, all which things were done nominally to please the multitude, but in reality to glut the savage madness of Caius. The slaves also were loth to believe the news, because they were allowed by Caius to accuse and despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had acted insolently to them; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they accused them falsely; and, if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both liberty and riches as the reward of their accusations, because the eighth part of their masters' substance was assigned to these informers.<sup>1</sup> As to the patricians, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might prove true, they concealed not only the joy they felt at the news, but that they had heard any news at all. These last acted so from the fear they had that, if the report proved false, they would be punished for having so soon let men know their minds. And those that knew Caius was dead, because they were privy to the conspiracy, concealed it still more, not knowing one another's minds, and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous, and if Caius should prove after all to be alive, they might be informed against and punished, for another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, he was not dead, but still alive, and under the surgeon's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as one to be trusted, and to whom one might boldly open one's mind; for he was either a

<sup>1</sup> The reward proposed by the Roman laws to informers was sometimes an eighth part of the criminal's goods, as here; and sometimes a fourth part, as Spanheim assures us from Suetonius and Tacitus.—W.

friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, and therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit for what he said, because of his ill-will to him. It was also reported by some, (who deprived the patricians of all their hopes, and made them sad indeed), that Caius despised the danger he had been in, and took no care to heal his wounds, but had got away to the forum, bloody as he was, and was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which were received different ways according to the opinions of the hearers. However, they did not leave their seats, for fear of being accused if they should go out before the rest; for they would not be judged by the real intention with which they went out, but by the conjectures of the accusers and judges.

§ 17. But when the multitude of Germans surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn, all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and upon every one's coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they would be cut in pieces immediately; and they were in great anxiety, not having courage enough to go out of the theatre, and yet not believing themselves safe from danger if they stayed there. And when the Germans rushed in, the theatre rang again with the cries and entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, for they pleaded that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to an insurrection, and if any insurrection had been raised, they knew nothing of what had happened. They therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes of other persons, while they neglected to search after those who had really done whatever had been done. Then did they appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears and beating of their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate to them. This broke the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they had intended to do to the spectators, for that would have been barbarous, and so it appeared even to these savages, who fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar. At



this dreadful sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both from the consideration of the rank of the persons, and commiseration at their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in as great terror at the prospect of the danger they themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should to the end escape the like calamity. And thus it came about that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius, were yet robbed of pleasure at his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing with him, nor had they as yet any firm assurance of surviving.

§ 18. There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a powerful voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city both now and afterwards. This man made himself look as mournful as he could, (although he had greater hatred against Caius than any one else, but his fear and astuteness to secure his own safety taught him to conceal his present pleasure) and put on such mourning as he would have done had he lost his dearest friend in the world, and went to the theatre, and announced the death of Caius, and so put an end to the state of ignorance as to what had happened that people were in. Paulus Arruntius also went round, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this most certainly saved the lives of those that were assembled together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for, while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindness had they still for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and purchased his escape from such an end at the expense of their own lives. But they left off their eagerness to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, as he that would reward them had perished. They were also afraid, if they went on doing such injuries, that they would be punished by the senate, if the authority devolved on them, or by the next emperor. And thus at last a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to the

rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius' death.

§ 19. Now Chærea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should fall in with the Germans, now they were in their fury, and be killed by them, that he went and spoke to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. As for Clemens, he let Minucianus go (for he was brought to him) and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the deed was right, and commended the virtue of those that had contrived it, and had had courage enough to execute it; and said that tyrants did indeed please themselves with tyranny and look big for a while, but did not, however, go happily out of the world, because they were hated by the virtuous, and perished miserably like Caius, who had become a conspirator against himself, before those men who attacked him had plotted against him, and by becoming intolerable in his outrages, and by setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, had taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy, so that, though in common parlance the conspirators had slain Caius, yet in reality it was by his own act that he now lay dead.

§ 20. Now by this time the people in the theatre had risen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance, the reason of which was that the spectators were in too great a hurry to get away. There was also one Halcyon, a surgeon, who hurried away, as if to cure those that were wounded, and on that pretext sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing of those wounded persons, but in reality to free them from the imminent danger they were in. Meantime the senate had met, and the people also had assembled in the forum where they held their comitia, and both were employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did this very zealously, but the senate in appearance only; for Valerius Asiaticus, a man of consular authority, went to the people, as they were troubled and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who had murdered the emperor, and when he was earnestly asked by them all, who it was that had done it, he replied, "I

wish I had." The consuls also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and ordered the people and soldiers to go home, and gave the people hopes of abatement of their grievances, and promised the soldiers if they kept quiet as they used to do, and went not abroad to do mischief, that they would bestow rewards upon them. For there was reason to fear that the city would suffer harm from their wild behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoiling the citizens or plundering the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance and great contempt of others, as if the administration of public affairs had already devolved upon them.

## CHAP. II.

*How the Senators wished to restore the Republic; but the soldiers were for preserving the Monarchy. The Murder of Caius' Wife and Daughter. The character of Caius.*

### § 1.

WHEN public affairs were in this condition, Claudius was suddenly hurried away out of his house. For the soldiers held a meeting, and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs, and that if it should be set up it would not be for their advantage; and if one of those already in power should become emperor, it would in all respects be unsatisfactory to them, if they did not assist him in his advancement: it would therefore be well for them, while public affairs were still unsettled, to choose Claudius as emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of greater dignity than any of those senators who were assembled together, both on account of the virtue of his ancestors, and the attention he had paid to learning, and who, if once made emperor, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. This was their

plan, and they executed it immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon by the soldiers. But Cnæus Sentius Saturninus, although he had heard of the seizing of Claudius, and that he intended to claim the throne, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality with his consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, addressed them in a manner suitable to free and noble men, and spoke as follows.

§ 2. "Although it seems incredible, O Romans, because of the great length of time since so unexpected an event has happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed it will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is, yet is it sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for to those that love virtue one hour is sufficient spent in freedom in our country, which is now independent and governed by such laws as it once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, for I was born after it had passed away, but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thought of our present freedom, and esteem those happy men that were born and bred up in it, and I think these men worthy of no less honour than the gods themselves, who have, though late, given us a taste of it in this age. May secure enjoyment of it continue to all ages: though this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for our old men. It will seem an age to our old men, if they die during its happy duration; it will also instruct our younger men what kind of virtue those men had from whom we are sprung. As for ourselves, nothing will be more to our advantage in the present than to live virtuously, for it is virtue alone that can preserve men their liberty. As to our ancient state I have heard from others, but as to our later state, I have personally seen and known what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon our polity, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and teaching flattery and fear, because they leave public affairs to be governed not by the wisdom of the laws, but by the caprice of our rulers. For since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to overthrow our democracy, and, by violating the regular system of our laws, brought disorders

into our polity, and got above right and justice, and was a slave to his own inclinations, there is no evil that has not plagued our state, as all those that have succeeded him have vied with one another to overthrow the ancient laws of our country, and to leave it destitute of all citizens of noble principles, because they thought it for their safety to have only vicious men to deal with, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all these tyrants, who have been many in number, and who have laid upon us an insufferable burden during their reigns, this Caius, who has been slain to-day, has brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by wreaking his ungovernable rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, inflicting upon all alike still greater miseries by exacting unjust punishments, being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their pleasure by doing injuries, or by tampering both with men's estates and wives, but they look upon it as entire gain when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies. So hateful to tyrants is all liberty, nor can even those gain their friendship that patiently endure whatever miseries they bring on them. For as they are conscious of the abundant evils they have brought on several, and how nobly they have borne their hard fortune, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done them, and so only think they can get security, so suspicious are they, by putting them entirely out of the world. Since, then, we are now got clear of so great a plague, and are only accountable to one another (which form of government affords us the best assurance of present concord and future security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in putting the state in good order), you ought every one of you personally to look to the public interests of everybody, nay, even to oppose measures which have been proposed that you dislike, and that without any danger, because there is now no irresponsible despot to do mischief to the state, with absolute power to take off those that freely declare their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to the increase of tyranny of late as sloth and timi-

dity in contradicting the emperor's will; for men had too great love for the sweets of peace, and had learned to live like slaves. And as many of us as either suffered intolerable calamities, or saw the miseries of our neighbours, because we dreaded dying virtuously, had the prospect of death with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Chærea Cassius. For this one man, with the aid of the gods, has by his counsel and actions been the procurer of our liberty, nor ought we to be ungrateful to him, seeing that he under a tyranny conspired and hazarded his life for our liberty, but we ought to decree him honours, and exhibit this as our first spontaneous act. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and one well becoming freemen, to requite benefactors, such as this man has been to us all, though unlike Cassius and Brutus who slew Caius Julius [Cæsar]; for they laid the foundations of sedition and civil war in our city, but this man by his tyrannicide has set our city free from all the mischiefs that came therefrom."

§ 3. This was the gist of Sentius' oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius' finger a ring, which had a stone with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal for speaking, and earnestness in what he was about, he had forgotten (it was supposed) to take off himself. The intaglio was broken immediately. And, as it was now far in the night, Chærea demanded of the consuls the word, and they gave him Liberty. What had happened seemed wonderful to them and almost incredible. For it was a hundred years since the democracy had been set aside, when this giving the word for the day returned to the consuls; for, before the city was governed by tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. And when Chærea had received the word, he passed it on to those soldiers who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. And these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and courage at having

recovered their former power, and being no longer under an emperor. And Chærea was everybody with them.

§ 4. And now Chærea was very uneasy that Caius' wife and daughter were still alive, and that all his family had not perished with him, since whoever was left of them would be left for the ruin of the city and the laws. So, being anxious to complete his work, and satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius' wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus, as a kinsman of Clemens, that he might be so far a partaker in the tyrannicide, and might get credit for his virtue among the citizens, and might seem to have been one of the original conspirators. But it appeared to some of the conspirators cruel to use such severity to a woman, because Caius, in all that he did, indulged his own ill-nature more than used her advice, and it was owing to him (*and not her*) that the city was in such a desperate condition of misery, and the flower of the citizens destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things, nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said that she had given a philtre to Caius, which had made him enslaved to her will, and had tied him down to love her, so that she, having made him mad, was herself the author of all the misfortunes that had befallen the Romans and the world that was subject to them. So that at last it was determined that she must die, for those of the contrary opinion could not at all prevail to have her saved, and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor did he make any delay in executing his errand, but he took the first opportunity to obey those that sent him, being desirous to be no way blamable in what was done for the advantage of the people. So he went to the palace, and found Cæsonia, Caius' wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay on the ground, and was destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and herself besmeared all over with the blood of her husband's wounds, and in the greatest affliction, her daughter lying by her side also: and nothing else was heard from her in these circumstances but blaming Caius for not having attended to what she had so often told him beforehand; which words of hers were taken in two

senses even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. For some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behaviour and cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by their using him as he had used them. Others said, as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, that she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and that whether they were guilty or not, and so he would be out of fear of any danger; and that this was what she now blamed him for, for being too tender in the matter when she had advised him to slay them all. And this was what Cæsonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But when she saw Lupus approach, she showed him Caius' dead body, and begged him to come near with lamentation and tears; and when she noticed that Lupus seemed unsettled in his purpose, and approached her as if to do something disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and bared her throat very readily, bewailing her case like people who utterly despair of their life, and bidding him not delay to end the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death at the hand of Lupus, as did her daughter after her. Then Lupus made haste to inform Chærea of what he had done.

§ 5. Such was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years all but four months. Even before he came to be emperor he was ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to pleasure, and a lover of calumny; greatly afraid of what was formidable, and of a very murderous disposition, where he durst show it. He enjoyed his power to this only purpose, to injure those that least deserved it with unreasonable arrogance, and he got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above the gods and the laws, but was a slave to the praises of the populace; and whatever the laws determined to be shameful, and censured, that he esteemed more honourable than virtue. He was unmindful of his friends, however intimate, and though they were persons of



the highest character; and, if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them for the most trifling matters, and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatever he commanded, he would admit of no contradiction to his desires, so it was that he committed incest with his own sister,<sup>1</sup> on which account chiefly it was that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known for a long time, and so it provoked men to distrust and hate him that was guilty of it. As for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the advantage of his contemporaries or posterity, nobody could name any such, except the haven that he made about Rhegium<sup>2</sup> and Sicily, for the ships that brought corn from Egypt; which was indeed indisputably a very great work in itself, and of very great advantage for navigation. Yet this work was not brought to perfection by him, but was left only half finished because of his want of application to it; the reason was that he dissipated his energy on useless matters, and as he spent his money upon pleasures such as tended to no one's benefit but his own, he could not be liberal in things that were undeniably of greater consequence. In other respects he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own mother-tongue, the Latin. He was also able, off-hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others of considerable length. He was also more skilful in persuading others in important cases than any one else in consequence of a natural facility, which had been improved by much exercise and painstaking. For as he was the grandson<sup>3</sup> of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong compulsion to his prosecution of learning, because Tiberius

<sup>1</sup> Spanheim here notes from Suetonius, that the name of Caius' sister, with whom he was guilty of incest, was Drusilla; and that Suetonius adds, he was guilty of the same crime with all his sisters also. He notes further, that Suetonius omits the mention of the haven for ships, which our author esteems the only great public work which Caius left behind him, though in an imperfect condition.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Reggio*, on the east side of the Straits of *Messina*.

<sup>3</sup> This Caius was the son of that excellent person Germanicus; who was the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor.—W.

was eminent for his success in learning, and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and emperor. He was also foremost of the citizens of his own age, but the advantages he received from his learning did not counterbalance the mischief he brought upon himself by his license; so difficult is it for those to get the virtue of self-control who have irresponsible freedom of action. At first he got himself such friends as were in all respects most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, in consequence of his learning and emulating the glory of the best men; until from his excessive injuries to them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him, from which hatred came the plot which they raised against him, in which he perished.]

### CHAP. III.

*How Claudius was seized, and brought out of his House, and taken to the Camp, and how the Senate sent an Embassy to him.*

#### § 1.

NOW Claudius, as I said before, had taken a different road to Caius, and, as the royal family were greatly put out by the sad murder of the emperor, he was in great anxiety how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow passage, though he had no reason for suspicion of danger besides the dignity of his birth. For he lived privately and behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and holding himself entirely aloof from every thing that might bring trouble. But as at this time the multitude were in consternation, and the whole palace was full of the fury of the soldiers, and the emperor's body-guards seemed in the same panic and confusion as private persons, the band called prætorian, which was the purest part of the army, held a consultation as to what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were present at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered,

because he justly deserved his fate, but rather considered their own fortunes, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially as the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius, rather to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public. All these things troubled Claudius, who was afraid for his own safety, especially when he saw the heads of Asprenas and his fellow-conspirators carried about. He stood in a certain place ascended by a few steps, where he had retired in the dark. And when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but could not well tell by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could see that it was some one who was hiding, he went nearer to him, and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus; <sup>1</sup> come, let us choose him for our emperor." And when Claudius saw that they were preparing to take him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, reminding them how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with all that had been done. Thereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off these humble thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, in their concern for the world, have committed to your virtue by taking Caius out of the way. Go, therefore, and take the throne of your ancestors." So he lifted him up and carried him, because he was unable to walk, such was his mingled dread and joy at what Gratus said to him.

§ 2. Now there were already gathered round Gratus a great number of the body-guards, and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked sad, supposing that he was being dragged to execution for the mischief that had been lately done, though he was a man who had never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and had been

<sup>1</sup> How Claudius, son of Drusus, and brother of Germanicus, could be here himself called Germanicus, Suetonius informs us, when he tells us that by a decree of the senate, the surname of Germanicus was bestowed upon Drusus and his posterity also. Sueton. *Claud.* i.—W.

in great danger during the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it well that the consuls should take cognizance of the matter. And, as more and more of the soldiers got together, the crowd gave way, and Claudius could hardly go forward from weakness of body, and those who carried his litter, when they heard of his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, despairing of their lord's safety. But when they were come into the large court of the palace (which, as the report goes about it, was the first part inhabited in the city of Rome), and had just got to the public treasury, many more soldiers flocked to him, being glad to see Claudius' face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a great reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetousness of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of formerly, when they were in power. They also considered the difficulty of the situation, as also what danger they would be in, if the government should devolve upon any individual but Claudius, who would take it as their grant and favour, and would be grateful for the benefit they had done him, and make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

§ 3. These were the discourses the soldiers had with one another and by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came near them. And they, on hearing it, willingly embraced the proposal, and they carried Claudius to the camp, crowding round him as his guard, and bearing him aloft in a litter, that their impatience might not be thwarted. As to the populace and senate they differed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and anxious to get rid of the slavery that had been imposed on them by the insolence of their tyrants, now that they had an opportunity afforded them; but the people, who were envious of them, and knew that the emperors were able to curb their arrogance, and were a protection to themselves, were very glad that Claudius had been carried off by the army, and thought that if he were made emperor, he would prevent such a civil war as there was in the days of Pompey.

But when the senate knew that Claudius had been taken to the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body who had the best character for virtue, to recommend him to do nothing to gain power by violence, but to submit to the senate, as he was either already, or would hereafter be, one of their body, which consisted of so many persons, and to submit to the law in all that related to public order, and to remember how greatly previous tyrants had afflicted their state, and what dangers both he and they had run under Caius, for they said he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury was done by others, and yet be himself willing to play havock with his country. They added that if he would hearken to them, and show that his determination was to live quietly and virtuously as before, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him that a free people could bestow, and by subjecting himself in part to the law, would obtain this commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue both as a ruler and subject; but if he would act recklessly, and learn no wisdom by Caius' death, they would not permit it. For a great section of the army (they added) sided with them, and they had plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves to make use of: and hope played a great part in such cases, and fortune and the gods never assisted any but those that exerted themselves with virtue and goodness, who could only be such as fought for the liberty of their country.

§ 4. Such was the speech that the envoys, Veranius and Brochus, who were both tribunes of the people, made to Claudius, and falling down upon their knees, begged of him, that he would not bring the city into wars and misfortunes. But when they saw what a multitude of soldiers surrounded and guarded Claudius, and that the consuls were totally inadequate to cope with them, they added that, if he desired the empire, he should accept it as given by the senate, for he would be happier in it and take it under better auspices, if he did not seize it by violence, but accepted it from the good-will of those who offered it to him.

## CHAP. IV.

*What King Agrippa did for Claudius, and how Claudius, when he had become Emperor, commanded the Murderers of Caius to be slain.*

## § 1.

NOW Claudius, though he was not blind to the presumption of this message from the senate, yet behaved himself for the present with moderation, as they advised. However, he recovered from his fright, being encouraged partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such an empire slip out of his hands, when it came thus spontaneously to him. King Agrippa acted also to Caius as became one who had been so much honoured by him; for he embraced Caius' body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and laid it out as well as he could, and went to the body-guards, and told them that Caius was still alive, but bade them fetch surgeons, for he was very ill of his wounds. But when he learned that Claudius had been carried off by the soldiers, he pushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in a condition of terror, and ready to yield to the senate, he encouraged him, and bade him stick to the empire. And when he had said this to Claudius, he returned home, and, upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had just come from a festive party, and so went to them, and also asked the senators what Claudius had done. And when they told him the present state of affairs, and further asked his opinion on the whole matter, he at once told them that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to their personal desires. For those who grasped at government, stood in need of weapons, and soldiers to guard them, lest being unprepared they should fall into danger. And when the senate replied, that they could bring weapons and money in abundance, and that as to an army, part of it was already mustered together, and they could raise a larger

one by giving the slaves their liberty, Agrippa made the following answer. "O senators! may you be able to do what you desire; but I will without any hesitation tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation. Know, then, that the army which will fight on behalf of Claudius has been long trained in war, while our army will be no better than a mob and rabble, as it is composed of such as have been unexpectedly freed from slavery, and are without discipline; we shall therefore bring up against those who are skilful in war men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. My opinion therefore is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to urge him to lay down the government, and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

§ 2. Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent with others, and privately informed Claudius of the alarm of the senate, and advised him to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority, So Claudius replied that he did not wonder the senate did not wish to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the savageness of those who had formerly been at the head of affairs; but they should enjoy an equitable government and good times under him, for he would only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be common to all. And since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be well for them not to distrust him. The ambassadors, upon receiving this answer, were dismissed. And Claudius harangued the army which was gathered together, and made them swear that they would remain faithful to him, and gave the body-guards five thousand drachmæ apiece,<sup>1</sup> and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wherever they were.

§ 3. And now the consuls convoked the senate to the temple of Jupiter Stator, while it was still night. But

<sup>1</sup> This number of drachmæ to be distributed to each private soldier, 5,000 drachmæ, equal to 20,000 sesterces, or £161 sterling, seems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, chap. x., who makes them in all but fifteen sesterces, or 2s. 4d.—W.

some of the senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do on the hearing of this summons, and some of them retired to their estates in the country, foreseeing the issue of public affairs, and despairing of liberty, supposing it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than, by trying to gain the glory of their forefathers, to hazard their own safety. So a hundred and no more met together, and as they were deliberating about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was raised by the soldiers that were on their side, bidding the senate to choose an emperor, and not to ruin the state by setting up a multitude of rulers. Thus they fully declared themselves to be for giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them. And now the situation of the senate was much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their vaunted liberty, but were afraid of Claudius also. Yet there were some of them that hankered after the chief power, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their marriages. For Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both from his own nobility, and from his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, and accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him on one pretext or another. And Minucianus, who was one of Caius' murderers, restrained Valerius Asiaticus from thinking of such things. And indeed there would have been a prodigious slaughter, if those men who desired to be emperors had been permitted to set up themselves in opposition to Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and of rowers who flocked to the camp; so that of those who claimed the empire, some gave up their pretensions to spare the city, and others from fear for their own safety.

§ 4. Now at first dawn of day Chærea, and those that were associated with him, went to the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the mass of the soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were



going to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they all desired to be under the rule of one; and they demanded of the senate an emperor, for they would endure no longer delays. But the senate were in a fix about either their own governing, or how they should be governed, for the soldiers would not allow them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. As affairs were in this posture, Chærea was not able to contain his anger at their demand for an emperor, and promised that he would give them a leader, if any one would bring him the word for the day from Eutyclus. Now this Eutyclus was charioteer of the green faction in the Circus at Rome,<sup>1</sup> and a great friend of Caius, who used to tire out the soldiers with building stables for his horses, and put them to ignominious labours. Chærea reproached them with this, and other similar things, and told them, he would bring them the head of Claudius, for it was monstrous after a madman to have a fool for emperor. But they were not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their standards, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without anybody to defend them, and the consuls had no more authority than private persons: and there was great consternation and dejection, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was irritated by them; so they fell to reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At this juncture Sabinus, one of Caius' murderers, came forward and threatened to kill himself sooner than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; and also rebuked Chærea for loving life, since he, who was first in his contempt of Caius, could think it good to live, now that (after all they had done) they found it impossible to recover their liberty. But Chærea said he had not changed his mind at all about killing himself, but he would sound the intentions of Claudius first.

§ 5. Such was the posture of affairs in the senate. But in the camp every body was pushing their way from all

<sup>1</sup> See Juvenal, xi. 196, Gibbon, ch. 40.

sides to pay their court to Claudius, and one of the consuls, Quintus Pomponius, was especially reproached by the soldiers for having exhorted the senate to recover their liberty, and they drew their swords, and rushed at him, and would have murdered him, if Claudius had not hindered them. For he snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by his side; but he did not receive those of the senate who had sided with Quintus in the like honourable manner; for some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius, and Aponius went away wounded, and all were in danger. Then king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. And Claudius listened to him, and called the senate together to the palace, and was carried there himself in his litter through the city, the soldiers escorting him not without injuring the multitude a good deal. And Chærea and Sabinus, two of Caius' murderers, went about openly, though Pollio, whom Claudius had a little before made captain of his bodyguards, had sent them a letter, forbidding them to appear in public. So Claudius, upon his reaching the palace, got his friends together, and desired their opinion as to Chærea. They said that the deed done seemed a glorious one, but they accused the doer of disloyalty, and thought it just to inflict condign punishment upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Chærea was led out to execution, and Lupus and many other Romans with him. And it is reported that Chærea bore his fate nobly, as was evidenced not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by his reproach to Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus had laid his garment aside and complained of the cold,<sup>1</sup> Chærea said that cold never hurt lupus [i.e. a wolf]. And as a great multitude followed to see the sight, when Chærea came to the place of execution, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner whether the office was one he was used to, or

<sup>1</sup> This piercing cold here complained of by Lupus, agrees well to the time of the year when Claudius began his reign: that being a few days after January 24th, the day on which Caius was murdered.—W.

whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and bade him fetch the very sword with which he himself had slain Caius. And he was happily killed at one stroke; but Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, as he was timid, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly.

§ 6. Now, a few days after this, as the festival called the Parentalia<sup>1</sup> was just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual offerings to their dead relatives, and put portions into the fire in honour of Chærea, and besought him to be propitious to them, and not angry with them for their ingratitude. Such was the end of Chærea. As for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, he thought it would be unjust in him to fail in good faith to his fellow-conspirators, so he fell upon his sword and killed himself, driving his sword up to the very hilt in the wound.

## CHAP. V.

*How Claudius restored to Agrippa his Grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his Dominions, and how he published an Edict in behalf of the Jews.*

### § 1.

NOW, when Claudius had speedily got rid of all the soldiers whom he suspected, he published an edict, wherein he confirmed to Agrippa the kingdom which Caius had given him, and commended the king highly. He also added to it all the territory over which his grandfather Herod had reigned, that is, Judæa and Samaria: and this he restored to him as due to his family. As for Abila,<sup>2</sup> that had belonged to Lysanias, and all the country near

<sup>1</sup> A festival at Rome in honour of dead relatives. Our All Souls' Day.

<sup>2</sup> The capital of the tetrarchy of Abilene (Luke iii. 1). The ruins are near *Nebi Habil*, not far from the remarkable gorge called *Sûk Wady Barada*.

Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territory. He also made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome. He also took away from Antiochus the kingdom which he had, but gave him a portion of Cilicia and Com-magene.<sup>1</sup> He also set at liberty Alexander Lysimachus, the Alabarch, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by the anger of Caius. Now Marcus, Alexander's son, had married Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa; and when Marcus died, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis<sup>2</sup> for him.

§ 2. Now, about this time, there was strife between the Jews and Greeks in the city of Alexandria. For when Caius was dead the nation of the Jews, which had been very much oppressed under his reign, and very badly treated by the people of Alexandria, recovered courage and immediately took up arms. And Claudius sent an order to the governor of Egypt to quiet the tumult. He also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows. "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, and Tribune of the people, ordains as follows. Since I have long known that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint colonists from the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident from the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts, and since, after Alexandria was made part of our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those who have at divers times been sent there as governors, and since no disputes were raised about those rights and privileges, when Aquila was governor of Alexandria, and since, when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit making ethnarchs, wishing that all nations subject to the Romans should continue in the observance of their own customs, and

<sup>1</sup> The district of Antiochiane in Cappadocia, in which Derbe, Laranda, Kybistra, &c., were situated.

<sup>2</sup> *Kinnisrin*, in Northern Syria.

not be forced to transgress their country's religion; and since, in the reign of Caius, the Alexandrians became excited against the Jews that were among them, and Caius, from his great madness and want of understanding, oppressed the nation of the Jews, because they would not transgress their national worship, and call him a god, I decree that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges on account of the madness of Caius, but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no trouble arises after the promulgation of this edict."

§ 3. Such were the contents of the edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent to the rest of the world was as follows. "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the people, chosen Consul the second time, ordains as follows. Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges to be preserved to the Jews throughout all the Roman empire, as I have granted to the Jews of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith, not only to gratify my petitioners, but also judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Greek city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It is therefore right to permit the Jews throughout all our empire to keep their ancient customs without let or hindrance. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show contempt at the superstitious observances of other nations, but to observe their own laws only. And I will that the rulers of cities and colonies and municipal towns, both within and without Italy, and kings and governors by their ambassadors, post up this decree publicly for full thirty days, in a place<sup>1</sup> where it may plainly be read from the ground."

<sup>1</sup> This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr.

## CHAP. VI.

*What was done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he had returned to Judæa : and what Petronius wrote in behalf of the Jews to the Inhabitants of Doris.*

## § 1.

NOW Claudius Cæsar showed by these decrees, which were sent to Alexandria and to all the world, what opinion he had of the Jews. And he soon sent Agrippa away to administer his kingdom, advanced as he was to more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the governors and procurators of the provinces to treat him with attention. And he returned in haste, as it was likely he would, now he returned in greater prosperity than before. He also went to Jerusalem, and offered thank-offerings, and omitted nothing that the law required. So he ordered that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn, and as for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of the same weight as the iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the temple precincts above the treasury, as a memorial of his sad fortune, and a testimony of his change for the better, that it might be a proof how the greatest prosperity may have a fall sometimes, and that God can raise up what is fallen down. For this chain thus dedicated reminded all men, that king Agrippa had once been bound with a chain for a small matter, but had recovered his former rank again, and soon afterwards had got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, however great, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious rank again.

§ 2. And when Agrippa had discharged all his religious duties to God, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus,

Hudson here tells us, from the great Selden, that it used to be thus represented at the bottom of their edicts by the initial letters only *U. D. P. R. L. P. Unde De Plano Recte Legi Possit.* "Where it may plainly be read from the ground."—W.

from the high-priesthood, and bestowed his office on Simon (the son of Boethus) also called Cantheras. This Simon had two brothers, and a sister who married king Herod, as I have related before. Simon, then, had the high-priesthood with his brothers, and with his father, in like manner as the three sons of Simon, the son of Onias, had it formerly under the rule of the Macedonians, as I have related in a former book.

§ 3. When the king had settled the high-priesthood in this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shown him; for he released them from the tax upon every house, thinking it a good thing to requite the affections of those that loved him. He also made Silas, who had shared with him in many of his troubles, the general of his forces. But very soon afterwards the young men of Doris,<sup>1</sup> preferring audacity to piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of the emperor into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This action of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he went without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then governor of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris, in angry strain. "Publius Petronius, the lieutenant of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows. Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather (after the edict of Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, was published, permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country,) not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, and setting up the emperor's statue therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but also the emperor himself, whose statue is more properly placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, and that too in a place of assembling together, seeing that it is but a part of natural justice, that everyone should have power over the places belonging to

<sup>1</sup> Dor, now *Tantûrah*, on the sea coast north of Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

themselves, according to the decree of the emperor (to say nothing of my own decree, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, and also orders that they are to enjoy the same rights of citizens as the Greeks themselves); I therefore order Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, to bring those men before me, who, contrary to the emperor's edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, (at which the men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, are indignant also themselves, and allege that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude,) to give account of what has been done. I also advise the principal magistrates, unless they wish to have this outrage supposed to have been done with their consent, to point out to the centurion the guilty persons, and to take care that no handle be thence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel, which those who encourage such doings seem to me to hunt after; for both I myself, and king Agrippa, whom I hold in the highest honour, are more anxious about nothing than that the nation of the Jews may have no opportunity given them of gathering together and becoming tumultuous under the pretext of defending themselves. And that what the emperor has determined about the whole matter may be more publicly known, I have subjoined the edicts which he has lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, Agrippa, for whom I have the highest esteem, read nevertheless at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of the benefits which the emperor had granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that everybody be allowed to follow their own religious customs."

§ 4. Thus did Petronius make provision that such lawlessness might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the high-priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and was for putting Jonathan, the son of Ananus, back into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of the dignity. But it did not seem to him de-



sirable to resume so great a dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king! I rejoice in the honour you show me, and take it kindly that you are inclined to give me such a dignity, though God has judged that I am not at all worthy of the high-priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments; for I put them on then in a more holy manner, than I should now resume them. But if you desire that a person more worthy than myself should have this honour, give me leave to name such a one to you. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offences against yourself; I recommend him to you, as one that is fit for this dignity." And the king was pleased with these words of his, and approved of the advice of Jonathan, and bestowed the high-priesthood upon his brother Matthias. And not long after Marsus succeeded Petronius as governor of Syria.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning Silas, and why King Agrippa was angry with him. How Agrippa began to surround Jerusalem with a wall; and what Benefits he bestowed on the Inhabitants of Berytus.*

## § I.

NOW Silas, the general of the king's army, because he had been faithful to him in all his misfortunes, and had never declined sharing with him in any of his dangers, but had often undertaken the most perilous services for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, because of the constant friendship he had shown him. Accordingly he would not sit lower than the king at table, and used similar freedom in all his intercourse with him, and became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, by extolling himself beyond measure, and by often reminding the king of the misfortunes he had undergone, that he might bring up his own faithfulness to him in those days; and he was continually harping upon this string, what he had gone through for him. The repetition of this so frequently seemed a

reproach to the king, insomuch that he took this uncontrolled liberty of speech very ill at his hands. For the bringing up times when men have been under a cloud is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man, who is perpetually relating to a person the good services he has done him. At last, therefore, Silas so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather from passion than reason, and not only turned Silas out of his place as general of his army, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off in time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about the man, and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa kept his birthday, and all his subjects partook of the mirth, he sent for Silas straightway to be his guest. But as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a very just handle given him for his anger, which he could not conceal from those who came to fetch him, but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to, which will soon be over? for the king has not let me keep my first rewards for the good-will I bore him, but has plundered and ill-treated me. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many dreadful things I have delivered him from, how many labours I have undergone for him, whereby I procured for him safety and honour, as a reward for which I have borne the hardship of bonds and a dark prison. I shall never forget these things; nay, perhaps my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was what he vociferated, and ordered the messengers to repeat to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and suffered him to continue in prison.

§ 2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that looked to the new city, he repaired them at the public expense, and made them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude, and would have made them too strong for all human power to demolish, had not Marsus, the governor of Syria, informed Claudius Cæsar by letter of what he was doing. And as Claudius had some suspicion he meant innovation,

he ordered Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls at once; and he thought it inexpedient to disobey.

§ 3. Now king Agrippa was by nature very liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with large donations, and to get celebrity by his great expen-  
diture, as he took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with a good reputation, being very unlike the Herod who reigned before him. For that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on those that he hated, and it is admitted that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large grants of money, and baths, and theatres; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and in others porticoes, but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and he was equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and displayed to them his munificence, while to his own countrymen he was equally kind, but more sympathetic. Accordingly, he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was strict in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure, nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

§ 4. Notwithstanding, a certain man of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, called Simon, who was thought to be skilled in the knowledge of the law, called the multitude together in assembly, while the king was absent at Cæsarea, and had the insolence to accuse him of not living holily, and said he might justly be excluded from entrance into the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. And the captain of the city informed Agrippa by letter that Simon had said this to the people. So the king sent for him, and, as he was sitting in the theatre at the time, he bade him sit down by him, and said to him in a low and gentle voice, "What is there done here that is contrary to the law?" But he had nothing to say for himself, and begged for pardon. And the king was more easily reconciled to him than one would have imagined, as he esteemed mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knew that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he gave Simon a present, and dismissed him.

§ 5. Now, Agrippa was a great builder in many places, but paid peculiar regard to the people of Berytus.<sup>1</sup> For he erected a theatre for them, superior to many both in sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheatre built at great expense, and besides these he built them baths and porticoes, and spared no cost in any of his edifices to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows in the theatre, and brought there musicians of all sorts, and such as made delightful music in great variety. He also showed his magnificence in the amphitheatre by a great number of gladiators, and there too he exhibited fighting on a large scale to please the spectators, indeed he sent no fewer than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men, using all the malefactors he had for this purpose, that both they might receive punishment, and that this operation of war might give delight in peace. Thus he destroyed all these criminals at once.

## CHAP. VIII.

*What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death ; and how he died.*

### § 1.

WHEN Agrippa had completed what I have just stated at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias,<sup>2</sup> a city in Galilee. Now he was held in great esteem by other kings. Accordingly, there came to him Antiochus, king of Commagene,<sup>3</sup> and Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa,<sup>4</sup> and Cotys, who was king of Lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus,<sup>5</sup> as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis.<sup>6</sup> All these he treated with agreeable entertainments and in an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his

<sup>1</sup> *Beirût.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tubariya*, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> Between Cilicia and the Euphrates. See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Homs.*

<sup>5</sup> On the north coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>6</sup> *Kinnisrin.*

mind, and to appear worthy of the respect which these kings paid to him, by thus coming to see him. However, while these kings stayed with him, Marsus the governor of Syria came to visit him. And Agrippa, to show the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city as far as seven furlongs to meet him. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marsus; for Agrippa took with him in his chariot those other kings seated with him. And Marsus was suspicious what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings with one another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many kings for the benefit of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his friends to each of them, and enjoined them to go to their own countries without delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became Marsus' enemy. And he took the high-priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elionæus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

§ 2. Now, when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judæa, he went to the city of Cæsarea,<sup>1</sup> which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Claudius Cæsar, upon his being informed that this festival was one instituted for his safety. At this festival a great multitude assembled together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity throughout the province. On the second day of the shows Agrippa put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre at daybreak; at which time the silver of his garment being illumined by the early rays of the sun's beams upon it, glittered in a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to inspire fear and trembling in those that looked intently upon him. And straightway his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, (though not really for his good,) that "he was a god;" and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto revered thee only as a man, yet do we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But soon afterwards he looked up, and saw an

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings, and felt heart-piercing grief. A severe pain also seized his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore jumped up from his seat and said to his friends, "I whom ye call a god, am now commanded to depart this life; fate thus reproving the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am now hurried off to death. But I am bound to accept my destiny, as it pleases God; for I have lived no paltry life, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he had said this, his pain became intense. So he was carried quickly into the palace, and the rumour went abroad every where, that he would certainly die soon. And the multitude at once sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery; and all places were full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar; three of them over Philip's tetrarchy only, but in the fourth he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned also three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar, during which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judæa and Samaria and Cæsarea added to them. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, being no less than twelve millions of drachmæ.<sup>1</sup> However, he borrowed great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his income, and his generosity was boundless.

§ 3. But before the multitude knew of Agrippa's having expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the commander and friend of the king, sent Aristo, one of the king's

<sup>1</sup> This sum, which is equal to £425,000 sterling, was Agrippa the Great's yearly income, or about three quarters of his grandfather Herod's income; he having abated the tax upon houses at Jerusalem, and not being so tyrannical as Herod had been to the Jews.—W.

most faithful servants, and slew Silas (who was their enemy), as if it had been done by the king's own command.

## CHAP. IX.

*What happened after the Death of Agrippa; and how Claudius, on account of the Youth and Unskilfulness of Agrippa Junior, sent Cuspius Fadus to be Governor of Judæa, and of the entire Kingdom of Agrippa.*

## § 1.

THUS did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son Agrippa, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of whom, Berenice, was married to Herod her father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins, Mariamne was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these daughters had been betrothed by their father, Mariamne to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, and Drusilla to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus the king of Commagene. Now when it was known that Agrippa had departed this life, the inhabitants of Cæsarea and of Sebaste<sup>1</sup> forgot the kindnesses he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitterest enemies. For they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as were not fit to be spoken, and as many of them as were then soldiers (who were a great number), went to his house, and carried off the statues<sup>2</sup> of the king's daughters, and with one accord carried them into the brothels, and, when they had set them on the roofs of those houses, abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also reclined in public places and celebrated general feastings, with garlands on their heads, and anointed themselves, pouring out libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king had expired. And they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>2</sup> Pbotius says, they were not the statues or images, but the ladies themselves, who were thus basely abused by the soldiers.—W.

had lavishly extended his liberality to them, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expense.

§ 2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome at this time, being brought up with Claudius Cæsar. And when the emperor heard that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea had acted so insolently to his memory, he was sorry for the death of Agrippa, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa Junior away at once to succeed his father in the kingdom, and wished to make good his oaths. But those freedmen and friends of his, who had the greatest influence with him, tried to dissuade him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come into the hands of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration, for the weight of a kingdom was heavy enough to a grown man. And the emperor thought what they said reasonable. So he sent out Cuspius Fadus to be governor of Judæa, and of the entire kingdom of Agrippa, and paid that respect to the deceased, not to introduce Marsus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined before everything to give injunctions to Fadus to chastise the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste for the insults they had offered to the memory of him that was deceased, and their licentious conduct to his daughters that were still alive; and to remove the body of soldiers that were at Cæsarea and Sebaste, and the five cohorts, to Pontus, that they might do military duty there, and to choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. However those that had such orders were not actually removed; for by sending messengers to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to stay in Judæa still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seeds of the war which began under Florus. And so, when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of the province, as I shall relate hereafter.



## BOOK XX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS.—  
FROM FADUS TO FLORUS.

## CHAP. I.

*A Quarrel between the Philadelphians and the Jews ; also  
concerning the Vestments of the High Priest.*

## § 1.

UPON the death of king Agrippa, which I related in the previous book, Claudius Cæsar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marsus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marsus to be any longer governor of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come into Judæa to administer affairs, found a quarrel going on between the Jews that dwelt in Peræa<sup>1</sup> and the people of Philadelphia,<sup>2</sup> about their borders, at a village called Mia,<sup>3</sup> that was filled with men of war ; for the Jews of Peræa had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had slain many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this, it provoked him very much that they had not left the decision of the matter to him, if they thought the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this strife, and ordered them to be bound, and afterwards had one of them slain, whose name was Annibas, and banished the other two, Amaramus and Eleazar. Tholomæus also, the arch robber, was, in a little time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a great deal of mischief to Idumæa and the Arabians. And indeed all Judæa was cleared of robberies from that time by the care and forethought of Fadus. He also at this time sent for

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq., xvii. 8, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Rabboth Ammon, *ʿAmmán*.

<sup>3</sup> Unknown.

the high priests and principal persons in Jerusalem by command of the emperor, and bade them place the long garment, and the sacred vestment, which it was customary for only the high priest to wear, in the fortress of Antonia,<sup>1</sup> that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he said, but nevertheless begged Fadus and Longinus (which last had come to Jerusalem with a great army, from fear that the injunctions of Fadus would force the Jews to rebel,) first to give them leave to send ambassadors to the emperor, to petition him that they might have the holy vestments in their own power, and next to wait till they knew what answer Claudius would give to their request. And they replied that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as hostages. And when they had agreed to do so and had given them the hostages they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. And when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa Junior, the son of the deceased, knew of the reason why they came (for he dwelt with Claudius Cæsar, as I said before,) he besought the emperor to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestment, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

§ 2. Thereupon Claudius summoned the ambassadors, and told them he granted their request, and bade them return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour which had been bestowed on them upon his entreaty. And, besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter. "Claudius Cæsar, Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and consul designate the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and whole nation of the Jews, greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by my friend Agrippa (whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety), who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and have entreated me in an earnest and solemn manner, that they may have the holy vestment and the crown in their own power, I grant their

<sup>1</sup> On the north side of the Temple.

request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, did before me. And I have complied with your desire, first in regard to my own piety and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and next because I know I shall hereby gratify king Herod and Aristobulus Junior, whose piety to me and good-will to you I am well acquainted with, and for whom I have the greatest friendship, as I highly esteem them and value them. I have also written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus my procurator. The carriers of the letter are Cornelius the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theudio, Dorotheus the son of Nathanael, and John the son of John. Dated the fourth day before the Calends of July, Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus being consuls."

§ 3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was at this time possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cæsar for authority over the temple, and the sacred money, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for; so that after this time that authority continued<sup>1</sup> with all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly, Herod removed the high priest called Cantheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Comei.

## CHAP. II.

*How Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, embraced the Jewish Religion; and how Helena supplied the Poor with Corn when there was a great Famine at Jerusalem.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time Helena, queen of Adiabene,<sup>2</sup> and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, for the following reason. Monobazus,

<sup>1</sup> Here is some error in the copies, or mistake in Josephus; for the power of appointing high priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa Junior was made king of Chalcis in his room, belonged to him, and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed. —W.

<sup>2</sup> A district on the greater Zab, which formed a vassal state respec-

the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazæus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and got her with child. And as he was in bed with her one night, having laid his hand upon his wife's belly, he fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice bidding him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice troubled him, and he woke immediately, and told the matter to his wife, and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had also had Monobazus, an elder son, by Helena, and other sons by other wives. But he openly placed all his affections on this his only begotten<sup>1</sup> son Izates, which was the origin of the envy of his brothers, who on this account hated him more and more, and all grieved that their father should prefer Izates to them. Now although their father was well aware of this, yet did he forgive them, as not feeling envy from an evil disposition, but from the desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates with many presents to Abennerigus, the king of Charax-Spasini,<sup>2</sup> because of the great dread he was in for him, lest he should come to some misfortune from the hatred of his brothers, and he committed his son's safety to him. And Abennerigus gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Symacho: he also bestowed a province upon him, from which he might receive large revenues.

§ 2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he wished to see his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him in the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the region called Carræ;<sup>3</sup> it was a soil that bore amomum in great plenty: there are also in it the remains of the ark, wherein

tively of Armenia, Parthia, and Rome. At one period it extended west of the Tigris to Nisihis, *Nisibin*. See xx. 3, § 3.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus here uses the word *μονογενῆς*, only begotten son, for best beloved, as do both the Old and New Testament: I mean where there were one or more sons besides (Gen. xxii. 2, Heb. xi. 17).—W.

<sup>2</sup> Between the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. See *Antiq.*, i. 6, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Harran*. See *Antiq.*, i. 16, § 1; i. 19, § 4.

it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, which are still shown to such as desire to see them.<sup>1</sup> And Izates abode in that region until his father's death. And the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees and satraps of the kingdom, and for those in command of the forces; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them. "I believe you are not ignorant that my husband desired Izates to succeed him in the kingdom, and thought him worthy to do so. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom not from a single person only, but from the willingness of many." She said this in order to try to discover the sentiments of those whom she had summoned together. Upon the hearing of this, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it, and rejoiced that Izates' father had preferred him before the rest of his brothers, as it was agreeable to all their wishes. But they said they were desirous first of all to slay his brothers and kinsmen, that so the kingdom might come securely to Izates; for if they were once destroyed, all the fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. Helena replied to this, that she returned them her thanks for their good-will to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would defer the execution of this proposed slaughter of Izates' brothers till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it. But as these men prevailed not with her to slay them, as they had advised, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till Izates should come for their own security; they also counselled her to appoint some one whom she put the greatest trust in, as regent of the kingdom in the mean time. Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and appointed Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's signet ring, as also the sword of state which they call Sampsera, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come. But Izates returned quickly, on hearing that his father was

<sup>1</sup> It is here very remarkable, that the remains of Noah's ark were believed to be still in existence in the days of Josephus. See i. 3, § 5.—W.

dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the kingdom to him.

§ 3. Now, during the time that Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the king's women, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. Moreover through them he became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace the Jewish religion, and also, at his earnest entreaty, accompanied Izates when he was sent for by his father to Adiabene. It also happened that Helena was instructed similarly by another Jew, and went over also to the Jewish religion. Now when Izates had taken over the kingdom, and had come to Adiabene, and there saw his brothers and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at what had been done; and as he thought it impious either to slay or imprison them, but still thought it hazardous to let them have their liberty at his court, as they would remember the injury that had been done them, he sent some of them with their children as hostages to Rome to Claudius Cæsar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, on the like pretext.

§ 4. And when he found that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he was fain to embrace them entirely; and, as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to undergo that operation. But when his mother heard of his intention, she endeavoured to hinder him from it, and told him that it would bring him into danger; for as he was king, he would get himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should learn that he was so fond of rites to them strange and foreign, and they would never submit to be ruled over by a Jew. She said this to him, and tried every way to dissuade him from his purpose. And when he had repeated what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said, and also threatened to leave the king, unless he complied with him, and actually departed. For he said he was afraid lest, if such an action were once made public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, as having been the cause of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were ill thought of. He also said that the king might wor-

ship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, for the worship of God was of more importance than circumcision. He added that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, as it was omitted out of necessity, and from fear of his subjects. And the king for the time listened to these arguments, but afterwards (for he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing) another Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the knowledge of his country's laws, urged him to do it. For as he entered his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "You are ignorant, O king, of the immense injury you are doing to the laws, and through them to God himself, for it is necessary not only to read them, but also still more to practise what they enjoin. How long will you continue uncircumcised? But, if you have not yet read the law on the matter, that you may know what great impiety you are guilty of in neglecting it, read it now." When the king heard these words, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his original instructor in Jewish principles, and informed them that he had done the thing, upon which they were at once seized with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the matter should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, as his subjects might not submit to be governed by a man who was so zealous for a strange religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the cause of his having so done. But God himself hindered what they feared from happening: for he preserved both Izates himself, and his sons, when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and showed thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish for those that look to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But I shall relate these events hereafter.

§ 5. Now Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of the kingdom were in peace, and that her son

was a happy man, and an object of envy to all men, even to foreigners, owing to God's providence over him, desired to go to the city of Jerusalem, to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she asked her son to give her leave to go there, upon which he gave his very willing consent to what she asked, and made great preparations for her departure, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city of Jerusalem, her son conducting her a great way on her journey. Now her visit was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem, for as a famine oppressed their city at that time, and many people died for want of money to procure necessaries with, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with a great quantity of money to buy corn, and others of them to Cyprus to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they had come back with those provisions very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left an excellent memorial behind her of this beneficence to our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem, which being distributed amongst those that were in want relieved many from the griping pangs of hunger. However, what favours this king and queen conferred upon our city of Jerusalem, and what resources came from her to our citizens, shall be further related hereafter.

### CHAP. III.

*How Artabanus, King of Parthia, afraid of the Plots of his Subjects against him, went to Izates, and was by him reinstated in his Kingdom; as also how Vardanes, his son, denounced War against Izates.*

#### § 1.

NOW Artabanus, king of the Parthians, on learning that his satraps had formed a plot against him, did not think it safe to remain among them, but resolved to go



to Izates, wishing to find some way of preservation through him, and, if possible, to get his return to his own dominions. So he went to Izates, and took a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, and he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and had first prostrated himself before him, according to the custom of his country, he then said to him, "O, king, do not overlook me thy servant, nor proudly reject the suit I make thee: for as I am reduced to a low estate by reverse of fortune, and from a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Look then at the uncertainty of fortune, and consider the case as one that might be thine, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go unpunished, many subjects will become more insolent towards other kings also." Now Artabanus made this speech with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. And as soon as Izates heard Artabanus' name, and saw him stand as a suppliant before him, he leapt down from his horse quickly, and said to him, "Take courage, O king, and be not disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incalurable; for a change from thy sad condition shall be speedy, for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and assistant than thou hopest; for I will either reinstate thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own kingdom."

§ 2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and himself accompanied him on foot, honouring him as a greater king than himself. But when Artabanus saw this, he was very uneasy at it, and swore by his present fortune and honour that he would dismount, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him every honour when they sat together, and gave him the chief place at festivals, regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and considering also that changes in fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, urging them to receive Artabanus again, and gave them his right hand and faith, that Artabanus would forget what was past and done, and offered himself

as mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was now out of their power to do so, because they had given the kingdom to another person, who had accepted it, whose name was Cinnamus, and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus heard of their views, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was by nature good and gentle, and besought him to put confidence in him, and come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly, Artabanus trusted him, and returned home, and Cinnamus met him, and prostrated himself before him, and saluted him as king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

§ 3. Thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again through Izates, after he had previously lost it owing to his grandees. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits Izates had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with the greatest honours among them; for he allowed him to wear his tiara upright,<sup>1</sup> and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour allowed only to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis,<sup>2</sup> and the Macedonians had formerly built there the city of Antioch, which they called in Mygdonia. These were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

§ 4. But no long time after Artabanus died, and left the kingdom to his son Vardanes. Now this Vardanes came to Izates, and urged him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make against the Romans, but he could not prevail upon him to do so. For Izates knew so well the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he thought Vardaues was attempting what was impossible. And having besides sent his sons, five in number, and those but young also, to learn accurately the language and learning of our nation, as he had

<sup>1</sup> This privilege of wearing the tiara upright, or with the tip of the cone erect, is known to have been of old peculiar to great kings, from Xenophon and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Nisibin*, in Mesopotamia.

sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have related already, he was still more reluctant, and tried to restrain Vardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thinking thereby to frighten him, and hinder him from his desire for an expedition against them. But the Parthian king was provoked at this behaviour, and proclaimed war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians, perceiving Vardanes' intention, and how he had determined to war against the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Cotardes. He also in no long time perished by a plot made against him, and Vologeses, his brother, succeeded him, who entrusted his kingdoms to two of his brothers by the same father, Media to the elder Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger Tiridates.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Izates was betrayed by his own Subjects, and fought against by the Arabians; and how, by the Providence of God, he was delivered out of their hands.*

## § 1.

NOW when the king's brother, Monobazus, and his other kinsman, saw how Izates, owing to his piety to God and inherent goodness of character, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace that of the Jews, and they carried out their intention. But this act of theirs was discovered by Izates' subjects, and the grandees were much displeased at it, but dissembled their anger, only they intended, when they could find a convenient opportunity, to inflict punishment upon them. Accordingly, they wrote to Abias, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king: and further promised him that on the first onset they would desert their king, for they wished to punish him because of the hatred he had to their

religion, and they bound themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other, and begged that he would lose no time in the matter. The king of Arabia complied with their request, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates without delay; and at the first onset, and before they came to close fight, all those grandees, as if in a panic, deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and turned their backs upon their enemies, and ran away. But Izates was not dismayed at this, but as he saw that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired to his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he put to death those that were found guilty, and renewed the fight the next day, and slew most of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arsamus,<sup>1</sup> and, following up the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And, when he had plundered it of all the spoil that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene, but he did not take Abias alive; because, as he found himself surrounded on every side, he slew himself, before he could fall into the hands of Izates.

§ 2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not be quiet even then, but wrote again to Vologeses, who was now king of Parthia, and begged that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be a Parthian by race; for they said they hated their own king for changing the laws of their forefathers, and being enamoured of foreign customs. When the king of Parthia heard this, he was elated at the idea of war, and as he had no just pretext for it, he sent and demanded back those honours which had been bestowed on Izates by Artabanus, and threatened, on his refusal, to war against him. Upon hearing this, Izates was in no small trouble of mind, thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those honours that had been bestowed upon him from fear; but because he knew that the king of Parthia would not be quiet, even if

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown.

he should receive back those honours, he resolved to commit himself to God, his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life: and as he esteemed God his principal help, he placed his children and wives in a very strong fortress, and stored up his corn in citadels, and set the hay and grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come with a great army of foot and horse, which he did sooner than was expected, (for he marched in great haste,) and had intrenched himself at the river that separated Adiabene from Media, Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horse. But a messenger, sent by the king of Parthia, came to Izates, and told him, how great the power of the king of Parthia was, as his dominions extended from the river Euphrates to Bactria,<sup>1</sup> and enumerated the king's subjects. He also threatened him, that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his master, and added, that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered this message, Izates replied that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own, but he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and defiled his head with ashes, and fasted with his wives and children, and called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly esteemed thee the only Lord and chief protector and master of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power, for they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament with weeping and wailing. And God heard his prayer, for immediately, that very night, Vologeses received letters, the contents of which were that a great band of Dahæ and Sacæ, despising him now he had gone so long a journey from home, had

<sup>1</sup> *Balkh*, south of the Oxus in Afghan Turkistan.

made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste, so he went home again without effecting his purpose. And thus Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthian by the providence of God.

§ 3. And not long after Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. And he gave orders that his brother Monobazus should succeed him as king, thereby requiting him, because, when he was himself absent after his father's death, he had faithfully preserved the kingdom for him. But when his mother Helena heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural upon the loss of a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her to hear that the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly, she went to him in haste, and when she had reached Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates, but soon expired, being worn out with old age and grief. And Monobazus sent her bones and those of Izates his brother to Jerusalem, and gave orders that they should be buried in the pyramids which their mother had erected; they were three in number,<sup>1</sup> and three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. As for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, I shall relate them hereafter.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning Theudas, and the Sons of Judas the Galilæan; as also what calamity fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover.*

### § 1.

NOW when Fadus was administrator of Judæa, a certain impostor, whose name was Theudas,<sup>3</sup> urged a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and

<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, is usually identified with the 'Tombs of the Kings,' north of Jerusalem. No traces of the three pyramids remain.

<sup>2</sup> This account is now wanting.—W.

<sup>3</sup> This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about A.D. 45 or 46, could not be the Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing, under Cyrenius, or about A.D. 7, Acts v. 36, 37.—W.

follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it: and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to reap any advantage from their folly, but despatched a troop of horse against them, who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas himself alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus' administration.

§ 2. Tiberius Alexander came as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria, who was foremost among his contemporaries both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for piety than his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these administrators it was that that great famine happened in Judæa, when queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. Moreover the sons of that Judas of Galilee were now slain, who caused the people to revolt from the Romans, when Cyrenius came to assess the estates of the Jews, as I have shown in a previous book. The names of these sons were James and Simon, and Alexander commanded them to be crucified. And Herod, king of Chalcis,<sup>1</sup> removed Joseph, the son of Cemedæ, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedæus, his successor. And Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander, and Herod, brother of Agrippa the Great, departed this life in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, and Berenicianus and Hyrcanus, who were both by Berenice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cæsar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa Junior.

§ 3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. I shall first explain the reason why it happened. When the feast, which is called the Passover, was at hand,

<sup>1</sup> *Kinnisirtin.*

(at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread), and a great multitude had gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some disturbance should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of soldiers should take their arms, and stand in the temple porticoes, to suppress any riot which might occur, which was no more than what former governors of Judæa had done at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast a certain soldier exposed his person to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out, that this shameful action was not done to insult them, but God himself. Nay, some of the bolder ones reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on to act so by him, and when Cumanus heard that, he was not a little provoked at such reproaches, yet did he exhort them to leave off the desire for riot, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But as he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on the more reproaching him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and go to Antonia, which was a fortress, (as I have said already), which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were frightened at them, and ran away hastily: but as the passages out were narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in these narrow passages. So that no fewer than twenty thousand perished in this tumult. Thus, instead of a festival, they had at last mourning, and they all forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the obscene conduct of a single soldier bring upon them.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also; for some of those that had raised this riot robbed Stephanus, a slave of Cæsar, as

<sup>1</sup> This and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, illustrate the cautious procedure of the Jewish governors, when they said, Matt. xxvi. 5, "Let us not take Jesus on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar among the people;" as Reland well observes on this place. Josephus also takes notice of the same thing, Jewish War, i. 4, § 3.—W.



he was journeying along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, and plundered him of all that he had with him. And when Cumanus heard of this, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him, for he would exact vengeance for this audacious act. Now, as these villages were being ravaged, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of the villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces, and did this with reproachful language and much scurrility. Now when the Jews heard of this, they ran together in great numbers, and went down to Cæsarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been insulted, for they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be insulted in this manner. Then Cumanus, fearing that the multitude would go in for another riot, following also the advice of his friends, had the soldier beheaded who had offered this insult to the laws, and so put a stop to the riot which was likely to burst out a second time.

## CHAP. VI.

*How a Quarrel happened between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an End to their Differences.*

### § 1.

A QUARREL also arose between the Samaritans and the Jews for the following reason. It was the custom of the Galilæans, when they came to the holy city for the festivals, to journey through the country of the Samaritans; <sup>1</sup> and at this time there lay in the road they

<sup>1</sup> This constant passage of the Galilæans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judæa and Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the Gospels to the same purpose, as Dr. Hudson rightly observes. See Luke xvii. 11; John iv. 4. See also Josephus' Life, § 52, where the journey is said to take three days.—W.

took a village that was called *Ginæa*<sup>1</sup> (which was situated on the borders of Samaria and the great plain,) some inhabitants of which fought with the Galilæans, and killed many of them. And when the leading Galilæans heard of what had been done, they went to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that had been killed: but he was bribed with money by the Samaritans to do nothing in the matter. And the Galilæans were much displeased at this, and urged the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, and said that slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but when it was joined with injuries, it was perfectly intolerable. And when their principal men endeavoured to pacify them, and tried to stop the tumult, and promised to endeavour to persuade Cumanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dinæus (a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountain), and set on fire and plundered several villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the troop of horse at *Sebaste*,<sup>2</sup> and four regiments of foot, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and came up with them, and slew a great number of them, but took more alive; whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem in reputation and family, as soon as they saw to what a height of calamity things had come, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads, and in all kind of ways besought and urged the insurgents to consider the utter ruin of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves their wives and children, which would be the result of what they were doing, and to alter their minds, and cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These arguments prevailed with them. So the people dispersed, and the robbers went away again to their strongholds. And from this time all Judæa was overrun with bands of robbers.

§ 2. But the leading persons of the Samaritans went to *Ummidius Quadratus*, the governor of Syria, who was at this

<sup>1</sup> *Jenin*, on the borders of the plain of Esdraelon.

<sup>2</sup> *Sebustieh*.

time at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them. They also said that they were not so much displeased at what they had themselves suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby shown to the Romans, for if the Jews had received any injury, they ought to have made the Romans the judges of what had been done, and not overrun the country, as if they had not the Romans for their governors. So they now came to him to obtain satisfaction. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and before everything maintained that Cumanus had been bribed by their gifts, and so passed over in silence the murder of those that had been slain. When Quadratus heard this, he put off the hearing of the case, and said he would give sentence after he went into Judæa, and got a more exact knowledge of the truth. So they went away without effecting their object: but not long afterwards Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the case, he came to the conclusion that the Samaritans were the authors of the disturbance. But, when he was informed that some of the Jews were for revolution, he ordered those whom Cumanus had taken captive to be crucified. From thence he went to a certain village called Lydda,<sup>1</sup> which was as big as a city, and there heard the Samaritans a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and some other riotous persons with him, four in number, had urged the multitude to revolt from the Romans. And Quadratus ordered them to be put to death, but he sent Ananias the high priest and Ananus the commander in bonds to Rome, to give account for what they had done to Claudius Cæsar. He also ordered the principal persons both of the Samaritans and the Jews, as also Cumanus the governor, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, to be judged before him as to their differences with one another. He next went to the city of Jerusalem, fearing that the multitude of the Jews would again attempt

<sup>1</sup> *Ludd.*

a riot, but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of their usual festivals to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any rioting, and left them celebrating the festival, and returned to Antioch.

§ 3. Now Cumanus, and the principal Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, on which they were to plead their cause about their differences with one another. But the Emperor's freedmen and friends were very zealous on behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans, and they would have prevailed over the Jews, had not Agrippa Junior, who was then at Rome, observing that the principal of the Jews were hard set, earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to urge her husband to hear the case, as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of the insurrection. And Claudius was moved by this request and heard the case, and when he found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in these troubles, he gave orders that those who had come up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave orders that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then put to death.

## CHAP. VII.

*Felix is made Governor of Judæa; also concerning Agrippa Junior and his Sisters.*

### § 1.

THEN Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to administer affairs in Judæa. And when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batauzæ,<sup>1</sup> and added thereto Trachonitis<sup>2</sup> and Abila,<sup>3</sup> which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias, but he took from him Chalcis, when he had reigned over it four years. And when

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xvii. 8, § 1.    <sup>2</sup> *el-Lejah*.    <sup>3</sup> See Antiq. xix. 5, § 1.

Agrippa had received these gifts from the Emperor, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised. For Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, refused to marry her, not wishing to come over to the Jewish religion, though he had promised her father formerly he would do so. Agrippa also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had formerly been betrothed by her father Agrippa; of which marriage came a daughter, whose name was Berenice.

§ 2. As for the marriage of Drusilla and Azizus, it was no long time afterwards dissolved for the following reason. When Felix was governor of Judæa, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her, for she did indeed excel all other women in beauty, and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon, one of his friends, a Jew, born in Cyprus, who pretended to be a magician, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry Felix, and promised, that if she would not refuse Felix, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted wickedly, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Berenice's envy (for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty), was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix. And she had a son by him, whom she called Agrippa. And how that young man and his wife perished at the conflagration of Mount Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Cæsar, shall be related hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3. As for Berenice, she lived a widow a good while after the death of Herod [king of Chalcis], who was both her husband and uncle, but when the report went that she committed incest with her brother [Agrippa Junior], she urged Polemo, who was king of Cilicia,<sup>2</sup> to be circumcised and to marry her, supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies to be false; and Polemo listened to her chiefly on account of her riches. But this marriage did not continue long, for Berenice soon left Polemo, owing, as was said, to her licentiousness. And he left simultaneously

<sup>1</sup> This is now wanting.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The south-eastern portion of Asia Minor; now the *Vilayet of Adana*.

both his marriage and the Jewish religion. At the same time Mariamne put away Archelaus, and married Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and wealth; and indeed he was then their Alabarch. And she named the son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But of all these particulars I shall hereafter speak more exactly.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAP. VIII.

*How, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded as Emperor, as also what barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors that arose while Felix and Festus were Governors of Judæa.*

### § 1.

NOW Claudius Cæsar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and a report went about from some that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the Emperor's brother, and her first husband was Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons in the city of Rome; after whose death, when she had long continued in widowhood, Claudius married her, and she brought with her a son, Domitius, of the same name as his father. Claudius before this had his wife Messalina slain out of jealousy, by whom he had had a son Britannicus and a daughter Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Petina his first wife. And he married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Claudius gave Domitius after adopting him as his son.

§ 2. But Agrippina being afraid that, when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he would succeed his father as emperor, and desiring to secure the empire beforehand for her own son Nero, according to report contrived the death of Claudius, and immediately sent Burrus, the general of the army, and the tribunes with him, and such also of the freedmen as had the greatest influence, to take Nero away to the camp, and salute him emperor. And

<sup>1</sup> This is now wanting.—W.

when Nero had thus obtained the empire, he got Britannicus poisoned so that the multitude should not know of it, but publicly put his own mother to death not long afterwards, making her this requital, not only for being her son, but by bringing it about by her intrigues that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew his wife Octavia and many other illustrious persons, under the pretext that they plotted against him.

§ 3. But I omit any further discourse about these affairs, for many have composed the history of Nero, some of whom have neglected the truth out of favour to him, having received benefits from him, while others, out of hatred to him, and from the great ill-will which they bore him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. But I do not wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to facts earlier than his time, even when the persons concerned could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they seem to take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to our undertaking, but shall relate what has happened to us Jews with great fulness, and shall not shrink from giving an accurate account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the faults we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our affairs.

§ 4. In the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, his brother Sohemus succeeded him in the kingdom. And Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was entrusted by Nero with the government of Lesser Armenia. The emperor also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, ordering Tiberias<sup>1</sup> and Taricheæ<sup>2</sup> to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias,<sup>3</sup> a city in Peræa, and fourteen villages that lay about it.

<sup>1</sup> *Tubariya*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Kerak, at the south end of the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> Bethsaida-Julias. See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 1, and 4, § 6.

§ 5. Now the affairs of the Jews grew worse and worse continually. For the country was again full of bands of robbers, and of impostors who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix capture and put to death many of these impostors every day, as well as the robbers. He also took alive Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, who had got together a company of robbers, and this he did by treachery, for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and so persuaded him to come to him; but when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix was also vexed with the high priest Jonathan, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since it was he who had asked Claudius to send him as governor of Judæa. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for continual admonition is grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. So in consequence of this Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most trusted friends, a native of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him in the following manner. Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, but with daggers under their garments, and mingling themselves with the multitude slew Jonathan. And as this murder was never punished, the robbers went up with the greatest security to the festivals after this time, and having their weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves with the multitude, they slew both their own enemies and those whom other men wanted them to kill for money, not only in other parts of the city, but some even in the temple itself, for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city, and no longer judged the temple sufficiently pure for him to dwell therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the



city to purge it, and brought slavery upon us and our wives and children, being desirous to sober us by our calamities.

§ 6. With such impiety did the actions that were done by the robbers fill the city. And impostors and deceivers urged the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were persuaded by them suffered the punishment of their folly: for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. There also came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay opposite the city at five furlongs distance: for he said he wished to show them from thence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down, through which he promised to procure them an entrance into the city. Now, when Felix was informed of this, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and himself set out from Jerusalem with a great number of horse and foot, and attacked the Egyptian and those that were with him, and slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, and did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war against the Romans, and said they ought not to obey them at all, and if any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

§ 7. And now a great quarrel arose between the Jews and Syrians who inhabited Cæsarea, as to their equal right to the privileges of citizenship. For the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king, the founder of Cæsarea, was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was stated about Herod, but they said that Cæsarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant in the city. When the rulers of that district heard of this, they arrested the ringleaders of this dispute on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and so put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens, relying on their wealth,

and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by their reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, valued themselves highly because most that served there as soldiers under the Romans were from Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> or Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> so they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews, till at last they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded and fell on both sides, though the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he sprung forward and desired the Jews to desist, and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out at them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of many of the citizens, which were full of riches. And now the Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid for themselves, and begged of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and give them opportunity to repent of what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

§ 8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ishmael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose dissension between the high priests and the leading men of the multitude of Jerusalem, each of whom got about them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovation, and became leaders to them, and when they met together, they cast reproachful words and threw stones at one another. And there was nobody to punish them, but these things were done with impunity as in a city without a government. And such shamelessness and boldness seized on the high priests, that they ventured to send their slaves to the threshing floors, to take the tithes that were due to the priests, so that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of faction prevail over all right and justice!

§ 9. Now, when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he would

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sebastieh.*

certainly have been brought to punishment for his offences against the Jews, had not Nero yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time held in the greatest honour by him. And two of the principal Syrians in Cæsarea bribed Burrus (who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek letters), by a great sum of money, to disannul the equality of the privileges of citizenship which the Jews enjoyed with the Syrians. And Burrus by his solicitations obtained leave of the emperor that a letter should be written to that purpose. This letter became the occasion of the subsequent miseries that befell our nation; for, when the Jews of Cæsarea were informed of the contents of this letter to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than ever, till they kindled a war.

§ 10. Upon Festus' coming into Judæa, it happened that Judæa was afflicted by the robbers, as all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And now it was that the Sicarii, as they were called (who were robbers) grew numerous. They made use of small swords, very similar in size to the Persian acinaces, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicæ, as they were called, and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination, and with these weapons they slew a great many. For they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, as I said before, when they came up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, and easily slew those they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently with their weapons to the villages belonging to their enemies, and plundered them, and set them on fire. And Festus sent forces both of horse and foot, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they suffered from, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. And the forces that were sent destroyed both the impostor and his followers.

§ 11. About this time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near the portico. This palace had been erected of old by the sons of Asamonæus, and was situated upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those who wished to overlook the city, which prospect was desired by the king, for there he could recline and see what was being

done in the temple. Now when the chief men of Jerusalem observed this, they were very much displeas'd; for it was not agreeable to the habits or laws of our country, that what was done in the temple should be overlooked, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a high wall before the hall in the inner part of the temple towards the west, and this wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the view from the dining-room in the palace, but also the view from the western portico in the outer part of the temple, where the Romans kept guard near the temple at the festivals. At these doings king Agrippa was much displeas'd, and still more Festus the governor, and Festus order'd them to pull the wall down again; but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassage about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live, if any part of the temple were demolish'd; and when Festus had given them leave to do so they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ishmael the high priest, and Helcias the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand, in order to gratify his wife Poppæa, who was a religious woman, and had request'd these favours of Nero, and who gave orders to the ten ambassadors to go their way home, but retain'd Helcias and Ishmael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph (who was call'd Cabi), the son of Simon who was formerly high priest.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning Albinus, under whose Governorship James was slain, also what Edifices were built by Agrippa.*

### § 1.

AND Nero, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judæa, as governor. And king Agrippa deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestow'd the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was

also himself called Ananus. They say that this older Ananus was a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who were all high priests to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a very long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But the younger Ananus, who, as I have said already, succeeded to the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very audacious, and followed the sect of the Sadducees, who are more severe in punishing offenders than all other Jews, as I have already shown. As therefore Ananus was of such a disposition, he thought he had now a good opportunity [to exercise his authority,] as Festus was now dead, and Albinus was still on the road, so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, and having accused them as breakers of the law, he delivered them over to be stoned. But those who seemed the most moderate of the citizens, and strict in the observance of the laws, disliked what was done; and secretly sent to king Agrippa, beseeching him to bid Ananus to act so no more, for what he had already done was not done rightly. Nay, some of them also went to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. And Albinus listened to what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done. And king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus the son of Damnæus high priest.

§ 2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, so he slew many of the Sicarii. As for the high priest Ananias, he increased in credit every day, and obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner. For he was a great maker of money; so he daily courted the friendship of Albinus and the high priest by making them presents. But he had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing-floors, and took away by violence the tithes that belonged

to the priests, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. And the high priests acted in the same manner as Ananias' servants did, without any one's being able to prevent them. And so [some of the] priests that were wont of old to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

§ 3. And the Sicarii again went into the city by night just before the festival, for one was now at hand, and took alive the scribe belonging to Eleazar the governor of the temple (who was the son of Ananus the high priest), and bound him, and carried him away with them. They then sent to Ananias, and said that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of their party whom he had captured and put in bonds. So Ananias was forced to beg Albinus to do so, and gained his request. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to take alive some of Ananias' servants, and when they had captured them, they would not let them go except in exchange for some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold again, and ravaged the whole country.

§ 4. About this time king Agrippa built Cæsarea Philippi<sup>1</sup> larger than it was before, and, in honour of Nero called it Neronias. And when he had built a theatre at Berytus<sup>2</sup> at vast expense, he exhibited shows to the people there every year, and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmæ]; for he gave the people corn and distributed oil among them. And he adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands, nay, he almost transferred there all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom. This made him greatly hated by his subjects, because he took away the things that belonged to them to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus the son of Gamaliel became the successor of Jesus, the son of Dam-næus, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the latter; and so a quarrel arose between the high priests, and they got together bodies of the boldest sort of people, who frequently from reproaches proceeded to throwing stones at each other. But Ananias got the best of it, as by his riches he gained over those that were most

<sup>1</sup> *Bániás.*

<sup>2</sup> *Beirút.*

ready to receive. Costobarus also and Saulus got together a multitude of wicked wretches, for they were of the royal family, and obtained favour because of their kindred to Agrippa, but they were violent and ready to plunder those who were weaker than themselves. And from that time chiefly it came to pass, that our city greatly suffered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

§ 5. Now when Albius heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to have done something for the people of Jerusalem, so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be most plainly deserving of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly; but as for those who had been put into prison for some trifling matter, he took money of them, and dismissed them. So the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

§ 6. Now as many of the Levites (a tribe of ours) as were singers of hymns urged the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments as well as the priests; for they said it would be a work worthy the times of his government, to date from them the commencement of such a novelty. Nor did they fail to obtain their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those who came to the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn the hymns as they had besought him. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, and whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to escape the punishment of such transgressions.

§ 7. And now the temple was quite finished. So, when the people saw that the workmen, who were above eighteen thousand, were unemployed, and as they received no wages were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple, and as they were unwilling to keep them out of the treasures deposited there from fear of the Romans, though as they desired to make provision for the workmen, they had a mind to expend those treasures upon them (for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately), they

urged the king to rebuild the east portico. This portico was on the outer part of the temple, and lay in a deep valley, and had walls four hundred cubits [in length], built of square and very white stones, the length of each stone being twenty cubits, and the height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa (who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæsar), considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly so in the case of this portico (for it would require a considerable time and great sums of money), denied the petitioners their request about this matter; but he did not prevent their paving the city with white stone. He also deprived Jesus the son of Gamaliel of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the war between the Jews and Romans began.

## CHAP. X.

### *An enumeration of the High Priests.*

#### § 1.

I NOW think it necessary and proper for this history to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who had that dignity, and how many of them there were to the end of the war. They say then that Aaron, the brother of Moses, first officiated to God as high priest, and that after his death his sons immediately succeeded him, and that this dignity has been continued down from them to all their posterity. Hence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, who was (as I have said) first of them, until Phinees, who was made high priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three. Thirteen of these officiated as high priests from the days of Moses in the



wilderness, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judæa, when king Solomon erected the temple to God: for at first they held the high priesthood till the end of their life, though afterwards they had successors even while they were alive. And these thirteen, who were descendants of the two sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another. Now their first form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal. Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses as their leader, until the building of the temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, was six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against Jerusalem and burnt the temple, and removed our nation to Babylon, and took Josedek the high priest captive. The time of these high priests was four hundred and sixty-six years six months and ten days, while the Jews were still under kingly government. But after the period of seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josedek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they had returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, lived under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years, until king Antiochus Eupator, and then the fore-mentioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Bercea,<sup>1</sup> and putting his son out of the succession appointed Jacimus as high priest, who was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was cousin of the Onias that was dead, and had the same name as his father, went into Egypt, and became friendly with Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra, and persuaded them to

<sup>1</sup> *Aleppo.*

make him high priest of the temple<sup>1</sup> which they had built to God in the district of Heliopolis, in imitation of that at Jerusalem; and as to that temple which was built in Egypt, I have spoken of it frequently. Now, when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest. After that the posterity of the sons of Asamonæus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as I have before related, Simon his brother took the high priesthood; and when he was killed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed the dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander succeeded him; this Judas died of illness, after he had held the priesthood together with the royal authority (for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem, which he wore for one year). And when Alexander had been both king and high priest for twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint the next high priest; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. For the same period only did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his high priesthood, and did himself not only reign, but perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, Pompey came and took the city of Jerusalem by storm, and put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him ruler of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, rulers of the Parthians, crossed over the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly at *Tell el-Yehûdi*.

Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Sossius and Herod besieged and captured him, and Antony had him brought to Antioch and slain there. And Herod, who was then made king by the Romans, did no longer appoint high priests out of the descendants of Asamonæus, but appointed to that office men of no note, and barely priests, with the single exception of Aristobulus. For he made this Aristobulus high priest, who was the grandson of Hyrcanus who was taken by the Parthians, and married his sister Mariamne, only to win the good-will of the people, because of their remembrance of Hyrcanus. But afterwards, being afraid that all would fall away to Aristobulus, he put him to death, contriving to have him suffocated as he was swimming at Jericho, as I have already related; and after him he never intrusted the high priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asmonæus. Herod's son Archelaus also acted like his father in the appointment of high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their own hands after Archelaus. And the number of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took and burnt the temple and the city, was in all twenty-eight, and the period they were high priests was a hundred and seven years. Some of them took part in affairs in the reigns of Herod and Archelaus his son, but after their death the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with dominion over the nation. Thus much may suffice to say concerning our high priests.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Gessius Florus the Governor, who forced the Jews to take up arms against the Romans. Conclusion of the Antiquities of the Jews.*

### § 1.

NOW Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judæa with many miseries. He was a native of Clazomenæ, and brought with him his wife

Cleopatra, (by whose friendship with Nero's wife Poppæa he obtained this government,) who was as wicked as he was. This Florus was so bad and violent in the exercise of his authority, that the Jews cried up Albinus as their benefactor, so excessive were the evils that Florus brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered by anybody; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been despatched to Judæa on purpose to display his crimes, ostentatiously showed his lawlessness to our nation, never omitting any rapine or unjust punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and was never satisfied with any amount of gain, nor did he pay any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but went shares even with the robbers. For many pursued that calling without fear, feeling perfect security, because he went shares in their robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, being unable to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all forced to leave their own habitations and flee away, as if they could dwell better any where else in the world among foreigners. And why need I say any more, for it was Florus who forced us to take up arms against the Romans, as we thought it better to be destroyed at once than by little and little. For this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. And what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we had to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

§ 2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities, after which I began to write my account of the war. Now these Antiquities contain what has been delivered down to us from the original creation of man to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what has befallen us Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians brought upon us, and after them the Romans. And I think I may say that I have composed this history with all accuracy. I have attempted to enumerate

the high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years. I have also accurately recorded the succession of our kings, and related their actions and polity, as also the power of our monarchs, and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this is what I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I make bold to say, now I have completed the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether Jew or foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could have given so accurate an account to the Greeks as I have done. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness. For our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods, because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many servants as please to learn them, and they give those only the testimony of being wise men who are fully acquainted with our laws, and able to interpret the meaning of the holy writings. And so, though there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have been hardly as many as two or three that have succeeded therein, and immediately got the fruit of their labours.

§ 3. And now perhaps it will not be invidious or unapt, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life,<sup>1</sup> while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or attest that it is true. So I shall here put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books and sixty thousand lines. And if God permit me, I shall briefly run over the war again, and what befell us to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I intend also to write four

<sup>1</sup> The Life here referred to, will be found at the beginning of Volume I.

books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his being and concerning our laws, and why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.





THE WORKS OF  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

*WHISTON'S TRANSLATION,*

REVISED BY THE

REV. A. R. SHILLETO, M.A.

*Sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge,  
Translator of Plutarch's Morals, Ethical Essays.*

WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES BY

SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.B.

VOL. IV.

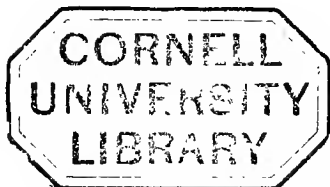
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THE JEWISH WAR,  
OR, THE  
HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF  
JERUSALEM.

PREFACE.

§ 1.

SINCE<sup>1</sup> the war between the Jews and the Romans was the greatest of all those not only in our times, but almost all that were ever heard of, either of those wherein cities have fought against cities or nations against nations, and as some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves, have collected together vain and contradictory stories from hearsay, and have recorded them in a sophistical manner, while those that were present have given false accounts of things, either in flattery to the Romans or from hatred to the Jews, and as their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomium, but no where the accurate truth, I have proposed to myself, for the sake

<sup>1</sup> I have already observed more than once, that this history of the Jewish War was Josephus's first book, and published about A.D. 75, when he was but 38 years of age; and that, when he wrote it, he was not thoroughly acquainted with several circumstances of history from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, with which it begins, till near his own times, contained in the first and former part of the second book, and so committed many involuntary errors therein. He published his Antiquities eighteen years afterwards, in the 13th year of Domitian, A.D. 93, when he was much more completely acquainted with those ancient times. Accordingly he then reviewed those parts of this work, and gave the public a more faithful, complete, and accurate account of the facts therein related; and honestly corrected the errors he had before run into.—W.

of such as live under the empire of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I, Josephus, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards, formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians.<sup>1</sup>

§ 2. Now at the time when this most important event happened, the affairs of the Romans themselves were in a bad situation, for the Jews who were for innovation, who were in a flourishing condition both as regarded strength and riches, rose up in insurrection just when the times were disturbed, insomuch that affairs in the East were then in exceeding confusion, as some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss, and the Jews hoped that all of their nation who were beyond the Euphrates would have risen up in insurrection with them. The Gauls also in the neighbourhood of the Romans were in commotion, and the Celts were not quiet, but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at royal power, and the soldiers were enamoured of change from the hope of gain. I thought it therefore monstrous to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to suffer those Greeks and Romans that took no part in the war to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and Babylonians, and remotest Arabians, and those of our own nation beyond the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, knew accurately by my labours why the war begun, and what miseries it brought upon us, and how it ended.

§ 3. And yet these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories, though they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, in addition to their relating nothing that is sound. For they wish to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews; but I do not see how they can appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little.

<sup>1</sup> Who those Upper Barbarians, remote from the sea, were, Josephus himself informs us, § 2, viz., the Parthians and Babylonians, and remotest Arabians, besides the Jews beyond the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, or Assyrians.—W.

Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the numbers of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, and the greatness of the commanders, whose many struggles to take Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

§ 4. However, I have determined not to go to the other extreme, in opposition to those men who extol the Romans, and to raise the actions of my countrymen too high, but I shall relate the actions of both parties with accuracy, only I shall suit my language to my feelings as to the affairs I describe, and shall indulge some lamentations upon the miseries of my country. For that our own factions destroyed it, and that it was the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman forces upon us against their will, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple, Titus Cæsar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness, who, during the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the factious, and often voluntarily delayed the taking of the city, and protracted the siege, in order to give the authors of the war time for repentance. And if any one blames me for my accusing the tyrants or robbers, or for bewailing the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my sorrow in this, though it be contrary to the rules of writing history; for our city Jerusalem, which had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Romans, at last fell into the sorest of calamities. At any rate it appears to me that the misfortunes of all men from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews, are not so considerable, and as the authors of them were not foreigners, it makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be a judge too hard for pity, let him assign the facts to history, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

§ 5. However, I might justly censure the learned men among the Greeks, who, when such great actions have been done in their own times, which by comparison quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and severely criticize the best writers of antiquity, for though they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they

intend to do : for they write themselves about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs well enough, although they are as far inferior to them in abilities, as they are different in their notions from them. For of old every one was anxious to write what happened in his own time, where their presence at the actions made their narration of value, and where to write lies for those who knew the facts would turn to their disgrace. But to preserve to memory what has been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and commendation ; and he is not industrious who only alters the arrangement and order of other men's works, but he who relates what is new and composes an entire body of history of his own. And I have been at great expense and have taken very great pains, though I am a foreigner, and dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and Romans. But for some of our own men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed, at once for gain and lawsuits, but are quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains ; and so they leave the writing such histories to inferior people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. But let the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, since it is neglected among the Greeks.

§ 6. To write the Antiquities of the Jews, as who they were, and how they left the Egyptians, and what region they travelled over, and what countries they occupied afterwards, and how they were removed out of them, I think to be now unseasonable and also superfluous, since many Jews before me have written the history of our ancestors accurately, as some of the Greeks have done also, having translated them into their own tongue, and have not much wandered from the truth. But I shall begin my history where the writers of these affairs and our prophets leave off. Now as to what concerns the war which happened in my own time, I shall narrate all that with much detail, and with all the diligence I am able, but shall briefly run over what preceded mine own age.

§ 7. I shall relate then how Antiochus, who was named

Epiphanes, took Jerusalem by storm, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asamonæus; and next how their posterity quarrelled about the kingdom, and dragged into their affairs the Romans and Pompey; and how Herod, the son of Antipater, put an end to their rule, bringing in Sossius upon them; and also how our people rose in insurrection upon Herod's death, when Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quintilius Varus was in our country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, as also what happened under Cestius; and what places the Jews assaulted in a hostile manner in the first movements of the war.

§ 8. I shall also relate how they built walls about the neighbouring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius' defeat, was in fear about the issue of the war, and so made Vespasian general in it, and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons,<sup>1</sup> made an expedition into the country of Judæa, and what Roman force he took with him, and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off throughout all Galilee; and how he took some of its cities by storm, and how others surrendered. I shall then describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions, and the size of both the Galilees, and their nature, and the limits of Judæa, and the peculiarities of the district, and the lakes and fountains that are in it, and what miseries happened to each city as it was taken, and all this I shall describe with accuracy as I saw or suffered. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the facts.

§ 9. After this I shall relate how Nero died, when the fortunes of the Jews were become very bad, and how Vespasian, as he was hastening to Jerusalem, was called off to become emperor, and what omens happened to him in relation to that, and how he reached Rome, and how he was made emperor by the soldiers against his will, and how, upon his return to Egypt, to take the chief command, the Jews became very riotous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and their own mutual dissensions.

§ 10. I shall also relate how Titus marched from Egypt

<sup>1</sup> Titus.—W.

into Judæa the second time ; as also how and where he concentrated his forces, and how many they were, and what state the city was in in respect to faction at his coming ; and what attacks he made, and how many earthworks he threw up : also of the three walls that invested the city, and of their measures ; also of the strength of the city. I shall also relate accurately the structure of the temple and sanctuary, as also the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and some of their habits at festivals, and their seven purifications, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, as also the vestments of the priests and of the high priest ; and of the nature of the holy place of the temple, without concealing anything, or adding anything to what is generally known.

§ 11. I shall next relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards their fellow-countrymen, as also the clemency of the Romans to foreigners ; and how often Titus, in his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the rebels to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the sufferings and calamities of the people, and how far they were afflicted by the war, and how far by the faction, and how far by famine, till at last Jerusalem was taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives : as also how the temple was burnt against the wish of Titus, and how many of the sacred treasures of the temple were rescued out of the fire ; and the destruction of the entire city, and the signs and wonders that preceded it ; and the taking the tyrants captive, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and their various fortunes. I shall also relate how the Romans followed up the remains of the war, and how they demolished the strongholds, and how Titus went over the whole country and settled affairs ; together with his return to Italy and triumph.

§ 12. I have included all these things in seven books, and have left no occasion for blame or accusation to such as are acquainted with or took part in this war, and I have written it for those who love truth, not for those who read merely for pleasure. And I shall begin my account of these as I stated in my recapitulation.



## BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS, FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

## CHAP. I.

*How the City of Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple pillaged, by Antiochus Epiphanes. Also concerning the Actions of the Maccabees, Matthias and Judas, and the Death of Judas.*

## § 1.

AT the time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, contended with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to all Syria, a great strife fell out among the men of power in Judæa, and they had a struggle for power, as each of those that were in authority could not endure to be subject to his equals. And Onias, one of the high priests, got the best of it, and expelled the sons of Tobias from the city. And they fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his guides, and to make an expedition into Judæa. The king complied with them, being disposed thereto beforehand, and set out with a great army, and took Jerusalem by storm, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also himself spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering daily sacrifices for three years and six months. But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the district of Heliopolis,<sup>1</sup> where he built a little city resembling Jerusalem, and a similar temple, concerning which I shall speak more hereafter in its proper place.

§ 2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected capture of the city, or with its pillage, or with the

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Tell el-Yehûdi*. Antiq. xii. 9, § 7; xiii. 3, § 1; xx. 10, § 1. Heliopolis, or On, was to the N.E. of Cairo. See Antiq. ii. 7, § 6; Against Apion, ii. 2.

great slaughter he had made there, but being a slave to his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he tried to compel the Jews to break the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; which they all disobeyed, and the most esteemed among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent by Antiochus as commander of the fortresses with these wicked orders, from his own natural barbarity indulged in excessive lawlessness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened the city every day with open destruction; till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by his excessive outrages to avenge themselves.

§ 3. For Matthias, the son of Asamonæus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modein,<sup>1</sup> armed himself and his family (he had five sons), and slew Bacchides with daggers; and forthwith, from fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy], fled to the mountains, and so many of the people followed him, that he took courage and came down from the mountains, and gave battle to Antiochus' generals, whom he beat and drove out of Judæa. So he became all powerful by his success, and (because he had expelled the foreigners) became the prince of his own people at their own wish, and when he died, left the government to Judas, his eldest son.

§ 4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not remain quiet, gathered together an army of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country, when he made a second expedition into it, inflicting on him a great defeat. And being warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto, and ejected it from the upper part of the city, which was called the Citadel, and drove the soldiers into the lower. He then got the temple in his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned, and built another altar,

<sup>1</sup> *el-Medieh*, about seven miles E. of Lydda, *Ludd*. Antiq. xii. 6, § 1, 4; xii. 11, § 2; xiii. 6, § 5.

and began to offer the daily sacrifices. And when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died, and his son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

§ 5. So he got together fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and eighty elephants, and marched through Judæa into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura,<sup>1</sup> which was a small city, but at a place called Bethzacharias,<sup>2</sup> where there was a narrow pass, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas' brother Eleazar, seeing the very biggest of the elephants adorned with a large tower and trappings of gold, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the press of the enemies got up to the elephant. But he could not reach him who seemed to be the king because of his high position, but he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory to life. Now he that rode on the elephant was but a private soldier, and even had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar would have done nothing more by this bold stroke than show he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of doing a glorious action. Nay, his death proved an omen to his brother how the battle would end. It is true that the Jews contested it bravely for a long time, but the king's forces being superior in numbers, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophnitis.<sup>3</sup> And Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and stayed there but a few days, for he was in want of provisions, and so went away. He left, indeed, a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient, but drew the rest of his army off to winter in Syria.

§ 6. Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for many of his own nation came to him, and he

<sup>1</sup> *Beit Súr.* Antiq. viii. 10, § 1; xii. 7, § 5; xii. 9, § 5; xiii. 5, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Kh. Beit Skária.* Antiq. xii. 9, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> The district of which Gophna, *Jifna*, was the chief town. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4; iii. 3, § 3; iv. 9, § 9.

gathered together those that had escaped out of the battle, and again engaged with Antiochus' generals at a village called Adasa,<sup>1</sup> and having greatly distinguished himself in the battle, and slain a great number of the enemy, he was at last himself slain also. And not many days afterwards his brother John had a plot laid against him by those who were of Antiochus' party, and was slain by them.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the Successors of Judas, who were Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.*

### § 1.

JONATHAN, who was Judas' brother, succeeded him, and behaved himself with great circumspection in all other respects with relation to his own people, and strengthened his authority by his friendship with the Romans, and also made a league with Antiochus' son.<sup>2</sup> Yet was not all this sufficient for his security. For the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus' son, laid a plot against him, and first endeavoured to take off his friends, and captured Jonathan by stratagem, as he was going with a few persons to Ptolemais<sup>3</sup> to Antiochus, and put him in bonds, and then marched against the Jews; but being repulsed by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, he was enraged at his defeat, and put Jonathan to death.

§ 2. Now Simon managed public affairs in a courageous manner, and took Gazara<sup>4</sup> and Joppa<sup>5</sup> and Jamnia,<sup>6</sup> which were cities in the neighbourhood, and also conquered the garrison, and demolished the Citadel at Jerusalem. He afterwards helped Antiochus against Trypho, whom he besieged

<sup>1</sup> *Kh. Adaseh.* Antiq. xii. 10, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> I read 'Αντιόχου παῖδα, as three lines lower.

<sup>3</sup> *Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.*

<sup>4</sup> *Gezer, Tell Jezar.* Antiq. vii. 12, § 2; viii. 6, § 1; xiii. 1, § 3; 9, § 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Jaffa.*

<sup>6</sup> *Yebnah.* Antiq. ix. 10, § 3; xiv. 4, § 4; xvii. 8, § 1; xviii. 2, § 2.

in Dora,<sup>1</sup> before he went on his expedition against the Medes. Yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebæus his general with an army to lay waste Judæa, and to subdue Simon. But though he was now in years, he conducted the war as if he were a young man, and sent his sons with a strong band against Cendebæus, while he took part of the army himself, and attacked him in another quarter. He also laid a great many men in ambush in many places among the mountains, and overcame the enemy in all his attacks upon them. And having been conqueror in so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and freed the Jews, after a period of a hundred and seventy years, from the dominion of the Macedonians.

§ 3. This Simon had also a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill the third, John, who was also called Hyrcanus. But as the young man was informed beforehand of their coming, he made haste to get to the city, having very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of their hatred to the lawlessness of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate, but was quickly repelled by the people, who had just admitted Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses beyond Jericho, which was called Dagon.<sup>2</sup> Now, when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might bring aid to his mother and brothers.

§ 4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by his just grief. For as Ptolemy was pressed hard, he brought out Hyrcanus' mother and brothers, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, unless Hyrcanus went away immediately, that

<sup>1</sup> Dor, *Tantûrah*. Antiq. xiii. 7, § 2; 12, § 2; xiv. 4, § 4; 5, § 3; xix. 6, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. xiii. 8, § 1.

he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus' commiseration and concern were too much for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, either at the stripes she received, or at the death with which she was threatened, but stretched out her hands, and begged her son not to be so moved by the injuries she suffered as to spare the wretch, since it was better for her to die at the hands of Ptolemy than to live for ever, provided he could be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now whenever John considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he was incited to the attack, but whenever he saw her beaten and torn to pieces with stripes, he was unnerved and entirely overcome by grief. And as the siege was protracted in this way, the year of rest came on, for the Jews rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day. In this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from the siege, and slew the brothers of John with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was surnamed Cotylas, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup>

§ 5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered at the hands of Simon, that he made an expedition into Judæa, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus. But he opened the tomb of David, who was the richest of the kings, and took thence more than three thousand talents in money, and bribed Antiochus by three hundred talents to raise the siege. Hyrcanus was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and so begun to maintain mercenary troops.

§ 6. At another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave him an opportunity of being revenged upon him, Hyrcanus immediately marched upon the cities of Syria, thinking, as proved to be the case, that he would find them empty of fighting men. So he took Medaba,<sup>2</sup> and Samæa,<sup>3</sup> with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem<sup>4</sup> and Garizin;<sup>5</sup> and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Chuthæans, who

<sup>1</sup> *Ammân*. Antiq. xiii. 8, § 1; xx. 1, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Medeba*. Antiq. xiii. 1, § 2; 9, § 1; 15, § 4; xiv. 1, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Antiq. xiii. 9, § 1, where the name is Samega.

<sup>4</sup> *Nâblus*.

<sup>5</sup> Mount Gerizim, south of *Nâblus*. Antiq. xiii. 9, § 1.

dwelt in the neighbourhood of the temple built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem. He also took many other cities of Idumæa,<sup>1</sup> and Adoreus<sup>2</sup> and Marissa.<sup>3</sup>

§ 7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and invested it on all sides, and set his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that famine so prevailed within the city, that the inhabitants were forced to eat most strange food. So they invited Antiochus, who was surnamed Aspendius, to come to their assistance, and he willingly complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and indeed he was pursued by the brothers as far as Scythopolis<sup>4</sup> in his flight from them. And they returned back to Samaria,<sup>5</sup> and closely blockaded its population again, and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they still had great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and overran it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

§ 8. But now these successes of John and his sons made them envied, and occasioned a sedition among their fellow-countrymen, and many mustered together against them, and would not be at rest till they broke out into open war, when they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government in an excellent manner for thirty-three entire years, and then died, leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and had no occasion to complain of fortune in his case. At any rate he alone had three of the most desirable things in the world, the government of his nation, and the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, so that he was not ignorant of any thing

<sup>1</sup> The southern portion of Judæa and the plain of Philistia.

<sup>2</sup> *Dûra*. Antiq. viii. 10, § 1; xiii. 9, § 1; 15, § 4; xiv. 5, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Mareshah, Kh. Mer'ash*. Antiq. viii. 10, § 1; 12, § 1; xii. 8, § 6; xiii. 9, § 1; xiv. 1, § 4; 4, § 4; 5, § 3; 13, § 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Bethshean, Beisân*. Antiq. v. 1, § 22; vi. 14, § 8; xii. 8, § 5; xiv. 4, § 4; 5, § 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Sebastieh*. Antiq. viii. 12, § 5; 14, § 1; ix. 4, § 4; xiii. 10, § 2; xiv. 4, § 4; 5, § 3; xv. 7, §§ 3, 7; 8, § 5.

that was to happen afterwards, insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue at the head of affairs: and it will be worth while to describe their end, and how far they came short of their father in happiness.

### CHAP. III.

*How Aristobulus was the first that wore a Diadem on his Head, and after he had put his Mother and Brother Antigonus to death, died himself, when he had reigned no more than a Year.*

#### § 1.

FOR after the death of their father, Aristobulus, the elder of them, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred and seventy-one years and three months after our people returned to their own country, after being set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brothers, he appeared to have most affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and he treated him as his equal, but as for the rest, he bound them, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds for contesting the government with him, for John had left her at the head of affairs, and proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be starved to death in prison.

§ 2. But vengeance came upon him at last in the case of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved and made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him also owing to the calumnies which wicked men about the court fabricated against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly from the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales sprang only from envy; however, as Antigonus came in a splendid manner from an expedition to the feast, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened during those days that Aristobulus was ill, and at the end of the feast Antigonus went up to the temple with his armed men about him, and dressed in the finest manner possible, to pray to God earnestly on behalf



of his brother. Meantime these wicked men came to the king, and told him of the procession of armed men, and of the elation of Antigonus, too great for a private person, and said that he was at hand with a great band of men to kill Aristobulus; for he could not endure the bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to have the kingdom himself.

§ 3. Now it was only by degrees and unwillingly that Aristobulus gave credit to these accusations, and he took care not to show his suspicion openly, but to make himself secure against any accidents, so he placed his body-guards in a dark subterranean passage; for he lay ill in a place formerly called Baris, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia;<sup>1</sup> and he gave orders, that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone, but if he came in his armour, they should kill him. He also sent some to tell Antigonus beforehand to come unarmed. But in reference to this the queen very cunningly acted in concert with those that plotted against Antigonus, for she urged those that were sent to conceal the king's message, and to tell Antigonus that his brother had heard he had got a very fine suit of armour made in Galilee with fine martial ornaments, and because his present illness hindered him from coming and seeing it, he very much desired to see him now in his armour, "because, (said he,) in a little time you are going away from me."

§ 4. As soon as Antigonus heard this (the good disposition of his brother to him not allowing him to suspect any harm), he came with his armour on to show it to his brother; but as he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body-guards, and became a clear proof how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good feelings are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

§ 5. But one might marvel at the account of the conduct of Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essenes, and had never erred or been deceived in his predictions before. Now as he saw Antigonus passing along by the temple, he cried out to his friends (for not a few

<sup>1</sup> The citadel north of the Temple. Antiq. xv. 11, § 4.

attended upon him as his scholars), "Alas! it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and something that I have foretold has proved false. For Antigonus is here alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he was fated to be slain is Strato's Tower, which is six hundred furlongs from this place; and yet four hours of this day are already over, so that the time falsifies the prediction." When the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But a little time after news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterranean place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, as well as Cæsarea on the coast, and it was this ambiguity that troubled the prophet.

§ 6. However, Aristobulus soon repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and his remorse made his illness grow worse, and his mind being constantly disturbed at the thoughts of the murder he had done, he wasted away, till his bowels being lacerated by the intolerable grief he was in, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And as one of the pages that attended him carried out that blood, by some supernatural providence he slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain, and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the still visible stains of blood of him that had been murdered. Thereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the page had spilt the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it? And as nobody ventured to tell him, he pressed them so much the more, desiring to know what was the matter; so at last, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told him the truth. Thereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive I am not like to escape the great eye of God, as to the atrocious crimes I have committed, but swift vengeance pursues me for the blood of my kinsman. O most shameful body, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die for a mother and a brother slain? how long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop? Let them take it all at once; and let their manes be no longer disappointed by my bowels being offered to them piecemeal." As soon as he had said these words he died, having reigned only a year.

## CHAP. IV.

*What Actions were done by Alexander, who reigned Twenty-seven Years.*

## § 1.

AND now the king's widow set free the king's brothers, and made Alexander king, who both from his age and moderation appeared preferable to the rest. And he, when he came to the throne, slew one of his brothers who aimed at the kingdom himself, but held the remaining one left in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, and not meddling in public affairs.

§ 2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathurus, who had taken the city of Asochis.<sup>1</sup> He indeed slew many of his enemies, but the victory inclined to Ptolemy. But when this Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara,<sup>2</sup> and took it, as also Amathus,<sup>3</sup> which was the strongest of all the fortresses beyond the Jordan, and in it were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus the son of Zeno. But Theodorus suddenly attacked him, and took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage, and slew about ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia<sup>4</sup> and Gaza,<sup>5</sup> and also Anthedon,<sup>6</sup> which was afterwards called Agrippias by king Herod.

§ 3. But when he had reduced these cities to slavery, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for seditions generally break out at those feasts. And it looked as if he would not be able to escape the plot

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Kefr Menda*, above the plain *el-Buttauf*. Life, 41, 45, 68; Antiq. xiii. 12, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis*. Life, 65; Antiq. xiv. 4, § 4; xv. 7, § 3; xvii. 11, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Amâteh*. Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xvii. 10, § 6.

<sup>4</sup> Twenty-two miles S. W. of Gaza. Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ghuzzeh*.

<sup>6</sup> Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 3; xv. 7, § 3.

they had laid for him, had not his foreign troops of Pisidians and Cilicians assisted him : for, as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity to the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia, and when he had subdued the Gileadites and Moabites there, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Amathus. And, as Theodorus was thunderstruck at his great success, he found the fortress of Amathus undefended, and rased it to the ground.

§ 4. But afterwards, when he fought with Obedas, king of the Arabians, who laid an ambush for him near Gaulane,<sup>1</sup> he lost his entire army, as it was crowded together in a deep valley, and trodden to pieces by the multitude of camels. And, when he had escaped to Jerusalem, he provoked the nation who had long hated him to make an insurrection against him from the greatness of his reverses. However, he was then too strong for them, and in several successive battles slew no less than fifty thousand of the Jews in six years. But he had no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but exhaust his own kingdom ; so that at last he left off fighting, and endeavoured to be reconciled to his subjects. But this change and inconsistency in his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them ? they said by dying ; indeed it would be all they could do then to be reconciled to him, who had done such harm to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited to their aid Demetrius, who was surnamed Eucærus ; and as he readily complied with their request in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined these their auxiliaries near Shechem.<sup>2</sup>

§ 5. However, Alexander met both these forces with a thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, who were mercenaries. He had also with him about ten thousand Jews who were faithful to him. But his enemies had three thousand horse, and fourteen thousand foot. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavoured to draw off each other's soldiers, for Demetrius

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. xiii. 15, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāblus*.

hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons; in which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest bravery both of soul and body. But the upshot of the battle proved different from what was expected on both sides; for not only did those that had invited Demetrius not continue with him, though he was conqueror, but six thousand Jews, out of pity at the reverse of Alexander, came over to him when he had fled to the mountains. Demetrius could not bear this turn of affairs, but supposing that Alexander was already a match for him again, and that all the nation would go back to him, went his way home.

§ 6. However, the rest of the Jewish people did not lay aside their animosity to Alexander when Demetrius and his force were gone, but they had a perpetual war with him, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city of Bemeselis,<sup>1</sup> and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. And now his rage had grown so excessive, that his savageness proceeded to the degree of impiety; for when he had had eight hundred of those that were taken hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes, and he gazed at all this as he was drinking and reclining with his concubines. Thereupon such dejection seized the people, that eight thousand of his opponents fled away the very next night from all Judæa, whose exile was terminated only by Alexander's death. Thus at last, though not without great difficulty, he procured by such actions quiet for his kingdom, and rested from arms.

§ 7. But Antiochus, who was surnamed Dionysus, became a source of troubles to him again. He was the brother of Demetrius, and the last of the Seleucidæ. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris,<sup>2</sup> which was near

<sup>1</sup> Called Bethome in Antiq. xiii. 14, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Râs el-'Ain*. Antiq. xiii. 15, § 1; xvi. 5, § 2.

the mountains, and the shores of Joppa ; and also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to obstruct and render difficult his approach. However, he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers and filled up the trench, and marched on with his army. And postponing his revenge on Alexander for endeavouring to stop him, he marched at once against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and then suddenly made his horse wheel round, who were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus' army while they were in disorder. And a terrible battle ensued, and Antiochus' troops, as long as he was alive, held out, although a mighty slaughter was made of them by the Arabians ; but when he fell, (for he was always in the front, rallying his beaten troops,) they all gave ground, and most of his army were cut to pieces, either in the action or the flight ; and as for the rest, who fled to the village of Cana,<sup>1</sup> it happened that they all perished for want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

§ 8. After this the people of Damascus, in their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, invited in Aretas and made him king of Cœle-Syria.<sup>2</sup> He also made an expedition into Judæa, and beat Alexander in battle, but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella,<sup>3</sup> marched to Gerasa,<sup>4</sup> moved by a covetous desire for Theodorus' possessions, and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Gaulane<sup>5</sup> and Seleucia,<sup>6</sup> and what was called the Valley of Antiochus ;<sup>7</sup> besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala,<sup>8</sup> and stripped Demetrius who was governor of it of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and returned to Judæa, after he had been three whole years on this expedition. And

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. xiii. 15, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. i. 11, § 5 ; xiii. 13, §§ 2, 3 ; 15, § 2 ; xiv. 4, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Tubakât Fahîl*. Antiq. xiii. 15, § 4 ; xiv. 4, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Jerash*.

<sup>5</sup> See Jewish War, i. 4, § 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Life*, 37 ; Antiq. xiii. 7, § 1 ; 15, § 3.

<sup>7</sup> Antiq. xiii. 15, § 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn*. *Life*, 11, 37 ; Antiq. xviii. 5, § 1.

now he was kindly received by the nation because of the success he had had, but now he was at rest from war, he fell ill. For he was afflicted with a quartan ague, and thought that he would get rid of his complaint by exercising himself again in martial affairs; but by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo hardships greater than his strength, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven-and-twenty years.

## CHAP. V.

*Alexandra reigns nine Years, during which time the Pharisees were the real Rulers of the Nation.*

### § 1.

NOW Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra his wife, being sure that the Jews would very readily submit to her, because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his lawless acts, and had so got the good will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his hope; for his wife got the throne in consequence of her reputation for piety; for she accurately observed the ancient customs of her country, and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And she made Hyrcanus, the elder of her two sons by Alexander, high priest, on account of his age, as also on account of his inactive temper, which indisposed him to disturb the public; but she kept the younger, Aristobulus, as a private person, because of his impetuosity.

§ 2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. They are a body of Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now Alexandra attached herself to them in an extraordinary degree, being a woman of great piety towards God. And these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her simplicity by little and

little, and became themselves the real administrators of public affairs. They banished and recalled from exile, bound and loosed, whom they pleased, and in short had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon getting a large army together, so that she doubled her army, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only powerful but terrible also to foreign potentates. So she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

§ 3. Accordingly they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of note, who had been a friend of Alexander; having accused him of having advised the king to crucify the eight hundred men.<sup>1</sup> They also urged Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated Alexander against them. And as she gave way from her religious feelings, they wished to kill whom they pleased, but the most eminent of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who urged his mother to spare the men on account of their position, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent; so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent her army to Damascus, on the pretext that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it, nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also tried by agreements and presents to get Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops before Ptolemais,<sup>2</sup> and besieged Cleopatra, to go away. But Tigranes raised the siege first, because of troubles at home, for Lucullus had invaded Armenia.

§ 4. In the meantime Alexandra fell ill, and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity with his domestics (of whom he had many, who were all of them his friends on account of his warmth of heart,) and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the money he found in them to get together a band of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king. At this, upon Hyrcanus' complaint, his mother commiserated his case, and put Aristo-

<sup>1</sup> See ch. iv. § 6.

<sup>2</sup> 'Akka.



bulus' wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress adjacent to the north slope of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called Baris,<sup>1</sup> but afterwards got the name of Antonia, when Antony was in power, just as the other cities, Sebaste<sup>2</sup> and Agrippias,<sup>3</sup> had their names changed from Sebastus and Agrippa. But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus for deposing his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

## CHAP. VI.

*As Hyrcanus, who was Alexandra's Heir, receded from his Claim of the Crown, Aristobulus is made King, and afterwards the same Hyrcanus, by the agency of Antipater, is brought back by Aretas. At last Pompey is made the Arbitrator of the Dispute between the Brothers.*

## § 1.

NOW Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and his mother gave it him before she died, but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and spirit. And a battle having taken place between them for the kingdom near Jericho, most deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus. And Hyrcanus, with those of his party who remained with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power hostages that might be for his safety (these were Aristobulus' wife and her children); but the brothers came to an agreement, before things came to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Thereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, as the people stood round; they also changed their houses, for Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

§ 2. Now all those who were at variance with Aris-

<sup>1</sup> The citadel north of the Temple. Antiq. xv. 11, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>3</sup> Anthedon. See Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

tobulus were afraid at his thus unexpectedly obtaining the kingdom, and especially Antipater, whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by race an Idumæan, and the principal man of his nation on account of his ancestors and riches and other power. He also urged Hyrcanus to flee to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and so to recover his kingdom, and at the same time he urged Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to restore him to his kingdom; he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus as to his morals, and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aretas to receive him, and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to extend his assistance to such as were unjustly treated; and he said Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of the dominions which belonged to him by the priority of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and escaped from the city, and continuing his flight with great swiftness, got safe to the place called Petra,<sup>1</sup> which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia. There he put Hyrcanus into Aretas' hand, and by much conversation with Aretas, and gaining him over with many presents, he prevailed upon him to furnish him with an army that might restore Hyrcanus to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand foot and horse, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted at the first onset, and was forced into Jerusalem: and would also have been taken by force, had not Scaurus, the Roman general, come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. He was sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, who was fighting against Tigranes: and he went to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and he removed them from there, and on hearing how the affairs of Judæa stood, he hastened there as to a windfall.

§ 3. And directly he entered the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance. But Aristobulus' three hundred talents had more weight with him than justice; for when

<sup>1</sup> The modern Petra. Antiq. iv. 4, § 7; 7, § 1; xiv. 1, § 4.

Scaurus had received that sum, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and Pompey, unless they raised the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired from Judæa to Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> and Scaurus returned to Damascus. But Aristobulus was not satisfied with not being captured, but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them at a place called Papyron,<sup>2</sup> and killed more than six thousand of them, and among them Antipater's brother, Phallion.

§ 4. When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of the aid of the Arabians, they transferred their hope to their adversaries: and as Pompey had passed through Syria and come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and without gifts they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas, and besought him to hate the violent behaviour of Aristobulus, and to restore the kingdom to him to whom it justly belonged, both on account of his character and priority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself, relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received, but was also present himself, attired as like a king as he was able. But thinking it beneath him to dance attendance upon Pompey, and not enduring to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than his rank, he departed from Diospolis.<sup>3</sup>

§ 5. At this Pompey was very indignant, Hyrcanus also and his friends made great supplication to him, so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. And when he had passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Coreæ,<sup>4</sup> where you enter into the country of Judæa, when you go to it through the inland parts, he heard that Aristobulus had fled to Alexandrium,<sup>5</sup> which is a stronghold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain, and he sent to him and commanded him to come down. Now Aristobulus' inclination was to try his fortune in

<sup>1</sup> See Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. xiv. 2, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Keriût.* Antiq. xiv. 3, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Kefr Istûna.* Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 3, § 4; 5, § 4.

battle, since he was summoned in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that summons; but he saw the people were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider how irresistible the power of the Romans was. So he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long defence as to the justice of his taking the kingdom, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother summoned him again, he came down and spoke about the justice of his claim, and then went away without any hindrance from Pompey. So he was between hope and fear, and he came down to importune Pompey to entrust every thing to him, and he went up again to the citadel, not to appear to debase himself too low. When Pompey however commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their commanders to yield them up, for they had had this charge given them to obey no letters but such as were in his own handwriting, he did what he was ordered to do, but was very indignant at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and made preparations to fight against Pompey.

§ 6. But Pompey did not give him time to make much preparation, but followed close at his heels, being further obliged to make haste owing to the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed near Jericho, where is the most fruitful country of Judæa, which produces a great number of palm trees, besides the balsam tree, whose trunks they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions gather the juice which exudes. And Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and pushed on the next morning to Jerusalem; but Aristobulus was so dismayed at his approach, that he came and met him as a suppliant, and promised him money, and to put both himself and the city at his disposal, and so mitigated the anger of Pompey. However, he did not perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus' party would not so much as admit Gabinius, who was sent to receive the promised money, into the city.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Pompey had the City of Jerusalem delivered up to him, but took the Temple by Storm. How he went into the Holy of Holies ; also his other Exploits in Judæa.*

## § 1.

AT this Pompey was very angry, and detained Aristobulus in bonds, and went to the city, and looked about where he might make his attack ; for he saw that the walls were so strong, that it would be hard to attack them, and that the ravine before the walls was terrible, and that the temple, which was within that ravine, was surrounded with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, the temple would be a second line of defence for the enemy to retire to.

§ 2. Now as he was a long time deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city, Aristobulus' party demanding to fight and set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey ; and dread made these last a very numerous party, when they looked upon the good order of the Roman soldiers. So Aristobulus' party lost the day and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together, and prepared to hold out to the utmost. But as the others received the Romans into the city, and delivered up the palace, Pompey sent Piso, one of the generals under him, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation ; he then made arrangements all round for attack, having Hyrcanus' party very ready to afford both counsel and assistance.

§ 3. Then Pompey himself filled up the trench that was on the north slope of the temple and the entire ravine also, the army itself bringing up the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up the ravine because of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used

all possible means to repel them from above; nor would the Romans have succeeded in their endeavours, had not Pompey utilized the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work for religious worship, and raised his bank then, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted on the defensive on sabbath-days. And as soon as Pompey had filled up the ravine, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought up those engines which had been fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down. And the slingers of stones beat off those above them and repulsed them: but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were extraordinarily big and handsome.

§ 4. Then indeed, as the Romans were very distressed, Pompey could not but marvel not only at the other proofs of the Jews' fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were deluged with darts on all sides. For as if the city was in profound peace, the daily sacrifices and purifications, and every part of their religious worship, were still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain round the altar, did they leave off their usual worship. For it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers and get into the temple. Now the first of all that ventured to get over the wall, was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sulla; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius; and each of these was followed by his own company of men, who surrounded the Jews on all sides, and slew some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they resisted for a while.

§ 5. And now many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies advancing with swords in their hands, calmly went on with divine worship, and were slain as they were offering drink-offerings, and burning incense, preferring their duties to God to their own preservation. Most were slain by their own countrymen of the adverse faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices; nay, there were some who were so distracted at the terrible position they were in, that they set fire to the

buildings that were near the wall, and were burnt with them. And twelve thousand of the Jews were slain, while very few of the Romans were dead, but a great many were wounded.

§ 6. But nothing affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were now in, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers. Pompey, at any rate, and his suite went into the temple itself, where it was not lawful for any one to enter but the high priest, and saw what was deposited therein, the candlestick and the lamps and the table and the pouring vessels and the censers, all made entirely of gold, also a great quantity of spices heaped together, and two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there deposited; but he commanded the priests of the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one having not only in other respects shown great zeal during the siege, but having also been the means of hindering the people in the district from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were very desirous to do. In this way he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by goodwill than fear. Now, among the captives, Aristobulus' father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle. And Pompey punished those that were the chief authors of the war by beheading, but rewarded Faustus and those that had fought so bravely with him with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country and upon Jerusalem itself.

§ 7. He also took away from the Jews all those cities they had taken in Coele-Syria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman general there, and confined Judæa within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara,<sup>1</sup> (which had been demolished by the Jews,) to gratify one Demetrius, who was from Gadara, and was one of his own freedmen. He also made other cities free from their dominion that lay in the interior of the country, as many as they had not demolished before, as

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

Hippos,<sup>1</sup> and Scythopolis,<sup>2</sup> and Pella,<sup>3</sup> and Samaria,<sup>4</sup> and Marissa,<sup>5</sup> and besides these, Azotus,<sup>6</sup> and Jamnia,<sup>7</sup> and Arethusa:<sup>8</sup> and he dealt in like manner with the maritime cities, as Gaza,<sup>9</sup> and Joppa, and Dora,<sup>10</sup> and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, which was afterwards rebuilt with the most magnificent edifices by king Herod, and had its name changed to Cæsarea.<sup>11</sup> All these he restored to their own citizens, and put them in the province of Syria; which province, together with Judæa, and all the country as far as Egypt and the Euphrates, he handed over to Scaurus to administer, and gave him two legions, and himself pushed on through Cilicia to Rome, taking Aristobulus and his family with him as his captives. This family consisted of two daughters and two sons, one of whom, Alexander, escaped on the road, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome with his sisters.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus, who escaped from Pompey, makes an Expedition against Hyrcanus; but being overcome by Gabinius, he delivers up the Fortresses to him. After this Aristobulus escapes from Rome, and gathers an Army together; but being beaten by the Romans, he is brought back to Rome; with other things relating to Gabinius, Crassus, and Cassius.*

### § 1.

**M**EANTIME Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the region near Petra.<sup>12</sup> However, he laid waste the country round Pella,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sûsiyeh.* Life, 10, 31, 65; Antiq. xiv. 4, § 4; xv. 7, § 3; xvii. 11, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>5</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Esdûd.* Antiq. vi. 1, §§ 1, 2; xii. 7, § 4; 8, § 6; xiii. 4, § 4; xiv. 5, § 3; xvii. 8, § 1.

<sup>7</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Restan.* Antiq. xiv. 4, § 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ghuzzeh.*

<sup>10</sup> *Tantûrah.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>11</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh.* Antiq. xv. 8, § 5; 9, § 6; xx. 8, § 7.

<sup>12</sup> Jewish War, i. 6, § 2.

<sup>13</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.



though even there he was in distress, for his army suffered from famine. In order to supply this want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by Antipater, whom Scaurus also sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to purchase peace by money. The king of Arabia listened to him, and gave him three hundred talents, upon which Scaurus withdrew his army from Arabia.

§ 2. As for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who escaped from Pompey, he got in time a considerable band of men together, and overran Judæa, and was a formidable foe to Hyrcanus, and seemed likely to depose him quickly, and indeed would have come to Jerusalem, and ventured to rebuild the wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent into Syria as successor to Scaurus, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in marching against Alexander. And as he was afraid that Gabinius would attack him, he got together a large army, composed of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and built walls about strategic positions, as Alexandrium,<sup>1</sup> and Hyrcanium,<sup>2</sup> and Machærus,<sup>3</sup> near the mountains of Arabia.

§ 3. But Gabinius sent before him Mark Antony, and followed himself with his whole army. And the picked men with Antipater, and the other body of Jews, under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus, joined those captains that were with Mark Antony, and met Alexander. And not long after came up Gabinius with the main army. And as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were united, he retreated, but when he got near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle, of whom three thousand fell, and three thousand were taken alive, and he fled with the rest to Alexandrium.

§ 4. Now, when Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, as he found many encamped there, by promising them pardon for their former offences, he tried to induce them to come over to him without fight; but as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew many of them, and

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xvii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Mekaur.* Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xviii. 5, §§ 1, 2.

shut up the rest in the citadel. In this battle the general Mark Antony greatly distinguished himself, who always showed great courage, but never so much as now. But Gabinius, leaving forces to take the fortress, went away himself, and set in order the cities that had not been ravaged, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his orders, the following cities were inhabited again, Scythopolis,<sup>1</sup> Samaria,<sup>2</sup> Anthedon,<sup>3</sup> Apollonia,<sup>4</sup> Jamnia,<sup>5</sup> Raphia,<sup>6</sup> Marissa,<sup>7</sup> Adoreus,<sup>8</sup> Gamala,<sup>9</sup> Azotus,<sup>10</sup> and many others, as inhabitants readily flocked into each of them.

§ 5. After Gabinius had seen to these things, he returned to Alexandria, and pressed on the siege so vigorously, that Alexander, as he despaired of ever obtaining the kingdom, sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had done amiss, and surrendered to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium<sup>11</sup> and Machærus,<sup>12</sup> and put Alexandria<sup>13</sup> into his hands afterwards: all of which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be a *point d'appui* in a second war. She had now come to mollify Gabinius, in her concern for her husband and other children, who were captives at Rome. After this Gabinius restored Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him, but changed the civil polity into an aristocracy. He also divided the whole nation into five centres, assigning one to Jerusalem, another to Gadara,<sup>14</sup> another to Amathus,<sup>15</sup> a fourth to Jericho, and the fifth to Sepphoris,<sup>16</sup> a city of Galilee. And the people were glad to be freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Arsuf*. Antiq. xiii. 15, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>6</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>7</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>8</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>9</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Esdūd*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

<sup>11</sup> Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Mekaur*. Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xviii. 5, §§ 1, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Umm Keis*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>15</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Sefûrieh*. Life, 8, 12, 15, 65, 67, 71; Antiq. xiv. 5, § 4; xvii. 10, § 9; xviii. 2, § 1.

§ 6. But not long afterwards Aristobulus was the beginning of new trouble, for he escaped from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of change, who had borne affection to him of old; and when he had first taken Alexandrium,<sup>1</sup> he attempted to rebuild it. But as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Sisenna and Antony and Servilius, when he was aware of it, he retreated to Machærus.<sup>2</sup> And as for the useless multitude he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, who were about eight thousand, among whom was Pitholaus, who had been lieutenant-general at Jerusalem, and had deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men. And the Romans followed him, and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus' men for a long time fought courageously; but at length they were overcome by the Romans, and five thousand of them were slain, and about two thousand fled to a hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus cut their way through the Roman army, and marched together to Machærus. And when the king had lodged there the first night among its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war did but cease a while, so he fortified that stronghold after a sort. But as the Romans attacked him, he resisted beyond his strength for two days, and was then taken and brought in bonds before Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled with him from Rome, and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. And the senate put him in prison, but sent his children back to Judæa, because Gabinius informed them by letters, that he had promised Aristobulus' wife to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

§ 7. And now, as Gabinius was setting out to war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom he brought back to Egypt, returning from the Euphrates, and making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide everything that was necessary for the army. For Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed upon the Jews that were

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Mekaur.* Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; xviii. 5, §§ 1, 2.

there, and guarded the passes near Pelusium,<sup>1</sup> to let Gabinius pass by. But now, upon Gabinius' departure, the other part of Syria was in commotion, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, induced the Jews to revolt again; and getting together a very large force, set about killing all the Romans that were in the country. Thereupon Gabinius was afraid, (for he was come back already from Egypt, being obliged to come back quickly by these disturbances,) and sent Antipater, and prevailed upon some of the rebels to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, and he was himself eager to fight also; accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight, and the Jews met him, and the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, and ten thousand Jews were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed in flight. And Gabinius went to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater wished; and from thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabatæans; as for Mithridates and Orsanès, who had fled out of Parthia, he sent them away privately, but gave it out among the soldiers that they had escaped.

§ 8. In the mean time, Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple at Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians, and also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched. But when he had crossed over the Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; as to which it is not now the time to speak.

§ 9. But as the Parthians were hastening to pass into Syria after Crassus, Cassius, who had fled into that province, checked them. And when he had taken possession of that province, he made a hasty march into Judæa: and upon his taking Tarichææ,<sup>2</sup> he enslaved thirty thousand Jews. He also put to death Pitholaus (who had supported the rebellious followers of Aristobulus), as Antipater advised him to do. This Antipater had married a wife whose name was Cypros, of an eminent family among the Arabians, and had four sons by her, Phasaëlus, and Herod who was afterwards king, and, besides these, Joseph and

<sup>1</sup> *Tineh*. Antiq. x. 1, § 4; xiv. 8, § 1; 14, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Kerak*. *Life*, 26, 27, 32, 37; Antiq. xiv. 7, § 3; xx. 8, § 4.

Pheroras, and a daughter Salome. Now, as he made himself friends among men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable way in which he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia by his marriage; and when he made war against Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children to him. And when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to the Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from crossing over it; concerning which I shall speak elsewhere.

## CHAP. IX.

*Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey's friends, and his Son Alexander by Scipio. Antipater cultivates a Friendship with Cæsar after Pompey's Death; he also performs great Actions in the War, wherein he assisted Mithridates.*

## § 1.

NOW, upon the flight of Pompey and the senate beyond the Ionian Sea, Cæsar got Rome and the Empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds; and committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, hoping that by him he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjacent to Judæa. But envy prevented Aristobulus' alacrity and the hopes of Cæsar; for he was taken off by poison given him by those of Pompey's party, and for a long while had not so much as burial in his native country; for his dead body lay preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, to be buried in the royal sepulchres.

§ 2. His son Alexander was also beheaded by Scipio at Antioch, and that at the command of Pompey, upon an accusation being laid against him before his tribunal for the harm he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, who was then ruler of Chalcis<sup>1</sup> under Mount Libanus,<sup>2</sup> took his brothers, sending his son Philip for

<sup>1</sup> *Kinnisrîn.* Antiq. xiv. 3, § 2; 7, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> The range of Mount Lebanon.

them to Ascalon.<sup>1</sup> And he took Antigonus and his sisters away from Aristobulus' wife, and brought them to his father; and falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her, and was afterwards slain by his father on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married Alexandra, for that was her name, on account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

§ 3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and paid court to Cæsar. And, since Mithridates of Pergamus<sup>2</sup> was excluded, with the forces he was leading into Egypt, from the passes near Pelusium,<sup>3</sup> and was detained at Ascalon, he persuaded the Arabians, whose guest he was, to assist him, and marched himself at the head of three thousand armed Jews. He also stirred up the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also the inhabitants of Libanus, as Ptolemy and Jamblichus, owing to whom the cities in that district joined readily in the war; so that Mithridates now ventured, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had got through Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium, and when he was refused a passage by it, he besieged that city. And Antipater greatly distinguished himself in the attack, for he broke down that part of the wall which was opposite to him, and was the first to leap into the city, with the men that were with him.

§ 4. Thus was Pelusium taken. But as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the district called the district of Onias, tried to bar their way. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but even to afford provisions for the army; on which account even the people about Memphis<sup>4</sup> would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. So he went round the Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews' Camp.<sup>5</sup> And when he was in danger in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled round and came along the shore of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ascalân*. Antiq. v. 1, § 22; vi. 1, § 2; xvii. 11, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Bergama*, on the west coast of Asia Minor, north of Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Mitrahamy*. Antiq. ii. 10, § 1; viii. 6, § 2; xii. 4, § 3; xiv. 8, § 1.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly *Tell el-Yehûdi*. Antiq. xiv. 8, § 2.

river to his help, having beaten those that opposed him: as he led the left wing. He then fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew many of them, and pursued the remainder so far that he took their camp, and lost only eighty of his own men, while Mithridates lost during the rout about eight hundred. Being thus himself saved unexpectedly, Mithridates became an unenvious witness to Cæsar of the great actions of Antipater.

§ 5. Thereupon Cæsar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him by praise and hopes: in all which enterprises he readily exposed himself, and became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds, almost all over his body, as proofs of his valour. And, when Cæsar had settled affairs in Egypt, and had returned to Syria, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the other honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. It was also on his account that he confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

## CHAP. X.

*Cæsar makes Antipater Governor of Judæa; and Antipater appoints Phasaelus to be Governor of Jerusalem, and Herod Governor of Galilee; who some time after is called to take his trial before Hyrcanus, when he is acquitted. Sextus Cæsar is treacherously killed by Bassus, and is succeeded by Murcus.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, went to Cæsar, and became (wonderfully enough) the cause of Antipater's further advancement. For whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his differences with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to have mixed any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy, besides these things he came forward and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of having

banished him and his brothers most inequitably out of all their native country, and of having acted in a great many instances petulantly and insultingly to their nation, and said that as to the assistance they had sent Cæsar in Egypt, it was not done out of good-will to him, but from the fear they were in from former differences, and in order to gain pardon for their former friendship to Pompey.

§ 2. Thereupon Antipater stripped off his garment, and showed the number of wounds he had, and said, that as to his good-will to Cæsar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself: but he wondered at Antigonus' boldness, who was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive of the Romans, and had inherited from his father a fondness for innovation and rebellion, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavour to gain some advantage for himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; and his present ambition was not so much because he was in want, but because, if he could once obtain what he aimed at, he might stir up faction among the Jews, and use what he had gained from the Romans to their injury.

§ 3. When Cæsar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased. But Antipater left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him, so he was constituted governor of all Judæa, and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild those walls in Jerusalem that had been thrown down. And Cæsar ordered these honours to be engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there as an indication of his own justice and the virtue of Antipater.

§ 4. Now as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judæa, and the first thing he did was to rebuild that wall in Jerusalem which Pompey had overthrown, and next he went all over the country and quieted the tumults that were therein, partly threatening and partly advising every one, and telling them that if they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and quietly, and enjoy what they possessed with universal



peace; but if they hearkened to the cold hopes of those who wished to get themselves some gain by innovation, they should then find him to be their despot instead of their protector, and should find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans and Cæsar to be their enemies instead of rulers and friends; for they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had themselves appointed. And at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and too remiss for royal power. So he appointed his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerusalem and of the neighbourhood; he also sent his next son, Herod, who was quite young, with equal authority into Galilee.

§ 5. Now Herod was by nature an active man, and soon found scope for his energy. For as he found that Ezekias, a robber-chief, overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he took and slew him and many of the robbers, and this exploit was especially gratifying to the Syrians, insomuch that Herod's commendation was sung both in the villages and cities, as having procured their quietness, and preserved to them their possessions. From this circumstance he became acquainted with Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of the great Cæsar, and administrator of Syria. A just emulation of his brother's glorious actions incited Phasaelus also to imitate him, and by his management of the city he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner. So the nation paid Antipater the court due to a king, and the honours that all yielded him were equal to the honours due to a despot; he did not however abate any of the good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

§ 6. But it is impossible to escape envy in prosperity. For the fame of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself privately, but what he was principally vexed at was the great success of Herod, and that so many messengers came one after another, and informed him of the great reputation Herod had got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the palace who inflamed his envy at him, such as were obstructed in their designs

by the prudence either of the young men or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, Hyrcanus sat down with nothing but the bare name of king without any power; and they asked him, how long he would act so foolishly as to breed up kings against his own interest? For they did not now conceal their control of affairs, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had set him aside, since Herod slew so many men contrary to the law of the Jews, without Hyrcanus giving him any command to do so, either by word of mouth or by letter. If Herod then was not a king, but a private man still, he ought to come to his trial, and answer for his conduct to him, and also to the laws of the country, which did not permit any one to be put to death without trial.

§ 7. Now Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed by such speeches, and at last could no longer control his rage, but summoned Herod to take his trial. And he at his father's advice, as soon as affairs would give him leave, went up to [Jerusalem,] when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee. But he went with a strong force of soldiers, not so many indeed that he might appear to wish to overthrow Hyrcanus' government, nor yet so few as to expose himself unarmed to envy. However, Sextus Cæsar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken by his enemies, and brought to punishment, so he sent to command Hyrcanus expressly to acquit Herod of the capital charge against him. And Hyrcanus acquitted him accordingly, being otherwise inclined also to do so, because he loved Herod.

§ 8. But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment against the wish of the king, retired to Sextus to Damascus, and made every preparation to disobey him, if he should summon him again. Thereupon those that were ill-disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him that Herod had gone away in anger, and was preparing to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, for he saw that his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Cœle-Syria and Samaria by Sextus Cæsar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but from his own power, so that Hyrcanus

fell into the utmost terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

§ 9. Nor was he mistaken in his opinion, for Herod got his army together, from anger at Hyrcanus' threatening him with trial, and led it to Jerusalem, to depose him from his kingdom. And this he would soon have done, had not his father and brother come to him and broken the force of his fury, and exhorted him to carry his revenge no further than by threatening and frightening him, and to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power. They added that he ought not to be so much provoked at his having been tried, as not to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so to dwell upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his safety; and if one ought to reckon that God was the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause was of more disadvantage than an army could be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success, when he was going to fight against his king and old companion, who had often been his benefactor, and had never been severe to him, except when he had hearkened to evil counsellors, and so thrown a shadow of injury upon him. And Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, thinking it was enough for his future hopes to have shown his power to the nation.

§ 10. In the mean time, there was a disturbance and civil war among the Romans in the neighbourhood of Apamea,<sup>1</sup> caused by the treacherous murder of Sextus Cæsar by Cæcilius Bassus from his good-will to Pompey. Bassus also assumed the authority over his soldiers, but the rest of Sextus Cæsar's commanders attacked him with their whole army to punish him for the murder of Sextus Cæsar, and Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of the murdered Cæsar and the Cæsar who was still alive, both of whom were his friends. And as this war was protracted, Murcus came from Italy as successor to Sextus Cæsar.

<sup>1</sup> *KuFat el-Medyk*. Antiq. xiii. 7, § 2; xiv. 3, § 2; 11, § 1.

## CHAP. XI.

*Herod is made Governor of all Syria : Malichus is afraid of him, and takes Antipater off by Poison ; whereupon the Tribunes of the Soldiers are prevailed upon to kill Malichus.*

## § 1.

THERE was at this time a great war raised among the Romans because of the sudden and treacherous murder of Julius Cæsar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had been in supreme power three years and seven months. At this murder there was very great commotion, and as the influential persons formed various factions, every one betook himself to that party where he had the greatest hope of advancing himself. And Cassius came into Syria, to take command of the forces that were at Apamea, where he effected a reconciliation between Bassus and Murcus, and the legions that were at variance with Bassus, and raised the siege of Apamea, and took over the command of the army, and went about levying tribute from the cities, and exacting more than they were able to bear.

§ 2. So when Cassius commanded that the Jews should contribute seven hundred talents, Antipater, in dread at his threats, divided the raising of this sum speedily among his sons and some of his friends, and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also. Thus necessity forced him to do. Now Herod first gratified Cassius by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him. And Cassius reproached the rest for being tardy, and was angry at the cities themselves. So he enslaved Gophna<sup>1</sup> and Emmaus,<sup>2</sup> and two other cities of less note, and made as though he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute ; but Antipater prevented the ruin of

<sup>1</sup> *Jifna*. Antiq. xiv. 11, § 2; Jewish War, v. 2, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Emmaus Nicopolis, *Amwäs*. Antiq. xiii. 1, § 3; xiv. 11, § 2; xvii. 10, § 9; Jewish War, ii. 5, § 1; vii. 6, § 6.

Malichus, and the ruin of the other cities, and got into Cassius'<sup>1</sup> favour, by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

§ 3. However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid plots against him who had frequently saved him, being anxious to get him out of the way, as he was an obstacle to his wicked practices. And Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond the Jordan in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs. But though Malichus was thus detected, he imposed on Antipater's sons by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was intrusted with the weapons of war, by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to contrive his reconciliation with their father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Murcus, who was then governor in Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus for his love of innovation.

§ 4. Now when war broke out between Cassius and Brutus on one side and the younger Cæsar<sup>2</sup> and Antony on the other, Cassius and Murcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod seemed to have had a great share in providing necessaries, they made him governor of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius also promised, after the war was over, that he would make him king of Judæa. But it so happened to Antipater that the power and hopes of his son caused his destruction. For as Malichus was afraid of these, he corrupted one of the king's cupbearers with money, to give poison to Antipater, who became a sacrifice to Malichus' wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs, and had recovered and preserved the kingdom for Hyrcanus.

<sup>1</sup> It appears evident by Josephus' accounts, both here and Antiq. xiv. 11, § 2, that this Cassius, one of Cæsar's murderers, was a bitter oppressor, and exactor of tribute in Judæa; these 700 talents amount to about £300,000 sterling, and are about half the yearly revenues of king Herod afterwards. It also appears that Galilee paid no more than 100 talents, or the seventh part of the sum to be levied in all the country.—W.

<sup>2</sup> That is Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

§ 5. However, Malichus, though he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and though the multitude was angry with him for it, denied it, and tried to make the people believe he was not guilty. He also tried to make himself more powerful by raising soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would remain quiet, who indeed marched against him with an army quickly to revenge his father's death. But upon his brother Phasaelus advising him not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should rise in insurrection, he accepted Malichus' apology, and professed that he cleared him of suspicion, and made a splendid funeral for his father.

§ 6. Then Herod went to Samaria,<sup>1</sup> which was in disturbance, and restored the city to order; after which he returned to Jerusalem for the festival, having his armed men with him. Thereupon Hyrcanus, at the instigation of Malichus, who feared his approach, sent and forbade him to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves. But Herod disregarded the pretext and him that gave the command, and entered the city by night. Upon which Malichus came to him again and bewailed the death of Antipater; Herod also feigned to believe him, though he had much ado to restrain his anger, and bitterly complained of the murder of his father in his letters to Cassius, who also on other accounts hated Malichus. So Cassius sent him back word to avenge his father's murder upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in his righteous action.

§ 7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea<sup>2</sup> by Cassius, men of influence came together from all quarters, bringing presents and crowns, Herod fixed this time for his taking vengeance on Malichus. As Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw privately his son who was a hostage among the Tyrians, and himself made preparation to escape into Judæa. But the despair he was in of escaping incited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he might now stir up the nation

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Latakiah*. Antiq. xiv. 10, § 20; Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.

to revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was occupied in the war against Antony, and that he might easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

§ 8. But fate laughed at his hopes. For Herod foresaw his intention, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper. And calling to him one of the servants that stood by him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to tell the tribunes of the soldiers beforehand to lie in ambush for Malichus. And they, remembering what orders Cassius had given them, went with their swords in their hands to the seashore before the city, where they surrounded Malichus, and killed him with many wounds. And Hyrcanus immediately swooned away, and fell down in his alarm, and it was with difficulty that he recovered, when he asked Herod who it was that had killed Malichus. And when one of the tribunes of the soldiers replied that it was done by the command of Cassius, "Then, (said he) Cassius has saved both me and my country, by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both." Whether Hyrcanus spoke according to his opinion, or whether his fear made him commend the action by saying so, is uncertain. But this was how Herod satisfied his vengeance on Malichus.

## CHAP. XII.

*Phasaelus is too strong for Felix; Herod also overcomes Antigonus in Battle; and the Jews accuse both Herod and Phasaelus, but Antony acquits them, and makes them Tetrarchs.*

### § 1.

WHEN Cassius had departed from Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, Felix having attacked Phasaelus with an army, that he might avenge the death of Malichus upon Herod through his brother. Now Herod happened to be then with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and though he was anxious to go to his brother's assistance, he was detained by illness. Mean time Phasaelus was by himself too strong for Felix, and

reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for the assistance he had afforded Felix, and for allowing Malichus' brother to seize on the fortresses; for he had seized a great many of them already, and among them the strongest of them all, which was Masada.<sup>1</sup>

§ 2. However, he could not cope with the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took all the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada as a suppliant. He also drove out of Galilee Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, who had already seized on three fortified places; but as to those Tyrians whom he captured he preserved them all alive; nay, to some of them he gave presents, and so sent them away, and thereby procured good-will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marion had indeed obtained his tyrannical power from Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria; and out of hatred to Herod he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and especially on Fabius' account, whom Antigonus had won over by money to aid him in his return. And Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, supplied everything that he wanted.

§ 3. When Herod had drawn up his army in battle array against these in the passes of Judæa, he conquered them in battle, and routed Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body for his glorious success. For even those who did not before favour him, joined themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus. For as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, by whom he had Antipater; so now he married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander the son of Aristobulus, and grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and thus became a connection of the king.

§ 4. But when Octavius<sup>2</sup> and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi,<sup>3</sup> and Octavius<sup>2</sup> had gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, among the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*. Antiq. xiv. 11, § 7; 14, § 6; Jewish War, vii. 8, §§ 2-7; 2, §§ 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> *Filibeh*. Antiq. xiv. 12, §§ 2, 3.



to Antony to Bithynia,<sup>1</sup> the leading men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than the mere name of king. Herod appeared to answer this accusation, and, having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, brought him into such a frame of mind that he would not hear his enemies at all. And so they were dismissed at this time.

§ 5. However, after this there came a hundred of the principal men of the Jews to Daphne<sup>2</sup> near Antioch to Antony, who was already madly in love with Cleopatra; and they put forward those men that were the most influential both from rank and eloquence, and accused the brothers.<sup>3</sup> But Messala opposed them, and defended the brothers, and Hyrcanus stood by them because of his connection by marriage with Herod. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus which party was the fittest to govern? And as he replied that Herod and his party were the fittest, Antony was glad (for he had been formerly treated in a hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judæa with Gabinius), so he made the brothers tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of all Judæa.

§ 6. And when the envoys were indignant at this, Antony took fifteen of them and put them into custody, and wished also to kill them, and the rest he drove away with insults. On this occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand envoys to Tyre, where Antony was now staying, intending to go to Jerusalem. To these envoys, who raised a clamour, he sent the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could arrest of them, and to confirm in the government those whom he had made tetrarchs.

§ 7. But before this Herod and Hyrcanus had gone to the seashore, and earnestly advised those envoys neither to bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native

<sup>1</sup> The N.W. portion of Asia Minor. Antiq. xiv. 12, § 2; Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit el-Mâ*. Antiq. xiv. 13, § 1; 15, § 11; xvii. 2, § 1; Jewish War, i. 17, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> Phasaelus and Herod.—W.

country, by their rash contentiousness. But as they showed still more discontent Antony sent out some of his armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, and the wounded were put under the care of surgeons by him; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but so disturbed the city, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had put in bonds also.

### CHAP. XIII.

*The Parthians bring Antigonus back to Judæa, and cast Hyrcanus and Phasaelus into Prison. The flight of Herod, and the taking of Jerusalem, and what Hyrcanus and Phasaelus suffered.*

#### § 1.

NOW two years afterwards, when Barzapharnes, the satrap of the Parthians, and Pacorus, the king's son, had seized upon Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded to the kingdom upon the death of his father, Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, he urged the satrap by a promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to restore Antigonus to his kingdom, and to depose Hyrcanus. Pacorus was by these offers induced so to do, and marched along the sea coast, and ordered Barzapharnes to invade Judæa in the interior of the country. But of the maritime people the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais<sup>1</sup> and Sidon<sup>2</sup> received him; so he committed a portion of his horse to a certain royal cupbearer of his own name, and gave him orders to march into Judæa, in order to reconnoiter the enemy, and to help Antigonus if he should want his assistance.

§ 2. Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews mustered to Antigonus, and showed themselves eager for battle. So he sent them on to a place called

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Saida*. Antiq. i. 6, § 2; ix. 14, § 2; xi. 4, § 1; 8, § 3; xiv. 10, §§ 2, 3, 6; 12, § 6; 13, § 3; xviii. 6, § 3; Jewish War, i. 21, § 11; ii. 18, § 5.

Drymus,<sup>1</sup> to occupy it; whereupon a battle ensued, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem; and as their numbers increased, they went as far as the king's palace. But as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, a battle ensued in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the adjoining houses as a guard on them. But the people that were in revolt against the brothers<sup>2</sup> attacked and burnt those men. And Herod, in his rage against the people for killing them, attacked and slew many of them; so as each party sallied out daily in bands to attack one another, there was continual carnage on both sides.

§ 3. Now, when the festival which is called Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, were full of a multitude of people, that had come out of the country, mostly armed. And Phasaelus guarded the walls, and Herod with a few men guarded the royal palace, and made a sally upon his enemies as they were in disorder on the north quarter of the city, and slew a very great number of them, and put them all to flight, and some of them he shut up within the temple, and others within the outer rampart. Meantime Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to mediate between them; and Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthian into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in a hospitable manner, for he pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus. And he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and advised Phasaelus to kill the plotter, and not to expose himself to the snares he had laid for him, for barbarians were naturally perfidious. But when Pacorus left Jerusalem he took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also left some of the horse, called Freemen, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

<sup>1</sup> That is wood, or forest. Antiq. xiv. 13, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Phasaelus and Herod.

§ 4. And when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, who came very cunningly to the satrap, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behaviour to them. Accordingly, he at first made them presents, and afterwards, as they went away, laid ambushes for them. And when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Ecdippon,<sup>1</sup> they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they there heard of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted to the Parthians most of the five hundred women that were there with them. They also heard that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night-time, and that they would have been seized long before this, had not the barbarians waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would be on his guard. Nor was this mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

§ 5. However, Phasaelus could not think of forsaking Hyrcanus and fleeing away, although Ophellius earnestly urged him to do so (for he had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest at that time of all the Syrians), but he went up to the satrap, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, especially as it was done for money; and he promised him, that he would give him more money for their preservation than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the Parthian craftily endeavoured to remove all this suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then withdrew to Pacorus; immediately after which those Parthians who were left seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, as they had been ordered to do, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and perjury.

§ 6. Meantime the cupbearer who had been sent<sup>2</sup> laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning, and

<sup>1</sup> Achzib, *ez-Zib*. Antiq. v. 1, § 22; viii. 2, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> See § 1.

having now received intelligence that a messenger, who had had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was bringing him letters to inform him of the treachery intended, he would not go out of the city; though this cupbearer said very plausibly that he ought to go out, and meet the messengers that brought the letters, for the enemy had not taken them, and the contents of them were not accounts of any plot but of all that Phasaelus had done. But he had heard from others that his brother was seized, and Mariamne, Herod's daughter, shrewdest of women, came to him, and begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to the barbarians who were now plainly come to make an attempt upon him.

§ 7. Now while Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent openly a man of so much sense, Herod got the start of them, and went off by night, unknown to his enemies, with the persons that were most nearly related to him. And as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them, and Herod ordered his mother and sister and the young woman who was betrothed to him, and her mother and youngest brother, to make the best of their way on, while he himself with his attendants took all the care they could to beat back the barbarians; and when, at every attack, he had slain a great many of them, he got safe to the fortress of Masada.<sup>1</sup>

§ 8. And he found that the Jews pressed more heavily upon him in his flight than the Parthians, harassing him perpetually, and at sixty furlongs from the city bringing on a sort of regular battle which lasted some time. And Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them, and afterwards built a fortress on the spot in memory of his success, and adorned it with a most costly palace, and erected a very strong citadel, and called it from his own name Herodium.<sup>2</sup> Now many fugitives joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thresa<sup>3</sup> in Idumæa his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to get rid of

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Jebel Fureidis*. Antiq. xiv. 13, § 9; xv. 9, § 4; Jewish War, i. 21, § 10; iii. 3, § 5; vii. 6, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Antiq. xiv. 13, § 9; 15, § 2; Jewish War, i. 15, § 4.

most of his followers; for Masada would not contain so great a number, for they were over nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the least useful portion of his force, that they might go into Idumæa,<sup>1</sup> and gave them provisions for their journey; but he got safe to the fortress of Masada with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the strongest of his followers; and he left there eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient to last through a siege, and himself pushed on to Petra in Arabia.

§ 9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering, and rushed into the houses of those that had fled, and into the king's palace, and spared nothing but Hyrcanus' money, which was not more than three hundred talents. What they found of other men's property also was not so much as they hoped for; for Herod, having had a long while suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumæa, as all his relations had likewise done. But the Parthians proceeded after their plundering to that degree of outrage, as to fill all the country with implacable war, and to demolish the city of Marissa,<sup>2</sup> and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands to ill-treat. And Antigonus himself actually bit off Hyrcanus' ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able, upon any change of affairs, to take the high priesthood again, for high priests had to be entire and without blemish.

§ 10. But the courage of Phasaelus anticipated any action on the part of Antigonus in connection with him, for though he had neither his sword nor the use of his hands, he dashed his head against a stone; and so showed himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and died with great bravery, and made his end agreeable to the actions of his life. There is also another report prevalent, that Phasaelus recovered of the

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Kh. Mer'ash.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

injury done to his head, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus as if to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous drugs, and so killed him. But whichever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported, that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman that Herod had escaped, and that he said, "I now die with comfort since I leave behind me one alive that will avenge me on mine enemies."

§ 11. So died Phasaelus. And the Parthians, although they had failed in getting the women, which was what they chiefly desired, yet put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus in bonds to Parthia.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Herod is rejected in Arabia, and hastes to Rome, where Antony and Augustus unite in making him King of the Jews.*

##### § 1.

NOW Herod pursued his journey into Arabia with greater speed, as he was anxious to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive, for he only hoped by money to prevail upon the cupidity of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus. For he reckoned, if the Arabian king was forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a gift, that he could at any rate borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed; for he took his brother's son with him, who was seven years old. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and put forward the Tyrians to intercede for him; however, fate was too quick for his zeal, and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he did not find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to leave his country, using the name of the Parthians as a pretext, as though they had bidden him expel

Herod out of Arabia, while in reality he had a mind to keep back what he owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make returns to his sons for the gifts their father had bestowed on him. In this shameless conduct he followed the advice of those who like himself wished to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and these men were the most influential persons at his court.

§ 2. Now when Herod found that the Arabians were his enemies, and that for the very reasons which he hoped would have made them most friendly, he gave their messengers such an answer as his passion suggested, and set out for Egypt. And he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, to take up those whom he had left behind; and the next day word was brought him as he reached Rhinocurura,<sup>1</sup> that his brother was dead; and he indulged his natural grief, and proceeded on his journey, when he laid aside such sorrow. And now, somewhat late, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent messengers quickly to recall him whom he had treated so contemptuously. But Herod was too quick for them, and had reached Pelusium,<sup>2</sup> where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay at anchor there, so he had an interview with the governors of the place. And they, in respect to the fame and dignity of the man, conducted him to Alexandria. And when he came into the city he was received by Cleopatra with great splendour, for she hoped he would be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen's solicitations, and being neither afraid of it being midwinter, nor of the disturbances now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

§ 3. But he was in peril near Pamphylia,<sup>3</sup> and obliged to throw overboard most of the ship's cargo, and with difficulty got safe to Rhodes,<sup>4</sup> a place which had been very much injured in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius, and, although

<sup>1</sup> *el-Arish*. Antiq. xiii. 15, § 4; xiv. 14, § 2; Jewish War, iv. 11, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Tneh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> On the south coast of Asia Minor. Antiq. ii. 16, § 5; xi. 8, § 1; xiv. 14, § 3.

<sup>4</sup> Antiq. xiv. 14, § 3.



he was then in want of money, he built a very large trireme, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundisium,<sup>1</sup> and went thence to Rome with all speed, where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family, and told him how he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him in winter as a suppliant.

§ 4. And Antony was moved to compassion at the reverse in Herod's affairs, partly from his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue; so he resolved now to get him, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch, made king of the Jews. The hatred also that he had for Antigonus was an inducement of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a factious person, and as an enemy of the Romans. As for Augustus, Herod found him even more ready than Antony, remembering the campaigns he had gone through with Antipater his father, and the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good-will he had shown him, besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, and Messala, and after him Atratinus, introduced Herod, and gave full account of the good services of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At the same time they showed that Antigonus was their enemy, not only because he had soon quarrelled with them, but because he now neglected the Romans, and got his kingdom through the Parthians. These arguments greatly moved the senate, and at this juncture Antony came in and told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king, and they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate broke up, Antony and Augustus went out with Herod between them; and the consuls and the rest of the magistrates went before them to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the Capitol. Antony also feasted Herod on this first day of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> *Brindisi*. Antiq. xiv. 14, § 3.

## CHAP. XV.

*Antigonus besieges those in Masada, whom Herod relieves on his return from Rome, and at once marches to Jerusalem, where he finds Silo corrupted by Bribes.*

## § 1.

NOW during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada,<sup>1</sup> who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were short of water. And so Herod's brother Joseph was disposed to flee to the Arabians with two hundred of his men, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offences with regard to Herod. And he would have straightway left the fortress, had there not fallen a great deal of rain on that very night when he was going away, so that his reservoirs were full of water, and he was no longer under any necessity of flight; but he and his men made a sally upon Antigonus' troops, and slew a great many of them, some in open battle, and some in ambush. However, they had not always success, for sometimes they were beaten and had to retreat.

§ 2. In the meantime Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent from Syria to restrain the Parthians, and went after them into Judæa, on the pretext indeed of assisting Joseph and his party, but in reality to extort money from Antigonus. So when he had pitched his camp very near Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with most of his forces; but he left Silo with some of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his extortion would have been too evident. But Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would again come to his assistance, and meantime paid court to Silo, that he might not be baffled in his hopes.

§ 3. Now by this time Herod had sailed back from Italy, and had arrived at Ptolemais,<sup>2</sup> and as soon as he had got together no small army of foreigners and of his own

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *'Akka*, St. Jean d'Acre.

countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, and was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both of whom Dellius, who had been sent by Antony, urged to restore Herod. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, composing the disturbances which had been caused by the Parthians, but Silo was in Judæa, corrupted by the money of Antigonus. And Herod himself was not destitute of strength, for the number of his forces increased every day as he went along, and all Galilee with few exceptions joined him. The most necessary enterprise that lay before him was the relief of Masada, and to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But Joppa<sup>1</sup> stood in his way, for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemies' power in his rear. And Silo willingly joined him, having now a pretext for moving his army. And when the Jews pursued him and pressed upon him, Herod sallied out against them with a small body of his men, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo who had made a very poor defence.

§ 4. Herod next took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada to set free his relations. Now many of the people of the country joined him, some induced by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from both his father and him, but most from the hopes they placed in him, as a king firmly established on the throne. So that he soon got together a powerful army. And Antigonus laid ambushes for him as he marched on, placing men in convenient positions, but did little or no harm to his enemies. And Herod easily rescued his relations that were in Masada, and captured the fortress of Resa,<sup>2</sup> and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to him, as did many in the city who stood in awe of his power.

§ 5. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west

<sup>1</sup> *Jaffa*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Thersa in Antiq. xiv. 15, § 2; Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

slope of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows, and threw their darts at his men, while others sallied out in companies, and attacked his vanguard. But Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the walls, that he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant amnesty to them, though they had been most hostile to him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear Herod's proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus gave order to his forces to repel the enemy from the walls; so they soon put them to flight with their darts from the towers.

§ 6. And now Silo showed he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to ask for their pay to buy themselves food, and to demand that they should be led into convenient places for their winter quarters (for the parts about the city were destitute, as Antigonus' soldiers had stripped them of every thing), and he even shifted his camp, and attempted to get off the siege. But Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to the soldiers *en masse*, and begged of them not to leave him who was sent there by Augustus and Antony and the senate; for he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After this entreaty he went at once into the country, and brought them from thence so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretexts. And in order to provide for the following days that they should not want supplies, he ordered the people of Samaria<sup>1</sup> (for that city had joined itself to him) to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle to Jericho.<sup>2</sup> When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party to scour the country, with orders to lie in ambush for and intercept these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men gathered together near Jericho, and lay among the mountains, on the look out for those that brought the provisions. But Herod was not idle, but took with him ten

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustieh*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> *er-Riha*. Antiq. v. 1, §§ 4-9; ix. 12, § 2; xiv. 5, § 4; xv. 4, § 2. Jewish War, i. 6, § 6; i. 8, § 5; ii. 20, § 4; iv. 8, § 2; 9, § 1.

cohorts, five of them Roman and five Jewish, with some mercenary troops intermixed among them, and also a few horse, and marched to Jericho. And when he arrived there he found the city deserted, but five hundred men, with their wives and children, occupied the heights; these he took and dismissed. And the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, finding the houses full of all sorts of treasures. And Herod left a garrison at Jericho, and returned, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in Idumæa<sup>1</sup> and Galilee and Samaria, which had come over to him. Antigonus also, to pay court to Antony, bribed Silo to receive part of his army into Lydda.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. XVI.

*Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the Robbers that were in the Caves; after which he joins Antony, who was besieging Samosata.*

## § 1.

SO the Romans lived in plenty, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie idle, but occupied Idumæa with two thousand foot and four hundred horse, sending his brother Joseph there, lest any diversion might be attempted in that quarter by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations who had been in Masada,<sup>3</sup> to Samaria,<sup>4</sup> and when he had settled them there securely, he set out to subdue the rest of Galilee, and to expel the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

§ 2. And when he had reached Sepphoris<sup>5</sup> in a very great snow-storm, he took the city without any difficulty, the guards that should have defended it fleeing away before it was assaulted. And there he gave an opportunity to his followers that had suffered from the wintry weather to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abun-

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Diospolis, Ludd.* Antiq. xiv. 10, § 6; 11, § 2; 15, § 3; xv. 5, § 1; xx. 6, § 2. Jewish War, i. 19, § 2; ii. 12, § 6; iii. 3, § 5; iv. 8, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Sebbeh.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sefûrieh.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

dance of supplies; after which he set out against the robbers that were in the caves, who scoured a great part of the country, and did as much mischief to its inhabitants as a war would have done. And he sent on three cohorts of foot and one troop of horse to the village of Arbela,<sup>1</sup> and followed himself forty days afterwards with the rest of his force. But the enemy were not affrighted at his approach, but met him in arms, for their skill was that of warriors, and their boldness was that of robbers. When, therefore, it came to a pitched battle, they routed Herod's left wing with their right; but Herod, wheeling about quickly from his own right wing, came to the assistance of his left wing and rallied it, and also fell upon its pursuers, and checked their impetuosity, till they could not bear the hand to hand attack made on them, but fled themselves.

§ 3. And Herod pursued them to the Jordan, slaying them, and cut to pieces a great part of them, and those that remained dispersed on the other side of the river, and Galilee was freed from the terror it had been in, excepting from those that remained, who lay concealed in the caves, and required some time to capture. So Herod first distributed the fruits of their labours among the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmæ of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into winter quarters. He also bade Pheroras, his youngest brother, to see that they had a plentiful supply of provisions, and to fortify Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> And he saw to both of these injunctions.

§ 4. Meantime Antony abode at Athens, and Ventidius summoned Silo and Herod to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle affairs in Judæa. And Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius, but he made an expedition himself against the robbers that lay in the caves. Now these caves<sup>3</sup> were in precipitous mountains, and could not be got at from any side, for they had only some very narrow winding pathways by which access lay to them, and the rock that lay on their front had beneath it ravines of a vast

<sup>1</sup> *Irbid*. Life, § 37; Antiq. xii. 11, § 1; xiv. 15, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Kefr Istuna*. Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> The caves are in the *Wâdy Hammâm*. Antiq. xiv. 15, § 5.

depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; so that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, because of the great difficulty of attacking the place. But at last he made use of a most dangerous contrivance, for he let down the boldest of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the caves; and they slew the robbers and their families, and when they made resistance threw fire at them. But as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he invited them by a herald to come and deliver themselves up to to him; but not one of them came willingly to him, and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. At this stage of affairs a certain old man, the father of seven sons, who (as also their mother) desired him to permit them to go out upon the assurance that was offered them, slew them in the following manner: he ordered every one of them to go out, but stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew each son as he went out. Herod saw this sight from the heights, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his sons. But he did not relent at all at what he said, but even twitted Herod with the lowness of his origin, and slew his wife as well as his sons, and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he last of all threw himself down after them.

§ 5. In this way Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left as large a part of his army as he thought sufficient to prevent any risings, and made Ptolemy their general, and himself returned to Samaria, and led three thousand foot and six hundred horse against Antigonus. Upon this those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, feeling free to do so upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy the general, and slew him, and also laid the country waste, and then retired to the marshes and to places not easy of access. But when Herod was informed of this rising, he came to the rescue immediately, and slew a great number of the rebels, and raised the sieges of all the fortresses they had besieged, and also exacted a hundred talents from his enemies as a penalty for their rising.

§ 6. The Parthians being by this time already driven

out of the country, and Pacorus slain, Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horse and two legions to help Herod against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought their general Machæras by letters to come to his assistance, and made a great many complaints about Herod's violence, and about the injuries he did to the the kingdom, and promised to give him money. But he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust (for he did not despise him that sent him, especially as Herod gave him more money), but pretended friendship to Antigonus, though he really came as a spy to discover his affairs, in this however not listening to Herod, who tried to dissuade him from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and shut him out of the city, and repelled him as an enemy from the walls, till Machæras was ashamed and went to Emmaus<sup>1</sup> to Herod, and, as he was in a rage at his disappointment, slew all the Jews whom he met with, not sparing those that were of Herod's party even, but treating them all as if they were Antigonus' friends.

§ 7. Thereupon Herod was very angry, and was going to fight against Machæras as an enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Machæras of ill behaviour. But he, thinking over his offences, followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained reconciliation with him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony; and when he heard that he was besieging Samosata,<sup>2</sup> a strong city near the Euphrates, with a large army, he made the greater haste, seeing that the opportunity was a good one for showing at once his courage, and for greatly obliging Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon put an end to the siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them much booty, so that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, admired it now still more, and heaped many more honours upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom: while king Antiochus was forced to surrender Samosata.

<sup>1</sup> Emmaus-Nicopolis, 'Amwās. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Samsât*, the capital of Commagene, on the Euphrates. Antiq. xiv. 15, § 8; Jewish War, vii. 7, § 1.



## CHAP. XVII.

*The Death of Joseph, Herod's Brother, which had been signified to Herod in Dreams. How Herod was preserved twice in a wonderful Manner. He cuts off the Head of Pappus, who was the Murderer of his Brother, and sends it to Pheroras. And no long Time after he besieges Jerusalem, and marries Mariamne.*

## § 1.

IN the mean time, Herod's affairs in Judæa were in a bad condition. He had left his brother Joseph armed with full powers, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus till his return; for he said Machæras would not be an ally he could depend on, as was plain from his previous behaviour. But as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the orders he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Machæras had sent him. His intention was to seize the corn, as it was now in the height of summer; but as his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in difficult places, he was not only killed himself, fighting very bravely in the battle, but the entire Roman force was cut to pieces. For these cohorts were men just enlisted in Syria, and there was no mixture of those soldiers called veterans among them, who might have rallied these raw recruits.

§ 2. This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus, but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to ill treat the dead body of Joseph; for when he had got possession of the bodies of those that were slain, he cut off his head, although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents as a ransom for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were thrown into such disorder after this victory of Antigonus, that those of Antigonus' party took the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There were also many changes made in Idumæa, where Machæras rebuilt one of the fortresses, which was called

Gittha.<sup>1</sup> But Herod had not yet heard of these things. For after the capture of Samosata, Antony himself departed to Egypt, when he had set Sossius over Syria, and given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, and Sossius sent two legions before him into Judæa to assist Herod, and himself followed soon after with the rest of his army.

§ 3. Now when Herod was at Daphne<sup>2</sup> near Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death, and as he leaped out of bed in a troubled manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. And when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and hurried on against his enemies. And pushing on by forced marches and reaching Mount Libanus,<sup>3</sup> he got eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain to help him, and joined with them one Roman legion. With this force, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and drove the enemy who met him back to the place which they had left. He also made an energetic attack upon the fortress, but before he could take it, he was forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighbouring villages. But when, after a few days, the second legion that came from Antony joined him, the enemy were frightened at his power, and left their fortress in the night-time.

§ 4. After this he marched through Jericho, making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers. And there happened to him there a wonderful event, and as he unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being a man very dear to God. For that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men, and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a sign both that he should undergo dangers and escape them in the coming war, he set forward in the morning with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Gath, Tell es-Sâfi, and not the northern Gittha of Antiq. xiv. 15, § 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit el-Mâ*. Jewish War, i. 12, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> Mount Lebanon.

fight with those in his van, but they dared not engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them from a distance, by which they wounded a considerable number. Even Herod himself as he rode by was wounded in the side by a dart.

§ 5. Now as Antigonus wished to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage but also in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria. Now it was their fortune to have to contend with Machæras. But Herod overran the enemies' country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; and his headquarters were at the village called Cana.<sup>1</sup>

§ 6. Now a great multitude of Jews flocked to him every day, both from Jericho itself, and from the other parts of the country, some out of hatred to Antigonus, others out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done, but most induced by an unreasonable desire for change. And he pushed on to attack the enemy, and Pappus and his men were not terrified either at his numbers or zeal, but marched out boldly against him. And when it came to a close fight, the other parts of their army made resistance for a while, but Herod running the utmost hazard from the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those men that were opposite to him, and, after he had beaten them, still turned his attention to those that made a stand, and put them all to flight. And a great slaughter was made as they were forced back into the village which they had come out from, as he pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew immense numbers of them. He also entered the village with the enemy, and every house was full of armed men, and the roofs were crowded with soldiers for their defence. And when he had beaten those that were outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and dragged out those that were within; and upon many he brought down the roofs, and killed them *en*

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the same place as the Cana of Antiq. xiii. 15, § 1. Compare Antiq. xiv. 15, § 12, where Pappus is said to have been encamped at Isana.

*masse*, while the soldiers received those few that fled from the ruins with their swords in their hands, and so great a multitude of slain lay in heaps, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so when the multitude of them that had gathered together saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed and fled. On the strength of this victory Herod would have marched immediately to Jerusalem, had he not been hindered by the severity of the winter. This impediment lay in the way of his complete success, and hindered Antigonus from being conquered, who was already disposed to leave the city.

§ 7. Now in the evening, when Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigue, he had gone himself, while he was still hot from his armour, to bathe like a common soldier, with but one lad that attended him. And before he entered the bath, one of the enemy ran out just opposite to him with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that several. They were men who had run away from the battle in their armour to the bath, and had lain there for some time in great terror, and hidden, and when they saw the king, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a fright although he was unarmed, and made for the outlets of the bath. Now there was by chance nobody else at hand to seize these men, and as for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so they all got away in safety.

§ 8. But the next day Herod cut off the head of Pappus, who was the general of Antigonus, and had been slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, in vengeance for the murder of their brother, for he was the man that had slain Joseph. And now as the winter was abating, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the walls of it, in the third year after he was made king at Rome, and encamped before the temple, for on that side only was it assailable, and it was there that Pompey had taken the city before. And he divided the work among the army, and cut down trees in the suburbs, and raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most energetic of his comrades at the works, but himself went to Samaria, to take to wife

Mariamne the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who had been betrothed to him before, as I have already said. And he did this by the by during the siege of the city, for he held his enemy in great contempt already.

§ 9. When he had married Mariamne, he returned to Jerusalem with a larger army; Sossius also joined him with a large army both of horse and foot, which he had sent on before through the interior of the country, while he himself marched through Phœnice. And when the whole army was got together, which were eleven regiments of foot, and six thousand horse, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, who were no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near the north wall; Herod relying upon the decree of the senate, by which he had been declared king, and Sossius relying upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*How Herod and Sossius took Jerusalem by storm, and what Death Antigonus came to. Also concerning Cleopatra's avaricious Temper.*

### § 1.

NOW the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were troubled in various ways. For the weaker people crowded about the temple and gave out, that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most fortunate man who died. But as to the bolder men, they got together in bodies, and fell to robbing others in various manners, and particularly plundered places about the city, and that because there was no food left for either horses or men. But those of the men of war who were best disciplined were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and they kept away from the walls those that raised the banks, and were always inventing some contrivance or other to be a hindrance to the engines of the enemy. But they had not so much success any way over the enemy as in the underground mines.

§ 2. Now, as for the robberies which were committed,

the king contrived that ambushes should be laid, by which he checked the robbers' excursions; and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought from a great distance. He was also too hard for the Jews by the Romans' skill in the art of war; for although the Jews were bold to the utmost degree, yet they durst not fight hand to hand with the Romans, for that was certain death, but through their underground mines they would appear in the midst of them on a sudden, and before they could batter down one part of the wall, they raised another in its stead; in short, they did not show any slackness either of valour or contrivances, being resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army investing them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's picked men ventured to get upon the wall and enter the city, and Sossius' centurions after them. And first they occupied the neighbourhood of the temple, and upon the pouring in of the army there was immense slaughter every where, because of the rage the Romans were in at the length of the siege, and because the Jewish force with Herod was anxious that none of their adversaries should be left. So they were cut to pieces *en masse*, as they were crowded together in the narrow streets and in houses, or were fleeing to the temple; nor was any mercy shown either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weakness of women; but although the king sent round and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold his right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell down at Sossius' feet. But he, without pitying him at all upon this change in his fortunes, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him Antigona.<sup>1</sup> Yet did he not let him go free like a woman, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

§ 3. But Herod's concern at present, now he had got his enemies in his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries; for these foreigners were very eager to see

<sup>1</sup> That is, a woman, not a man.—W.

the temple, and the sacred things in the sanctuary. But the king endeavoured to restrain them, partly by exhortation, partly by threats, partly even by force, thinking victory worse than a defeat, if anything that ought not to be seen were seen by them. He also forbade at the same time spoiling the city, asking Sossius in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by emptying the city of money and men, had a mind to leave him king of a desert? and saying that he judged the dominion of the world too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens. And when Sossius said that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder, as a reward for what they suffered during the siege, Herod answered, that he would himself give every one of the soldiers a reward out of his own money. So he redeemed the rest of Jerusalem, and performed his promises, making presents in a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and a most royal bounty to Sossius himself, so that nobody departed short of money. And Sossius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony; and the axe, which his cowardly behaviour well deserved, brought him to his end, though he still had a fond desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the very last.

§ 4. And king Herod distinguished between the people in the city, for as for those that were on his side he made them still more his friends by the honours he conferred on them, but those of Antigonus' party he slew, and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony and his followers. But he could not thereby purchase an exemption from all suffering; for Antony was already madly in love with Cleopatra, and entirely a slave to his passion. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell to slaying those who were no way related to her; and she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and urged him to have them slain, that so she might easily become mistress of what they had. Moreover she extended her greed to the Jews and Arabians, and intrigued to have Herod and Malichus, the kings of both those nations, taken off.

§ 5. Now Antony complied in part with these injunctions of hers, for though he esteemed it abominable to kill such good and great kings, yet was he alienated from his friendship (which was the next thing) with them. So he took away a great deal of their country, even the palm-trees at Jericho, where the balsam-tree also grows, and gave them her, as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus,<sup>1</sup> except Tyre<sup>2</sup> and Sidon.<sup>3</sup> And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians as far as the Euphrates, she went into Judæa by Apamea<sup>4</sup> and Damascus. Then did Herod appease her ill-will to him by large presents, and also hired from her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium,<sup>5</sup> and paid her all the court possible. And not long after this Antony came back from Parthia,<sup>6</sup> and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes' son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was at once given her, with the money and all the spoil that was taken.

## CHAP. XIX.

*How Antony, at the Instigation of Cleopatra, sent Herod to fight against the Arabians; and how, after several Battles, he at length got the Victory. Also concerning a great Earthquake.*

### § 1.

NOW when the war about Actium<sup>7</sup> broke out, Herod had intended to set out to the assistance of Antony, being already freed from his other troubles in Judæa, and

<sup>1</sup> *Nahr el-Kebir*, N. of Tripolis. Antiq. xiii. 4, § 5; 5, § 10; xv. 4.

§ 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Sâr*. Life, § 10, 74. Antiq. ix. 14, § 2; xi. 8, §§ 3, 4; xiv. 12, §§ 1, 3; xiv. 13, § 3. Jewish War, i. 13, § 1; i. 21, § 11; ii. 18, § 5. Against Apion, i. §§ 19, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Saida*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> Jewish War, i. 10, § 10.

<sup>5</sup> Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

<sup>6</sup> The Parthian kingdom in its greatest extent reached westwards to the Euphrates.

<sup>7</sup> At the entrance of the gulf of *Arta*. Antiq. xv. 5, § 1; Jewish War, i. 20, § 1.



having gained Hyrcania,<sup>1</sup> which fortress had been held by Antigonus' sister. However, he was cunningly hindered by Cleopatra from sharing in the dangers of Antony, for since, as I have already remarked, she had plotted against the kings of Judæa and Arabia, she urged Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod, that so, if he won the day, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judæa, and that she might put down one of those kings by the other.

§ 2. However, this contrivance turned out to the advantage of Herod. For at the very first he plundered the enemy, and got together a large body of horse, and hurled them against the enemy near Diospolis,<sup>2</sup> and conquered the enemy, though they fought stoutly. At this defeat the Arabians were in great excitement, and mustered together at Canatha,<sup>3</sup> a city of Cœle-Syria,<sup>4</sup> in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod arrived there with his army, he tried to manage the war with particular prudence, and gave orders to fortify the camp. But the multitude did not hearken to him, but were so emboldened by their previous victory, that they attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and pursued them. But snares were laid for Herod in the pursuit, for Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always antagonistic to Herod, sent out of Canatha the men of that country against him, and upon their attack the Arabians took courage, and rallied, and joined their forces together on stony and difficult ground, and routed Herod's men, and made a great slaughter of them. And those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza,<sup>5</sup> where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it with all the men in it.

§ 3. Not long after this calamity, Herod came to bring succour, but he came too late. Now the cause of this re-

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lydda, *Ludd*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

<sup>3</sup> Kenath, *Kanawât*, at the foot of the western slopes of *Jebel Haurân*. In *Antiq.* xv. 5, § 1, and possibly in *Life*, § 71, it is called *Cana*.

<sup>4</sup> Cœle-Syria in this instance includes *Bashan*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>5</sup> Unknown. In the parallel passage, *Antiq.* xv. 5, § 1, the name of the place is not mentioned.

verse was that the officers would not obey orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio would not have had an opportunity for the snares he laid for Herod. However, Herod was even with the Arabians afterwards, and overran their country, and did them frequently more harm than their single victory could compensate. And as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at its height, in the beginning of spring, there was an earthquake, which destroyed an immense number of cattle, and thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the meantime, the rumour of this earthquake elated the Arabians to greater courage, for report exaggerated it, as is generally the case in gloomy events, as if all Judæa was overthrown. Supposing, therefore, that they should easily make themselves masters of a land that was destitute of inhabitants, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who had come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judæa immediately. Now the Jewish nation were dismayed at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; but Herod assembled them together, and endeavoured to encourage them to defend themselves by the following speech.

§ 4. "The present dread you are in seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at the providential chastisement which has befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be terrified at the invasion of men is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being dismayed at our enemies after the earthquake, that I imagine that God has thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them, for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than from their great dependence on their own weapons or fitness for action; but the hope which depends not on men's own power, but on others' ill success, is a very ticklish thing. For there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes, but we may see that fortune is changeable, and goes from one side to another. You may indeed learn this from your own case; for though you were victors in the former fight, your

enemies overcame you at last; and it will very likely happen now that these who think themselves sure of beating you will themselves be beaten. For when people are very confident, they are not upon their guard, but fear teaches people to act with caution; insomuch that I feel confidence from your very fear. For when you were more bold than you ought to have been against the enemy, and contrary to my wish attacked the enemy, Athenio's treachery had its opportunity; but now your hesitation and seeming dejection of mind is to me a pledge and assurance of victory. And indeed it is proper to be thus cautious beforehand, but when we come to action, we ought to pluck up our spirit, and to make our enemies believe, be they ever so wicked, that neither any human, no, nor any providential misfortune, can ever depress the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever suffer an Arabian, whom he has all but often taken captive, to become lord of his good things. And do not disturb yourselves at the movements of inanimate things, nor imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity; for such conditions of the elements are according to the course of nature, nor do they import any thing further to men than the actual mischief they bring with them. Perhaps there may come some sign a little beforehand in the case of pestilence and famine and earthquakes; but these calamities themselves have their force limited. Indeed what greater mischief can the war do to us, though it should go against us, than the earthquake has done? Nay, there is a very great sign of our enemies' destruction visible, and that not a natural one, nor coming from a strange hand, in that they have barbarously murdered our ambassadors contrary to the usage of all mankind, and have decked them with garlands as sacrifices to God in relation to this war. But they will not escape his great eye, nor his invincible right hand; and we shall soon be revenged on them, if we still retain any of the spirit of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant-breakers. Let every one therefore go forward to fight, not so much for his wife or his children, or for the danger his country is in, but for these ambassadors of ours; for they will conduct this war of ours better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you

will hearken to me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know well enough that your courage is irresistible, unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 5. When Herod had encouraged his army by this speech, and saw how ready they were, he offered sacrifice to God, and after the sacrifice crossed over the river Jordan with his troops, and pitched his camp near Philadelphia,<sup>2</sup> not far from the enemy, and had a skirmish with them for a fortification that lay between them, as he was desirous to bring on a general engagement quickly; for some of the enemy had been sent forward to seize upon that fortification. But the king sent some troops, who immediately beat them out of the fortification, and occupied the hill, while he himself led out his men every day, and put them in battle array, and challenged the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp (for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was not able to say a word for fear), Herod went up to them, and pulled their intrenched camp to pieces, so that they were compelled to come out and fight, which they did in disorder, and so that their horse and foot were mixed up together. They were indeed superior to the Jews in number, but inferior as to zeal, although they too were very venturesome from their despair of victory.

§ 6. And so, while they resisted, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and many by their own men, and so perished. And five thousand fell in the flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by crowding into their intrenched camp. Herod surrounded and besieged these, and as they were bound to be taken by their enemies with their arms, they had an additional distress, which was thirst from want of water. For the king received their ambassadors in a supercilious way, and though they offered five hundred talents as ransom, he pressed still harder upon them.

<sup>1</sup> This speech of Herod's is set down twice by Josephus, here and Antiq. xv. 5, § 3, to the same purpose, but not in the same words, whence it appears, that the sense was Herod's, but the composition Josephus's.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Ammán*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.

And as they were parched with thirst, they came out *en masse*, and voluntarily delivered themselves up to the Jews, till in five days four thousand of them were prisoners; and on the sixth day the multitude that were left were desperate, and came out to fight. And Herod fought with them, and slew again about seven thousand. And he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

## CHAP. XX.

*Herod is confirmed in his Kingdom by Augustus, and cultivates a Friendship with the Emperor by magnificent Presents; while Augustus returns his Kindness by bestowing on him that Part of his Kingdom which had been taken away by Cleopatra, with the Addition of Zenodorus' Country also.*

## § 1.

AND now Herod was in immediate concern about his whole fortunes on account of his friendship with Antony, who had just been defeated off Actium<sup>1</sup> by Augustus. But he was more afraid than hurt. For Augustus did not think he had quite undone Antony while Herod remained. But the king resolved to face his danger: so he sailed to Rhodes,<sup>2</sup> where Augustus then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the dress and guise of a private person, but with the spirit of a king. And he concealed nothing of the truth, but spoke straight out as follows. "O Cæsar, I was made king of the Jews by Antony, and I confess that I have used my royal authority entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this further, that you would certainly have found me in arms, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousand cors of corn; nor indeed did I desert my benefactor after his reverse at Actium. But I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 19, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 14, § 3.

war; for I told him that there was but one way of retrieving his affairs, and that was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him, that if he put her to death, I would afford him money and walls for his security, and an army and myself to assist him in the war against you. But his passion for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did God himself also, who has bestowed the victory on you. And I am overcome with Antony, and with the same fortune as his I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to you, putting my hopes of safety in your virtue, and I presume you will consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend, I have been."

§ 2. Augustus replied to him as follows: "Continue in safety, and reign now more firmly than before; for you are worthy to rule over a great many subjects, because of the firmness of your friendship. And do you endeavour to be equally constant in your friendship to me in<sup>1</sup> happier circumstances, for I have the brightest hopes from your lofty spirit. However, Antony did well in listening to Cleopatra rather than to you; for I have gained you by her folly. It also appears that you were my friend before I began to be yours, for Quintus Didius has written to me that you sent him assistance against the gladiators. Now therefore I confirm the kingdom to you by decree: but I shall also endeavour to do you some further kindness hereafter, that you may not miss Antony."

§ 3. When Augustus had spoken thus kindly to Herod, and put the diadem on his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he greatly launched out in his commendation. And Herod still further appeased him by the presents he gave him, and begged him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who supplicated his favour. But Augustus' anger was too great against Alexander for this, and he complained of the many and very great offences the man whom Herod petitioned for had been guilty of, and so he rejected his request. After this, when Augustus went to Egypt through Syria, Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then first rode side by side with Augustus, when he reviewed his

<sup>1</sup> For *καὶ* I confidently restore *κάν*.

army at Ptolemais,<sup>1</sup> and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them also. He also contrived a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium<sup>2</sup> through a dry country, and did so also on their return thence; nor were there any necessaries wanting to the army. It was therefore the opinion, both of Augustus and his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Augustus had returned to Egypt, as Cleopatra and Antony were now dead, he not only bestowed other honours upon him, but also made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him, not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but also Gadara<sup>3</sup> and Hippos<sup>4</sup> and Samaria,<sup>5</sup> and in addition to these the maritime cities of Gaza<sup>6</sup> and Anthedon<sup>7</sup> and Joppa<sup>8</sup> and Strato's Tower.<sup>9</sup> He also made him a present of four hundred Galati for his body-guard, as they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did anything so strongly induce Augustus to make these presents as the generosity of him that received them.

§ 4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called Trachonitis,<sup>10</sup> and the adjacent Batanæa,<sup>11</sup> and the district of Auranitis,<sup>12</sup> for the following reason. Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascenes. And they had recourse to Varro the governor of Syria, and begged of him that he would represent their calamity to Augustus; and when Augustus was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nest of

<sup>1</sup> *Akka*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *et-Tineh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Umm Keis*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Süsiyeh*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7. <sup>5</sup> *Sebastieh*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ghuzzeh*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Agrippias*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2. <sup>8</sup> *Jaffa*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Cæsarea Palæstina*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

<sup>10</sup> *el-Lejah*. Antiq. xv. 10, § 1; xvi. 4, § 6; 9, §§ 1, 3; xvii. 2, § 1; 8, § 1. Jewish War, ii. 6, § 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Life*, § 11. Antiq. xv. 10, § 1; xvii. 8, § 1 (*Paneas* for *Batanæa*). Jewish War, ii. 6, § 3.

<sup>12</sup> *The Haurân*. Antiq. xv. 10, § 1; xvii. 11, § 4. Jewish War, ii. 6, § 3.

robbers should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus, and Augustus afterwards bestowed it on Herod, that it might not again become a *point d'appui* for those robbers against Damascus. He also made him procurator of all Syria the tenth year afterwards, when he came again into that province, on such a footing that the other procurators could not do anything without his advice. And when Zenodorus was dead, Augustus bestowed on Herod all the land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. And what was of still more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Augustus next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Augustus. So he arrived at a very great degree of felicity, and his spirit was elated to greater ideas, and most of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion of piety.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Temple and Cities that were built by Herod, and erected from the very Foundations; also of the other Edifices that were erected by him; and what magnificence he showed to Foreigners; and how Fortune was in all things favourable to him.*

### § 1.

ACCORDINGLY in the fifteenth year of his reign Herod rebuilt the temple, and surrounded with a wall double the land that was before enclosed around it, at vast expense and with insurpassable magnificence. A sign of which you have in the great porticoes erected about the temple, and the citadel on its north side.<sup>1</sup> The porticoes he built from the foundation, but the citadel he repaired at a vast expense, as if it were no less than a royal palace, and

<sup>1</sup> This fort was first built, as is supposed, by John Hyrcanus, and called Baris, the tower or citadel. It was afterwards rebuilt, with great improvements, by Herod, under the government of Antony, and was named from him the Tower of Antonia; and about the time when Herod rebuilt the temple, he seems to have put his last hand to it. See Antiq. xviii. 5, § 4; Jewish War, i. 3, § 4. It lay on the north-west side of the temple, and was a quarter as large.—W.



called it *Antonia*<sup>1</sup> in honour of Antony. He also built himself a palace<sup>2</sup> in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments, to which the temple itself could not be compared. One he called *Cæsareum*, and the other *Agrippeum*, after his friends *Cæsar Augustus* and *Agrippa*.

§ 2. But he did not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, and the names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities. For when he had built a most beautiful wall twenty furlongs long round a town in the district of *Samaria*, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to them most fruitful land, and in the midst of this city had erected a very large temple to *Augustus*, and had laid round about it a sacred enclosure of three furlongs and a half, he called the city *Sebaste*.<sup>3</sup> He also settled the affairs of the city in a most regular manner.

§ 3. And when *Augustus* had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble in his honour near the fountains of the *Jordan*. The place is called *Panium*.<sup>4</sup> There the top of a mountain rises to an immense height, and at its side beneath a dark cave opens, within which is a horrible precipice that descends abruptly to a vast depth, which contains a mighty quantity of stagnant water, and if any body lets down any thing to find the bottom, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of the *Jordan* rise at the external roots of this cave, and some think, this is the origin of the *Jordan*. But I shall speak of this matter more accurately hereafter.

§ 4. And the king erected other edifices at *Jericho* also, between the citadel *Cypros*<sup>5</sup> and the former palace, which were better and more convenient for dwelling in, and named them after the same friends of his. In short, there was

<sup>1</sup> North of the Temple. *Jewish War*, i. 3, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Herod's palace occupied the ground to the south of the *Tower of David* at *Jerusalem*.

<sup>3</sup> From *Sebastus*, the Greek version of *Augustus*. *Sebastieh*. *Jewish War*, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Cæsarea Philippi*. *Baniás*. *Antiq.* xv. 10, § 3; xvii. 8, § 1; xviii. 2, § 1; xx. 9, § 4. *Jewish War*, ii. 9, § 1; iii. 9, § 7; vii. 2, § 1.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly *Beit Jubr et-Tahtáni*. *Antiq.* xvi. 5, § 2. *Jewish War*, i. 21, § 9; ii. 18, § 6.

not any place in his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without something for the emperor's honour, and when he had filled his own country with temples to him, he showed him the like marks of honour all over the province, and built in many cities temples in honour of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 5. And when he observed that there was a city by the seaside, that was much decayed, called Strato's Tower,<sup>1</sup> and that the place, from its convenient situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, and in it especially showed his natural munificence. For all the seashore between Dora<sup>2</sup> and Joppa,<sup>3</sup> between which places this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phœnice for Egypt had to toss about out at sea because of the south wind that threatened them; for if that wind blows but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised and dash upon the rocks, that upon their ebb the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king by great expense and liberality overcame nature, and built a haven larger than the Piræus,<sup>4</sup> and in its recesses built other deep stations for ships also.

§ 6. Now although the place was very ill adapted for his purpose, yet did he so fully struggle with its difficulty, that the firmness of his work could not easily be conquered by the sea, and the beauty and ornament of the work was such, as if he had not had any difficulty in its construction. For when he had measured out as large a space for the harbour as I have mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathoms of water, of which most were fifty feet in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some larger still. And when that depth was filled up, he enlarged the wall which thus already stood out above the sea to two hundred feet, one hundred of which was built out in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Procumia,<sup>5</sup> and the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round the harbour. On this wall were very

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Tantûrah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2. <sup>3</sup> *Jaffa*.

<sup>4</sup> The harbour of Athens.

<sup>5</sup> That is, break-water. The ruins can still be seen.

large towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium from Drusus, who was step-son of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 7. There were also a great number of crypts, where mariners could put in at ; and all the space before them round about was a terrace and broad walk for those that came on shore. And the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven there were on each side three great Colossuses supported by pillars, of which those on the left hand as one sails in are supported by a solid tower, but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones joined together, and larger than the tower on the other side of the entrance. And houses, built also themselves of white stone, were close to the haven, and the narrow streets of the city led down to it, which were built at equal distances from one another. And opposite the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, was a temple of Cæsar Augustus, excellent both for beauty and size ; and in it was a colossal statue of Cæsar Augustus, as big as the Olympian Zeus, from which it was copied, and a statue of Rome, as big as that of Hera at Argos. And he dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to those that sailed there, but the honour of the founding of the city he ascribed to Cæsar Augustus, and called it Cæsarea accordingly.

§ 8. He also built the other edifices, as the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner worthy of the name of the city. And he appointed games every fifth year, and called them in like manner Cæsar's Games ; and he first offered himself the largest prizes in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad, in which games not only the victors themselves, but also those that came in second and even third, were partakers of the royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon,<sup>1</sup> a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and called it Agrippæum ; indeed, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraven upon the gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

§ 9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any person ever was, for he built as a memorial of his father a city in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, which had rivers and trees in abundance, and called it Antipatris.<sup>1</sup> He also built a wall round a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was very strong and handsome, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, to his brother Phasaelus,<sup>2</sup> and called it by his name. Its structure, size, and magnificence, I shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northwards from Jericho, and called it Phasaelis.<sup>3</sup>

§ 10. And as he thus handed down to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial of himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and called it after himself Herodium;<sup>4</sup> and he called a hill that was the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, by the same name, and bestowed much curious art upon it at lavish expense. For he built round towers all about the top of it, and filled the enclosure with the most costly palaces, so that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was expended on the outer walls and cornices and roofs. He also brought a quantity of water from a great distance at vast cost, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the elevation for this reservoir was a fair height and entirely artificial. He also built other palaces at the bottom of the hill, large enough to receive the furniture that was put into them and his friends also; so that from its containing all necessaries the fortress might seem to be a city, but from its area a palace only.

§ 11. And when he had built thus much, he exhibited the greatness of his soul to very many foreign cities. For he

<sup>1</sup> *Râs el-'Ain*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Tower of David,' near the 'Jaffa Gate,' Jerusalem. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 2; xvii. 10, § 2. Jewish War, ii. 3, § 2; 17, § 8; v. 4, § 3; vii. 1, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Fusûl*. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 2; xvii. 8, § 1; xviii. 2, § 2. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Jebel Furcidis*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

built gymnasiums at Tripolis<sup>1</sup> and Damascus and Ptolemais,<sup>2</sup> and a wall round Byblus,<sup>3</sup> and arcades and porticoes and temples and market-places at Berytus<sup>4</sup> and Tyre,<sup>5</sup> and theatres at Sidon<sup>6</sup> and Damascus. He also built an aqueduct for those Laodiceans<sup>7</sup> who lived by the sea-side; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also colonnades that were admirable both for their workmanship and size. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people; and not a few cities had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues for ever on the offices of gymnasiarchs, appointing for them, as for the people of Cos,<sup>8</sup> that prizes should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all who wanted it, and frequently<sup>9</sup> conferred upon the people of Rhodes<sup>10</sup> large sums of money for building ships. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own expense, but handsomer than before. Why need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians<sup>11</sup> and Samians,<sup>12</sup> or of his great liberality through all Ionia,<sup>13</sup> according to everybody's wants? And are not the Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, and Nicopolitans,<sup>14</sup> and Pergamus<sup>15</sup> in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them with? And as for the street of Antioch in Syria,<sup>16</sup> did not he pave it with polished marble, though it was twenty furlongs long, and shunned by all men before, because it was full of mud, and did he not adorn it with a portico of the same length to take shelter in from the rain?

<sup>1</sup> *Tarabulus*, on the Syrian coast. Antiq. xii. 10, § 1; xiii. 10, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Akka*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jebeil*, the Gebal of Ezek. xxvii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Beirut*. Antiq. xvi. 11, § 2; xvii. 10, § 9; xix. 7, § 5; xx. 9, § 4. Jewish War, i. 27, § 2; ii. 5, § 1; vii. 3, § 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Sûr*. Jewish War, i. 18, § 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Saida*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 1.

<sup>7</sup> The people of Laodicea. Jewish War, i. 11, § 7.

<sup>8</sup> One of the Sporades. Antiq. xiv. 7, § 2; 10, § 15; xvi. 2, § 2.

<sup>9</sup> *πολλαχού και* I omit as a gloss.

<sup>10</sup> Jewish War, i. 14, § 3.

<sup>11</sup> The people of Lycia. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.

<sup>12</sup> The people of the island of Samos. Antiq. xvi. 2, § 2.

<sup>13</sup> Antiq. i. 6, § 1; xvi. 2, § 3.

<sup>14</sup> The people of Nicopolis, near Prévesa. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 3.

<sup>15</sup> Jewish War, i. 9, § 3.

<sup>16</sup> Antioch on the Orontes, now *Antákia*. Antiq. xvi. 5, § 3.

§ 12. But perhaps some one may say, these were favours peculiar to particular places, but his donation to the people of Elis<sup>1</sup> was not only common to all Greece, but to all the world, to which the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were coming to nothing for want of money, and that the only vestige of ancient Greece was disappearing, he not only became a president of the games in that quinquennial celebration, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues of money in perpetuity, insomuch that his memory as a president of the games there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should detail his remissions of debts or tributes, as he eased the people of Phasaelis<sup>2</sup> and Balanea,<sup>3</sup> and the small cities about Cilicia,<sup>4</sup> of the annual taxes they before paid. However, the greatness of his soul was very much disturbed by the fear that he should excite envy, or seem to hunt after greater things than he ought, in bestowing more liberal gifts upon these cities than their own masters had.

§ 13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, in which sport he generally had great success owing to his skill in riding, for in one day he once killed forty wild beasts. His country breeds boars, and is especially full of stags and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood, and many have marvelled at his skill at the butts, when they saw him a most straight javelin-thrower, and a most unerring archer. And in addition to this excellence of mind and body, fortune was also very favourable to him. For he seldom failed of success in war; and when he failed, he was not himself the cause of such failure, but he was either betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

<sup>1</sup> The people of Elis in the Peloponnesos.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 21, § 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Banias*, between *Laodicea*, *Latakiah*, and *Antaradus*, *Tartús*.

<sup>4</sup> The modern province of *Adana* in Asia Minor. Antiq. i. 6, § 1; ix. 10, § 2; xiii. 13, § 5. Jewish War, i. 4, § 3; 7, § 7.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Murder of the High Priests Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, as also of Mariamne the Queen.*

## § 1.

HOWEVER, fortune had a Nemesis against Herod for his external success, by raising him up domestic troubles, and he began to be unhappy on account of his wife, of whom he was very fond. For when he became king, he put away her whom he had married when he was a private person, a native of Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For first of all, he banished from Jerusalem Antipater the son of Doris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, and permitted him to come there at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he returned to him from Parthia, on a suspicion of plotting against him. This Hyrcanus had been carried captive by Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria, and those of his own country beyond the Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, moved by pity. And had he listened to them, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he would not have perished. But the marriage of his granddaughter Mariamne ensnared him to his death; for as he relied upon that, and was very fond of his own country, he returned to it. Now Herod's irritation against him was, not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that the kingdom properly belonged to him.

§ 2. Now of the five children that Herod had by Mariamne, two were daughters, and three were sons. And the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; and the two eldest he treated as royal blood because of the exalted rank of their mother, and because he was king when they were born. But what was stronger

than all this was the love he bore to Mariamne, which inflamed him every day to a greater degree, so that he felt none of the troubles that arose on account of her he loved. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love for her. She had, indeed, just cause of indignation for what he had done, while her boldness proceeded from his affection for her; so she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus. For he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he was but a lad, for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he had him slain immediately after he had conferred that dignity upon him; for when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached the altar at a festival, the assembled multitude wept for joy; whereupon the lad was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galati, at Herod's command, in a swimming-bath till he was drowned.

§ 3. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod and his sister and mother with dreadful abuse. And he was dumb on account of his affection for her: but the women were very vexed with her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to Herod's bed: which thing they thought most likely to move him to anger. They also contrived many other things to make it appear more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and in her extravagant lust of having thus shown herself, though she was absent, to a man that was mad after women, and had it in his power to force her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and greatly troubled him, especially as his love to her made him jealous, and as he also reflected on the cruelty of Cleopatra, owing to whom Lysanian the king had been taken off, and Malichus the Arabian. For he measured his danger not only by the loss of his wife but also his life.

§ 4. When, therefore, he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bore him good-will on account of their connection by marriage, giving him secret injunctions, if Antony slew him, that he would slay her. But Joseph without any evil intention, and only in order to prove the king's love to his wife, so



that he could not bear to think of being separated from her even by death itself, discovered this secret to her. And when Herod was come back, and in the familiar intercourse of marriage confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assured her that he had never loved any other woman as he had her; "To be sure," said she, "you proved your love to me by the injunctions you gave Joseph, when you commanded him to kill me."

§ 5. When he heard this secret, he was like a distracted man, and said that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had seduced her; and his passion made him stark mad, and he leaped off the bed, and ran about the palace in a wild manner. Meantime his sister Salome took advantage of this to blast Mariamne's reputation, and confirm Herod's suspicion about Joseph. And so in his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and, as soon as his anger was worn off, his love was kindled again. And, indeed, his passionate desire for Mariamne was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but in his sorrow talked to her as if she were still alive until taught by time, and grieved, now she was dead, as much as he had loved her while she was living.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Calumnies against the Sons of Mariamne. Antipater is preferred before them. They are accused before Augustus, and Herod is reconciled to them.*

#### § 1.

NOW Mariamne's sons inherited their mother's hate, and when they considered the greatness of Herod's abominable guilt, they were suspicious of their father as of an enemy, even earlier when they were educated at Rome, but still more when they had returned to Judæa. This idea of theirs increased as they grew up to be men. Now when they were come to an age fit for marriage, one of them

married the daughter of their aunt Salome, who had been the accuser of their mother, and the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hate in their minds. And those that calumniated them took a handle from their boldness, and some of them told the king now more plainly that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons, and that the one that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was making preparations for flight to accuse Herod before Augustus. And when Herod was quite poisoned against them by these calumnies, he recalled Antipater, his son by Doris, from exile, as a bulwark against his other sons, and began in every way to treat him with more distinction than them.

§ 2. But this change in their affairs was intolerable to these sons, for when they saw him advanced that was the son of a private woman, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whenever they were vexed, they showed their anger. And as they gave more and more offence every day, Antipater began already to look out for his own interest, being very clever in flattering his father, and in contriving various calumnies against his brothers, telling some stories of them himself, and suborning his friends to spread abroad other stories against them, till he entirely cut his brothers off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom. For he was already put publicly in his father's will as his successor: so he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, except the diadem, to Augustus. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two weapons he made use of against his brothers were flattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass that the king thought of putting his sons to death.

§ 3. So Herod dragged Alexander with him as far as Rome, and charged him with attempting to poison him before Augustus. Alexander could hardly speak for grief, but having a judge that was more skilful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputations against his father, but very ably

cleared himself of the calumnies laid against him; and when he had proved the innocence of his brother, who was in the same danger as himself, he then bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the dishonour done to him and his brother. He was enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, but also by his eloquence; for he was a very clever speaker. And upon his saying at last, that if their father brought this charge against them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made everybody present weep; and brought Augustus to that pass, as to reject the accusation, and to reconcile Herod to them immediately. And the conditions of reconciliation were these, that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to whoever he pleased.

§ 4. After this the king returned from Rome, and seemed to have acquitted his sons of these charges, but still was not without some suspicion of them. For he was accompanied by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of these accusations, but who did not openly show his hatred to them, as he stood in awe of him that had reconciled them. And as Herod sailed by Cilicia he touched at Eleusa,<sup>1</sup> where Archelaus treated them in the most hospitable manner, and gave Herod thanks for the safety of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at the reconciliation; for he had lost no time in writing to his friends at Rome to assist Alexander at his trial. And he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium,<sup>2</sup> and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

§ 5. Now when Herod had returned to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave an account of the reason of his absence, and thanked God greatly, and Cæsar Augustus also, for settling his house when it was in a state of confusion, and for procuring concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom. "I will render this concord still more firm," he added, "for Augustus has put it into my power to dispose of the king-

<sup>1</sup> Near the river *Lamas*. *Antiq.* xvi. 4, § 6; 10, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Cilicia, near the mouth of the Calycadnus *Gök Su*.

dom, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, by way of requital for his kindness, and for mine own advantage, I do declare, that my three sons here shall all be kings, and first I pray for the approbation of God, and next I desire your approval in this matter. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, recommend them for the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large, that it is sufficient for even more kings. Now do you uphold those whom Augustus has united, and their father has appointed; and do not pay undue or unequal respect to them, but to every one according to the order of their birth; for he that pays such respect unduly, will not thereby make him that is honoured beyond what his age requires so joyful, as he will make him that is dishonoured sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to associate with them, I will appoint them for each of them, and will so constitute them that they may be securities for their concord: for I am well aware that the malignity of those with whom they associate will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but if those with whom they associate be good, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire, that not these only, but all the captains of my army, place for the present their hopes on me alone. For I do not hand over my kingdom to my sons, but give them royal honours only; whereby they will enjoy the sweets of government as rulers, but the burden of administration will rest upon me, even if I do not wish for it. And let every one consider my age, and the conduct of my life, and my piety. For my age is not so great, that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged in such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young; and I have been so religious towards God, that I have reason to hope I may arrive at a very great age. So he that pays court to my sons with a view to deposing me shall be punished by me for such conduct. I am not one who envy my own children or forbid men to pay them respect, but I know that extravagant respect is the way to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but consider this, that if he proves a good man, he shall receive a reward from me, but if he sows discord, his malignity shall get him nothing from him to whom he

pays court, I suppose all will study my interests, which are also those of my sons; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and continue in concord with them. And do you, my good sons, reflect first upon the sacred ties of nature, by which natural affection is preserved even among wild beasts; and next reflect upon the emperor who has made this reconciliation among us; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you, and continue as brothers. I give you already royal robes and royal honours; and I pray to God to uphold my decision, if you live in concord with one another." When the king had thus spoken, and lovingly embraced every one of his sons, he dismissed the multitude, some of whom wished that what he had said might take effect, but those who desired change pretended that they had not heard what he said.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*The Malice of Antipater and Doris. Alexander is very uneasy on Glaphyra's Account. Herod pardons Pheroras and Salome. Herod's Eunuchs are tortured, and Alexander is put in bonds.*

## § 1.

BUT the dissension between the brothers still accompanied them when they parted, and the suspicions they had of one another grew worse. For Alexander and Aristobulus were much vexed that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater, and Antipater was very angry that his brothers were to succeed him. But he, being very crafty, knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and so concealed the hatred he had to them; while they, relying on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also exasperated them further, and several [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into intimacy with them to spy out what they did. So every thing that was said by Alexander was at once brought to Antipater, and from

Antipater it was carried to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say anything in the simplicity of his heart without giving offence, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him, and if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, the greatest imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually employing persons to provoke him to speak, that the lies he told about him might seem to have some foundation of truth; and if, among the many stories that were spread abroad, but one could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. As to Antipater's friends, they were all either naturally close, or had been bribed to be so, so that no secrets got abroad by them; nor would any one be wrong if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness. For he either corrupted Alexander's suite with money, or got into their favour by flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and induced them to betray their master, and to reveal all that he did or said. Thus did he act his part very cunningly in all points, and wound his way to Herod by his calumnies with the greatest art, assuming the character of a kind brother, but suborning other men to inform of them. And when any thing was reported against Alexander, he would come forward and play his part, and beginning by affecting to disbelieve what was said, would afterwards so contrive matters privately, that the king should be more incensed at him. His main aim was to lay snares, and to make it appear that Alexander was watching his opportunity to kill his father; for nothing afforded so much confirmation to these calumnies as did Antipater's apologies for him.

§ 2. By these methods Herod was exasperated, and, in proportion as his natural affection to the young men every day diminished, so did it increase toward Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct, some of their own accord, and others by the king's injunction, as Ptolemy, the king's most honoured friend, as also the king's brothers, and all his family. For Antipater was all in all: and what was most mortifying to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also all in all; and she intrigued against them, and was more harsh than a step-mother, and hated the queen's sons even more than it is usual

to hate step-sons. All men therefore already began to pay court to Antipater in hopes of self-interest, and the king's commands alienated every body from Alexander and his brother, as he charged his most intimate friends, that they should not come near them, nor pay any regard to them. Herod was also terrible, not only to those in his kingdom, but also to his friends abroad; for Augustus had given to no other king such a privilege as he had given to him, namely, that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even from a city that was not in his jurisdiction. Now the young men were ignorant of the calumnies raised against them, so that being off their guard they were the more exposed to them, for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them, though they saw by degrees how things were from his coldness to them, and because he was more and more harsh with them when anything offended him in their conduct. Antipater also made their uncle Pheroras their enemy, and their aunt Salome, as he was always courting her, as if she were his wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented her hatred against them, by talking of her own noble lineage, and declaring that she was superior to all the women in the kingdom, being descended on her father's side from Temenus, and on her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently twitted Herod's sister and wives with their low extraction, for every one of his wives had been chosen by him for their beauty, and not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few, it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives; <sup>1</sup> and Herod delighted in many, all of whom hated Alexander on account of Glaphyra's pride and insults.

§ 3. Aristobulus also had quarrelled with his mother-in-law Salome, who was angry enough before at Glaphyra's

<sup>1</sup> That it was an immemorial custom among the Jews, and their forefathers, the patriarchs, to have sometimes more wives, or wives and concubines, than one at the same time, and that this polygamy was not directly forbidden by the law of Moses, is evident; but that polygamy was ever properly and distinctly permitted in that law of Moses, in the places here cited by Dean Aldrich, Deut. xvi. 16, 17, or xxi. 15, or indeed anywhere else, does not appear to me.—W.

abuse. For he perpetually upbraided his wife with her low extraction, and complained that he had married a woman of no rank, while his brother Alexander had married a princess. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told her mother what he said with the addition, that Alexander and Aristobulus threatened the mothers of their other brothers, that when they should come to the crown, they would make them weave with the female slaves, and would make their brothers country scribes, jeering at them for their careful education. At this Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod; nor could her testimony be suspected, as it was against her own son-in-law. There was also another calumny that spread abroad, and inflamed the king's anger. For he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and among their lamentations for her did not abstain from cursing him; and that often, when he made presents of any of Mariamne's dresses to his later wives, his sons threatened, that soon, instead of royal garments, they should clothe themselves in haircloth.

§ 4. Now though Herod on these accounts was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of bringing them to a better mind; so before he went to Rome, where he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and threatened them a little as a king, but in the main admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brothers, and told them that he would pardon their past offences, if they would be better for the time to come. But they cleared themselves of the charges laid against them, and said they were false, and maintained that their actions were sufficient vindication. They said also that Herod ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not to be too credulous, for people would never be wanting to tell lies against them, so long as any would give ear to them.

§ 5. When they had in this way soon persuaded him, as being their father, they got rid of their fear for the present, but they saw reason for sorrow for the future; for they knew that Salome and their uncle Pheroras were their enemies. And both of these were important and dangerous persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partuer with Herod in all the kingdom, except that he had no diadem,



and had also a hundred talents of his own income, and enjoyed the revenues of all the land beyond the Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had also made him a tetrarch (having asked that favour of Augustus), and given him a wife out of the royal family, namely, his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly betrothed to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras had refused this royal marriage because of his love for a certain maid-servant. At this Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his, who was afterwards slain by the Parthians, but soon laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned his infatuation for the maid-servant.

§ 6. Pheroras had indeed been accused long before, while the queen was still alive, of having designed to poison Herod; and there came now so very great a number of informers, that though Herod was exceedingly fond of his brother, he was induced to believe what was said, and to be afraid. And when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras' own friends; none of whom distinctly admitted any plot, but owned that he had made preparations to carry off this maid-servant whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians, and that Costobarus, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was cognizant of his intended flight. Nor did Salome escape all calumny herself; for her brother Pheroras accused her of having made an agreement to marry Syllæus (the procurator of Obodas, king of Arabia), who was a very bitter enemy of Herod. But though she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her of, she obtained her pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he was accused of.

§ 7. Thus the storm that threatened the whole family shifted to Alexander, and all of it burst upon his head. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they held about his person; for one of them was appointed his butler, another of them brought in his supper, and the third put

him to bed, and lay with him. Now Alexander had induced these eunuchs by large gifts to be his pathics. And when this was told to the king, they were put to the torture, and at once confessed the immoral relations he had had with them. They also disclosed the promises by which they had been induced to behave so, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them that they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, a shameless old man who dyed his hair (and perhaps they thought him young on that account), but they ought to pay their court to him, who was sure to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he liked or not, and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves most so of all. They added that influential men already paid court to Alexander privately, and that the generals of the army and other officers secretly waited upon him.

§ 8. These confessions so terrified Herod, that he durst not immediately make them public, but he privately sent spies abroad by night and day, and made a close inquiry into all that was done and said, and put all who were suspected of treason to death. Thus the palace was full of horrible injustice. For everybody forged calumnies, according as they were in a state of enmity or hatred against others, and many abused the king's thirst for blood against those with whom they had quarrels. And lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged: and he who had just been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life cut inquiries very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look pleasant even at any of those that were not accused, but was most savage even to his friends. Indeed, he forbade a great many of them to come to court, and spoke harshly to those whom he had not power actually to injure. As for Antipater, he intrigued against Alexander afresh, now he was in misfortune, and got a band of his kinsmen together, and raised all sorts of calumnies against him. And the king was brought to such a degree of terror by these prodigious slanders and

inventions, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he had him arrested immediately and put into prison, and proceeded to examine his friends by torture, most of whom died silently, for they would not say anything against their consciences; but some, being forced to speak falsely by the pain, said that Alexander and his brother Aristobulus had conspired against Herod, and watched for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then intended to flee to Rome. These accusations, though they were far from plausible, and only made up on the spur of the moment from the great torture they were in, were gladly believed by the king, who thought it some comfort not to appear to have put his son into prison unjustly.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Archelaus effects a Reconciliation between Alexander and Pheroras and Herod.*

## § 1.

NOW Alexander, since he saw it was impossible to change his father's mind, resolved to meet his calamities; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed to a conspiracy, but declared also that most of them were accomplices with him, and especially Pheroras and Salome; nay, he declared that Salome one night forced him against his will to lie with her. These books were put into Herod's hands, and raised a great clamour against influential persons. And Archelaus hurried to Judæa, being frightened for his son-in-law and daughter; and he came as a very prudent helper to them, and by his astuteness prevented the king's carrying out his threats. For when he was come to him, he cried out at once, "Where in the world is this accursed son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see that parricidal head, which I will tear to pieces with my own hands? I will do the same also to my daughter, who has such a fine husband: for if she has not been a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife

of such a wretch, she is polluted. And I wonder at your patience, after having been thus plotted against, if Alexander is still alive. For I came with what haste I could from Cappadocia, for I expected to find he had paid the penalty long ago ; but I desired to consider with you the case of my daughter, whom I had given to him in marriage, out of regard to you and your rank. But now we must take counsel about them both. And if your paternal affection is so great, that you cannot punish your son, who has plotted against you, let us exchange our right hands, and succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon this occasion."

§ 2. By this pompous oration Archelaus got Herod to remit his purpose somewhat, though he was very determined. And Herod gave him the books which Alexander had composed to read, and as he perused every chapter, considered it with him. And Archelaus took opportunity from this for his stratagem, and by degrees shifted the blame to the persons whose names were in these books, and especially to Pheroras. And when he saw that the king believed him, he said, " We must consider whether the young man be not himself plotted against by so many wicked wretches, and not you plotted against by the young man. For I cannot see any reason for his falling into so abominable a crime, since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already, and has the hope of being one of your successors, unless indeed some persons urge him to it, who abuse the easiness of youth ; for not only are young men sometimes imposed upon by such persons, but old men also, and sometimes the most illustrious families and whole kingdoms overturned."

§ 3. Herod assented to what he said, and by degrees abated of his anger against Alexander, but was exasperated with Pheroras ; for he was the principal subject of the four books. So Pheroras, perceiving this sudden change on the part of the king, and observing that Archelaus' friendship was now all powerful with Herod, and that he had no honourable method of preserving himself, procured his safety by impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus. And Archelaus told him that he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was involved in so many

charges, by which it was clearly proved that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of that evil plight which the young man was now in, unless he would leave off his cunning, and cease to deny what he was charged with, and confess his guilt, and implore pardon of his brother, who still loved him; and if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance in his power.

§ 4. With this advice Pheroras complied, and so attiring himself as might most move compassion, he came with a black garment and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, as often as he got an opportunity, and begged pardon for what he had done, and confessed himself a guilty wretch, who had done every thing he had been accused of, and lamented the distraction of his mind and madness, which his love to a woman had (he said) brought him to. And when Archelaus had got Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made excuses for him, and mitigated Herod's anger towards him by an illustration from his own family history. For he said that he had suffered much worse treatment from a brother of his own, but preferred the ties of nature to revenge; for in kingdoms, as in overgrown bodies, where some member or other was swollen by the body's weight, it was not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure.

§ 5. Upon Archelaus' saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was mollified; but Archelaus persisted in his indignation against Alexander, and said he would have his daughter divorced, and take her away from him, till he induced Herod to plead in turn for the young man, and that Archelaus would let his daughter continue his wife. But Archelaus very plausibly told Herod he might marry her to any one he chose but Alexander, because he (Pheroras) attached the very greatest importance to keeping up the bonds of affinity with Herod. And when Herod rejoined that his son would take it as a great favour of him, if he would not dissolve the marriage, especially as they had had children, and as his wife was so loved by the young man, that while she remained his wife she would be a great safeguard against his offending, whereas, if she should be once torn away

from him, she would cause his utter despair (for audacious enterprises were best quieted by being diverted by home affections), Archelaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without apparent reluctance, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to speak with the emperor, because he had already written him a full account of the whole matter.

§ 6. Such was the end of Archelaus' astuteness, by which he delivered his son-in-law from the danger he was in: and after these reconciliations were effected, they spent their time in feasting and mirth. And when Archelaus went away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, and a golden throne set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honour to every one of his friends according to their merit. In like manner did all the king's kindred, at his command, make handsome presents to Archelaus. And he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*How Eurycles calumniated the Sons of Mariamne; and how the Testimony of Euaratus of Cos on their behalf was ineffectual.*

### § 1.

NOW not long afterwards there came into Judæa a man that was much abler than Archelaus in stratagems, who not only upset the reconciliation that had been so ably managed by Archelaus for Alexander, but also proved the cause of Alexander's destruction. He was a Lacedæmonian, whose name was Eurycles, who, attracted by the desire of getting money, came to the kingdom in an evil hour, for Greece could no longer suffice for his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, as a bait to compass his ends, and soon received them back again multiplied, but he esteemed bare gifts as nothing, unless by his trafficking he imbrued the kingdom in blood. And he got round the king by flattery and by clever talking and

by the lying encomiums which he passed upon him. For as he soon saw through Herod's character, he said and did every thing to please him, and so became one of his most intimate friends. And indeed the king and all that were about him had a great regard for this Spartan on account of his country.<sup>1</sup>

§ 2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten state of the family, and the dissensions of the brothers, and the disposition of the father towards each of them, he chose to reside in the house of Antipater, but pretended friendship for Alexander, and falsely claimed to be an old comrade of Archelaus. So he was quickly admitted into Alexander's intimacy as a tried friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus. And when he had tested the characters of these several persons, he insinuated himself into their favour by different ways. But he was principally hired by Antipater, and betrayed Alexander, *though he played a double game*, reproaching Antipater because, when he was the eldest son, he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations, and reproaching Alexander because he who was son of a queen, and married to a king's daughter, permitted the son of a private woman to lay claim to the succession, and that when he had the very great support of Archelaus. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus. And so Alexander, without concealing any thing from him, lamented to him Antipater's behaviour with regard to himself, and said it was no wonder that Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. At this Eurycles pretended to pity and sympathize with them. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, got Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints against their father, and then went to Antipater, and

<sup>1</sup> The reason why his being a Spartan rendered him acceptable to the Jews, as we have seen he was, is visible from the public records of the Jews and Spartans, owning those Spartans to be akin to the Jews, and derived from their common ancestor Abraham, the first patriarch of the Jewish nation. See Antiq. xii. 4, § 10; xiii. 5, § 8; and 1 Mac. xii. 7.—W.

carried these secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if the brothers had laid a plot against him, and were all but ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money, and on that account he praised Antipater to his father, and at last undertook to bring about the death of Alexander and Aristobulus, and to accuse them before their father. So he went to Herod, and told him that he would save his life as a requital for the favours he had received from him, and would preserve him from death by way of return for his kind entertainment. For he said a sword had long been whetted against him, and Alexander's right hand had long been stretched out against him; but that he (Eurycles) had thwarted Alexander's eagerness by pretending to co-operate with him in his design. He stated that Alexander said that Herod was not content with reigning himself in a kingdom that belonged to others, and with playing fast and loose with their mother's kingdom, after he had killed her; but besides all this he introduced a spurious successor, and proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater. He also stated that Alexander said that he would now appease the departed souls of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on Herod; for it was not fit for him to succeed such a father on the throne without bloodshed: and many things happened every day to provoke him to do so, for he could say nothing at all but it afforded a handle for calumny against him. For if any mention were made of nobility of birth even of others, he was insulted unjustly, for his father would say, that nobody of course was of noble birth but Alexander, and that he despised his father on account of his low extraction. If they were at any time hunting, and he said nothing, he gave offence; and if he commended any body, he was called dissembler; and he always found his father harsh, and without natural affection for any but Antipater; on which account, if his plot did not succeed he was very willing to die; but if he killed his father, he had sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the first place, he had Archelaus his father-in-law, to whom he could easily flee; and in the next place he had the em-



peror, who was ignorant of Herod's character to that day. For he would not then appear before him with that dread he had before, when his father was there to terrify him, nor would he then produce only personal charges against Herod, but would first openly dwell on the calamities of the nation, and how they were taxed to death, and next in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth was spent which was got by bloodshed, and state what sort of persons they were that got the national riches, and to whom their cities had been entrusted. He would then have inquiry made as to the deaths of his grandfather and mother, and would openly proclaim all the plague-spots of the kingdom; and on these various accounts he would not be deemed a parricide.

§ 3. When Eurycles had made this portentous speech against Alexander, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only son of his that had an affection for his father, and on that account was an impediment to the others' plot against him. Thereupon the king, who had with difficulty kept down his anger at the earlier part of Eurycles' speech, was exasperated to an incurable degree. And Antipater again seized another opportunity to suborn other accusers against his brothers, and to tell him that they had privately tampered with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had formerly been the king's masters of the horse, but for some offences had been now dismissed from that office. Herod was in a very great rage at this information, and at once ordered those men to be tortured: but they did not confess anything of what the king had been informed. But a certain letter was produced, purporting to be written by Alexander to the governor of one of Herod's castles, begging him to receive him and his brother Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons and what other assistance he could. Alexander indeed said that this letter was a forgery of Diophantus, the king's secretary, who was a bold man, and clever in imitating any one's handwriting, and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod also ordered the governor of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusation suggested.

§ 4. However, although Herod found the evidence weak, he gave orders to have his sons kept in custody, for till now they had been at liberty. He also called Eurycles, that pest of his house, and contriver of all these vile accusations, his saviour and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon this he prevented any accurate account getting abroad of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he obtained money also from Archelaus, having the impudence to say that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly got to the like wicked purposes. So he was twice accused before Cæsar Augustus of having filled Achaia with sedition, and and having plundered its cities, and was sent into banishment. Thus was he punished at last for his wicked conduct to Aristobulus and Alexander.

§ 5. It is right to contrast the conduct of Euaratus of Cos with that of this Spartan. For as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time as Eurycles, the king asked him whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard any such things from the young men; but this testimony availed nothing for the clearing of the poor wretches; for Herod was most ready to hearken only to what was said against them, and every one was most agreeable to him, who would join him in believing their guilt, and in expressing their indignation.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Herod, by Augustus' direction, accuses his Sons at Berytus. They are not produced before the Court, but yet are condemned; and in a little time they are sent to Sebaste, and strangled there.*

### § 1.

**M**OREOVER, Salome increased Herod's savageness against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and aunt, into the

same danger as himself; so he sent to her to advise her to see to her safety, and told her, that the king intended to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, that formerly, when she was anxious to marry Syllæus the Arabian, she had secretly discovered to the king's secrets to him who was the king's enemy. Now this came as the last storm, and entirely overwhelmed the young men who were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of the advice that had been given her, whereupon he could restrain himself no longer, but commanded both the young men to be imprisoned, and kept apart from one another. He also sent Volumnius, the general of the army, to Augustus speedily, and also his friend Olympus with him, who carried the informations in writing with them. Now, as soon as they had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's letters, Augustus was mightily troubled at the case of the young men, but he did not think he ought to take the power from a father over his sons. So he wrote back to him, and gave him full authority, but said he would do well to have a judicial inquiry as to the plot against him, and to take for his assessors his own kindred and the governors of the province; and if his sons were found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appeared to have thought of no more than fleeing from him, to moderate their punishment in that case.

§ 2. With these directions Herod complied, and went to Berytus,<sup>1</sup> where Augustus had ordered, and got the court assembled. The governors of provinces sat first, as Augustus' letter had appointed, and Saturninus and Pedanius and their lieutenants, among whom was Volumnius also, the general of the army, and next to them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, and Salome also and Pheroras, next to whom sat the principal men of all Syria, except king Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander's father-in-law. But he did not produce his sons in open court, and this was done very cunningly; for he knew well enough that, had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if they had

<sup>1</sup> *Beirut*. Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.

also been suffered to speak, Alexander would easily have got them acquitted of what they were accused of. But they were in custody at Platane,<sup>1</sup> a village of the Sidonians.

§ 3. Now the king got up, and inveighed against his sons, as if they were present. As for the accusation indeed that they had plotted against him, he urged it but faintly, because he was destitute of proof, but he dwelt before the court on their abuse, and jests, and insults, and ten thousand offences against him, which were harder to bear than death itself. And as nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been condemned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. And he asked every one's sentence, and Saturninus first gave his, and said that he condemned the young men, but not to death; for it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for the death of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote, and some others also followed their example. But Volumnius first voted the more melancholy sentence, and all those that voted after him condemned the young men to death, some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod, but none from indignation against the young men. And now all Syria and Judæa was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; however, nobody supposed that Herod would be so barbarous as to put his sons to death. But he dragged them off to Tyre,<sup>2</sup> and sailed thence to Cæsarea,<sup>3</sup> and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

§ 4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very intimate and friendly with Alexander, and also himself personally loved the young men. This Tero was distracted from excess of indignation, and at first he cried out aloud, as he went about, that justice was trampled under foot, that truth had perished, and nature was confounded, and that life was full of lawlessness, and said everything else that passion could suggest to a man who valued not

<sup>1</sup> See *Antiq.* xvi. 11, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Sûr.* Jewish War, i. 18, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

his own life. And at last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly, I think, you are a most unfortunate man, in hearkening to most wicked wretches against those that ought to be dearest to you, for you have frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet you believe them against your sons; while they, by cutting off your legitimate successors, leave all wholly to Antipater, choosing such a king as may be thoroughly under their influence. However, consider whether the death of Antipater's brothers will not make him hated by the soldiers. For there is nobody who does not pity the young men, and many of the officers show their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that showed this indignation; and the king ordered those men, and Tero himself, and his son, to be arrested immediately.

§ 5. Upon this a certain barber, whose name was Trypho, leaped up in a kind of madness, and informed of himself, and said to Herod, "This Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut your throat with my razor when I shaved you, and promised that Alexander would give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero and his son and the barber by the torture; but as the others denied the accusation, and the barber said nothing further, Herod gave orders that Tero should be racked more severely. Thereupon Tero's son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king, if he would spare his father. And when Herod had agreed to this, he said that his father, at the instigation of Alexander, had intended to kill him. Now some said this was made up, to free his father from his torture, and some said it was true.

§ 6. And now Herod accused the officers and Tero in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against them; and accordingly they were there put to death as also the barber, being killed by pieces of wood and stones that were thrown at them. Herod also sent his sons to Sebaste,<sup>1</sup> which is not far from Cæsarea, and ordered them to be strangled there. And his orders being executed immediately, he commanded that their dead

<sup>1</sup> *Sebastieh.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

bodies should be brought to the fortress of Alexandrium,<sup>1</sup> to be buried with Alexander, their maternal grandfather. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*How Antipater is hated by all Men; and how Herod wanted to betroth the sons of those that had been slain to his own kindred; but Antipater got him to change these proposed Marriages. Herod's various Wives and Children.*

### § 1.

**B**UT unconquerable hatred rose up against Antipater from the nation, now that he had an indisputable title to the succession, because all knew that he was the person who had contrived all the calumnies against his brothers. Moreover, he began to be in no small fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up. For Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander; and Aristobulus had three sons, Herod and Agrippa and Aristobulus, and two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne, by Salome's daughter Berenice. As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back to Cappadocia with her dowry, but married Berenice, Aristobulus' widow, to the brother of Antipater's mother. Antipater had arranged this marriage in order to reconcile Salome to him, who had been at variance with him. He also got into Pheroras' favour, and into the favour of Augustus' friends, by presents and other ways of paying court, and sent no small sums of money to Rome. Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them. But the more he gave the more he was hated, as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money from fear. Thus the result was that the receivers bore him no more good-will than before, while those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his

<sup>1</sup> *Kefr Istâna.* Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.

money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his hopes, the king took care of the orphans, and thus showed his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of their children.

§ 2. For Herod got together on one occasion his kindred and friends, and set before them these children, and with his eyes full of tears spoke as follows. "It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, and they are recommended to me by the natural pity which their orphan condition inspires. And I will endeavour, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a milder grandfather, and to leave these children after my death such guardians as are dearest to me. I therefore betroth your daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of the sons of Alexander, that you may be a guardian by affinity. I also betroth your son, Antipater, to the daughter of Aristobulus; be therefore a father to that orphan; and my son Herod, whose maternal grandfather was high priest, shall have her sister. And let every one that loves me be of my mind in these arrangements, which none that have an affection for me will break. And I pray God that he will join these children together in marriage to the advantage of my kingdom and posterity, and look down with more gentle eyes upon them than he looked upon their fathers."

§ 3. While he yet spoke these words, he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which he embraced every one of them in an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this Antipater's blood ran cold at once, and everybody noticed that he lamented what was done. For he supposed that the honours conferred on these orphans were derogatory to him even in his father's lifetime, and that he would hereafter run risk of losing the kingdom altogether, if Alexander's sons should have the support of the king Archelaus and the tetrarch Pheroras. He also reflected how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans, and what great affection the Jews bore those brothers of his when they were alive, and how they cherished their memory now they had perished owing to him. So he resolved by all possible means to get these betrothals dissolved.

§ 4. Now he was afraid of going craftily about this

matter with his father, who was difficult to deal with, and was at once moved upon the least suspicion: so he ventured to go to him and beg him straight out not to deprive him of the honour which he had been pleased to bestow upon him, and that he might not have the bare name of king, while the power was with other persons: for he would never be able to hold his own, if Alexander's son was to have Pheroras for his father-in-law in addition to the support of his grandfather Archelaus; and he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those proposed marriages. For the king had nine wives,<sup>1</sup> and children by seven of them; Antipater was himself the son of Doris, and Herod the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter; and Antipas and Archelaus were by the Samaritan Malthace, as also a daughter Olympias, whom his brother's Joseph's<sup>2</sup> son had married; by Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had had Herod and Philip, and Phasaelus by Pallas. He had also two daughters, Roxane and Salome, one by Phædra, and the other by Elpis. He had also two wives that had no children, the one his cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters, sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these proposed marriages.

§ 5. When the king perceived the disposition he exhibited to these orphans, he was very angry at it, and a suspicion came into his mind, as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that too had not been brought about by the calumnies of Antipater. So at the time he made Antipater a long and angry answer, and bade him

<sup>1</sup> Dean Aldrich takes notice here, that these nine wives of Herod were alive at the same time, and that if the celebrated Mariamne, who was now dead, be reckoned, Herod's wives were in all ten. Yet it is remarkable that he had no more than fifteen children by them all.—W.

<sup>2</sup> To prevent confusion, it may not be amiss, with Dean Aldrich, to distinguish between four Josephs in the history of Herod. 1. Joseph, Herod's uncle, and the [second] husband of his sister Salome, slain by Herod, on account of Mariamne. 2. Joseph, Herod's quæstor, or treasurer, slain on the same account. 3. Joseph, Herod's brother, slain in battle against Antigonus. 4. Joseph, Herod's nephew, the husband of Olympias, mentioned in this place.—W.



begone. But he was afterwards prevailed upon by his flatteries, and changed the proposed marriages, betrothing him to Aristobulus' daughter, and his son to Pheroras' daughter.

§ 6. Now one may learn how very much Antipater could do by flattery, from Salome's inability in similar circumstances. For though she was Herod's sister, and had, through Julia, the emperor's wife, earnestly begged to be married to Syllæus the Arabian, Herod swore he would esteem her his bitterest enemy, unless she would give up the project; and also caused her at last against her will to be married to Alexas a friend of his, and had one of her daughters married to Alexas' son, and the other to Antipater's mother's brother. As for the daughters Herod had by Mariamne, one was married to Antipater his sister's son, and the other to his brother's son Phasaelus.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Antipater becomes intolerable. He is sent to Rome, and carries Herod's Testament with him. Pheroras leaves his Brother, that he may keep his Wife, and dies in his own Tetrarchy.*

### § 1.

NOW when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted affinities for his own advantage, he had confidence in the certainty of his hopes, and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he became intolerable. For not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he sought his security in the terror he inspired in them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him already as sure to be king. There was also a company of women at the court, who excited new disturbances; for Pheroras' wife, and her mother and sister, and also Antipater's mother, showed great effrontery in the palace. Pheroras' wife even dared to insult the king's two daughters, on which account the

<sup>1</sup> These daughters of Herod, whom Pheroras' wife insulted, were Salome and Roxane, two virgins, who were born to him of his two wives, Elpis and Phædra. See Antiq. xvii. 1, § 3; also Jewish War, i. 28, § 4.—W.

king hated her especially; but although these women were hated by him, they domineered over the others. Salome only was antagonistic to their union, and informed the king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of his affairs. And when those women knew the charges she had made against them, and how much Herod was displeased, they left off their public meetings and friendly entertainments of one another; and, on the contrary, pretended to quarrel with one another, when the king was within hearing. Antipater exhibited similar dissimulation, and openly opposed Pheroras; but still they had private cabals and merry meetings at night, nor did their being under espionage do any thing but increase their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew everything they did, and told it all to Herod.

§ 2. And he was inflamed with anger at them, and especially at Pheroras' wife; for Salome had principally accused her. So he assembled together his friends and kindred, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of her insolence to his daughters, and of supplying the Pharisees with money to his detriment, and of making his brother his enemy, by giving him love potions. At last he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him, that he would give him his choice of these two things, whether he would keep in with his brother, or with his wife. And when Pheroras said that he would die rather than leave his wife, Herod not knowing what to do further in the matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras' wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now, though Antipater did not transgress this injunction publicly, he secretly used to pass the night with them; and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he got leave by means of his Italian friends to go and live at Rome. For when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Augustus after some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him with a splendid retinue, and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him, wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and Herod, the son of Mariamne the high priest's daughter, was named as Antipater's successor.

§ 3. Syllæus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Augustus' injunctions, in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which he had had with Nicolaus before. This Syllæus had also a great contest with Aretas his own king; for he had slain several of Aretas' friends, and particularly Sohemus, the most influential person in the city of Petra.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he had tampered with Fabatus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum of money to assist him against Herod; but as Herod gave him more, he induced Fabatus to leave Syllæus, and by him demanded of Syllæus all that Augustus had required him to pay. But when Syllæus paid nothing of what he was to pay, and also accused Fabatus to Augustus, and said that he was not a steward for Augustus' advantage, but for Herod's, Fabatus was angry with him on that account, but was still held in very great esteem by Herod, and disclosed Syllæus' secrets, and told the king that Syllæus had corrupted by bribes Corinthus, one of his body-guards, so that he must be on his guard against him. And the king listened to him, for this Corinthus was brought up in Herod's kingdom, though he was by birth an Arabian; and the king ordered him to be arrested immediately, and not only him, but two other Arabians, whom he found with him, one of them Syllæus' friend, the other the head of a tribe. And they, being put to the torture, confessed that they had bribed Corinthus by the offer of a large sum of money to kill Herod. And when they had been further examined before Saturninus the administrator of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

§ 4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but tried to force him to put away his wife; but he could not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many reasons for hating her, till at last he was so vexed with her, that he exiled both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away to his own tetrarchy, and swore that there should be but one end put to his exile, namely Herod's death, for he would never return while he was alive. Nor indeed would he

<sup>1</sup> The modern Petra, east of the 'Arabah. Jewish War, i. 6, § 2.

return when his brother was sick, although Herod earnestly sent for him to come to him, because he had a mind to leave some injunctions with him before he died; but Herod unexpectedly recovered. And not long afterwards Pheroras himself fell sick, when Herod showed great forgiveness, for he went to him and took kind care of him, but he could not cure his complaint, for Pheroras died a few days afterwards. And although Herod had so great an affection for him to the last day of his life, yet a report spread abroad that he had killed him by poison. However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem, and ordered the whole nation to mourn for him, and bestowed a most splendid funeral upon him. Such was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus' murderers came to.

#### CHAP. XXX.

*When Herod made Inquiry about Pheroras' Death, Discovery was made that Antipater had prepared a poisonous Draught for him. Herod casts out of the Palace Doris and her Accomplices, as also Mariamne, whose son Herod blots out of his Testament.*

##### § 1.

AND now vengeance came round to the real criminal Antipater, beginning from the death of Pheroras. For some of Pheroras' freedmen came with a sad countenance to the king, and told him that his brother had been destroyed by poison, for his wife had brought him something prepared in an unusual manner, and upon his eating it he at once fell ill. They said also that her mother and sister, two days before, had brought a woman out of Arabia that was skilful in mixing drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras, and instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison at the instigation of Syllæus, who was acquainted with the woman.

§ 2. The king was confounded with many suspicions, and had the maid-servants tortured, and some of the free women also; one of whom cried out in her agony, "May

the God that governs earth and heaven punish the author of all these miseries of ours, Antipater's mother!" The king caught at this confession, and proceeded to inquire further into the truth of the matter. And this woman disclosed the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras and his wife,<sup>1</sup> as also their secret meetings, and that Pheroras and Antipater spent the whole night drinking with them when they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man-servant or maid-servant, to be present. It was one of the free women who disclosed all this.

§ 3. Upon this Herod tortured the maid-servants every one separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing disclosures, and that Antipater went to Rome and Pheroras to Peræa by mutual agreement: for they had often said to one another that now Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them and upon their wives, because, as he had not spared Mariamne and her sons, he would spare nobody; and for this reason it was best to flee as far from the wild beast as they were able. They said also that Antipater often lamented his own case to his mother, and used to say to her, that he was already growing grey, while his father seemed to become younger every day, and perhaps death would overtake him before he should begin to be a real king; and even if Herod ever should die (nobody knew when), his own enjoyment of the succession would certainly be but for a little time; for those Hydra heads, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up. He also said that he was deprived by his father of the hopes of being succeeded by his own sons, for the successor after his death was not to be any one of his own sons, but Herod the son of Mariamne; but in this point Herod plainly doted, to think that his testament would take effect, for he would take care that not one of his posterity should remain. And though Herod was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children, yet did he hate his brother still worse, for a little while back he gave him (Antipater) a hundred talents to have no dealings with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, "Wherein have we

<sup>1</sup> I read τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκα.

done him any harm?" Antipater replied, "I wish he would deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked if only alive. But it is indeed impossible to escape this wild beast, who is so given to murder, who will not permit us to love any person openly. So we meet together privately, but it will be possible for us to meet openly too, if we have but the courage and the hands of men."

§ 4. These things were said by the women who were tortured, as also that Pheroras intended to flee with them to Peræa. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the mention of the hundred talents; for he had spoken about them only to Antipater. So he vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mother Doris, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which had cost a great many talents, and expelled her from the palace a second time. He also took care of Pheroras' women after their torture, being now reconciled to them. But he was in great alarm and excitement upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons dragged to the torture, from fear that he should pass by one guilty person.

§ 5. And now he betook himself to examining Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater, and upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him from Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion of his; and that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for Antipater had charged him to take Herod off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of doing it himself. He said also that Pheroras had committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bade her bring him at once what she had received. And she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent the king's examining her and putting her to the torture; however, it came to pass, as it seems by the providence of God, who intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and so was not killed. And the king, when she was brought to him, revived her, (for she was stupefied by her fall,) and asked

her why she had thrown herself down, and gave her his oath, if she would tell the real truth, that he would excuse her from punishment; but if she concealed any thing, he would have her body racked to pieces by torture, and allow no part of it to be buried.

§ 6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, "Why do I spare to speak of these secrets, now Pheroras is dead, only to save Antipater, who has undone us all? Hear then, O king, and be you, and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When you sat weeping by Pheroras as he was dying, he then called me to him, and said, 'My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, having hated him that is so affectionate to me, and having conspired to kill him who is so troubled for me even before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompense of my impiety; but do you bring the poison that was left with us by Antipater for Herod, and destroy it immediately in my sight, that I may not be also liable to the avenger in Hades.' So I brought it as he bade me, and emptied most of it into the fire, but reserved a little of it for my own use against the uncertain future and in dread of you."

§ 7. When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it. Then the king transferred the torture from her to Antiphilus' mother and brother, who both confessed that Antiphilus had brought the box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his who was a doctor at Alexandria. Then did the manes of Alexander and Aristobulus haunt all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverers of what would not otherwise have been found out, and dragged such as were freest from suspicion to examination. And it was discovered that Mariamne, the high priest's daughter, was privy to the plot, and her brothers, when they were tortured, declared it to be so. Thereupon the king avenged this audacity of the mother upon her son, and blotted Herod, his son by her, out of his testament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*Antipater is convicted through Bathyllus, but returns from Rome without knowing this. Herod brings him to his Trial.*

## § 1.

AFTER these Bathyllus came under examination, and proved the concluding link in the evidence of Antipater's designs. For he was his freedman, and came with another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents, that, if the first potion did not do its business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also against the king. He brought also as an addition to Antipater's crimes against his father, some letters which he had written against his brothers, Archelaus and Philip, who were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, as yet lads but full of spirit. Antipater was anxious to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not stand in the way of his hopes, and to that end he forged letters against them in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write how much they abused their father, and openly bewailed Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at their own recall, for their father had already sent for them, which was the very thing that chiefly troubled Antipater.

§ 2. Indeed, while Antipater was still in Judæa, and before he went upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have similar letters against them sent from Rome, and then went to his father, who as yet had no suspicion of him, and apologized for his brothers, and alleged on their behalf that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others were only the errors of youth. But at the same time that he gave a great deal of his money to such as wrote these letters against his brothers, he tried to hide the proofs of his great expenses on account of these letters, by buying costly garments and variegated coverlets, and silver and gold cups, and several other treasures, that so, among the very great expenses laid out upon such furniture, he might conceal the money he had used in hiring men



to write these letters. For he brought in his expenses as amounting to two hundred talents, his main pretext for which was the lawsuit he had had with Syllæus. Now though all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort, were uncovered by his greater villainy, and all the examinations by torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, as the letters did his second attempt to murder brothers, yet none of those that went to Rome informed him of his misfortunes in Judæa, although seven months intervened between his conviction and return, so great was the hatred which all persons bore to him. And perhaps the manes of those brothers of his that had been done to death stopped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. At any rate he wrote from Rome, announcing the news that he would soon return, and that he was dismissed with honour by Augustus.

§ 3. Now the king, being desirous to get this plotter against him into his hands, and being also afraid lest he should some way come to the knowledge of how his affairs stood, and so be upon his guard, dissembled his anger in his letters to him, and in all respects wrote kindly to him, and desired him to make haste, because if he came quickly, he would lay aside the complaints he had against his mother. For Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled from the palace. He had also before received a letter at Tarentum,<sup>1</sup> which contained an account of the death of Pheroras, and he had made very great lamentations at it, for which some sang his praises considering he really grieved for his uncle; though probably it was confusion at his having thereby failed in his plot, and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein than for Pheroras personally. Moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to what he had done, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia,<sup>2</sup> he received the forementioned letter from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celenderis,<sup>3</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> *Taranto* in Italy. Antiq. xvii. 5, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish War*, i. 21, § 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Kilindria*, on the south coast of Asia Minor, opposite Cyprus. Antiq. xvii. 5, § 1.

suspicion came into his mind as to his mother's misfortunes, as if his soul foreboded some mischief to himself. Those therefore of his friends who were the most prudent advised him not to meet his father till he had learned clearly what were the reasons why his mother had been expelled from the palace, because they were afraid that some addition might have been made to the charges against his mother. But those that were less farsighted, and had more regard to their own desire of seeing their native country than to Antipater's safety, advised him to make haste home, and not by delaying his journey to afford his father grounds for evil suspicion, and give a handle to those that calumniated him; for if any thing had now been set a going against him, it was owing to his absence, for no one durst have broached any charge against him had he been present. They said also that it was absurd to deprive himself of certain advantages for the sake of uncertain suspicions, and not speedily to return to his father, and take the kingdom, which was in a state of oscillation on his account only. Antipater listened to this (for the deity urged him on), so he crossed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus,<sup>1</sup> the haven of Cæsarea.

§ 4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude, for every body avoided him, and nobody durst come near him; for he was hated equally by all men, and now that hatred had liberty to show itself. The dread also that men were in of the king's anger made many men keep aloof from him; for the whole city was filled with rumours about Antipater, and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of the state of his affairs. And as no man was ever sent out more magnificently when he sailed for Rome, so no man was ever received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect his danger at home, but he cunningly concealed his suspicions; and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now flee any longer, nor had he any way of escape from the difficulties which surrounded him, nor indeed had he even on the spot any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family, because of the threats of the king *against any who*

<sup>1</sup> Compare Antiq. xvii. 5, § 1.

*revealed to him the true state of affairs.* The only ray of hope that comforted him was that perhaps nothing had been discovered, or, if any discovery had been made, that perhaps he would be able to clear himself by impudence and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

§ 5. With these hopes did he fortify himself, and went to the palace without any friends with him; for these were insulted and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the governor of Syria, happened to be in the palace; and Antipater went in to his father, and, putting on a bold face, came near as if to salute him. But Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is the action of a parricide, to be desirous to embrace me, when he is under such heavy accusations! A murrain on thee, vile wretch! do not touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of the crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge. Go, and get thy defence ready against tomorrow; for I give thee so much time to prepare suitable excuses for thy knavish tricks." At this reception Antipater was in such consternation that he was able to make no answer, but went away silent. And when his mother and wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence against him, he came to himself again, and considered what defence he should make.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*Antipater is accused before Varus, and is convicted of plotting against his Father by the strongest Evidence. Herod puts off his Punishment till his own recovery from illness, and, in the mean time, alters his Testament.*

### § 1.

ON the following day the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also. Now Herod sat beside Varus, and ordered

all the witnesses to be brought in; among whom some of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been arrested, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have been already discovered by thy father, do not come near him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Augustus." When these and the other witnesses had been brought in, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech you not to condemn me unheard, but let your ears be unbiassed, and attend to my defence; for if you will give me leave, I will prove that I am innocent."

§ 2. Thereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spoke as follows to Varus. "I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also deserving of every calamity, for begetting such sons. And yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons. For when I had settled the succession to the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of the emperor, and objects of envy to other kings, I found them plotting against me, and they were put to death, mainly for the sake of Antipater. For as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger. But this accursed wild beast, when he had been gorged with the patience which I showed him, turned his insolence against me. For I seemed to him to live too long, and he was very uneasy at the old age I had arrived at; nor would he be any longer a king but by parricide. And justly am I served by him for bringing him to court from the country, where he was held in no esteem, and for thrusting out those sons of mine that had a queen for their mother, and for making him a successor to my throne. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty of. I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, having cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater. And indeed what kindness did I do to them, that

could equal what I have done to Antipater? to whom I have almost yielded up my royal authority during my lifetime, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with very large sums of money out of my own revenue; and when he sailed to Rome recently, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to the emperor, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? or what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to prove that this son plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to hide the truth again by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk and counterfeit lamentation. He it was who exhorted me to have a care of Alexander when he was alive, and not to intrust my body to everybody! He it was who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares for me! He it was who took care of my sleep, and secured me from anxiety, who comforted me in the trouble I was in at the death of my sons, and tested the affection of his surviving brothers! He was my protector, and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and wonder how I have escaped from such a deep plotter. But since some god or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will with tears lament my hard fate, and privately groan under my lonely condition; but no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend to all my sons."

§ 3. As Herod was saying this, he was interrupted by the distress of mind he was in; so he ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence. But meantime Antipater lifted up his head, (for he lay on the ground where he had thrown himself before his father's feet,) and cried out aloud, "Thou, O father, hast made my defence for me; for how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to

have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious hypocrisy. How then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who contrived so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, and impossible that he should be concealed from the judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present every where? Did I not know what end my brothers came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And, indeed, what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being a king do it? I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? Was I not beloved by thee? And what other fear of thee could I have? Moreover, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? Who was able to expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most abominable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of some savage wild beast, must I not have been overcome by thy benefits, seeing that, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest me back from exile, and didst prefer me to so many of thy sons, and madest me a king in thine own lifetime, and by the other vast advantages thou bestowedst on me, madest me an object of envy? O wretched man that I am for my bitter absence, which afforded such a great opportunity for envy, and long interval for such as were plotting against me! But I was absent, father, for thee and on thy affairs, that Syllæus might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Augustus the ruler of the world, who often called me a lover of my father.<sup>1</sup> Take the letters he has sent thee, father, they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here; these letters are my only defence, these I use as proofs of the natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed [to Rome,] knowing the latent hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my ruin, by forcing me to allow time for envy to sow calumnies against me. However, I am here, and am ready to hear the

<sup>1</sup> Philopator in the Greek.

evidence there is against me. If I am a parricide, I have travelled over land and sea, without suffering any misfortune on either of them: but this argument is no advantage to me. For it seems, father, that I am already condemned, both before God and before thee; and as I am already condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others that have been tortured, but let fire be brought to torment me; let the racks go through my bowels. Have no regard to any lamentations that this accursed body can make; for if I am a parricide, I ought not to die without torture." Such words did Antipater cry out with lamentation and weeping, and moved Varus and all the rest to pity. Herod was the only person whose rage was too strong to permit him to weep, knowing that the evidence against Antipater was true.

§ 4. And now it was, that at the king's command, Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had so toned down their pity to him, afterwards brought a bitter accusation against him, ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdom to him, especially the murder of his brothers, demonstrating that they had perished because of the calumnies he had raised against them. He also said that he had intrigued against those that were still alive, as if they were aiming at the succession: for how could it be supposed that he who prepared poison for his father, would abstain from his brothers? He then proceeded to bring home to him the attempt to poison Herod, and gave an account in order of the several discoveries that had been made, and was very wroth as to the affair of Pheroras, because Antipater had tried to make him murder his brother, and had corrupted those that were dearest to the king, and had filled the whole palace with guilt. And when he had said many other things and proved them he left off.

§ 5. Then Varus bade Antipater make his defence, but he lay on the ground silent, and said no more but this, "God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion, and gave it to a condemned malefactor, who was then in prison, to drink. And he having died upon the spot, Varus, after a private conversation with Herod, when he had written an account of this trial to

Augustus, went away the day after. And the king put Antipater in bonds, and sent people to inform Augustus of the case.

§ 6. After this it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphilus' domestics came, and brought letters from Rome from a maid-servant of Julia, whose name was Acme. By her it was written to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome among Julia's papers, and had sent it him privately out of good-will to him. This letter of Salome's contained most bitter reproaches against the king, and the greatest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme, and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him: "As thou desiredst, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter, and am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised, when all is accomplished."

§ 7. When this letter was discovered, and the forged letter against Salome, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander had also been forged. He was moreover greatly disturbed and enraged, because he had almost slain his sister owing to Antipater. He did not intend therefore any longer to delay to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; but as he was going to proceed against Antipater, he was restrained by a severe illness. However, he sent an account about Acme, and the conspiracy against Salome, to Augustus; he sent also for his own testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipas king, passing over his eldest sons, Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputations with him; and he bequeathed to Augustus, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents, and to his wife and children, and friends, and freedmen, about five hundred talents; he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land and money, and showed his respect to Salome his sister by giving her most splendid gifts. Such were the changes which he made in his testament.



## CHAP. XXXIII.

*The Golden Eagle is cut to pieces. Herod's barbarity when on the point of death. He attempts to kill himself. He commands Antipater to be slain. He survives him Five Days, and then dies.*

## § 1.

NOW Herod's illness became more and more severe, because various ailments fell upon him in his old age and dejected condition; for he was already almost seventy years of age, and was depressed at the calamities that had happened to him about his children, so that he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health. The grief also that Antipater was still alive aggravated his disease, and he resolved to have him put to death not now at random, but publicly executed as soon as he himself should be well again.

§ 2. There also now happened to him, among his other troubles, a certain rising of the people. There were two men of learning in the city of Jerusalem, who were thought most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on that account held in very great esteem by all the nation: one was Judas, the son of Sepphoræus, and the other was Matthias the son of Margalus. There was a great course of the young men to these men, as they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was now wasting away with melancholy and disease, they dropped words to their friends that it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country. For it was unlawful that there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or busts, or the representation of any living thing whatever. Now the king had put a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down, and told them, if any danger should arise, that it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country;

for immortality of soul and eternal enjoyment of happiness would await those that died so ; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred death by disease to death as the result of virtue.

§ 3. At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, the rumour spread abroad that the king was dying, which made the young men set about the work with greater boldness. They therefore let themselves down from the top of the temple with thick cords at midday, when a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down the golden eagle with axes. This was announced at once to the king's captain, who came running up with a great body of soldiers, and arrested about forty of the young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them first if they had been so bold as to cut down the golden eagle, they confessed that they had done so : and when he asked them next by whose command they had done so, they replied, at the command of the law of their country. And when he asked them further how they could be so jubilant when they were to be put to death, they replied, because they would enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.

§ 4. At this the king was in such a rage that he overcame his disease [for the time,] and went out and spoke to the people, and made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as having greater ideas in view under pretext of their law, and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Thereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty, and begged that when he had first punished those that had suggested this work, and then those that were caught at it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not readily, and ordered those that had let themselves down from the temple with cords, as also the learned men, to be burnt alive, but delivered the rest that had been arrested to the proper officers to put to death.

§ 5. After this the disease seized upon Herod's whole body, and racked all his members with various complications. For there was a great fever upon him, and an

intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continual pains in his colon, and dropsical swellings in his feet, and an inflammation in his abdomen, and a putrefaction that produced worms in his privy member. He had also a difficulty in breathing, and could not breathe but when he sat upright, and was convulsed in all his members, insomuch that the diviners said these various complications were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the learned men. But he struggled against his numerous complaints, and still had a desire to live and hope of recovery, and thought of several methods of cure. Accordingly, he crossed the Jordan, and used those hot baths at Callirrhoe,<sup>1</sup> which run into the lake Asphaltitis,<sup>2</sup> but are sweet and drinkable. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil, whereupon his eyes failed him, and he rolled them as if he were dying. And as a cry was then made by his servants, he revived again at their voice, but afterwards despaired of recovery, and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmæ apiece, and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

§ 6. He then returned to Jericho,<sup>3</sup> and arrived there very dejected, and almost threatened death itself, for he proceeded to attempt horrid wickedness. For he got together the most illustrious men out of every village in all Judæa into a place called the Hippodrome, and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and made the following speech to them: "I know well enough that the Jews will make a festival of my death; but I may be mourned for on other accounts, and have a splendid funeral, if you will but carry out my commands. Do you but take care to send soldiers to surround those men that are now in custody, and to slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judæa

<sup>1</sup> The hot springs in the *Wady Zerka Ma'in*, east of the *Dead Sea*. Antiq. xvii. 6, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> The *Dead Sea*. Antiq. i. 9; iv. 5, § 1; xvii. 6, § 5. Jewish War, iii. 10, § 7; iv. 8, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *er-Riha*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

and every family in it will weep unwilling tears at my death."

§ 7. These were the commands he gave them, when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, wherein information was given that Acme had been put to death at Augustus' command, and that Antipater was condemned to death; however, they wrote also that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Augustus permitted him to do so. And Herod for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but afterwards he was overcome by his pains, and distracted by want of food and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to anticipate death; so he took an apple and asked for a knife, for he used to pare his apples before eating them; he then looked round to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and lifted up his right hand as if he would stab himself. But Achiabus, his cousin, ran up to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from doing so. Immediately a very great lamentation was raised in the palace, as if the king had expired; and as soon as ever Antipater heard that, he took courage, and with joy in his looks besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him and let him go. But the principal keeper of the prison did not only prevent that, but ran and told the king what his design was. Thereupon the king cried out louder than his disease would well bear, and immediately sent some of his body-guards and had Antipater slain. He also gave orders to have him buried at Hyrcanium,<sup>1</sup> and altered his testament again, and therein made Archelaus (his eldest son, and the brother of Antipas,) his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch.

§ 8. Herod survived the death of Antipater only five days, having reigned thirty-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom, but it was thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. As for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any man's was, seeing that from a private man he obtained a kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but in his domestic affairs he was a most unfortunate man. Now before the soldiers

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. xvii. 7; Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

knew of Herod's death, Salome and her husband came out and set free those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and said that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When they were gone, Salome then told the soldiers of the king's death, and assembled them and the rest of the multitude in the amphitheatre in Jericho, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet-ring, came before them, and passed a eulogy on the late king, and comforted the multitude, and read the letter which had been left for the soldiers, wherein Herod earnestly exhorted them to bear good-will to his successor. And after he had read this letter, he opened and read Herod's testament, by which Philip was to inherit Trachonitis and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as I said before, and Archelaus was made king. Archelaus was also commanded to carry Herod's ring to Augustus, and the settlements made about the kingdom sealed up, for Augustus was to be lord of all the settlements Herod had made, and was to confirm his testament. As to all other matters, Herod ordered that they were to be as in his former testaments.

§ 9. At once acclamation was made congratulating Archelaus, and the soldiers went round in bands with the multitude, and promised him their good-will, and also prayed God to bless him. After this they betook themselves to the king's funeral; and Archelaus spared no expense, but brought out all the royal ornaments to add to the pomp of the funeral. The bier was of solid gold, set with precious stones, and on it was a purple bed richly embroidered, and upon it lay the corpse covered with a purple pall, and a diadem was put upon the head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in the right hand. And round the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to whom came his body-guards, and the regiment of Thracians, also the Germans and Galati, all accoutred as if they were marching to war. And the rest of the army went in advance, armed, and following their captains and officers in order; and after them five hundred

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

of Herod's domestics and freedmen followed bearing sweet spices. And the body was carried two hundred furlongs to Herodium,<sup>1</sup> where Herod had given orders to be buried. Such was the end of the life of Herod.

## BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF SIXTY-NINE YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TILL VESPASIAN IS SENT BY NERO TO SUBDUE THE JEWS.

### CHAP. I.

*Archelaus makes a funeral Feast for the People on account of Herod. After this a great Tumult is raised by the Multitude, and Archelaus sends the Soldiers out upon them, who destroy about three Thousand of them.*

#### § 1.

NOW the necessity which Archelaus was in of journeying to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances. For when he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, (which custom causes poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude, for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,) he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people received him with various acclamations. He also spoke kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat and throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown at his father's funeral, and the court they had paid to himself, as if he were already sure to be king. However, he told them, he would not at present take upon him either the authority or title of king, until Augustus, who was constituted lord of the whole affair by Herod's testament, confirmed his succession; for when the soldiers would

<sup>1</sup> *Jebel Fureidis*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it. He said, however, that he would make abundant return, not only to the soldiers, but also to the people, for their zeal and good-will to him, when those in power should give him a complete title to the kingdom; for it should be his aim to show himself in all points better than his father.

§ 2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and at once made trial of his intentions by great requests. For some made a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes, others that he would take off the duties upon commodities, and some that he would set free those that were in prison. In all these cases he assented readily, to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered sacrifice, and feasted with his friends. Thereupon a great many of those that desired innovation gathered together in crowds towards the evening, and began to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over, and lamented those that had been put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this mourning of a subdued nature, but the lamentations were piercing, the mourning prearranged, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city, as for men who they said had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They also cried out that punishment ought to be inflicted in their behalf upon those that had been honoured by Herod; and that first the man whom Herod had made high priest ought to be deposed, for it was right to choose a person of greater piety and purity for that office.

§ 3. At these clamours Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance, because of the urgent necessity of going to Rome, fearing, if he excited the hostility of the people, that he might be detained at home by an *émeute*. Accordingly, he tried to quiet the innovators by persuasion rather than force, and sent his general privately to them, and exhorted them to be quiet. But the riotous threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he entered the temple, before he could say any thing to them; and those who came to them after him to try and bring them to reason (for many were sent by

Archelaus) they answered on all occasions in a passionate manner, and it plainly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers became considerable. And indeed at the feast of Unleavened Bread, which was now at hand (and is by the Jews called the Passover, and is celebrated with a great number of sacrifices), an innumerable number of the people came out of the country to worship: and some of them stood in the temple bewailing the learned men [that had been put to death by Herod,] seeking to fan the sedition. At this Archelaus was afraid, and secretly sent a tribune and cohort of soldiers against them, before the disaffection should spread among the whole multitude, and gave orders that they should constrain by force those that began the tumult to be quiet. At their arrival the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at the soldiers and killed most of them, and the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape. After this they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if nothing of importance had happened. However, it did not appear to Archelaus that the multitude could now be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army against them, the foot *en masse* through the city, and the horse by way of the plain; and they, falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, slew about three thousand of them, and dispersed the rest of the multitude upon the adjoining mountains. And Archelaus' heralds followed and commanded every one to retire to their own homes, so they all went off and left the feast.

## CHAP. II.

*Archelaus goes to Rome with a great Number of his Kindred. He is there accused before Augustus by Antipater; but gets the better of his Accusers, owing to the defence which Nicolaus made for him.*

### § 1.

ARCHELAUS went down to the sea-side with his mother and friends Poplas and Ptolemy and Nicolaus, and left Philip behind him, to manage the palace and



see to his domestic affairs. Salome also went with him, as did also her sons and the king's brothers and connections by marriage, ostensibly to give him all the assistance they were able to secure his succession, but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws in what he had done at the temple.

§ 2. And when they were come to Cæsarea,<sup>1</sup> Sabinus, the governor of Syria, met them, who was going up to Judæa to secure Herod's effects. But Varus, who had arrived there, having been sent for by Archelaus through Ptolemy, restrained him from going any further. At this time indeed, to gratify Varus, Sabinus neither hastened to the citadels, nor did he shut up from Archelaus the treasuries where his father's money was laid up, but promised that he would do nothing till Augustus should have decided about affairs. So he abode at Cæsarea. But as soon as those that could hinder him were gone, when Varus had gone to Antioch,<sup>2</sup> and Archelaus had sailed to Rome, he quickly went up to Jerusalem, and occupied the palace. And when he had sent for the governors of the citadels, and the controllers of the king's household, he tried to sift out the money accounts, and take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels did not neglect the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, saying that the guard of them belonged rather to Augustus than to Archelaus.

§ 3. Meantime Antipas also went to Rome to lay claim to the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named king, was more valid than the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of his kindred who sailed with Archelaus. He also took with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the trust Herod placed in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Irenæus the orator, owing to his eloquence, upon whose advice he had rejected such as had advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him.

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Antakia*, on the Orontes.

The favour also of Archelaus' kindred, who hated him, was shifted to Antipas, when they came to Rome. For though every one much preferred living under their own laws under a Roman governor; yet if they should fail in that point, they wished that Antipas might be king.

§ 4. Sabinus also afforded them his assistance for this purpose by the letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus to Augustus, and highly commended Antipas. Salome and her party also drew up their charges against Archelaus, and put them into Augustus' hands; and after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the main points of his claim, and sent in by Ptolemy his father's ring and accounts. And when Augustus had first weighed by himself the claims of both, as also the size of the kingdom, and large amount of the revenues, and also the numerous offspring Herod had left behind him, and had also read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on the matter, he assembled a council of the principal Romans (in which Caius, the son of Agrippa and his own daughter Julia, whom he had adopted as his own son, sat in the first seat), and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

§ 5. Then stood up Salome's son Antipater, (who of all Archelaus' antagonists was the cleverest speaker,) and accused him as follows. He said that Archelaus did in words lay claim to the kingdom, but had in deed long exercised royal authority, and so did but insult Augustus in desiring to be now heard on that account; since he had not waited for his determination about the succession, but suborned certain persons after Herod's death to move for putting the diadem upon his head, and had sat on the throne and acted as a king, and altered the arrangements of the army, and granted to some higher dignities, and had also complied in all things with the people in the requests they had made to him as to their king, and had also set free those that had been put in bonds by his father for most important reasons, and now, after all this, he came to ask of his lord the shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had already seized for himself, and so made Augustus lord, not of things, but of words. He also reproached him further, that his mourning for his father was only pretended, as he put on a sad countenance in the day-time, but drank to

great excess by night, which behaviour, he said, caused the late disturbance among the multitude, for they were indignant thereat. And indeed the purport of his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus' crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple, for they came to the feast, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices; and he said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple, as even a foreign and implacable war could not have heaped together. And he added, that it was the foreknowledge his father Herod had of his barbarity, which made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, except when his mind was more infirm than his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not remember whom he nominated in his second testament as his successor; and this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him whom he had nominated before, when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all disorder. If, however, any one should suppose Herod's judgment, when he was ill, was superior to his judgment at another time, yet had Archelaus forfeited the kingdom by his behaviour, and by actions contrary to the law, and to the disadvantage of the realm. For what sort of a king would he be, if he obtained the kingdom from Augustus, who had slain so many before he had obtained it?

§ 6. When Antipater had spoken much to this purpose, and had produced a great number of his kindred as witnesses to prove every part of the accusation, he ended his discourse. Then Nicolaus stood up to plead for Archelaus. He argued that the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; for those that were slain were enemies not only to the kingdom but also to Augustus, who was to determine about him. He also showed that Archelaus' accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things of which he was accused. Moreover he insisted that the latter testament should chiefly be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Augustus as the person who should confirm the succession. For he who showed such sense as to yield up his own power to the lord of the world, could not be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so

well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession, could not be unacquainted with the character of him whom he chose for his successor.

§ 7. When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came up gently and fell down at Augustus' knees. Upon which he raised him up in a very kind manner, and declared that he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he made no determination in the case; but when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself as to what he had heard, whether it were fit to appoint any of those named in the various testaments as Herod's successor, or whether Herod's dominions should be parted among all his posterity, for a number of persons seemed to stand in need of support.

### CHAP. III.

*The Jews fight a great Battle with Sabinus' Soldiers, and a great Destruction is made at Jerusalem.*

#### § 1.

NOW before Augustus had come to any determination about these affairs, Archelaus' mother Malthace fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus had sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain its promoters, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; and he left at Jerusalem one of the three legions which he had brought with him out of Syria, and himself returned to Antioch. But Sabinus went there after he was gone, and gave them a pretext for making innovations; for he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a strict search for the king's money, for depending not only on the soldiers who were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own slaves, all of whom he armed, and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, was at hand, which the Jews call Pentecost, its name being taken from the number of days

after the Passover, the people assembled together, not on account of their accustomed worship, but from their indignation. For an immense multitude came together from Galilee and Idumæa<sup>1</sup> and Jericho,<sup>2</sup> and from Peræa<sup>3</sup> beyond the Jordan. But the people that naturally belonged to Judæa itself exceeded the rest both in numbers and zeal. And they divided themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places, one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side by the Hippodrome,<sup>4</sup> and the third at the palace<sup>5</sup> on the west. And they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

§ 2. Now Sabinus was afraid both of their numbers and courage, and sent frequent messengers to Varus, and besought him to come to his succour quickly, for if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces; and he himself got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phasaelus,<sup>6</sup> and was so called after Herod's brother who was killed by the Parthians, and from thence he made signs to the soldiers of the legion to attack the enemy; for his alarm was so great that he durst not go down to his own men. And the soldiers obeyed and rushed forward into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which, while there were none above them to gall them, they had the best of it from their skill, and the others' want of skill, in war; but when once many of the Jews had got up to the top of the porticoes, and threw their darts downwards upon the heads of the Romans, a great many of them were slain. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from above, nor to stand the attack of those who fought them hand to hand.

§ 3. As, therefore, the Romans were sorely galled by both these, they set fire to the porticoes, which were works

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *er-Ritha*.

<sup>3</sup> Peræa extended from Pella in the north to Machærus in the south. Antiq. xvii. 8, § 1; 11, § 4. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4; iii. 3, § 3; iv. 7, § 3.

<sup>4</sup> The Hippodrome appears to have been to the south of the Double Gate in the *Haram* Wall at Jerusalem.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Herod's palace near the *Jaffa* Gate.

<sup>6</sup> The present 'Tower of David.'

to be admired both for their size and costliness. Thereupon those that were on them were suddenly wrapped in flames, and many of them perished therein; many of them also were cut to pieces by the enemy, as they leapt upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls behind, and some in the desperate condition they were in anticipated the fire by killing themselves with their own swords. And as many of them as crept down from the walls, and rushed upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, because of the panic they were in, until at last, some of the Jews being slain, and others dispersed from the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, of which Sabinus got all that was not stolen by the soldiers.

§ 4. Now this destruction of their porticoes and men made a much greater number of Jews, and those of the more warlike sort, to oppose the Romans; and they surrounded the palace, and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went away quickly; for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would depart with his legion. Most also of the king's party deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews. However, the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand men of Sebaste,<sup>1</sup> went over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same, (Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse,) each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight, on account of their courage and wisdom, to turn the scales in war. Now the Jews persevered in the siege, and tried to break down the walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party to depart, and not to prove a hindrance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover the autonomy that their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed would have been well contented to get out of the danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for him; this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

<sup>1</sup> *Sebastieh.*

## CHAP. IV.

*Herod's Veterans mutiny. The Robberies of Judas. Simon and Athrongæus take the name of King upon them.*

## § 1.

AT this time there were great disturbances throughout the country in many places, and the opportunity that now offered itself induced many to set up for kings. In Idumæa indeed two thousand of Herod's veterans banded together, and armed themselves, and fought against those of the king's party; against whom the king's cousin Achia-bus fought, making the places that were most strongly fortified the base of his operations, and avoiding battle with the enemy in the plains. In Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> also, a city of Galilee, one Judas (the son of the arch-robber Ezekias, who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by king Herod) got no small multitude together, and broke into the royal armouries, and armed those about him, and attacked those that desired to get power.

§ 2. In Peræa also Simon, one of the king's slaves, relying upon his handsome appearance and tall stature, put a diadem upon his head, and went about with a band of robbers that he had got together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides, and procured himself spoil very easily by snatching it out of the fire. And he would soon have burnt down every handsome building, if Gratus, the captain of the king's foot, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met him in battle, when great numbers of his foot were slain. Gratus also intercepted Simon himself, as he was fleeing along a steep ravine, and gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he fled, and cut his head off. The royal palace also that was near the Jordan at Betharamathus<sup>2</sup> was burnt down by some of the other rebels from Peræa.

§ 3. At this time a certain shepherd called Athrongæus

<sup>1</sup> *Sefûrieh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Tell Râmek*. The Beth-Haram of Josh. xiii. 27. Antiq. xviii. 2, § 1; xiv. 1, § 4 (Livias). Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1 (Julias).

ventured to set himself up for a king. It was his strength of body that suggested to him the hope of such a dignity, as well as his soul which despised death; and, besides these qualifications, he had four brothers who were as brave as himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of his brothers, and made use of them as his generals and satraps to make incursions, while he himself like a king meddled only with the more important affairs. And at this time he put a diadem on his head, and continued afterwards to overrun the country for no little time with his brothers, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king's party, nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to surround a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion. And his men shot their arrows and darts, and slew the centurion Arius and forty of the bravest men, but the rest of them who were in danger of the same fate escaped, as Gratus and the men of Sebaste came up to their assistance. And when these men had thus harassed both their own countrymen and foreigners during the whole war, three of them were after some time subdued, the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemy, and the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for security. However, this end did not befall them till afterwards, and at present they filled all Judæa with a guerilla war.

## CHAP. V.

*Varus composes the Tumults in Judæa, and crucifies about two thousand of the Riotous.*

### § 1.

UPON Varus' reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and his officers, he could not but be afraid for the whole legion, and resolved to hasten to their relief. So he took with him the other two legions, with the four

<sup>1</sup> Emmaus-Nicopolis, 'Amwás. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.



troops of horse belonging to them, and marched to Ptolemais; <sup>1</sup> having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, <sup>2</sup> as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian, (who, from the hatred he bore Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot,) Varus sent a part of his army at once to Galilee, which was near Ptolemais, with Caius one of his friends as its commander, who put those that met him to flight, and took the city of Sepphoris, <sup>3</sup> and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. As for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria <sup>4</sup> with his whole army, and did not meddle with that city, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp near a certain village which was called Arus: <sup>5</sup> which belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even with Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to Sampho, <sup>6</sup> another fortified village, which they plundered as they had done the other, and carried off all the money they found that belonged to the public revenues. And all was now full of fire and bloodshed, and nothing could resist the plundering of the Arabians. Emmaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, at the command of Varus, in his rage at the slaughter of Arius and those that were with him.

§ 2. Varus marched on thence to Jerusalem, and as soon as he and his army were but seen by the Jews, he dispersed their force, for they retired and fled up the country. But the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having had any hand in the revolt, and said, that they had raised no commotion, but had been forced to admit the multitude because of the festival, and had rather been besieged with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the cousin of Achelaus, and Gratus and Rufus, who led the men of Sebaste, <sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Akka, St. Jean d' Acre.*      <sup>2</sup> *Beirut.*      Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Sefürich.*      Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>5</sup> *Antiq. xvii. 10, § 9.*

<sup>6</sup> *Antiq. xvii. 10, § 9.*

<sup>7</sup> *Samaria, Sebustieh.*

the king's army; there also met him those of the Roman legion armed in their accustomed manner. As for Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus' sight, but had gone out of the city before this to the seaside. And Varus sent a part of his army into the country against those that had been the authors of this commotion, and great numbers were captured, and those that appeared to have had least concern in these tumults he merely put into prison, but such as were the most guilty he crucified to the number of about two thousand.

§ 3. He was also informed that there still remained ten thousand men in arms in Idumæa. And as he found that the Arabians did not act like allies, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country against his wish from their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, and pushed on with his own legions against those that had revolted. And they, at the advice of Achiabus, surrendered to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the men their offences, but sent their leaders to Augustus to be examined by him. And Augustus forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen) should be put to death, because they had engaged in war against a king of their own family. When, therefore, Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem in this manner, and had left the legion formerly there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Jews greatly complain of Archelaus, and desire that they may be made a Roman Province. And when Augustus had heard what they had to say, he distributed Herod's Dominions among his Sons, according to his own pleasure.*

### § 1.

AND now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which was made by those ambassadors, who before the revolt had come, at Varus' per-

mission, to plead for the autonomy of their nation; those that came were only fifty in number, but more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome supported them. And when Augustus had assembled a council of the principal Romans and his friends in Apollo's temple on the Palatine Hill (which he had himself built and adorned at vast expense) the multitude of the Jews stood with these fifty ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus with his friends. As for the friends of the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for their hatred and envy of him would not let them stand on Archelaus' side, and they were afraid to be seen by Augustus among his accusers. Besides these Archelaus' brother Philip was present, who had been sent on out of kindness by Varus for two reasons, one to assist Archelaus, and the other, in case Augustus should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among all his posterity, that he might obtain some share of it.

§ 2. And now, upon permission being given the accusers to speak, they first detailed Herod's various lawless acts, and said that they had not had to endure a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants that ever lived. For when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they considered those that were dead happy men; for he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities. He had also scandalously treated the cities of his own country, while he had adorned those that belonged to foreigners, and had shed the blood of Jews to gratify strangers; and had filled the nation full of poverty and the greatest lawlessness, instead of that happiness and those laws which it had anciently enjoyed. In short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod in a few years, than their forefathers had during all the interval of time that had passed since they had returned home from Babylon in the reign of Xerxes. However, the nation had come to so low a condition, by being inured to ill treatment, that they submitted to a self-imposed continuance of bitter slavery. Accordingly, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, they readily hailed Archelaus as king, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and prayed for his succession.

But he, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the slaughter of three thousand citizens, and had offered so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and had defiled the temple with as many dead bodies at festival time. Those therefore that were left after so many miseries had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in war, to receive stripes upon their faces [and not upon their backs as hitherto]. Wherefore they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the remains of Judæa, and not expose what was left of it to such as had barbarously torn it in pieces, but that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own governors; when it would be apparent that they who were calumniated as seditious persons and lovers of war, knew how to bear governors set over them, if they were moderate ones. The Jews concluded their accusation with this request. Then rose up Nicolaus, and confuted the accusations which were brought against Herod and Archelaus, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also inveighed against all those kinsmen of Archelaus' who had left him, and had gone over to his accusers.

§ 3. And Augustus, when he had heard both sides, dissolved the council for the time; but a few days afterwards he gave half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Ethnarch, and promised to make him king also afterwards, if he showed himself worthy of that dignity. As to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, one to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Antipas had Peræa<sup>1</sup> and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents; and Bata-næa,<sup>2</sup> and Trachonitis,<sup>3</sup> and Auranitis,<sup>4</sup> and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia,<sup>5</sup> with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip: while Idumæa,<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *el-Lejah*. Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> *The Haurân*. Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Yebnah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>6</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

all Judæa, and Samaria, were made parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, but Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, because it had not revolted with the others. Archelaus also received the following as subject cities, viz. Strato's Tower,<sup>1</sup> and Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> and Joppa,<sup>3</sup> and Jerusalem; for as to the Greek cities, Gaza<sup>4</sup> and Gadara<sup>5</sup> and Hippos,<sup>6</sup> Augustus cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. And the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus was four hundred talents. Salome, also, besides what Herod had left her in his testaments, was now declared mistress of Jamnia and Azotus<sup>7</sup> and Phasaelis.<sup>8</sup> Augustus moreover bestowed upon her the royal palace in Ascalon.<sup>9</sup> So from all sources she got a revenue of sixty talents. But Augustus put her property under the ethnarchy of Archelaus. As for the rest of Herod's offspring, they each received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments; and besides that, Augustus granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. And after this distribution of the family property, he divided among them what had been bequeathed to himself by Herod, which was a thousand talents, picking out for himself only some inconsiderable presents in honour of the deceased.

## CHAP. VII.

*The History of the spurious Alexander. Archelaus is banished, and Glaphyra dies, after what was to happen to both of them had been showed them in Dreams.*

## § 1.

**M**EANTIME a man who was by birth a Jew, but had been brought up at Sidon<sup>10</sup> with one of the Roman freedmen, falsely pretended, on account of his personal

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.      <sup>2</sup> *Sebustieh*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaffa*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.      <sup>4</sup> *Ghuzzeh*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Umm Keis*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.      <sup>6</sup> *Susiyeh*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Azotus, Esdûd*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Fusail*. Jewish War, i. 21, § 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ascalân*. Jewish War, i. 9, § 2.      <sup>10</sup> *Saida*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 1.

resemblance, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod, and went to Rome, hoping not to be detected there. He had one of his own nation who was his instigator in this, who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say that those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them and stole them away, putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. In this way he deceived the Jews that were at Crete,<sup>1</sup> and got a great deal of travelling-money from them, and sailed thence to Melos,<sup>2</sup> where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed upon those that had entertained him to sail with him for Rome. And he landed at Dicæarchia,<sup>3</sup> and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there, and was escorted by his supposed father's friends as if he were a king. Nay, his personal resemblance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had even known him very well, swore that he was the very same person. So the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude stood in the narrow streets through which he was carried. For the people of Melos were so infatuated, that they carried him in a litter, and maintained a royal retinue for him at their own cost.

§ 2. But Augustus, who knew perfectly well the features of Alexander, because he had been accused by Herod before him, even before he saw the man, doubted the truth of the story, but, putting some belief in cheerful hopes, sent Celadus, who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. And when Augustus saw him, he immediately discerned the difference of his countenance, and when he discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he detected all the contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked Augustus. For he told those who asked about Aristobulus that he also was preserved alive, but was left on purpose in Cyprus<sup>4</sup> for fear of

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. xvii. 12, § 1; Against Apion, ii. § 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Milo*. The most westerly of the Cyclades. Antiq. xvii. 12, §§ 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Puteoli, *Pozzuoli*. Life, § 3; Antiq. xvii. 12, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> Antiq. xiii. 10, § 4; xvii. 12, § 2.

treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then Celadus took him apart, and said to him, "The emperor will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to concoct such a story." So he said that he would discover him, and followed Celadus to Augustus, and pointed out the Jew who had trafficked on the personal resemblance as a means of getting money, for he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did when he was alive. Augustus laughed at the matter, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that had instigated him to this contrivance to be put to death. As for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been put to on his account.

§ 3. And now Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, and used not only the Jews, but also the Samaritans barbarously, remembering their old quarrels with him. So they both sent ambassadors against him to Augustus, and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienne,<sup>1</sup> a city in Gaul, and his effects were confiscated to Augustus' treasury. And the story goes that, before he was sent for by Augustus, he dreamed he saw nine ears of corn, full and large, devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldæans, and inquired of them what they thought this portended, and when one of them gave one interpretation, and another another, Simon, one of the sect of the Essenes, said that he thought the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen denoted changes of affairs, because by ploughing they made an alteration of the country. He would therefore probably reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, would die. And five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation, he was called to his trial.

§ 4. I cannot but also think worth recording the dream that Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had originally been wife of Alexander (the

<sup>1</sup> *Vienne*, on the left bank of the Rhone. *Antiq.* xvii. 13, § 2.

brother of that Archelaus of whom I have been speaking, and the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as I have previously related), and after his death married Juba king of Libya,<sup>1</sup> and after his death returned home, and lived in widowhood with her father, till Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Mariamne, who was then his wife, and married her. Now when she had returned to Judæa, and had been there a little while, she dreamed she saw Alexander standing by her, and that he said to her, "Thy marriage with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for thee; but thou wast not contented with him, but art returned again to my family, to a third husband, and thou hast chosen for thine husband, O impudent woman, my brother. However, I will not overlook the injury thou hast done me; I shall have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." And after telling her dream she barely survived two days.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Archelaus' Ethnarchy is reduced to a Roman Province. The Rising of Judas of Galilee. The three Sects of the Jews.*

### § 1.

AND now Archelaus' portion of Judæa was reduced to a Roman province; and Coponius, a man of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as governor, having the power of life and death put into his hands by Augustus. It was under his administration that a certain Galilæan, whose name was Judas, induced his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would endure paying tribute to the Romans, and after God submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a founder of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the other founders of sects.

§ 2. For there are three philosophical sects among the

<sup>1</sup> The country west of Egypt. Antiq. i. 6, § 2; i. 15; Jewish War, vii. 11, § 1.



Jews, the followers of the first of which are called Pharisees, those of the second Sadducees, and those of the third sect, which seems to practise a severer discipline, Essenes. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. They reject pleasures as vice, and esteem continence and the conquest over our passions to be virtue. They despise marriage, but choose out other persons' children while they are pliable and fit for learning, and adopt them as their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely repudiate marriage, and the continuance of the human race thereby, but are on their guard against the lascivious behaviour of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve fidelity to one man.

§ 3. These men are despisers of riches, and wonderfully communistic, nor is there any one to be found among them who possesses more than another. For it is a law among them, that those who join their sect must let what they have be common to the whole body; insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of abject poverty, or excess of riches, but everyone's property forms a common stock, and is, as it were, one patrimony for all the brethren. They think oil a defilement, and if any one of them gets any on his body against his will, he wipes his body; for they think to be dry is a good thing, as also to be continually clothed in white garments. They also elect people to manage their common affairs, who have each no business of their own, but only act for the society.

§ 4. They have no one particular city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have is open to them just as if it were their own, and they go into the houses of those whom they never knew before, as if they were their most intimate friends. Accordingly they carry nothing at all with them when they travel, though they take their weapons with them for fear of robbers. And they have in each city a person specially told off to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. And the dress and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their tutors. They do not change their garments or shoes, till they are first entirely

torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell anything to one another, but every one of them gives what he has to him that wants it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what is useful to himself; and even though no requital be made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomever they please.

§ 5. As for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sun-rise they speak not a word about profane matters, but offer up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this, every one of them is dismissed by the managers to carry out the work in which they are proficient, at which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour, after which they assemble together again in one place, and when they have clothed themselves in linen, they bathe their bodies in cold water; and after this purification they assemble in an apartment of their own, into which none of another sect are permitted to enter; and they go pure into the dining-room, as into a holy temple. And when they have quietly sat down, the baker lays loaves before them in order, and the cook brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before each of them. And a priest offers a prayer, before which it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food, and after the meal is over he offers up a prayer again, and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as the giver of their food. After this they lay aside their linen garments, as sacred, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening; they then return home and sup in the same manner, and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor does any clamour or disturbance ever pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in turn; and the silence of the inmates appears to those outside like some tremendous mystery; but the cause of it is their perpetual sobriety, and the fact that the meat and drink that is allotted them comes short of satiety.

§ 6. And indeed in all other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their managers; only two things are done among them at their own option, namely assisting those that want assistance, and showing mercy. For they are permitted at their own option to succour such

as are deserving when they stand in need of succour, and to give food to those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their kindred without the leave of the managers. They dispense their anger in a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace. Whatever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury; for they say that what cannot be believed without [swearing by] God, is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of soul and body, and inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their diseases.

§ 7. Now if any one has a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living as they use for a year, while he continues excluded, and they give him also a small hatchet, and the forementioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he has during that time given evidence of his continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of their waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his character is tested two more years, and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, in the first place that he will exercise piety towards God, and next that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or at the command of others, and that he will always hate the wicked, and help the righteous, and that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, because no one rules without the will of God, and that if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, or endeavour to outshine his subjects, either in dress or any other finery; and that he will ever be a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies; and that he will keep his hands clean from theft, and his soul from unlawful gain; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others; no, not

though any one should try to compel him so to do at the risk of his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one in any other way than as he received them himself; and that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of their angels. These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

§ 8. As for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society, and he who is thus expelled often dies in a most miserable manner. For as he is bound by the oaths he has taken, and by the customs he has followed, he is not at liberty to partake of the food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat herbs, and so wastes away with hunger, and dies. And so they receive many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion, thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death a sufficient punishment for the sins they have been guilty of.

§ 9. As to the judgments they exercise they are most strictly just, nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court of fewer than a hundred persons. But what is once determined by that number is unalterable. And what they most of all honour, after God himself, is the name of their legislator, whom if any one blaspheme, he is punished by death. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders and the majority: so if ten are sitting together, none of them will speak if the other nine are against speaking. They also avoid spitting in the midst, or on the right hand, and are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day. For they not only get their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not on that day remove any vessel out of its place, nor even go to stool. On other days they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle (a kind of hatchet given them when they are first admitted into the society), and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit, after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit, and even this they do only in the more lonely places, which they choose out for this purpose: and

although this easement of the body be natural, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if they were defiled.

§ 10. Now after the time of their probation is over, they are divided into four classes; and so much are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors are touched by the juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they had been defiled by touching a foreigner. They are long-lived also, insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, owing to the simplicity of their diet, I think, and regularity of life. They despise the miseries of life, and are above pain by their spirit; as for death, if it come with glory, they esteem it better than living always. And indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they all had, for though they were tortured and racked, burnt and torn to pieces, and suffered all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might either blaspheme their legislator, or eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either, nor once to flatter their tormentors, nor to shed a tear; but they smiled amid their pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and cheerfully resigned up their souls, expecting to receive them again.

§ 11. For the opinion is prevalent among them that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent, but that souls are immortal and continue for ever, and that they come out of the most thin air, and are united to bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; and when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then rejoice and mount upwards as if released from a long bondage. They think also, like the sons of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, nor with intense heat, but refreshed by the gentle breathing of the west wind, which perpetually blows from the ocean; while they allot to bad souls a murky and cold den, full of never-ceasing punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have the same notion, when they allot the Islands of the Blest to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demigods, but to the souls of the wicked the region of the

ungodly in Hades, where their mythology relates that certain persons are punished, such as Sisyphus and Tantalus and Ixion and Tityus; on the supposition first that souls are immortal, and next with a view to repel people from vice and exhort them to virtue; for they hold that good men become better in the conduct of their life by the hope they have of reward after death, and that the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained by fear, and by the expectation they are in, that although they may escape detection in this life, they will suffer immortal punishment after death. These are the divine doctrines of the Essenes about the soul, which unavoidably attract such as have but once tasted their philosophy.

§ 12. There are also those among them who profess to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being conversant with the sayings of the prophets: and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

§ 13. There is also another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living and customs and laws, but differ from them as regards marriage. For they think that those who do not marry cut off the principal part of human life, which is the continuance of mankind, nay, more, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would soon fail. However, they try their spouses for three years, and if they find that they have their menses thrice, as a trial that they are likely to be fruitful, they then marry them. But they do not go with their wives when they are with child, showing that they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but only to have children. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with drawers on. Such are the customs of this order of Essenes.

§ 14. As to the two other sects first mentioned, the Pharisees are esteemed most skilful in the exact interpretation of their laws, and are the first sect. They ascribe all things to fate and God, and yet allow that to do what is right or the contrary is principally in men's own power, although fate co-operates in every action. They think also that all souls are immortal, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, while the souls of bad

men are punished with eternal punishment. But the Sadducees, the second sect, take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not the cause of our doing or not doing what is bad, and they say that to do what is good or bad lies in men's own choice, and that the one or the other so belongs to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away belief in the immortality of the soul, and in punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and cultivate concord for the general utility, but the behaviour of the Sadducees to one another is rather rude, and their intercourse with those of their own party is as bearish as if they were strangers to them. Such is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Death of Salome. The Cities which Herod and Philip built. Pilate's action causes Disturbances. Tiberius puts Agrippa into Bonds, but Caius frees him from them, and makes him King. Herod Antipas is banished.*

### § 1.

AND now, when the ethnarchy of Archelaus had become a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip and Herod who was called Antipas, administered their own tetrarchies. And when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy and Jamnia,<sup>1</sup> as also her grove of palm-trees in Phasaelis.<sup>2</sup> And when the Roman empire devolved upon Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years six months and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies, and the latter of them built the city of Cæsarea<sup>3</sup> near the fountains of the Jordan in the

<sup>1</sup> *Yebmah.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Fusath.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsarea Philippi, *Baniás.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 3.

region of Paneas, as also the city of Julius<sup>1</sup> in Lower Gaulanitis. Herod also built the city of Tiberias<sup>2</sup> in Galilee, and one in Peræa called Julius.<sup>3</sup>

§ 2. Now Pilate, who was sent into Judæa as governor by Tiberius, introduced into Jerusalem by night covered up those images of Cæsar that are called standards. This excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, feeling that their laws were trodden under foot, for those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. And besides the indignation which the citizens themselves had at this proceeding, a vast number of the people came flocking out of the country. They hastened to Cæsarea<sup>4</sup> to Pilate, and besought him to have those standards removed from Jerusalem, and to respect their ancient laws. And upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate upon the ground, and continued immoveable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

§ 3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal in the great circus, and called to him the multitude, as if desirous to give them an answer, and then gave a signal to the soldiers according to a preconcerted arrangement to surround the Jews with their weapons. So the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks, and the Jews were in the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight, and Pilate told them that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would receive Cæsar's images, and gave a signal to the soldiers to draw their swords. Thereupon the Jews, as if by agreement, fell down in vast numbers together, and bared their necks, and cried out that they were ready to be slain rather than that their law should be transgressed. Thereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their invincible regard to their religion, and gave orders that the standards should be at once carried away from Jerusalem.

§ 4. After this he raised another disturbance by ex-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *et-Tell*. Life, § 72; Antiq. xviii. 2, § 1; Jewish War, iii. 10, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Tubariya*. Life, *pass.*; Antiq. xviii. 2, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> Betharampha. Jewish War, ij. 4, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.



pending the sacred treasure which is called Corban on an aqueduct,<sup>1</sup> whereby he brought water from a distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude were indignant, and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they flocked round his tribunal, and made a clamour. Now, as he was apprised beforehand of this disturbance, he mixed up his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude, and ordered them to conceal themselves in the dress of private men, and not to use their swords, but to beat with their staves those that made the clamour, and he gave them the signal to do so from his tribunal. And the Jews were so beaten, that many of them perished from the stripes they received, and many of them were trodden to death by one another in their flight. And the multitude was dismayed at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

§ 5. Meantime Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been put to death by his father Herod, went to Tiberius, to accuse Herod the tetrarch. But though Tiberius did not receive his accusation, he stayed at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with other men of note, and especially with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, on one occasion feasting Caius, was very complaisant to him in several other ways, and at last stretched out his hands, and openly prayed that Tiberius might die, and that he might soon see him emperor of the world. This was told Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics, and he was very angry, and shut up Agrippa in prison, and had him ill treated there for six months, until Tiberius died, after he had reigned twenty-two years six months and three days.

§ 6. But when Caius was made emperor, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, for Philip was now dead. And Agrippa's arriving at that degree of dignity inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch; who was chiefly induced to hope for royalty by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to the emperor, that he had lower rank; for since the emperor had made Agrippa a king from a

<sup>1</sup> The aqueduct which conveyed water from the springs in the *Wády el-Arrüb* to 'Solomon's Pools,' near Bethlehem.

private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to the same dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he went to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition by being banished into Spain. For Agrippa followed him to accuse him and Caius also gave him Herod's tetrarchy. And Herod died in Spain, where his wife joined him in exile.

## CHAP. X.

*Caius commands that his Statues should be set up in the Temple itself; and how Petronius acted in the case.*

### § 1.

NOW Caius Cæsar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be called so, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility in his own country, and to extend his impiety to the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him, in case the Jews would not receive them, to slay those that opposed this step, and to enslave all the rest of the nation. But God concerned himself with these commands. And Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judæa with three legions and many Syrian auxiliaries. Now some of the Jews could not believe the rumours of war, but those that did believe them were in the utmost anxiety how to defend themselves. And a panic diffused itself presently through the whole nation, for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

§ 2. This Ptolemais<sup>1</sup> is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is surrounded by mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; that on the south belongs to Carmel,<sup>2</sup> which is distant from it a hundred and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country The Ladder of the Tyrians,<sup>3</sup> and this is at the distance

<sup>1</sup> 'Akka. Jewish War, i. 2, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Mount Carmel, on the south side of the Bay of Acre.

<sup>3</sup> *Rās en-Nakûrah*, between Acre and Tyre.

of a hundred furlongs. The very small river Belæus<sup>1</sup> runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs from the city, near which is Memnon's monument, which has near it a remarkable place no larger than a hundred cubits; which is round and hollow, and yields such sand as glass is made of, and when this sand has been emptied by the many ships loaded there, the place is filled again by the winds, which sweep into it, as if on purpose, sand which lay remote, and was common sand, which this mine turns at once entirely into a glassy sand. And what seems to me still more wonderful, the glassy sand which once leaves that place becomes common sand again. Such is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

§ 3. And now the Jews assembled together in great numbers with their wives and children in the plain that was near Ptolemais, and made supplications to Petronius, first on behalf of their laws, and next on behalf of themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais, and went on to Galilee, and called together the multitude and all the men of note of Tiberias, and declared to them the power of the Romans, and the threatenings of Caius, and, also argued that their petition was unreasonable. For as all the nations subject to Rome had placed the images of the emperor in their several cities among the rest of their gods, for them alone to oppose it was almost like the behaviour of rebels, and was insulting to the emperor.

§ 4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not lawful for them to put even an image of God, much less of a man, in any profane part of their country, much less in the temple, Petronius replied, "And am not I also bound to keep the law of my lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, I shall justly perish. And he that sent me, and not I, will war against you; for I am under command as well as you." Thereupon the whole multitude cried out, that "they were ready to suffer for their law." Petronius then tried to quiet their noise, and said to them, "Will you then make war against the emperor?" The Jews said that they

<sup>1</sup> The *Nahr N'amein*.

offered sacrifices twice every day for the emperor and the Roman people ; but if he would set up his statues, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation ; and they were ready to expose themselves to be slain with their children and wives. At this Petronius felt both astonishment and pity on account of their invincible regard to their religion, and their courage which made them ready to die for it. And they were dismissed for the time without effecting their object.

§ 5. But on the following days he assembled together the influential men privately, and the multitude publicly, and sometimes besought them, and sometimes advised them, but chiefly threatened them, insisting upon the power of the Romans, and the anger of Caius, and also the necessity he was himself under. But as they could be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of continuing unsown (for it was about seed-time that the multitude continued for fifty days together idle), he at last assembled them together, and told them that it was best for him to run some hazard himself ; “ for either, by the divine assistance, I shall persuade the emperor, and shall myself gladly escape danger as well as you, or if he continue in his rage, I will readily expose my own life for such a great number as you are.” Thereupon he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his success, and led his army back from Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch ;<sup>1</sup> from whence he sent a letter at once to the emperor, and informed him of the march he had made into Judæa, and of the supplications of the nation ; and said that, unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered his letter in no measured terms, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in carrying out his commands. But it happened that those who brought Caius’ answer were tempest-tossed on the sea for three months, while others that brought the news of Caius’ death had a good voyage. So Petronius received news of Caius’ death twenty-seven days before he received the emperor’s answer against himself.

<sup>1</sup> On the Orontes.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning the Empire of Claudius and the Reign of Agrippa. Concerning the Deaths of Agrippa and of Herod, and what Family they both left behind them.*

## § 1.

NOW when Caius had been emperor three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was carried off by the army that was in Rome and made emperor. But the senate, at the suggestion of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that sided with them to keep the city quiet, and assembled in the Capitol, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; for they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as it had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such an emperor as was worthy of the position.

§ 2. Now it happened that Agrippa at this time sojourned at Rome, and that not only the senate called him to consult with them, but also Claudius sent for him from the camp, that he might help him in this emergency. And he, perceiving that Claudius was in effect emperor already, went to him. And Claudius sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know what his intentions were, and to state first that it was against his will that he was carried off by the soldiers, but he thought it was not right to leave them in the lurch in their zeal for him, and if he should do so, his own fortune would be uncertain, for it was dangerous to have been once called to the empire. Claudius added further, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not as a tyrant; for he would be satisfied with the honour of being called emperor, but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice; for even if he had not been by nature a man of moderation, yet the death of Caius would be a sufficient lesson how soberly he ought to act.

§ 3. This message was delivered by Agrippa. And the

senate, relying on their army and wise counsels, replied that they would not endure a voluntary slavery. When Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa again to take to them the following message, that he would not betray those that had sworn to be true to him, and if he had to fight, would fight unwillingly against such as he had no mind to fight with; however [if it must come to that], it was proper to choose a place without the city to fight in; for it was impious to pollute the temples of their city with the blood of their fellow-countrymen simply because of their ill-advisedness. And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senate.

§ 4. Meantime one of the soldiers on the side of the senate drew his sword, and cried out, "Fellow-soldiers, what is the meaning of our choosing to kill our brothers, and to attack our kindred who are with Claudius, when we have one for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who has so many just claims on those against whom we are going to fight?" When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and attracted to his side all his fellow-soldiers. Upon this all the patricians were immediately in a great fright at being thus deserted; but as there appeared no other course of safety, they made haste to Claudius the same way as the soldiers. But those that had more eagerly wooed fortune met them before the walls with their naked swords; and there was reason to fear that those that reached the camp first would have been in danger, before Claudius knew what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa rushed up and told him what danger they were incurring, and that unless he restrained the violence of those men who were mad against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was glorious to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

§ 5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiers, and received the senate in the camp, and treated them in an obliging manner, and went out with them at once to offer thank-offerings to God on his accession to the empire. And he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and also added Tracho-

nit<sup>1</sup> and Auranitis,<sup>1</sup> those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, and also besides these the kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias.<sup>2</sup> This gift he signified to the people by a decree, and ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass and set up in the Capitol. He also bestowed on his brother Herod (who was also his son-in-law as he had married Berenice) the kingdom of Chalcis.<sup>3</sup>

§ 6. So now riches quickly flowed in to Agrippa from his enjoyment of such large dominions, nor did he waste the money he had on small matters; but he began to surround Jerusalem with such a wall that, had it been brought to perfection, would have made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cæsarea,<sup>4</sup> before he had raised the walls to the intended height, prevented this. He had then reigned three years, and had governed his tetrarchies three previous years. He left behind him three daughters, by his wife Cypros, viz. Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son Agrippa by the same mother. And as he was a very young child, Claudius made the country a Roman province again, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its governor, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alterations in the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. After this Herod the king of Chalcis also died, and left two sons by his brother's daughter Berenice, whose names were Berenicianus and Hyrcanus. He also left a son Aristobulus by his former wife Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person; his name was also Aristobulus, and he left a daughter whose name was Jotape. These, as I formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod. Now Aristobulus and Alexander were sons of Herod by Mariamne, and were put to death by their father. As for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Greater Armenia.

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Abilene*. Antiq. xix. 5, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Kinnisrin*. Jewish War, i. 9, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Kaisariyeh*. Antiq. xix. 8, § 2.

## CHAP. XII.

*Many Tumults under Cumanus, which are composed by Quadratus. Felix is appointed Governor of Judæa. Agrippa is advanced from Chalcis to a greater Kingdom.*

## § 1.

NOW after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom; and Cumanus succeeded Alexander in the administration of the other province, under whom began troubles and new calamities for the Jews. For when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem to the feast of Unleavened Bread, and a Roman cohort was stationed above the portico of the temple, (for they always kept guard under arms at the festivals, to prevent any outbreak which the multitude thus gathered together might make,) one of the soldiers pulled up his clothes, and stooped down, and indecently exposed his backside to the Jews, and spoke such words as you might expect from such a posture. At this the whole multitude were indignant, and made a clamour to Cumanus that he would punish the soldier; while the hot-headed youth, and such as were naturally most riotous, fell to fighting, and snatched up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon this Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent for more armed men. And as they poured into the porticoes in great numbers, the Jews were seized with a very great panic, and being beaten out of the temple, fled pell-mell into the city; and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great, that they trod upon each other, and jostled one another, till more than ten thousand of them were killed; insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and brought lamentation to every family.

§ 2. Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers; for on the public road



near Beth-horon,<sup>1</sup> one Stephen, a servant of the emperor, was carrying some furniture, which the robbers fell upon, and seized. Upon this Cumanus sent men to go round to the neighbouring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound, laying it to their charge that they had not pursued after the robbers and arrested them. Then it was that a certain soldier, finding in a certain village the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and threw it into the fire.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon the Jews were in great confusion, as if their whole country were in a flame, being drawn together by their zeal for their religion as if mechanically, and rushed with united clamour to Cæsarea to Cumanus, and made supplication to him, that he would not let this man go without punishment who had offered such an affront to God and their law. And he, perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer from him, gave order that the soldier should be brought up and led to execution through those that required to have him punished; and after that the Jews went their ways.

§ 3. After this there happened a fight between the Galilæans and Samaritans. For at a village called Geman,<sup>3</sup> which lies in the great plain of Samaria, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast [of Tabernacles], a certain Galilæan was slain. At this a vast number of people flocked together out of Galilee to fight with the Samaritans; but the principal men among them went to Cumanus, and begged him, before the evil became incurable, to go into the Samaritan district,<sup>4</sup> and bring the authors of this murder to punishment, for there was no other way to separate the multitudes without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without effecting their object.

§ 4. But when this murder was reported at Jeru-

<sup>1</sup> The Roman road from Jerusalem to Joppa, *Jaffa*, which passed through the two Beth-horons.

<sup>2</sup> Reland notes here, that the Talmud, in recounting ten sad accidents for which the Jews ought to rend their garments, reckons this for one: "When they hear that the law of God is burnt."—W.

<sup>3</sup> *Jenin*. Antiq. xx. 6, § 1; Jewish War, iii. 3, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> Surely εἰς τὴν Σαμαρείδα is necessary. Ita que verti.

salem, it greatly disturbed the multitudes, and they left the feast, and set out for Samaria<sup>1</sup> without any generals, nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that endeavoured to restrain them. But their factious and marauding bands were led by one Eleazar, the son of Dinaeus, and by Alexander, who fell upon those that bordered on the Acrabatene toparchy,<sup>2</sup> and slew them, without sparing any age, and set their villages on fire.

§ 5. But Cumanus took one troop of horse, called the troop of Sebaste,<sup>3</sup> from Cæsarea, and came to the assistance of those that were being devastated. He also seized upon many of those that followed Eleazar, but slew most of them. As for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight against the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out in sackcloth and with ashes on their heads, and begged of them to go their ways, and not by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans to provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem, but to have compassion upon their country and temple, their children and wives, and not to bring the utmost risk of destruction upon them merely to avenge one Galilæan. The Jews listened to them and dispersed; but still a great many betook themselves to robbery in hope of impunity, and plundering and insurrection on the part of the more daring happened over the whole country. And the influential persons among the Samaritans went to Tyre to Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste their country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan (son of Ananus), the high priest, went there and said that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance, because of the murder they had committed, and that Cumanus had caused what had happened from his unwillingness to punish the actual perpetrators of that murder.

§ 6. But Quadratus put off both parties for the time, and told them, that when he went to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry into all the circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>2</sup> The name is still retained in *'Akrabeh.* Jew'sh War, iii. 3, § 5; iv. 9, §§ 3, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Samaria.

After this he went to Cæsarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when he was come from thence to the city of Lydda,<sup>1</sup> he heard the statement of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews who he learned had been concerned in that fight, and had them beheaded: but he sent two others of those that had the greatest influence, and also Jonathan and Ananias, the high priests, as also Ananus the son of Ananias, and some other eminent Jews, to Claudius, as also the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered Cumanus and the tribune Celer to sail to Rome, to give Claudius an account of what had been done. When he had arranged all this, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating the feast of Unleavened Bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

§ 7. Now when Claudius at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say (in the presence of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as many influential men stood by Cumanus), he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most influential persons among them should be put to death: and he banished Cumanus, and had Celer sent bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tortured, and drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

§ 8. After this Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to be governor of Galilee and Samaria and Peræa, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis to a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanæa and Trachonitis and Gaulanitis: and he added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and the province which Varus had governed. Now Claudius himself died when he had reigned thirteen years eight months and twenty days, and left Nero as his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his wife Agrippina's intrigues as his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero. He had also a daughter Antonia by Petina.

<sup>1</sup> *Ludd.* Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Nero adds four Cities to Agrippa's Kingdom; but the other Parts of Judæa are under Felix. The disturbances raised by the Sicarii, and the Magicians, and by an Egyptian false Prophet. The Jews and Syrians have a Contest at Cæsarea.*

## § 1.

NOW as to the many ways in which Nero, becoming mad from his excessive felicity and riches, abused his good fortune, and how he slew his brother and wife and mother, after whom he transferred his barbarity to the most noble persons, and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor in the scenes and upon the theatre, all this I shall pass over because it is universally known. But I shall turn to what happened to the Jews in his time.

§ 2. Nero, then, bestowed the kingdom of Lesser Armenia<sup>1</sup> upon Herod's son Aristobulus, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies belonging to them, as Abila<sup>2</sup> and Julias in Peræa,<sup>3</sup> and Tarichea<sup>4</sup> and Tiberias in Galilee; but he made Felix governor over the rest of Judæa. This Felix captured Eleazar the arch-robber, who had ravaged the country for twenty years, and many that were with him, alive, and sent them to Rome; while the robbers he crucified, and the people who were caught in their company, whom he brought to punishment, were an innumerable multitude.

§ 3. When the country was rid of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, who were called Sicarii, who slew men in the day-time and in the midst of the city, especially at the festivals, when they mixed with the multitude, and concealed little daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the mur-

<sup>1</sup> Armenia Minor extended west of the Euphrates over a portion of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Near *Sûk Wâdy Barada*, in Anti-Lebanon. Antiq. xix. 5, § 1; xx. 7, § 1. Jewish War, ii. 11, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1. <sup>4</sup> *Kerak*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.

derers joined the bystanders in expressing their indignation, so that from their plausibility they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whom many were slain every day, and the fear men were in of being so treated was more harassing than the calamity itself, everybody expecting death every hour, as men do in war. So men kept a look out for their enemies at a great distance, and even if their friends were coming, they durst not trust them any longer, but were slain in the midst of their suspicions and precautions. Such was the celerity of the plotters, and so cunning was their contrivance against detection.

§ 4. Another body of wicked men also sprung up, cleaner in their hands, but more wicked in their intentions, who destroyed the peace of the city no less than did these murderers. For they were deceivers and deluders of the people, and under pretence of divine illumination were for innovations and changes, and prevailed on the multitude to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness, pretending that God would there show them signs of liberty. But Felix thought this step the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horse and foot, and cut to pieces a great number of them.

§ 5. But an Egyptian false prophet did the Jews more mischief still. He was a cheat and impostor, and yet got credited as a prophet, and came into Judæa, and got together thirty thousand deluded men, whom he led round from the wilderness to the Mount which was called the Mount of Olives, and intended to break into Jerusalem by force from that place; and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those body-guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, and all the people assisted Felix against him, so that, when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away with a few others, but most of those that were with him were either killed or taken alive: and the rest of the multitude dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

§ 6. Now when these had been quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part caught the infection. For several impostors and robbers assembled together, and urged the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be by force detached therefrom. And they divided themselves into different bodies up and down the country, and plundered the houses of well-to-do people, and slew the men themselves, and set villages on fire; so that all Judæa was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus this war was every day more and more fanned into flame.

§ 7. There was also another disturbance at Cæsarea,<sup>1</sup> the Jews, who were a mixed population there with the Syrians, raising a tumult against them. The Jews maintained that the city was theirs, and said that he who built it was a Jew, namely king Herod. The Syrians admitted that its builder was a Jew, but argued that it was none the less built for Greeks; for he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews. On this matter both parties had a controversy with one another, and the quarrel came at last to arms, and the bolder on both sides daily marched out to fight. For the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be riotous, and the Greeks thought it a disgrace for them to be overcome by Jews. Now the Jews had the best of it in riches and strength of body, but the Greeks had the advantage of assistance from the soldiers; for most of the Roman army there was raised out of Syria, and thus being kinsmen they came readily to their assistance. However, the commanders were anxious to allay the disturbance, and kept arresting those that were most for fighting on either side, and punished them with stripes and bonds. But the sufferings of those that were arrested did not frighten the rest, or make them desist; but they were still more exasperated and riotous. And on one occasion when the Jews had beaten the Syrians, Felix came into the market place, and commanded them to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not; and as they did not

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

obey him, he sent his soldiers against them, and slew a great many of them, and also plundered their property. And as the disturbance still continued, he chose out the leading men on both sides, and sent them as ambassadors to Nero, to argue on the merits of the case.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albinus, and he by Florus; who by the Barbarity of his Rule forces the Jews into War.*

## § 1.

NOW Festus succeeded Felix as governor, and tried to put down those that most ravaged the country. So he arrested most of the robbers, and slew a great many of them. But Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office in the same manner, for there was no kind of wickedness but he had a hand in it. For not only did he in his official position steal and plunder every one's substance, and burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been put there either by the senate of every city or by former governors, to redeem them for money, and nobody remained in the prisons as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing. At this time the audacity of the innovating party at Jerusalem was very great, as the opulent by their money got impunity for their rioting from Albinus, while those of the people who delighted not in quiet joined themselves to the associates of Albinus. And every one of these wicked wretches was surrounded by his own band of robbers, while himself, like an arch-robber or tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over his satellites to plunder those that lived quietly. So it happened that those who were robbed of their goods were forced to hold their peace, though they had cause for great indignation, and those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved punishment, from fear of suffering the same things. And to sum up, nobody

durst speak their minds, for tyranny was generally prevalent; and at this time the seeds were sown which brought the city to destruction.

§ 2. And though such was the character of Albinus, yet Gessius Florus, who succeeded him, showed him to have been a most just person by comparison. For the former did most of his ill-deeds in private and with a sort of dissimulation, but Gessius made a show of his lawlessness to the nation, and as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, omitted no sort of outrage. For in cases that required pity he was most barbarous, and in disgraceful things he was most shameless; nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth, nor contrive more subtle ways of deceit. He indeed thought it a poor thing to get money out of individuals, so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did all but publicly proclaim all over the country that everybody had liberty to turn robber, upon condition that he went shares in the spoil. And owing to his cupidity entire toparchies were brought to desolation; and many people left their country, and fled into strange provinces.

§ 3. Now as long as Cestius Gallus administered the province of Syria, nobody durst send an embassy to him against Florus. But when he came to Jerusalem at the approach of the feast of Unleavened Bread, the people crowded round him, not fewer in number than three millions,<sup>1</sup> and besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and clamoured against Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he mocked at their petition. But Cestius quieted the excitement of the multitude, and assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, and returned to Antioch. And Florus conducted him on his way as far as Cæsarea, and deluded him, for he had at that very time the inten-

<sup>1</sup> Here we may note, that 3,000,000 of the Jews were present at the passover, A.D. 65, which confirms what Josephus elsewhere informs us of, that at a passover a little later, they counted 256,500 paschal lambs, which, at twelve to each lamb, which is no immoderate calculation, come to 3,078,000. See vi. 9, § 3.—W.



tion in his anger of procuring war against the nation, for by that means alone he thought he could conceal his crimes. For he expected that, if peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before the emperor, but if he could make them revolt, he should divert the emperor's<sup>1</sup> attention from smaller matters by this greater evil. So he every day augmented their calamities, in order to induce them to revolt from the Romans.

§ 4. Now it happened at this time, that the Greeks of Cæsarea had won their case, and obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought back his judicial decision in writing, and at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month of Artemisius. Now the cause of this war was by no means proportioned to the heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cæsarea having a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cæsarean Greek, had frequently endeavoured to purchase the place, and had offered for it a sum many times its value; but as the owner contemptuously refused their offers, and also raised other buildings upon the place by way of affront to them, and built workshops, and left the Jews but a narrow and very difficult passage to their synagogue, the hotheaded Jewish youths went hastily at first to the workmen and forbade them to build, and as Florus stopped their violence, the leading men of the Jews, among whom was John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, tried to bribe Florus by eight talents to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and took the money and went away from Cæsarea<sup>2</sup> to Sebaste,<sup>3</sup> and left the riot to take its course, as if he had sold a licence to the Jews to fight it out.

§ 5. The next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain riotous person of Cæsarea turned an earthen vessel bottom upwards at the entrance of the

<sup>1</sup> Reading *αὐτοῦ* (instead of *αὐτῶν*, which crept in from the line above).

<sup>2</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>3</sup> Samaria, *Sebustieh*.

synagogue, and sacrificed birds in it.<sup>1</sup> This thing terribly exasperated the Jews, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. And the sober and moderate portion of the Jews thought it well to have recourse to their governors again; but the riotous portion, and such as were in the fervour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The riotous Greeks also of Cæsarea stood ready for the same purpose (for they had, by agreement, conducted the man to sacrifice), so they soon came to blows. Then Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came up and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to put a stop to the riot. But as he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cæsarea, the Jews seized the books of their law, and retired to Nabata, a place so called belonging to them, which was sixty furlongs from Cæsarea. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus to Sebaste, and complained bitterly of what had happened, and besought him to help them, modestly reminding him of the eight talents they had given him. But he had them arrested, and put in prison, on the charge of carrying the books of their law from Cæsarea.

§ 6. At this the people of Jerusalem were very indignant, but they restrained their passion. However, Florus, as if he had a contract for the work, blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to the sacred treasure to take seventeen talents out, pretending that the emperor wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple with piercing cries, and called upon the emperor's name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the insurgents hurled the most disgraceful reproaches against Florus, and carried a basket about and begged some small coins for him, as for a miserable beggar. But he was not made ashamed thereby

<sup>1</sup> Take here Dr. Hudson's very pertinent note. "By this action," says he, "the killing of a bird over an earthen vessel, the Jews were exposed as a leprous people (for that was to be done by the law in the cleansing of a leper, Levit. xiv.). It is also known that the Gentiles reproached the Jews as subject to the leprosy, and believed that they were driven out of Egypt on that account. This, that eminent person, Mr. Reland, suggested to me."—W.

of his love of money, but was provoked to get still more. And instead of going to Cæsarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning there, and so taking away the causes of any disturbance, for which purpose indeed he had received a sum of money, he set out with an army of horse and foot for Jerusalem, that he might carry out his purpose by the arms of the Romans, and by terrorism and threats fleece the city.

§ 7. But the people, wishing to make Florus ashamed of his impetuosity, met his soldiers with acclamations, and prepared to receive him obsequiously. But he sent on Capito a centurion with fifty horsemen, and bade them go back, and not now make a show of receiving him in an obliging manner, when they had so foully reproached him before; and said that if they were brave and bold, they ought to jeer him to his face, and to show themselves lovers of liberty, not only in words, but with their weapons also. At this message the multitude was dismayed, and upon the charging of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them, they dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behaviour to the soldiers. And they retired to their own houses, and spent the night in fear and dejection.

§ 8. And now Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priests, and the principal people, and all those of the greatest eminence in the city, came before his tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had abused him, and told them that they should themselves share in his vengeance, if they did not produce the guilty persons. But they affirmed that the people were peaceably disposed, and begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for they said it was no wonder at all that in so great a multitude there should be some too bold and because of their youth foolish, but it was impossible to distinguish those that had offended from the rest, as each one was sorry for what he had done, and would deny it from fear of what would follow. They said he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to determine to preserve the city for the Romans, and rather for the sake of

a great number of innocent people to forgive a few that were guilty, than because of a few wicked to trouble so large and loyal a body of men.

§ 9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the upper market-place, and to slay those whom they met. And they, taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense to suit their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but rushed into every house, and slew the inhabitants. And the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no sort of plunder was omitted. They also arrested many quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first insulted by scourging, and then crucified them. And the entire number of those that perished that day, with their wives and children (for they did not spare even infants), was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier, was the following novelty in Roman barbarity: for Florus ventured now to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order scourged<sup>1</sup> and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who, although they were by birth Jews, yet had that Roman dignity.

## CHAP. XV.

*Concerning Berenice's Petition to Florus to spare the Jews, which was in vain, as also how, after the seditious Flame was quenched, it was kindled again by Florus.*

### § 1.

AT this time king Agrippa had set out for Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander on his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero. But his sister Berenice was at Jerusalem, and when she saw the lawless conduct of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it; and

<sup>1</sup> Here we have examples of native Jews who were of the equestrian order among the Romans, and so ought never to have been whipped or crucified, according to the Roman laws. See almost the like case in St. Paul himself, Acts xxii. 25-29.—W.

frequently sent the masters of her horse, and her body-guards, to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters. But he would not comply with her request, and paid no regard either to the number of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only thought of the gain he might make by plundering. And the violence of the soldiers raged even against the queen herself; for they not only ill-treated and killed those whom they took under her very eyes, but would indeed have killed her also, had she not prevented them by fleeing to the palace, and staying there all night with her guards, fearing the violence of the soldiers. Now she was staying at this time at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God. For it is usual with those that have been afflicted either with disease, or with any other distresses, to make vows, and for thirty days before they offer their sacrifices to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Berenice was now performing all this, and she stood barefoot before Florus' tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews]. But so far was she from having any reverence paid to her, that she ran some danger of being slain herself.

§ 2. These events happened on the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius. Now the next day the multitude, who were in great distress, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and most of their cries reflected on Florus. At this the principal persons were terrified, as also the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and begged them to be quiet, and not to provoke Florus to some irremediable act of violence in addition to what they had already suffered. And the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that besought them, and in the hope that Florus would do them no more injury.

§ 3. But Florus was vexed that the disturbance was over, and endeavoured to kindle the flame again, and sent for the high priests and the other eminent persons, and said that the only proof that the people would desist from any further rioting would be for them to go out and meet the soldiers that were coming up from Cæsarea,

for two cohorts were on the road. And while they were still calling the multitude together, he despatched messengers with directions to the centurions of the cohorts on the road to tell the soldiers that were under them not to return the Jews' salutations, and if they said anything against Florus, they were to use their weapons. Now the high priests assembled the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. This the riotous party refused to do, and the remembrance of those that had been slain made the people incline to the bolder policy.

§ 4. Then every priest, and every minister of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to conduct their services, and the harpers and singers of hymns with their instruments of music fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off their sacred treasures. One might also see the high priests themselves, with dust sprinkled on their heads, and their bosoms bared as their clothes were rent; these besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude *en masse*, that they would not by offending in a very small matter betray their country to those that were desirous to lay it waste. They asked what benefit it would bring to the Roman soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews, or what improvement in their own fortunes would come from their not going out now to meet them? For if they saluted them civilly, all pretext for beginning a war would be cut off from Florus, and they would thereby gain their country, and freedom from all further sufferings. Besides, it would argue great weakness in them to hearken to a few riotous persons, when it behoved them, who were so numerous a body, to force the others to act soberly.

§ 5. They used these arguments to the multitude, and restrained some of the riotous by threats, and others by the respect that was paid them. They then led them out quietly and orderly to meet the soldiers, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them. But as they made no answer, the riotous cried out against Florus,

which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore surrounded them at once, and struck them with their clubs, and as they fled away, the horsemen pursued them and trampled them down, so that many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, but more by their crushing one another. And there was a terrible squeeze near the gates, and as every body made haste to get before another, the flight of all was retarded. And there was a terrible destruction among those that fell down, for they were so crushed and bruised by the number of those that trampled upon them, that none of them could be recognised by his relations for burial. The soldiers also fell pell-mell upon those whom they met, and beat them, and thrust back the multitude through the place called Bezetha, forcing their way to get in, and seize upon the temple and Antonia. Florus also, being desirous to get those places into his possession, led out of the king's palace such as were with him, and did his utmost to get to the citadel. But his attempt failed, for the people turned round on him, and checked his impetuosity, and as they stood upon the tops of their houses, threw their darts at the Romans. And as they were sorely galled by those weapons that came from above, and were not able to cut their way through the multitude, who blocked up the narrow streets, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

§ 6. But the riotous were afraid lest Florus should come upon them again, and get possession of the temple through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus, for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God, and so was desirous of getting into Antonia, he left off his attempt now the cloisters were broken down. And he sent for the high priests and the Sanhedrim, and told them that he was himself indeed going to leave the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Thereupon they promised that everything should be secure, and that they would make no innovations, in case he would leave them one cohort only, but not the one which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore it ill-

will in consequence of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the cohort as they desired, and returned with the rest of his force to Cæsarea.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Cestius sends Neapolitanus the Tribune to see in what Condition the Affairs of the Jews were. Agrippa makes a Speech to the Jews to divert them from their intention of making War against the Romans.*

### § 1.

FLORUS next tried another plan to bring about war, and wrote to Cestius, falsely accusing the Jews of revolting, and imputing the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretending that they had been its authors, whereas they had only been the sufferers. However, the rulers of Jerusalem were not silent upon this occasion, but also themselves wrote to Cestius, as did Berenice also, about the lawlessness of Florus against the city. And he, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains. Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if revolt there really was, or to make the Jews more settled if they remained faithful to the Romans, but he thought it best himself to send on one of his intimate friends to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the state of mind of the Jews. So he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was Neapolitanus, who met with king Agrippa at Jamnia,<sup>1</sup> as he was returning from Alexandria, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errand he was sent.

§ 2. Now at this time the high priests, and influential persons among the Jews, as also the Sanhedrim, came to greet king Agrippa. And after they had paid him their court, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him the barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus; at which Agrippa was really very indignant, but

<sup>1</sup> *Yebnah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.



craftily transferred his anger towards the Jews whom he really pitied, wishing to abate their high thoughts of themselves, and by trying to make them believe that they had not been ill treated, to dissuade them from avenging themselves. And they, being of better understanding than the rest, and because of their wealth wishing for peace, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was meant kindly. The people also came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and greeted both Agrippa and Neapolitanus. But the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all and lamenting, and the people at their wailing turned to lamentation also, and besought Agrippa to assist them: they also loudly complained to Neapolitanus of the many miseries they had endured under Florus, and showed both him and Agrippa, when they had come into the city, how the market-place was desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neapolitanus, by means of Agrippa, to walk round the city with only one attendant as far as Siloam,<sup>1</sup> that he might see for himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and hated only Florus because of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the mildness of the people, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having done such reverence to the temple of God as he was allowed to do, returned to Cestius.

§ 3. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to king Agrippa and to the high priests, and begged they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence after such great slaughter raise the suspicion that they were disposed to revolt; for they said they would seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not first show who it was that began it. And it appeared plain that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassy. And although Agrippa thought it an invidious thing for them to

<sup>1</sup> The village or fountain of Siloam, *Silwán*.

appoint persons to go and accuse Florus, yet he did not think it for his interest to allow the Jews to drift into war. He therefore called the multitude together into the colonnade, and placed his sister Berenice in a conspicuous place on the house of the Asamonæans<sup>1</sup> (which was above the colonnade opposite the upper city, and a bridge joined the temple to the colonnade), and spoke to them as follows.

§ 4.<sup>2</sup> "If I saw that you were all determined to go to war with the Romans, and that the purest and most single-hearted of the people did not purpose to live in peace, I should not have come forward to speak to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel. For all discourse that tends to persuade men to do what they ought to do is superfluous, when the hearers are all agreed to do what is wrong. But because some are impelled to war because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings, and others from an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and others from cupidity and the hope that, if affairs are in confusion, they may make gain at the expense of the weak, I have thought it right to convene you all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage, that so the former may grow wiser and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill-advisedness of some. And let not any one raise a clamour against me, if what he hears me say does not please him. For as to those who are absolutely resolved upon revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation, but my discourse will fall to the ground, even with relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that many declaim on the injuries that have been done you by your Roman governors,

<sup>1</sup> The palace of the Asamonæans was on the brow of the western hill of Jerusalem, above the causeway over which ran the road from the Temple to Herod's Palace.

<sup>2</sup> In this speech of king Agrippa we have an authentic account of the extent and strength of the Roman empire when the Jewish war began. He is the same Agrippa who said to Paul, "Almost thou persuadedst me to be a Christian," Acts xxvi. 28, and of whom St. Paul said, "He was expert in all the customs and questions of the Jews," ver. 3. See another intimation of the limits of the same Roman empire, Jewish War, iii. 5, § 7.—W.

and pass encomiums on liberty. But before I examine who you are and against whom you intend to fight, I shall first separate this complication of pretexts. For if you aim at avenging yourselves on those who have done you injury, why do you sing the praises of liberty? But if you think all servitude intolerable, complaint against particular governors is superfluous; for even if they treated you with moderation, it would still seem equally disgraceful to be in servitude. Consider now these cases one by one, and see how little reason there is for your going to war; and first consider the accusations you make against your Roman governors. Now one ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not to give them any provocation. But when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and lay you waste openly. Now nothing so much mitigates strokes as bearing them with patience; and the quietness of those who are injured diverts injurious persons from afflicting. But suppose the Roman officials are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet it is not all the Romans who thus injure you, nor has the Emperor, against whom you are going to make war, injured you. For it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for those who are in the West cannot see those that are in the East; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear of what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war against a great many for the sake of one, and against such a mighty nation for a small cause, and that when they do not even know of what we complain. Nay, what we complain of may soon be corrected. For the same Roman governor will not continue for ever, and it is likely that his successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But if war be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities. Next, as to the desire of now recovering your liberty, it is somewhat late in the day for that, for you ought before to have striven earnestly not to have lost it. For the first experience of slavery is hard to endure, and the struggle that you might never have been subjected to it would have been just. But that

slave who has once been brought into subjection, and then revolts, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty. It was the proper time for doing all that was possible to keep out the Romans when Pompey first came into the country. But indeed our ancestors and their kings, though they were much better situated than you are, both as to money and bodies and souls, did not resist a small body of the Roman army. And yet do you, who have inherited obedience, and who are so much inferior in your circumstances to those who first submitted, venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans? Even the Athenians, who, to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city, and pursued as a fugitive in a single ship that haughty Xerxes (who sailed on the land and walked on the sea, and could not be contained by the seas, but led an army too broad for Europe), and broke the tremendous power of Asia at small Salamis,<sup>1</sup> are yet at this time servants to the Romans, and the orders sent from Italy manage the leading city of Greece. The Lacedæmonians also, after Thermopylæ<sup>2</sup> and Platæa<sup>3</sup> and Agesilaus' promenade through Asia, are content with the same masters. The Macedonians also, who still plume themselves on Philip and Alexander, and see the empire of the world panting for them, endure so great a change, and pay their homage to those whom fortune has advanced in their stead. Nay, ten thousand other nations have greater right than we to claim their liberty, and yet submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world has submitted. What army do you rely on? What arms do you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may sweep the Roman seas? Where the treasures that will suffice for your attack on them? Do you think that you will war against Egyptians and Arabians? Will you not carefully reflect upon the strength of the Roman empire? Will you not compare with it your own weakness? Has not your army been often beaten even by the neighbouring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible throughout

<sup>1</sup> The small island of Salamis off the Piræus.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to the famous defence of the pass in 480 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> That is after the memorable battle of Platæa in 479 B.C.

the known world? Nay, rather, they seek for something still beyond that. For all the Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east, nor the Ister<sup>1</sup> on the north, and for their southern limit Libya<sup>2</sup> has been traversed by them as far as countries uninhabited, as Gades<sup>3</sup> is their limit on the west; but they have sought for another world beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as Britain which was never known before. What then are you? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men in the world? Why does confidence stir you up against the Romans? Some one will say, It is hard to endure slavery. Yes, but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who are esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun, yet, though they inhabit so large a country, obey six Roman fasces. The same is the case with the Macedonians, who have juster reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case with the five hundred cities of Asia? Do they not without any garrison pay their homage to a single governor and to the consular fasces? Why need I speak of the Heniochi<sup>4</sup> and Colchians,<sup>5</sup> and the nation of the Tauri,<sup>6</sup> and those that inhabit the Bosphorus,<sup>7</sup> and the nations about Pontus<sup>8</sup> and Mæotis,<sup>9</sup> who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and forty long ships keep in peace the sea which before was unnavigable and tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lycians, and Cilicians,<sup>10</sup> put in for liberty! Yet they pay tribute without a struggle. The Thracians again, whose country ex-

<sup>1</sup> The *Danube*.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, ii. 7, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Cadiz*.

<sup>4</sup> A Colchian tribe between the western edge of the Caucasus and the Black Sea.

<sup>5</sup> The Colchians were chiefly settled on the eastern and S.E. shores of the Black Sea.

<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants of the *Crimea*.

<sup>7</sup> The *Bosphorus*.

<sup>8</sup> On the S. shore of the Black Sea.

<sup>9</sup> The Sea of Asov.

<sup>10</sup> Bithynia was in the N.W. of Asia Minor; Cappadocia in the east of Asia Minor, and west of Anti Taurus; and Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia on the south coast.

tends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is much more rugged and easily defended than yours, and by the rigour of its cold keeps off armies, do not they submit to two thousand Romans in garrison? Are not the Illyrians, who inhabit the adjoining country as far as Dalmatia and the Ister, governed by barely two legions; by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Dacians?<sup>1</sup> As for the Dalmatians, who made such frequent insurrections to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued but that they always gathered their forces together again and revolted, are they not now very quiet under one Roman legion? However, if great advantages might provoke any people to revolt, it might the Gauls most of all, who are so thoroughly fortified by nature, on the east by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenees, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such bulwarks, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, and have, one may say, the fountains of happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of their good things over almost the whole world, yet they endure being tributary to the Romans, and deriving their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, since they warred for eighty years to preserve their liberty; but because they were cowed not only by the power of the Romans, but by their good fortune, which does more for them than their arms. They are therefore kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, a number hardly as many as their cities. Nor has the gold dug out of the mines of Spain sufficed to support the war to preserve Spanish liberty, nor their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea, nor the martial tribes of the Lusitanians<sup>2</sup> and Cantabri,<sup>3</sup> nor the neighbouring ocean

<sup>1</sup> Dacia included Wallachia, and portions of Moldavia, Transylvania, Hungary, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Lusitania was on the west side of the Spanish Peninsula, and included Portugal.

<sup>3</sup> The Cantabrians inhabited the north side of the Spanish Peninsula east of the *Asturias*, and are supposed to be represented by the *Basques*.

with its tide, which was yet terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds on the Pyrenees, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to conquer and so remote from Rome. Who is there among you again who has not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have no doubt yourselves frequently observed their strength and size, since the Romans have them among their captives everywhere. Yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have spirit even greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine as the boundary of their impetuosity, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became their servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had. For the Romans sailed to them and subdued them, though they were surrounded by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than our world, and four legions hold so large an island. And why should I say more? since even the Parthians, that most warlike race, lords of so many nations, and possessed of such mighty power, send hostages to the Romans; and you may see in Italy the nobility of the east on the pretext of peace submitting to serve them. Now as almost all people under the sun pay homage to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that will war against them? Will you disregard the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brags about the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phœnician extraction, fell by the hand of Scipio? Nor indeed have the Cyrenæans<sup>1</sup> of Lacedæmonian extraction, nor the Marmaridæ,<sup>2</sup> a nation extending as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor the Syrtæ,<sup>3</sup> terrible to such as barely

<sup>1</sup> The people of Cyrene, now *el-Krenna*, in the *Tripoli* district.

<sup>2</sup> The principal indigenous tribe W. of Egypt, between Cyrene and the Nile.

<sup>3</sup> The people of the Syrtica Regio, between the Greater Syrtis, *Gulf of Sidra*, and the Lesser Syrtis, *Gulf of Gabes*.

hear them mentioned, nor the Nasamonēs<sup>1</sup> and Moors,<sup>2</sup> and the immense multitude of the Numidians,<sup>3</sup> been able to put a stop to Roman valour. As for the third part of the habitable earth [Africa] (whose nations are not easy even to number), which is bounded by the Atlantic Sea and the pillars of Hercules,<sup>4</sup> and supports an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians as far as the Red Sea, this the Romans have subdued entirely; and besides the annual fruits of the earth, which feed the population of Rome eight months in the year, its inhabitants over and above pay all sorts of tribute, and readily afford revenues for the necessities of the government, not like you esteeming subordination to Rome a disgrace, though they have but one Roman legion quartered among them. And indeed what need is there for showing you the power of the Romans in remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from your neighbour Egypt, which extends as far as the Ethiopians and Arabia Felix,<sup>5</sup> and borders upon India, and contains seven million five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be inferred from the revenue of the poll tax; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it has in Alexandria a great incentive to revolt, because it is so populous and rich, and also exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; and besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that feeds its population four months [in the year]: it is also fortified on all sides either by almost impassable deserts, or by seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes. But none of these things has been found too strong for the good fortune of the Romans; but two legions that are quartered in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the nobility of the Macedonians. Whom then will you take for your allies for the

<sup>1</sup> One of the most powerful nomadic tribes on the N. coast of Libya.

<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Mauretania, on the N.W. coast of Africa.

<sup>3</sup> Numidia was the central tract of country on the N. coast of Africa.

<sup>4</sup> The two hills, Calpe and Abyla, on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar.

<sup>5</sup> The Peninsula of Arabia.



war from the uninhabited parts of the world? For all that are in the inhabited part of the world are Romans; unless indeed any of you extends his hopes beyond the Euphrates, and supposes that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene<sup>1</sup> will come to your assistance. But certainly they will not embarrass themselves with so great a war on unjustifiable grounds, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do; for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to violate its conditions, if any people under their rule march against the Romans. Nothing remains, therefore, but that you have recourse to divine assistance; but this also is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be maintained without God's favour. Reflect also how impossible it will be for you zealously to observe your religious customs, which are hard to be observed even when you fight against those whom you are easily able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? And if you keep the sabbath days, and will not be prevailed on to do any thing on them, you will easily be taken, as your forefathers were by Pompey, who pushed on his siege most vigorously on those days on which the besieged rested. But if in time of war you transgress the laws of your country, I cannot tell on what account you will afterwards go to war. For your concern is but one, not to break any of your country's laws. And how will you call upon God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men enter into war either relying on divine or on human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for war choose evident destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? For by this mad prank you would any way escape the reproach of being beaten. But it is well, my friends, it is well, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee impending dirty weather, and not to sail

<sup>1</sup> One of the provinces of Assyria. Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

out of port into the midst of the storm to certain ruin (for we justly pity those that fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them, but he who rushes into manifest ruin gains reproaches as well). For certainly no one can imagine that one can war by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you in their power, they will treat you with moderation, and will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation. Nor will those of you who shall survive the war be able to find a place where to flee to, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. And the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those that dwell in other cities also; for there is no people in the world who have not some of you among them. And all of these your enemies will slay if you go to war, and so every city which has Jews in it will be filled with slaughter because of the ill-advisedness of a few men; and they who slay them will be pardoned. And if that slaughter should not take place, consider how wicked a thing it is to take up arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred precincts. Spare the temple, and preserve the sanctuary with its holy things for yourselves. For if the Romans get you in their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former forbearance shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and our common country, to witness that I have not kept back any thing that is for your safety. And if you will follow my good advice, which you ought to do, you will have peace in common with me; but if you shall be led on by passion, you will incur danger which I shall be free from."

§ 5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people. But still they cried out that they would not fight against the Romans, but they would against Florus because of what they had suffered at his hands. To this Agrippa replied, that what they had already done was like warring against the Romans. "For you have not paid the tribute which is due to the Emperor, and you have

cut off the porticoes from the tower Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, and pay your tribute. For the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

## CHAP. XVII.

*How the War of the Jews with the Romans began. Also concerning Manahem.*

### § 1.

THE people hearkened to this advice, and went up into the temple with the king and Berenice, and began to rebuild the porticoes; the rulers also and senators divided among them the villages, and collected the tribute, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus Agrippa put a stop for the present to the war which seemed imminent. Moreover, he tried to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until the Emperor should send out his successor. But they were very provoked at this advice, and cast reproaches upon the king, and bade him go out of the city; nay, some of the riotous had the impudence to throw stones at him. So as the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and was very angry at the insults he had received, he sent their rulers and influential persons to Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> to Florus, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, and departed himself to his own kingdom.

§ 2. Now at this time some of those that mainly brought about the war assembled together and marched against a certain fortress called Masada.<sup>2</sup> They took it by treachery, and slew the Roman garrison that was in it, and put in some of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, per-

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sebbeh*. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

sualed those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the beginning of our war with the Romans; for the priests rejected sacrifices both on behalf of the Emperor and the Romans generally. And though many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the customary sacrifice for their emperors, they would not be prevailed upon, relying much upon their numbers (for the most vigorous of the innovators co-operated with them), but paying the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

§ 3. Thereupon the influential persons assembled together and conferred with the high priests and the leading men among the Pharisees, and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. And they determined to try what they could do with the riotous by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was the gate of the inner temple that faced east. And first they inveighed at some length against this attempt at a revolt, and at bringing so great a war upon their country, and next they showed their pretext to be unreasonable, for they said that their forefathers had mainly adorned their temple with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them by foreign nations, and had not only not rejected any person's sacrifice, (for that was most impious,) but had also placed donations round the temple which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time. They added that they did now but irritate the Romans to take up arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and introduced a novel and strange divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, if among the Jews only no foreigner might either sacrifice or worship. And whereas if such a law should ever be introduced in the case of an individual, they would be indignant at it, as an instance of definite inhumanity, they had no regard to the Romans and the Emperor being excluded from such privileges! However, they could not but fear, if they rejected their sacrifices, that they would not be allowed to offer their own, and that their

city would be put out of the ban of the empire, unless they grew wiser quickly, and restored the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amended their insolence before the report of it came to the ears of those that had been insulted.

§ 4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the customs of their country, who declared that all their forefathers had received sacrifices from foreigners. But not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said, nay, even those that ministered in the temple would not attend to their divine service, but tried to stir up war. So the influential persons, perceiving that the sedition was too much for them to put down, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon themselves first, tried to secure their own personal safety, and sent some ambassadors to Florus, the chief of whom was Simon the son of Ananias, and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent were Saul and Antipas and Costobarus, who were of the king's kindred. And they begged both Florus and Agrippa to come with an army to the city, and cut off the sedition before it should grow too great to be put down. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus, and because his design was to kindle a war, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was being stirred up, and wished to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews; he was also aware that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should continue, so he sent three thousand horse to the assistance of the people from Auranitis and Batanæa and Trachonitis,<sup>1</sup> under Darius the master of his horse, and Philip (the son of Jacimus) the general of his army.

§ 5. Upon this the influential persons and the high priests, and all those of the multitude that desired peace, took courage, and occupied the upper city; for the seditious party were masters of the lower city and the temple. And they hurled stones and slings perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes they made sorties by troops, and

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

fought hand to hand, the seditious being superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to make themselves masters of the temple, and to drive out those who profaned the sanctuary; while the seditious with Eleazar, besides what they had already, strove to get possession of the upper city. Thus there was perpetual slaughter on both sides for seven days; and each side kept the ground they had won.

§ 6. Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory, at which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar (that there might never be a want of fuel for the fire which was unquenchable and always burning); upon that day the seditious party excluded their adversaries from the observance of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, (that was the name given to such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Sicæ,) who rushed up with those that were not so well armed, they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking further; insomuch, that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their numbers and daring, and gave way, and were forced out of the upper city. They then attacked and set fire to the house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice: after which they set fire to the archives, hastening to burn the bonds belonging to creditors, and so to cancel all debts; and this was done to gain over the multitude of debtors, and that they might persuade the poor to join with less fear in insurrection against the more wealthy. And when the keepers of the records fled away, they set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they rushed against the enemy. Thereupon some of the influential persons and high priests went into vaults under ground and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately, among whom were Ananias the high priest, and his brother Ezekias, and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditious were contented with the victory they had got, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no further.

§ 7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth day of the month Lous, they made an assault upon Antonia, and

besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and took it, and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, where the king's soldiers were fled, and divided themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls. As for those that were within, none had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they posted themselves among the breast-works and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls. Nor did they cease to fight with one another either by night or by day, as the seditious supposed that those within would be exhausted for want of food, and those within supposed the besiegers would be worn out by their exertions.

§ 8. In the mean time one Manahem, the son of Judas who was called the Galilæan, (who was a very cunning sophist, and had formerly reproached the Jews in the days of Cyrenius, because after God they were subject to the Romans,) took some influential persons with him, and went to Masada, where he broke open king Herod's armoury, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also, and made them his body-guards, and returned with the state of a king to Jerusalem, and became the leader of the sedition, and directed the siege. But they wanted proper instruments, and it was evidently impracticable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. So they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers and made it totter, and having done that, they set on fire what was combustible, and left it, and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. But then another wall was apparent, that had been built within; for the besieged were aware of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was being undermined, so they made for themselves another fortification. And when the besiegers saw this unexpectedly, as they thought they had already gained the place, they were dismayed, but those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and asked that they might go out upon capitulation. And this was granted to the king's soldiers and their own countrymen only, who went out accordingly, but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected. For

they were not able to force their way through so great a multitude, and they thought it would be a disgrace to ask them to give them their right hand for their security, and besides, if they should give it them, they could not depend upon it. So they deserted their camp, as it was easy to capture, and fled to the royal towers, called respectively Hippius and Phasaelus and Mariamne. But Manahem and his men rushed to the place where the soldiers had fled from, and slew as many of them as they could come up with before they got up to the towers, and plundered their baggage, and set fire to their camp. This was done on the sixth day of the month Gorpiaeus.

§ 9. And the next day the high priest Ananias was captured where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct of the royal palace, and was slain with his brother Ezekias by the robbers: and the seditious diligently guarded the towers, lest any of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the strong places and the death of the high priest Ananias so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel, and, as he thought he had no rival to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was an insupportable tyrant. But Eleazar and his party, after they had interchanged their ideas, rose up against him, on the ground that it was not right, as they had revolted from the Romans out of the desire of liberty, to surrender that liberty to any of their own people, and to put up with a master, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves; as also, if they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fit they should give that privilege to any one rather than to him. So they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he had gone up there to worship in a pompous manner, adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him armed. And when Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, so did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him with they threw them at the sophist, for they thought if he were once killed that the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while, but when they perceived that the whole multitude were rushing upon them, they fled which way every one was able: and those



that were taken were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. But a few got off safe and privately escaped to Masada,<sup>1</sup> among whom was Eleazar, the son of Jairus, who was akin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterwards. As for Manahem himself, he fled to the place called Ophla,<sup>2</sup> and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and dragged him out into the open, and tortured him with many sorts of torments, and killed him, and they did the same to those that were captains under him also, and particularly to the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Absalom.

§ 10. The people then, as I said, co-operated in this, hoping to put a stop to the whole sedition; but others were in no haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest about it, till Metilius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar and his party, asking for their lives only, and agreeing to deliver up their arms and whatever else they had with them. The others readily complied with their request, and sent to them Gorion the son of Nicomedes, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, and Judas the son of Jonathan, to give them the security of their right hands and of their oaths. After this Metilius brought down his soldiers, who, as long as they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any manifestation of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and swords, and without any further suspicion of harm were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them in a violent manner, and surrounded them and slew them, while they neither resisted nor begged for mercy, but only cried out upon this breach of the articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously butchered except Metilius, for when he begged for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew and be circumcised, they saved him only alive. The loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Ophel, immediately south of the Temple at Jerusalem.

slain out of an immense army, but still it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction. And men made public lamentation when they saw that the causes of the war were incurable, and that the city was polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some wrath from God, even though they should escape vengeance from the Romans, and the city was full of dejection, and every one of the moderate men in it were in great alarm, as likely themselves to be punished for the seditious. And indeed it so happened, that this butchery took place on the sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of divine worship.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *The Calamities and Slaughter that came upon the Jews.*

#### § 1.

NOW the people of Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> slew the Jews that were among them the very same day and hour, as if by divine Providence, so that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cæsarea was emptied of them. And Florus arrested such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the dockyards. At this stroke that 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<sup>2</sup> and Sebonitis<sup>3</sup> and Gerasa<sup>4</sup> and Pella<sup>5</sup> and Scythopolis.<sup>6</sup> And after them they attacked Gadara<sup>7</sup> and Hippos<sup>8</sup> and Gaulanitis,<sup>9</sup> and some cities they destroyed, and some they set on fire, and then

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ammán.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Essebon, Heshhon, Heshbân.* Antiq. xii. 4, § 11; xiii. 15, § 4; xv. 8, § 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Jerâsh.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8. <sup>5</sup> *Fahil.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Bethshean, Beisân.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Sûsiyeh.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7. <sup>9</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 4.

went to Kedasa<sup>1</sup> which belonged to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais<sup>2</sup> and Gaba<sup>3</sup> and Cæsarea. Nor were either Sebaste<sup>4</sup> or Ascalon<sup>5</sup> able to oppose their violence; but when they had burnt these to the ground, they entirely demolished Anthedon<sup>6</sup> and Gaza.<sup>7</sup> Many also of the villages that were round every one of these cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter made of the men who were taken in them.

§ 2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the number of the men whom they slew, for they killed those whom they took in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bore them, as formerly, but now to prevent the danger under which they were from them. And dire confusion spread through all Syria, and every city was divided into two armies encamped against one another, and the preservation of the one party lay in the destruction of the other; so the days were spent in shedding blood, and the nights in fear, which last was of the two the more terrible. For when the Syrians thought they had killed all the Jews, they were suspicious also of the Judaizers, 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 mixed with the others, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, desire of gain was a provocation even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle to kill the opposite party; for they plundered without fear 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 on the field of battle; and he was esteemed a man of mark who got the greatest share, as having overcome the greatest number of enemies. It was common to see cities full of dead bodies lying unburied, and those of old men and infants, all dead and scattered about together; dead women also lay amongst them, without any covering for

<sup>1</sup> Kedesh Naphtali, *Kades*. Antiq. v. i. § 24; ix. 11, § 1; xiii. 5, § 6. Jewish War, iv. 2, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Akka*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jebâta*. Life, § 24. Antiq. xv. 8, § 5; Jewish War, iii. 3, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Samaria*, *Sebustich*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ascalôn*. Jewish War, i. 9, § 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Agrippias*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ghuzzeh*.

their nakedness; and the whole province was full of inexpressible calamities, while the threats of still more barbarous practices everywhere inspired greater terror than what had been already perpetrated.

§ 3. Hitherto the conflicts had been between Jews and foreigners; but when they made a raid upon Scythopolis,<sup>1</sup> they found Jews that acted as enemies; for they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety to the tie of kindred, and fought against their own countrymen. However, their excessive zeal was suspected. For those of Scythopolis were afraid that they would make an assault upon the city in the night-time, and so, to their great detriment, would excuse themselves to their fellow-countrymen for their defection from them. So they commanded them, if they would confirm their concord and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, to go out of the city with their families to a neighbouring grove. And when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis were quiet for two days, to tempt them to be secure, but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some being off their guard, and some asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and they plundered them of all that they had.

§ 4. It is worth relating what befell Simon, who was the son of one Saul (a man of reputation among the Jews), and eminent for strength of body and boldness, although he abused them both to the hurt of his fellow-countrymen. For he went out every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the slaughter of those of the same nation as himself. For when the people of Scythopolis surrounded them and threw their 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 in a very moving manner, and said, "O, ye people of Scythopolis,

<sup>1</sup> Bethshean, *Beisán*.

I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, in giving you such proof of my fidelity to you, by slaying so many of those that were my kinsmen. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, as we treated our own nation most impiously. 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 the same action will be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my commendation, that so no one of our enemies may be able to brag that it was he that slew me, or insult me as I fall." When he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family, with eyes of mingled pity and rage (that family consisted of his wife and children and aged parents); and first he took his father by his grey hairs, and ran his sword through him, and after him he did the same to his mother, who was not reluctant, and after them he did the same to his wife and children, each all but offering themselves to his sword, being desirous to anticipate the enemy. And when he had slain all his family, he stood upon their bodies in the sight of all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword in his own bowels. This young man is worthy of pity on account of the strength of his body and courage of his soul; but suffered what he deserved because of his fidelity to foreigners.

§ 5. Besides this butchery at Scythopolis, each of the other cities rose up against the Jews that were in them, for those of Ascalon<sup>1</sup> slew two thousand five hundred, and those of Ptolemais<sup>2</sup> slew two thousand, and put not a few into bonds; and those of Tyre<sup>3</sup> put a great number to death, but kept a greater number in prison; moreover, those of Hippos<sup>4</sup> and Gadara<sup>5</sup> did the same, for 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 each of them either hated or feared the Jews. Only the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apameans,<sup>6</sup> spared

<sup>1</sup> *Ascalân.*

<sup>2</sup> *Akka.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sûr.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sûsiyeh.*

<sup>5</sup> *Umm Keis.*

<sup>6</sup> The people of Apamea, *Kul'at el-Medyk.*

those that dwelt with them, and had not the heart either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. Perhaps indeed they spared them because their own numbers were so great that they despised their attempts, but I think most of this favour was owing to their pitying those whom they did not see making any innovations. As for the Gerasenes, they did no harm to those that abode with them, and conducted those who had a mind to go away as far as their borders.

§ 6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom. He had himself gone to Antioch to Cestius Gallus, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, who was akin to king Sohemus, to see to public affairs. Now there came seventy men from Batanæa,<sup>1</sup> who were the most considerable of their citizens for their birth and understanding, and asked for some troops, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain the insurgents. Then Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those seventy, which bold action he ventured upon without consulting Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, although he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby: and he continued thus cruelly treating the nation contrary to the laws, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not indeed dare to put him to death because of Sohemus, but deposed him from his official position. As to the seditious, they seized the fortress which was above Jericho, called Cypros,<sup>2</sup> and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications. And about the same time, the multitude of the Jews that were at Machærus<sup>3</sup> urged the Romans who were in garrison to evacuate the place and deliver it up to them. And they, being afraid that the place would be taken by storm, made an agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, which the people of Machærus fortified with a garrison and occupied themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 21, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Mekaur*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

§ 7. As for Alexandria, the dissension between the people of that place and the Jews was perpetual from the time when Alexander [the Great], finding the Jews very ready in assisting him against the Egyptians, gave them as a reward for that assistance equal privileges in the city with the Greeks themselves. And this honour continued to them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live purer, if less mixed up with foreigners, and they gave them this further privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. And when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Cæsar, nor any of his successors, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose between them and the Greeks, and although the governors of both these nations 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 broke out into a greater flame. For when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassy they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews and Greeks came flocking promiscuously to the amphitheatre; and when the Greeks noticed the Jews, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them, and rushed at them and laid violent hands upon them. As for the rest of the Jews they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they captured and hauled along to burn them alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, and at first threw stones at the Greeks, but after that they took torches, and rushed with violence into the amphitheatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and would soon have done so, had not Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, restrained their passion. However, he did not first teach them wisdom by arms, but privately sent among them some of the principal men, and entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them. But the seditious made a jest of the entreaty of Tiberius, and railed at him.

§ 8. Now when he perceived that those who were for innovation would not be pacified till some great calamity

should overtake them, he let loose upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who by chance were there from Libya<sup>1</sup> to the ruin of the Jews. And he permitted them 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 Jews lived together), and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed. For the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the front, and made resistance for a great while; but when once they gave way, they were destroyed freely, and their destruction was complete, some being taken in the open, and others forced into their houses, which were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans. And no mercy was shown to infants, or regard paid to the aged, but they went on slaughtering persons of every age, till all the place overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand lay dead upon heaps. Nor would the remainder have been spared had they not betaken themselves to supplication, when Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire. And they, being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bore such excessive hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave even their dead bodies.

§ 9. Such was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Thereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, as the Jews were everywhere involved in war: so he took from Antioch<sup>2</sup> the twelfth legion entire, and from each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of foot and four troops of horse, besides those auxiliary troops which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus sent two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, all archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of foot, and one thousand horse; Sohemus also followed with four thousand, a third of which were horse, and the rest archers; and thus did Cestius set out for Ptolemais.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, ii. 7, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> On the Orontes.

<sup>3</sup> *'Akka*.



There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from various cities, who indeed had not the same skill in war as the soldiers, but made up in zeal and hatred to the Jews what they wanted in skill. Agrippa himself also was with Cestius, both as a guide in his march over the country, and an adviser of what was fit to be done. And Cestius took part of his forces, and marched against Zabulon,<sup>1</sup> a strong city of Galilee, which was called the city of men, and divides Ptolemais from our nation. This city he found deserted by its men, the population having fled to the mountains, and full of all sorts of good things; these he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although its houses were of admirable beauty, and built like those in Tyre and Sidon and Berytus.<sup>2</sup> After this he overran all the country, and plundered whatever came in his way, and set fire to the villages round about, and returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, continued plundering, the Jews plucked up their courage again, for they knew that Cestius had retired, and unexpectedly fell upon those that were left behind, and cut to pieces about two thousand of them.

§ 10. And Cestius himself after leaving Ptolemais arrived at Cæsarea, but he sent on part of his army to Joppa,<sup>3</sup> and gave order, that if they could surprise that city they should occupy it; but if the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, they were then to wait for him and the rest of the army. So some of them made a forced 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 flight, and far less for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. And the number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horse to the toparchy of Narbata<sup>4</sup> that was near Cæsarea, who devastated the country, and slew a great multitude of its inhabitants, and plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Chabolo, *Kābūl*. Life, §§ 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Beirūt*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaffa*.

<sup>4</sup> So called from the town of Narbata. Jewish War, ii. 14, § 5.

§ 11. Cestius also sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, entrusting to him as large a force as he thought sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by Sepphoris,<sup>1</sup> the strongest city of Galilee, with acclamations of joy, and at this wise conduct the rest of the cities were quiet. But the insurgents and robbers fled to the mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee opposite Sepphoris, and is called Asamon.<sup>2</sup> And Gallus led his forces against them. Now while these men were on higher ground, they easily threw their darts upon the Romans as they approached them, and slew about two hundred of them; but when the Romans made a *détour* and got on higher ground still, they were soon beaten, nor could they who had only light armour on stand a hand to hand fight with men armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemy's horse; so that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to get at, while over two thousand were slain.

## CHAP. XIX.

*What Cestius did against the Jews; and how, upon his besieging Jerusalem, he most unexpectedly retired from that City. Also how he was harassed by the Jews in his Retreat.*

### § 1.

THEN Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked like innovation in Galilee, returned with his army to Cæsarea. But Cestius removed from there with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris;<sup>3</sup> and when he heard that a large Jewish force was concentrated in a certain tower called Aphek,<sup>4</sup> he sent a party on to fight them. But they dispersed the Jews by fright before it came to a battle: so they went on, and finding their camp deserted burnt it, as also the villages that lay near it. And when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda,<sup>5</sup> he found

<sup>1</sup> *Sefûrieh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.      <sup>2</sup> Probably *Jebel Jurmuk*.

<sup>3</sup> *Râs el-'Ain*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.      <sup>4</sup> Not identified.

<sup>5</sup> *Ludd*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude had gone up to Jerusalem for the feast of Tabernacles. But he slew fifty of those that showed themselves, and burnt the city, and then marched on, and ascending by Beth-horon,<sup>1</sup> pitched his camp at a certain place called Gabao,<sup>2</sup> fifty furlongs from Jerusalem.

§ 2. Now when the Jews saw the war already approaching their metropolis, they left the feast and betook themselves to their arms, and taking courage greatly from their numbers, rushed into the fight without order and with a great noise, and without paying any consideration to the rest of the seventh day, although the Sabbath was the day to which they paid usually the greatest regard. But the fury which made them forget their piety made them prevail over their enemies in the fight. With such violence indeed did they fall upon the Romans, as to break their ranks, and march through the midst of them, making great slaughter as they went. And had not the horse and such of the foot as were not yet tired out in the action wheeled round, and come up to the aid of that part of the army which had not yet given way, Cestius and his whole army would have been in danger. However, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, of whom four hundred were foot and the rest horse, while the Jews lost only twenty-two, of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of Monobazus king of Adiabene,<sup>3</sup> whose names were Monobazus and Cenedæus, and next to them were Niger of Peræa,<sup>4</sup> and Silas of Babylon (who had deserted to the Jews from king Agrippa, for he had formerly served in his army). When the Jews were checked in front they retired into the city, but Simon, the son of Gioras, fell upon the rear of the Romans, as they were ascending Beth-horon, and threw it into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts of burden, and led them into the city. And as Cestius tarried there three days,

<sup>1</sup> *Beit-'Ur*. Antiq. v. 1, § 17; ix. 9, § 1; xii. 7, § 1; 10, § 5; xiii. 1, § 3. Jewish War, ii. 12, § 2; 19, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Gibeon, *el-Jéb*. Antiq. v. 1, § 16; vii. 1, § 3; 11, § 7; 12, § 1. Jewish War, ii. 19, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> Antiq. xx. 2, §§ 1, 3; Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and guarded the entrances into the city, and appeared resolved not to remain quiet, when once the Romans should begin to march.

§ 3. Thereupon Agrippa observing that the Romans were in danger, as such an immense multitude of their enemies occupied the mountains, determined to try the effect of argument on the Jews; thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or at least detach from the opposite party all that did not agree with them. So he sent Borcæus and Phœbus, the persons of his party that were best known to them, and promised them the right hand of Cestius, and the entire forgiveness of the Romans for what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them. But the insurgents, fearing that the whole multitude in hope of indemnity would go over to Agrippa, proceeded to kill his ambassadors. Accordingly they slew Phœbus before he said a word, but Borcæus was only wounded, and prevented his fate by flight; and those of the people who were angry at this the seditious beat with stones and clubs, and drove before them into the city.

§ 4. Then Cestius, observing that this discord among the Jews gave him a good opportunity to attack them, led forward his whole army, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called Scopos,<sup>1</sup> which was seven furlongs from the city, but he did not assault the city for three days, expecting perhaps that those within would surrender, and meantime he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighbouring villages to seize corn; but on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth day of the month Hyperberetæus, when he had put his army in battle-array, he led it into the city. Now the people were kept under by the insurgents; and the insurgents themselves were greatly dismayed at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs to the inner parts of the city and the temple. But when Cestius was come into the

<sup>1</sup> That is, Watchtower. The hill on the road leading northwards from Jerusalem.

city, he set the part called Bezetha, which is also called Cænopolis,<sup>1</sup> on fire, as he did also what was called the Timber-market: after which he went into the upper city, and pitched his camp opposite the royal palace.<sup>2</sup> And had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he would have taken the city at once, and the war would have been put an end to. But Tyrannius Priscus, the quarter-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been bribed by Florus, and diverted him from that attempt; and that was why the war lasted so very long, and why the Jews were involved in such irremediable calamities.

§ 5. Meantime many of the principal men of the city, persuaded by Ananus the son of Jonathan, invited Cestius into the city, promising to open the gates to him. But he neglected this offer, partly from his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not altogether trust them, so he delayed the matter so long that the insurgents perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and drove them into their houses, pelting them with stones, while they themselves stood at regular intervals on the towers, and threw their darts at those that were trying to get over the wall. So the Romans made their attack against the wall on all sides for five days, but to no purpose; but on the sixth day Cestius took a great many picked men and archers, and attempted to break into the temple on its north side. But the Jews beat them off from the portico, and repulsed them several times when they got near the wall, till at last the shower of darts beat them back and made them retire. But the front rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and those that were behind them rested their shields on them, and those that were next did the same, and so guarded themselves by forming what they call *Testudo*,<sup>3</sup> upon which the darts that were thrown fell and glided off without doing 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.

<sup>1</sup> That is, New Town, to the north of the temple.

<sup>2</sup> Herod's palace, on the western hill, near the *Jaffa Gate*.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the back of a tortoise. See Livy, xxxiv. 39; xlv. 9.

§ 6. And now a dreadful panic seized upon the insurgents, insomuch that many of them fled at once from the city, as though it were likely to be taken immediately. And the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked of the city gave way, there did they come to open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, would certainly have taken the city at once. But it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already to the sanctuary because of the wicked of the city, that he hindered the war being put an end to that very day.

§ 7. Cestius, however, not knowing either the despair of the besieged, or the friendly spirit of the people, suddenly recalled his soldiers, and despairing of taking the city, most unexpectedly retired from it, without having received any reverse. And at this unexpected retreat of his, the robbers resumed their courage, and harassed the rear of his army, and slew a great number both of horse and foot. That night Cestius bivouacked at the camp which was at Scopos, and as he retired further next day, he thereby invited the enemy still more to follow him, who pressed upon his rear and slew the men there, and also fell upon each flank and threw darts at them obliquely. Nor durst those that were in the rear turn back upon those who wounded them behind, for they imagined that the number of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to check those that pressed them on each side, because they were heavy armed and afraid of breaking their ranks, and because they saw the Jews were light armed and so nimble in attack, and this was why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to retaliate upon their enemies. So they were galled all the way, and those that fell out of their ranks were slain, and many perished thus, among whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus the tribune of the soldiers, and Æmilius Jucundus, the commander of a troop of horse. And it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao,<sup>1</sup> their former camp, and that not without the loss of most of their baggage. There Cestius stayed two days, and was

<sup>1</sup> Gibeon, *el-Jib*. Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

in great distress to know what he should do, but when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about full of Jews, he perceived that delay would be to his detriment, and that if he stayed any longer there, he should have still more enemies upon him.

§ 8. That therefore he might flee the faster, he gave orders to abandon whatever might hinder the army's march. So they killed the mules and other beasts of burden, excepting those that carried the darts and engines of war, for they retained these for their own use, principally because they were afraid that the Jews would seize upon them. He then led on his army to Beth-horon.<sup>1</sup> Now the Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places, but when they were crowded together in their descent through defiles, then some of them got before and hindered them from getting out of them, and others of them thrust the rear ranks down into the ravines, and the whole multitude lined the heights on each side of their march, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In these circumstances the foot knew not how to defend themselves, and danger pressed the horse still more, for they were so shot at with darts that they could not keep their ranks as they marched along the road, and the heights were so steep that the cavalry were not able to get at the enemy. And on each side were precipices and ravines into which they slipped and rolled down, and they had neither place to flee to nor any plan for their defence; till the distress they were in was at last so great, that they betook themselves to lamentation, and to such mournful wailing as men use in the utmost despair; and this was re-echoed by the cheers and shouts of the Jews, who were at once both glad and angry. Indeed the Jews would have almost taken Cestius' entire army prisoners, had not night come on, when the Romans fled to Beth-horon, and the Jews occupied all the places round about, and watched for their coming out.

§ 9. Then Cestius, despairing of an open road, deliberated how best he might run away, and when he had

<sup>1</sup> *Beit-'Ur*. Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

picked out four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the intrenchments, and gave orders, that when they mounted guard they should set up their standards, so that the Jews might believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took the rest of his men with him, and quietly marched thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived in the morning that the camp was deserted, they rushed at the four hundred who had deluded them, and quickly slew them with their darts, and pursued after Cestius. But he had already got the start of them during a great part of the night, and marched still quicker when it was day; so that the soldiers in their panic and fear left behind them their battering-rams and engines for throwing missiles, and most of their other *matériel* of war, which the Jews then captured and afterwards used against those that had left them behind. And they went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris,<sup>1</sup> after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they returned, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and, gathering the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, returned singing songs of triumph to their metropolis: for they themselves had lost a few only, while they had slain of the Romans five thousand three hundred foot and three hundred and eighty horse. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dios, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

<sup>1</sup> *Râs el-'Ain*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.



## CHAP. XX.

*Cestius sends Ambassadors to Nero. The People of Damascus slay those Jews that dwelt with them. The People of Jerusalem, after they had left off pursuing Cestius, return to the City, and get things ready for its Defence, and make a great many Generals for their Armies, and among others Josephus, the Writer of these Books. Some Account of his Administration.*

## § 1.

AFTER this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship going to sink. Thus Costobarus and Saul, who were brothers, ran away from the city, with Philip the son of Jacimus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, and joined Cestius. As to how Antipas, who was besieged with them in the king's palace, would not flee with them, and was afterwards slain by the insurgents, I shall relate hereafter. And Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own request, to Achaia<sup>1</sup> to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to transfer the blame of the war upon Florus, for he hoped to make his own danger less by stirring up Nero's anger against Florus.

§ 2. Meantime the people of Damascus, when they heard of this slaughter of the Romans, set about butchering the Jews that dwelt among them. And as they had them already cooped up together in the gymnasium because of their suspicion of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; but they were afraid of their own wives, who were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion, so their greatest concern was how to conceal this from them. And they fell upon the Jews, who were ten thousand in number, and all of them unarmed, and in a narrow place, and cut their throats in one hour with impunity.

§ 3. As to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they had returned to Jerusalem, they induced those that

<sup>1</sup> The Roman Province, including nearly the whole of *Greece* proper.

favoured the Romans, some by violence and some by persuasion, to join with them, and assembled in great numbers in the temple, and appointed several generals for the war. Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as supreme governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city. For they did not put Eleazar the son of Simon at the head of affairs, although he had got in his possession the spoil taken from the Romans, and the money taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasures, because they saw he aimed to be a king, and that his followers behaved like body-guards. However, the want they were in of money, and Eleazar's subtle tricks, soon got round the the people, so that they submitted themselves to his authority in all matters.

§ 4. They also chose others as generals for Idumæa,<sup>1</sup> as 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 Idumæa (who was of a family that belonged to Peræa<sup>2</sup> beyond the Jordan, and so was called the Peræite), that he should be obedient to those fore-named commanders. Nor did they neglect other parts of the country, for Joseph the son of Simou was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasses to Peræa, and John the Essene to the toparchy of Thamua;<sup>3</sup> Lydda<sup>4</sup> was also assigned to him, and Joppa and Emmaus.<sup>5</sup> And John, the son of Ananias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitice<sup>6</sup> and Acrabatene,<sup>7</sup> as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala<sup>8</sup> also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under Josephus' command.

§ 5. As to every one of the other commanders, they administered affairs in their districts with their utmost zeal

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Tibneh*. Antiq. xiv. 11, § 2. Jewish War, iii. 3, § 5; iv. 8, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ludd*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

<sup>5</sup> Emmaus-Nicopolis *Anwäs*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

<sup>6</sup> The district of which Gophna, *Jifna*, was the chief town. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

<sup>7</sup> Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

and ability; and the first care of Josephus, when he came into Galilee, was to gain the good-will of the people of that country, as he knew he would thereby have good success in general, although he might fail in some points. And seeing that, if he communicated part of his power to influential persons, he should make them his firm friends, and that he should gain the favour of all the people if he executed his commands generally by persons of their own country with whom they were well acquainted, he chose out seventy of the wisest old men, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, and appointed seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels; for as to greater affairs and capital cases, he enjoined they should be brought before him and the seventy elders.

§ 6. Now when Josephus had settled these rules for determining causes by the law in every city, he betook himself to make provision for their external safety: and as he knew the Romans would invade Galilee, he fortified suitable places, as Jotapata<sup>1</sup> and Bersabee<sup>2</sup> and Selamis,<sup>3</sup> and also Capharecho<sup>4</sup> and Japha<sup>5</sup> and Sigoph,<sup>6</sup> and the mount called Mount Tabor,<sup>7</sup> and Tarichee<sup>8</sup> and Tiberias.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, he fortified the caves near the lake of Gennesar<sup>10</sup> in what is called Lower Galilee, and in Upper Galilee the rock called the rock of the Achabari,<sup>11</sup> and Seph<sup>12</sup> and Jamnith<sup>13</sup> and Meroth;<sup>14</sup> and in Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia<sup>15</sup> and Sogane<sup>16</sup> and Gamala.<sup>17</sup> But to those of Sepphoris<sup>18</sup> only did he give leave to build walls for themselves, and that because he perceived they were rich and wealthy, and zealous

<sup>1</sup> Kh. *Jefât*. Jewish War, iii. 6, § 1; 7, §§ 3-36.

<sup>2</sup> Life, § 37. Jewish War, iii. 3, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Kh. *Selâmeh*. Life, § 37.

<sup>4</sup> Life, § 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Yâfa*, near Nazareth. Life, §§ 37, 52. Jewish War, iii. 7, § 31.

<sup>6</sup> Life, § 37.

<sup>7</sup> Mount Tabor at the north-east end of the plain of Esdraelon.

<sup>8</sup> *Kerak*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.

<sup>9</sup> Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

<sup>10</sup> The sea of Galilee; the caves are those, near *Irbid*, in *Wâvy Hammam*.

<sup>11</sup> *'Akbara*. Life, § 37.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *Sâfed*.

<sup>13</sup> Life, § 37.

<sup>14</sup> *Meirôn*. Life, § 37. Jewish War, iii. 3, § 1.

<sup>15</sup> On Lake Semechonitis, *Bahr el-Hûleh*. Life, § 37.

<sup>16</sup> *Sukhnîn*. Life, §§ 10, 37, 51, 52.

<sup>17</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn*.

<sup>18</sup> *Sefûrieh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

for war without any orders. Similarly Gischala<sup>1</sup> had a wall built round it by John the son of Levi himself, but at the bidding of Josephus; who himself had a hand in all the other fortifications, and was present to give all the necessary orders. Josephus also got together an army out of Galilee of more than a hundred thousand young men, all of whom he drilled and armed with old weapons which he had got together.

§ 7. And when he reflected that the Roman power became invincible chiefly by discipline and constant exercise in arms,<sup>2</sup> he despaired of teaching his men the use of arms, which was only to be obtained by exercise, but observing that their readiness in obeying their officers was owing to the number of them, he arranged his army more in the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of tens, and captains of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and besides these he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to pass on signals to one another, and how to cheer on or recall the soldiers by the trumpets, and how to expand and wheel the wings, and when one wing had had success, to bring it up to assist those that were hard set, and to reinforce those that had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the endurance of the body; and above all he exercised them for war, by describing to them the discipline of the Romans, and how they were to fight against men who by the strength of their bodies and courage of their souls had conquered nearly the whole world. He told them that he could test the good order they would observe in war even before it came to battle, if they abstained from common crimes, such as theft and robbery and rapine, and from defrauding their own countrymen, and never esteemed harm done to those that were so near akin to them as any advantage to themselves. For he

<sup>1</sup> *El-Jish.* Life, § 10. Jewish War, ii. 21, § 1; iv. 2, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the Roman army was called exercitus. "Exercitus ab exercitando." Varro de Lingua Latina, l. iv. See also Cicero, Tusculan. l. ii. 37. The Prussians have done their great military feats by imitating this feature in the Romans. See also book iii. ch. v.

said wars were managed best when the warriors preserved a good conscience; for such as were bad men in private life, would not only have those for enemies who attacked them, but God himself also hostile to them.

§ 8. Thus did he frequently admonish them. Meantime his force was enlisted and got ready for war. It consisted of sixty thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, and besides these, in whom he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries. He had also six hundred picked men as his own body-guards. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of the army except the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half of their men to the army, and retained the other half at home to get provisions for them; so that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work, and so those that sent their corn were paid for it by the security which they enjoyed from those that were in arms.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Concerning John of Gischala. Josephus uses Counterstratagems against the Plots of John, and recovers certain Cities which had revolted from him.*

### § 1.

WHILE Josephus was thus engaged in superintending the affairs of Galilee, there sprung up in Gischala, a deep designing fellow, whose name was John. He was the son of Levi, and a very cunning and very knavish person, indeed more so than any of the men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow anywhere. He was at first poor, and for a long time his neediness was a hindrance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and clever in gaining credit for his lies, and thought it virtue to delude people, and would delude even such as were dearest to him. He pretended to be humane, but where he had hope of gain was most bloody, ever aiming at great things, and feeding his hopes on his mean

wicked tricks. He was at first a solitary robber, but in process of time he got companions in his audacious schemes, at first but a few, but as he proceeded in his evil course, ever more and more. He took care to have no partner who would be easily detected, but chose out such men as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs. Thus he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally from the country of Tyre, and were fugitives from its villages; and with them he plundered all Galilee, and harassed a great many who were on the tiptoe of expectation as to the coming war.

§ 2. However, his want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition for military command and attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with his energy, he persuaded him first to intrust him with the repairing the walls of his native city,<sup>1</sup> in which work he made a great gain of the rich citizens. He next contrived a very shrewd trick, for 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 asked leave of Josephus to send oil to the borders: and bought four amphoræ of oil with Tyrian money 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 to those who wanted oil, and having the monopoly, he got together an immense sum of money, which he immediately used against him who had given him that means of gain. And, as he supposed if he could once overthrow Josephus that he would himself be master of Galilee, he gave orders to the robbers that were under his command to be more zealous in their plundering, that, if the revolutionary party grew numerous in the country, he might catch the general in his snares and kill him as he came to the country's assistance, or, if he should take no notice of the robbers, he might accuse him to the people of the country of negligence. He also spread abroad a report far and near, that Josephus intended delivering up

<sup>1</sup> Gischala. *El-Jish*.

Galilee to the Romans: and many such things did he invent in order to ruin him.

§ 3. Now at this very time certain young men of the village of Dabaritta,<sup>1</sup> who kept guard in the great plain, laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa and Berenice's steward, and stripped him of all that he had with him, among which there were a great many costly garments, and a number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; but not being able to divide their spoil secretly, they brought it all to Josephus to Tarichææ.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon he blamed them for this outrage on the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Annæus, the most influential person in Tarichææ, with the intention of sending the things back to the owners at a convenient opportunity: which intention brought upon Josephus the greatest danger. For those that had stolen the things were indignant at him, not only because they got no share of them for themselves, but also because they perceived what Josephus' intention was, namely to restore what had cost them so much pains to the king and queen; so they ran about by night among their villages, and declared to all their inhabitants that Josephus was a traitor. They also filled the neighbouring cities with tumult, so that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together against him. And the multitude crowded together in the hippodrome at Tarichææ, and raised a very angry clamour against him; for some cried out to stone the traitor, and others to burn him. Now John incited most of them, as did also with him one Jesus the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. And Josephus' friends and body-guards were so frightened at this violence on the part of the multitude, that they all fled but four; and as he was asleep, they awoke him, just as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained with him urged him to flee away, he was neither dismayed at his being deserted, nor at the great multitude of those that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent,

<sup>1</sup> *Debúrieh*. Life, §§ 26, 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Kerak*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.

and dust 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 came out of the country, and those in the neighbourhood to whom his rule seemed burdensome, reproached him, and bade him produce quickly the money which belonged to them all, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them. For they imagined, from the guise in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they suspected concerning him, and that it was to obtain pardon that he had done everything to move their pity. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his, for he thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance with one another as to the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all: so he was permitted to speak, when he said, "I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to take it for my own gain; for I could never esteem one that was your enemy my friend, nor could I consider what would tend to your disadvantage to be to my advantage. But I saw, O people of Taricheæ, that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security, and that it wanted money for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and the 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 invest 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 well looked after your interests, you are desirous to injure your benefactor."

§ 4. At this the people of Taricheæ loudly applauded him, but those of Tiberias and the rest abused him and threatened him; and both sides left Josephus alone, and fell to quarrelling with one another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends (who were the people of Taricheæ, and about forty thousand in number), and spoke more freely to the whole multitude. He reproached them greatly for their vehemence, and told them that with this money he would build walls about Tari-



cheæ, and would put the other cities in a state of security also; for they should not want money, if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and not suffer themselves to be incensed against him who had procured it for them."

§ 5. Then the rest of the multitude that had been deluded retired, though angry, but two thousand rushed at him in their armour, and as he had already got into his house, they stood without and threatened him. On this occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem. He got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand waved to them to be silent, and said he could not tell what they wanted, nor hear what they said for the confused noise, but he would comply with all their demands, if they would but send some of their number in to him, that might talk with him quietly. And when the most influential of them and the leaders heard this, they went inside the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of the hall where he put them, and then had them whipped till he laid bare their inward parts. Meantime the multitude stood round the house, supposing that he was holding a long discussion with those that had gone in. He then had the doors set open suddenly, and sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly frightened those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and fled.

§ 6. At this John's envy grew more intense, and he framed a new plot against Josephus; he pretended to be ill, and in a letter begged that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths at Tiberias for the recovery of his health. And he (for hitherto he suspected not John as a plotter) wrote to the governors of the city to provide a lodging and necessaries for John. And when he had enjoyed these favours, he did after two days what he went there for, for he corrupted some with his lies, and others with money, and so tried to persuade them to revolt from Josephus. Now when Silas, who had been appointed to guard that city by Josephus, got to know of this, he wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him. And when Josephus had received his letter, he marched a forced march by night, and arrived early in the

morning at Tiberias. And the rest of the multitude met him, but John, though he suspected that arrival was not for his advantage, yet sent one of his friends, and pretended that he was ill, and that, being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. And as soon as Josephus had collected the people of Tiberias together in the Stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters he had received, John secretly sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that these armed men were drawing their swords, they cried out; at which cry Josephus turned round, and when he saw that their swords were just at his throat, he hurried off to the sea-shore, and left off the speech he was making to the people on an elevation six cubits high. He then leaped into a ship which lay in the haven, and took refuge with two of his body-guards in the middle of the lake.

§ 7. And now his soldiers took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters. Thereupon Josephus, being afraid that a civil war would be raised by the envy of a few men, and would bring the city to ruin, sent to his own party to tell them to do no more than provide for their own safety, and not to kill anybody, nor to accuse any of their guilt. And they obeyed his orders, and were quiet. But the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, assembled together against John. But he was too quick for them, and fled to Gischala<sup>1</sup> his native city. And the Galilæans came flocking out of their several cities to Josephus, and were now grown to many myriads of armed men, and cried out that they were come against John the universal plotter, and would at the same time burn him and the city which had received him. Then Josephus told them that he took their good-will kindly, but tried to restrain their fury, preferring to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct rather than by slaying them. So he excepted by name those of every city who had joined in this revolt with John, who were readily pointed out to him by their fellow-citizens, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those who did not leave

<sup>1</sup> *El-Jish*.

John within five days, and would burn both their houses and families with fire. Thereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, and came to Josephus, and threw down their arms at his feet. John then betook himself, together with the two thousand Syrian fugitives that stayed with him, from more open attempts to secret plots. So he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus of having too great power, and to let them know that he would soon come as a tyrant to their metropolis, unless he was prevented. To this the people, who were aware of the real state of affairs, paid no heed. But the leading men out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to levy an army of mercenaries to fight against Josephus. They also made a decree among themselves to recall Josephus from his command, but they did not think that decree sufficient; so they sent two thousand five hundred armed men, and four notable persons, Joaesdrus the son of Nomicus, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, and Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathan, all very able speakers, that they might divert the good-will of the people from Josephus. They were further instructed, if he would voluntarily come, to permit him to [come and] give an account of his conduct, but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his command, they were to treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus' friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him, but they did not reveal to him what the reason of its coming was, as his enemies had deliberated secretly. And so, as he was not on his guard, four cities revolted from him immediately, Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> and Gamala<sup>2</sup> and Gischala and Tiberias. But he soon recovered those cities without war, and when he had routed the four commanders and the pick of their soldiers by stratagem, he sent them to Jerusalem. But the people were very indignant at them, and in a mind to slay not only these forces, but also those that sent them, had they not prevented it by running away.

§ 8. Now John kept himself henceforth within the walls of Gischala from the fear he was in of Josephus. And a

<sup>1</sup> *Sefúrieh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn.*

few days afterwards Tiberias revolted again, the people within it inviting back king Agrippa. And when he did not come at the time appointed, and a few Roman horse appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now news of this revolt of theirs was at once carried to Taricheæ,<sup>1</sup> and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to get corn, he could not either march out alone against the revolters or stay where he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers, if he tarried, would get the start of him and into the city: for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath-day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem. He first 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 put on board each only 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 in the offing, while he himself, and only seven of his body-guards unarmed with him, went so near as to be seen. And when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so dismayed, that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and made signals of supplication, and besought him to spare the city.

§ 9. Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, as they first took up arms against the Romans, for expending their strength beforehand in civil strife, and doing what their enemies desired above all things, and also for being so anxious to seize upon him who saw to their safety, and for not being ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that had built their walls. He said, however, that he would receive any that came to apologise for the matter, and with whom he could make arrangements for the city's security. There-

<sup>1</sup> *Kerak.*

upon ten of the most influential men of Tiberias went down to him at once, and when he had taken them on board one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a very great way off. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, as he wished to receive from them also some security. After that he called forth others one after another, on one novel pretext or another, as if for a convention. He then gave orders to the pilots of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away quickly to Taricheæ, and to confine these men in the prison there. So at last he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the people, and carried them away in ships to Taricheæ.

§ 10. And when those that remained of the people cried out, that one Clitus was the chief author of this revolt, and besought him to confine his anger to him, Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded Levias, one of his guards, to go out of his vessel, and cut off both Clitus' hands; but he was afraid to go by himself alone to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in his ship, and ready to leap out of it to execute the punishment himself; so he begged from the shore that Josephus would leave him one of his hands, which he agreed to upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand; so he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself, who thus took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again, with empty ships and seven body-guards. Moreover, a few days afterwards he took Gischala,<sup>1</sup> which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris,<sup>2</sup> and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it. However, he got all the plunder together again, and restored it to the inhabitants, and he did the same to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued them, he wished to give them a lesson, by letting them be plundered, while at the same time he regained their good-will by restoring them their money again.

<sup>1</sup> *El-Jish*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6. <sup>2</sup> *Sefûrieh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Jews make preparations for War. Simon the Son of Gioras falls to plundering.*

## § 1.

THUS were the disturbances in Galilee composed. And upon their ceasing from civil strife, they betook themselves to making preparations against the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Ananus, and as many influential persons as did not side with the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments. And in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armour were being forged, but the mass of the young men were engaged in exercises without any regularity, and all places were full of tumult. And people of moderation were exceedingly dejected, and many foreseeing the calamities that were coming upon them made loud lamentation. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evil by such as loved peace, but were interpreted by those that kindled the war so as to suit their inclinations; and the condition of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus' 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 were called zealots; but their violence was too much for him. As to the end he came to I shall relate that hereafter.

§ 2. As for the toparchy of Acrabatta,<sup>1</sup> Simon, the son of Gioras, got together a great number of those that were fond of innovation, and betook himself to ravaging the country; nor did he only ransack rich men's houses, but also tortured their bodies, and appeared openly thus early to aim at playing the tyrant. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus and the rulers, he and his band fled to the robbers that were at Masada,<sup>2</sup> and stayed

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Sebbeh*, Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

with them, and plundered the country of Idumæa<sup>1</sup> with them, till both Ananus and his other enemies were slain, and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual plundering of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons in the villages to secure them from such outrages. In such a state were the affairs of Judæa at this time.

### BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE 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, to war against the Jews.*

##### § 1.

WHEN Nero was informed of the Roman reverses in Judæa, a secret consternation and fear, as was natural enough, fell upon him; although he openly treated the matter disdainfully, and was very angry, and said that what had happened was owing rather to the negligence of the commanders than to any valour of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for himself, who bore the burden of empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended to do so, and to have a soul superior to all evils. However, the trouble of his soul plainly appeared from the anxiety he was in.

§ 2. And as he deliberated to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was disturbed, who should punish the Jews for their rebellion, and prevent the infection from spreading to the neighbouring nations also, he

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, as he was a man who had grown old in military service from his youth up. He had also long ago pacified the West, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been disturbed by the Germans, and had also won by his arms Britain, which had been little known before; whereby he got a triumph bestowed on his father<sup>1</sup> Claudius without any sweat of his own.

§ 3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him steadiness mixed with experience, and that he had sons as hostages for his fidelity, whose vigorous prime would make them fit instruments to carry out their father's plans. Perhaps also there was some interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. So Nero sent him to take the command of the armies that were in Syria, and that not without great encomiums and flattery, such as necessity required to induce him to take the command. And Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia,<sup>2</sup> where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to fetch from thence the fifth and the tenth legions; while he himself crossed over the Hellespont,<sup>3</sup> and went by land into Syria, where he concentrated the Roman forces and the considerable number of auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings.

## CHAP. II.

*The great Slaughter of the Jews near Ascalon. Vespasian arrives at Ptolemais.*

### § 1.

NOW after the Jews had beaten Cestius, they were so elated with their unexpected success, that they could not control their impetuosity, but, as if blown into a

<sup>1</sup> Father is used here only figuratively. Vespasian was no relation whatever to Claudius.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, ii. 20, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dardanelles*. Antiq. xi. 8, § 3; xii. 1, § 1.



flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly they at once got together all of their boldest soldiers, and marched for Ascalon,<sup>1</sup> an ancient city five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jerusalem, and ever hated by the Jews, so they determined to make their first efforts against it. This expedition was led by three men, who were eminent both for strength and ability, Niger the Peræite,<sup>2</sup> Silas the Babylonian, and besides them John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly fortified, but had almost no protection in the way of troops, for the garrison consisted of but one cohort of foot and one troop of horse, whose commander was Antonius.

§ 2. Now these Jews, in their anger, marched faster than usual, and, as if they had come but a little way, were soon near the city. But Antonius, who was not ignorant that they were going to make an attack upon the city, drew out his horse, and being neither daunted at the numbers nor courage of the enemy, received their first attack stoutly, and when they crowded to the walls repulsed them. Now the Jews were easily beaten, for they were men unskilful in war pitted against those that were skilful therein, they were foot pitted against horse, they were in disorder against men drawn up in order of battle solid and compact, they were poorly armed against men completely armed, they fought more from rage than judgment, and were pitted against soldiers that were obedient and did every thing they were bidden at the least intimation. So they were easily beaten, for as soon as their front ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry, and as they fell foul of those behind them struggling for the wall, they became one another's enemies, till they all gave way to the charges of the horse, and were dispersed all over the plain, which was wide and everywhere fit for cavalry; which circumstance was very convenient for the Romans, and occasioned most slaughter of the Jews. For they could outstrip such as ran away, and make them turn back, and when they were crowded together in their flight, they stabbed them, and slew a vast number of them; and in different quarters of the field,

<sup>1</sup> *Ascalán.*

<sup>2</sup> That is, an inhabitant of Peræa. Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

wherever the fugitives turned, they wheeled and galloped round them, and slew them easily with their arrows. And the great number there were of the Jews seemed to themselves a solitude because of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small numbers, that they seemed to themselves to be the larger force. And as the Jews strove zealously under their misfortunes, from shame at their quick flight, and hope of a change in the fortunes of the day, so did the Romans feel no weariness in their good fortune, so that the fight lasted till evening, when ten thousand Jews lay dead, and two of their generals, John and Silas; and most of the rest were wounded, as well as Niger, their remaining general, who all fled away together to a small city of Idumæa, called Sallis.<sup>1</sup> Some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

§ 3. However, the spirits of the Jews were not broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their courage; for, disregarding the dead bodies which lay at their feet, they were enticed by their former successes to venture on a second destruction. So, when they had hardly given time for their wounds to heal, they concentrated all their forces, and returned to Ascalon with greater fury and in much greater numbers. But their former ill fortune followed them in addition to their unskilfulness and other deficiencies in war. For as Antonius laid ambushes for them on the roads they were to go by, they fell into snares unexpectedly, and were surrounded by the enemy's horse before they could form themselves in fighting order, and so above eight thousand of them were slain, and all the rest ran away, and with them Niger, who yet displayed great bravery in his flight. However, they were driven along before the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Bezedel.<sup>2</sup> Then Antonius and his troops, that they might neither waste any time about this tower which was hard to take, nor suffer the commander and most noble man of the enemy to escape, set the wall on fire. And as the tower was on fire, the Romans went away rejoicing,

<sup>1</sup> Site not known.

<sup>2</sup> An unidentified village near Ascalon.

taking it for granted that Niger had perished; but he leaped out of the tower into a cavern, in the innermost part of the fort, and was preserved, and on the third day afterwards he spoke from below to those that with great lamentations were searching for him, to give him a decent funeral; and when he came out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

§ 4. And now Vespasian took his army with him from Antioch<sup>1</sup> (which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute is the third city<sup>2</sup> in the Roman empire, both from its size and prosperity in other respects), where he found king Agrippa with all his forces waiting for his coming, and pushed on to Ptolemais.<sup>3</sup> And at this city the inhabitants of Sepphoris in Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans, who had beforehand thought of their own safety and the power of the Romans, and had before Vespasian came given their faith to Cestius Gallius, and received the security of his right hand, and had admitted a Roman garrison; and now too they received the Roman general very kindly, and readily promised to assist him against their own countrymen. And the general handed over to them, at their desire, as many horse and foot as he thought sufficient to oppose the inroads of the Jews, if they should come against them. For indeed the danger of losing Sepphoris<sup>4</sup> would be no small one in the ensuing war, seeing it was the largest city in Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a military post to keep the whole nation in order.

<sup>1</sup> Antioch on the Orontes.

<sup>2</sup> 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 reason to doubt this.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Akka.

<sup>4</sup> *Sefūrieh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

## CHAP. III.

*A Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa.*

## § 1.

NOW Phœnice and Syria surround the two Galilees, which are called Upper and Lower Galilee. They are bounded on the west by the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel,<sup>1</sup> which mountain of old belonged to the Galilæans, but now to the Tyrians; and next it is Gaba,<sup>2</sup> which is called "the city of horse-men," because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein: they are bounded on the south by Samaris<sup>3</sup> and Scythopolis,<sup>4</sup> as far as the streams of the Jordan; on the east by Hippene<sup>5</sup> and Gadaris,<sup>6</sup> and also by Gaulanitis,<sup>7</sup> and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and their northern parts are bounded by Tyre,<sup>8</sup> and the country of the Tyrians. As for what is called Lower Galilee, it extends in length from Tiberias to Chabulon,<sup>9</sup> and Ptolemais<sup>10</sup> is its neighbour on the coast, and its breadth is from the village called Xaloth,<sup>11</sup> which lies in the great plain, to Bersabe,<sup>12</sup> from which beginning the breadth of Upper Galilee is also taken to the village Baca,<sup>13</sup> which divides the land of the Tyrians from Galilee; its length is also from Meloth<sup>14</sup> to Thella,<sup>15</sup> a village near the Jordan.

§ 2. These two Galilees, being so great in size, and surrounded by so many foreign nations, have always been able to make a strong resistance in war. For the Galilæans are

<sup>1</sup> Mount Carmel on the south side of the Bay of Acre.

<sup>2</sup> *Jebâta*. Jewish War, ii. 18, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> The province of Samaria.

<sup>4</sup> The district of Scythopolis, Bethshean, *Beisân*.

<sup>5</sup> The district of Hippus, *Sûsiyeh*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

<sup>6</sup> The district of Gadara, *Umm Keis*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Jaulân*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Sûr*.

<sup>9</sup> Chabolo, *Kâbûl*. Life, §§ 43, 44. Antiq. viii. 5, § 3. Against Apion, i. § 17.

<sup>10</sup> *Akka*.

<sup>11</sup> Chesulloth, Chisloth-Tabor, *Iksâl*. Life, § 44.

<sup>12</sup> Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

<sup>13</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>14</sup> *Meirôn*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

<sup>15</sup> Probably *Tell Thala*.

inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous, nor has their country ever been destitute of men of courage or of a large population, for the soil is universally rich and fruitful, and planted with trees of all sorts, so that by its fruitfulness it invites even the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation. Accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie very thick, and the very many villages are everywhere so populous from the richness of the soil, that the very least of them contains more than fifteen thousand inhabitants.

§ 3. In short, if any one admits that Galilee is inferior to Peræa in size, he will be obliged to prefer it to it in its capacities; for all of it is capable of cultivation, and it is every where fruitful; whereas Peræa,<sup>1</sup> which is indeed much larger in extent, is mostly desert and rough, and much less adapted for the growth of cultivated fruits. However, its softer soil is very fertile, and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with various trees, though the olive the vine and palms 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 them, as they do in the dog-days. Now the length of Peræa is from Machærus<sup>2</sup> to Pella,<sup>3</sup> and its breadth from Philadelphia<sup>4</sup> to the Jordan: its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as I have already said, and its western by the Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits extend to Arabia and Silbonitis,<sup>5</sup> and also to Philadelphene<sup>6</sup> and Gerasa.<sup>7</sup>

§ 4. As to the district of Samaria, it lies between Judæa and Galilee (for it begins in a village that is in the great plain called Ginæa,<sup>8</sup> and ends at the toparchy of Acrabatta),<sup>9</sup> and is entirely of the same nature as Judæa. For

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Mekaur.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Fahil.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ammân.* Jewish War, i. 2, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Sebonitis, Heshbon. Hesbân.* Jewish War, ii. 18, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> The district of Philadelphia. <sup>7</sup> *Jerash.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Jenin.* Jewish War, ii. 12, § 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Akrâbeh.* Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4.

both are full of hills and valleys, and are soft enough for agriculture and very fruitful, and are well wooded, and abound both in wild fruit, and in that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain. As for the streams which they have, all their water is exceedingly sweet: and because of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than elsewhere. And the greatest sign of their excellence and abundance is that both of them are very populous.

§ 5. On the borders of Samaria and Judæa lies the village of Anuath,<sup>1</sup> which is also called Borceos.<sup>2</sup> This is the northern boundary of Judæa. The southern parts of Judæa, if it be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining the confines of Arabia, which the Jews that dwell there call Iardas.<sup>3</sup> And its breadth extends from the river Jordan to Joppa.<sup>4</sup> The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have called that city not amiss the navel of the country. Nor indeed is Judæa destitute of such delights as come from the sea, for it extends on the coast as far as Ptolemais. And it is divided into eleven portions, over which, as the royal city, Jerusalem is supreme, and presides over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities after it, they are parcelled out among the several toparchies. Gophna<sup>5</sup> is the second, and next to it is Acrabatta,<sup>6</sup> and after them Thamna,<sup>7</sup> and Lydda,<sup>8</sup> and Emmaus,<sup>9</sup> and Pella, and Idumæa,<sup>10</sup> and Engaddi,<sup>11</sup> and Herodium,<sup>12</sup> and Jericho,<sup>13</sup> and after them Jamnia<sup>14</sup> and Joppa preside over their neighbours, and besides these there

<sup>1</sup> *Kh.* 'Aina, fifteen Roman miles south of Shechem, *Náblus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Berkit*, not far from *Kh.* 'Aina.

<sup>3</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>4</sup> *Jaffa*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Jifna*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 235, note 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Tibneh*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ludd*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

<sup>9</sup> Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amwás*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

<sup>10</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>11</sup> 'Ain Jidy, on western shore of the Dead Sea. *Antiq.* vi. 13, §§ 1, 4; ix. 1, § 2. Jewish War, iv. 7, § 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Jebel Fureidis*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

<sup>13</sup> *er-Riha*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Yebnah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

are Gamalitis,<sup>1</sup> and Gaulanitis, and Batanæa<sup>2</sup> and Trachonitis,<sup>3</sup> which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at mount Libanus,<sup>4</sup> and the fountains of the Jordan,<sup>5</sup> and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias ;<sup>6</sup> and in length extends as far as Julius<sup>7</sup> from a village called Arpha.<sup>8</sup> Its inhabitants are Jews and Syrians mixed. Thus have I described with all possible brevity Judæa and its adjacent countries.

## CHAP. IV.

*Josephus makes an attempt upon Sepphoris, but is repelled.  
Titus comes with a great Army to Ptolemais.*

### § 1.

NOW the reinforcements sent by Vespasian to assist the people of Sepphoris consisted a thousand horse and six thousand foot under Placidus the tribune, and encamped in the great plain, and were divided into two bodies ; for the foot were put into the city to garrison it, but the horse were quartered in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and scouring the country all round, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men, although they were quiet. They also plundered all the places outside the city, and interfered with such as ventured abroad. So Josephus marched against Sepphoris, hoping to take it, though he had strongly fortified it before it revolted from the Galilæans, that the Romans might have much trouble to take it. In consequence of this he failed in his hope, and proved unable either to take the place by storm or to prevail upon the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. And he stirred up war

<sup>1</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 20, § 4. <sup>3</sup> *el-Lejah.* Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> Mount Lebanon.

<sup>5</sup> The springs at *Bániās* and *Tell el-Kády.*

<sup>6</sup> The Sea of Galilee.

<sup>7</sup> Bethsaida-Julias, *et-Tell.* Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

<sup>8</sup> An unknown town in the neighbourhood of *Jebel-Haurán.*

only the more throughout the district : for the Romans in their anger at this attempt, left off neither by night nor day ravaging in the plain, and carrying off the cattle that were in the country, and ever killing all that seemed capable of fighting, and enslaving the weak. So all Galilee was filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempt 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 fortified by Josephus.

§ 2. As to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia<sup>1</sup> to Alexandria, and that quicker than the winter season usually permitted, and brought with him the forces he was sent for, and marching with great expedition, arrived quickly at Ptolemais. And there he found his father, together with the two legions which were the finest of all, namely, the fifth and the tenth, and joined to them the fifteenth legion which he had brought. And eighteen cohorts followed these legions. There came also from Cæsarea<sup>2</sup> five cohorts and one troop of horse, and five other troops of horse from Syria. Ten of these cohorts had a thousand foot apiece, but the remaining thirteen cohorts had only six hundred foot apiece, and a hundred and twenty horse. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus and Agrippa and Sohemus, each of them contributing two thousand foot that were archers, and a thousand horse. Malchus, also, the Arabian, sent a thousand horse, besides five thousand foot (most of whom were archers). So the whole army, as well horse as foot, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, amounted collectively to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who followed in vast numbers, and, because they had been trained for war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men, for as they were in their masters' service in times of peace, so did they undergo danger with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none except their masters either in skill or in strength.

<sup>1</sup> The Roman Province. Jewish War, ii, 20, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.



## CHAP. V.

*A Description of the Roman Armies, and Camps, and Discipline.*

## § 1.

NOW here one cannot but admire the forethought of the Romans, in providing themselves with such household servants as might not only serve in the common duties of life, but might also be useful in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but look at all their military organisation, he will recognize that their great empire is the fruit of their valour, and not the gift of fortune. For they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they only exercise their hands in emergencies, while they avoid doing so in times of peace, but as if they were glued to their weapons, they have never any truce from warlike exercises, nor do they wait for times of war. For their drill differs not at all from real war, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with real diligence, as if in war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily. For neither does any disorder remove them from their wonted organisation, nor does fear frighten them out of it, nor does labour tire them. And this makes them always conquer those that have not the same steadiness, nor would he be far out who called their drill unbloody battles, and their battles bloody drill. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them by a sudden attack, for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have fortified their camp. Nor do they raise their vallum at random or unevenly, nor do they all raise it, nor do those that do take their places at random, but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled, and their camp is also measured square. And carpenters follow the army in great numbers with their tools to erect any necessary wood-work.

§ 2. As for the inside of the camp, they occupy it with tents, but the outside resembles a wall, and is furnished with towers at equal distances. And between the towers they place the engines for throwing arrows and darts and

stones, and all other engines for throwing missiles, all ready for use. They also erect four gates, one at each end of the camp, large enough for the entrance of the beasts of burden, and wide enough to make a sally from, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets with much arrangement. And they place the tents of the commanders in the middle, and in the very midst of all is the general's own tent like a temple; so that the camp appears to be an improvised city with its market-place and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the superior and inferior officers, where, if any differences arise, the cases are heard and decided. The camp, and all that is in it, is quickly fortified by the multitude and skill of the workers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth the same.

§ 3. When they have thus fortified themselves, they bivouac in companies in quietness and order. And all their other affairs are managed with good order and security. Each company has also its wood and corn and water brought it, when needful. For they neither sup nor dine when each pleases, but all together. Their times also for sleeping and watching and rising are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without orders. And in the morning all the soldiers go 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. And then he according to custom gives them the word for the day and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command; which is also observed when they go to fight, and so they wheel round quickly, so that, if need be, they can either attack or retreat *en masse*.

§ 4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives the signal, when nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out, and the trumpets sound again, to bid them get ready for the march. Then they lay their baggage quickly upon their mules and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the starting place, ready to march; and also set fire to their camp, and they do this be-

cause it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that this one may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give signal to them the third time that they are to go out, to hasten up those that are on any account a little slow, that so no one may be out of his ranks when the army marches. And a marshal stands at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice in their own tongue, if they are ready for war. To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them, and as if filled with a kind of martial fury, and when they cry this out, they also lift up their right hands.

§ 5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise and in order, and every one keeps his own ranks as in war. The foot are armed with breast-plates and helmets, and wear a sword 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 foot also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself, have a lance and shield, but the rest of the foot-soldiers have a spear and large oblong shield (shaped like a door), and a saw and basket, a pickaxe, and an axe, a thong of leather, and a hook, and provisions for three days, so that a foot-soldier has no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The cavalry have a long sword on their right side and a long pole in their hand, and an oblong shield lies across their horse's side, and three or more darts are carried in their quiver, with broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also helmets and breast-plates like all the foot-soldiers. As for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour in no way differs from that of the cavalry belonging to other troops, and he always leads the legions to whom that duty is assigned by lot.

§ 6. This is the manner of marching and resting of the Romans, and these are the different weapons they use. And when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast nor to be done on the spur of the moment, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what has been resolved upon is put into execution; so they seldom commit any errors, and if they make mistakes at

any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit after taking counsel beforehand, to be better than the successes which are owing to fortune only; because such a chance advantage tempts men to be careless, while consideration, though it may sometimes fail of success, has this good in it, that it makes men more careful afterwards; while the advantages that arise from chance are not owing to him that gains them; and as to the reverses that happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had anyhow deliberated the best they could to prevent them.

§ 7. Now in the exercise of their arms they make not only the bodies of the soldiers but also their souls stout. They are, moreover, hardened for war by fear. For their laws inflict capital punishment not only for desertion, but also for slight remissness, and their generals are more severe than their laws; for they screen their seeming cruelty towards those they punish by the great rewards they bestow on valiant soldiers. And their obedience to their commanders is so great, that it brings about order in peace, and in a battle the whole army is one body. So welded together are their ranks, so quick their wheelings round, so sharp their hearing the orders given them, so quick their sight of the signals given them, and so nimble their hands in action. So 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 the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties of the ground, no, nor by fortune either, for their victories have been surer to them than fortune. With a people, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where what is resolved upon is followed out by so energetic an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the Ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya<sup>1</sup> on the south, and the Ister<sup>2</sup> and Rhine on the north, are the limits of the Roman empire? One might well say that the Roman possessions are inferior to their possessors.

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, ii. 7, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Danube.

§ 8. I have given the reader this account not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of consoling those that have been conquered by them, and deterring others from attempting to rise against them. This account of the Roman military system may also perhaps be of use to such as are ignorant of it, and yet curious to know it. I will return now from my digression.

## CHAP. VI.

*Placidus attempts to take Jotapata, but is repulsed. Vespasian marches into Galilee.*

## § 1.

NOW Vespasian with his son Titus tarried some time at Ptolemais,<sup>1</sup> and put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had scoured all Galilee, and had also slain a great number of those whom he had taken (who were only the weaker part of the Galilæans, and such as were of timorous souls), saw that the fighting men always took refuge in the cities that had been fortified by Josephus, he marched against Jotapata,<sup>2</sup> which was the strongest of them all, supposing he should easily take it by a *coup de main*, and win great fame for himself among the commanders, and gain a great advantage for the Romans for the future campaign; for if the strongest place of all were once taken, the rest would surrender from fear. But he was mightily mistaken in his hope. For the men of Jotapata heard of his coming to attack them, and went out of the city to meet him, and engaged with the Romans unexpectedly, being both many in number, and prepared and eager for fighting, because they esteemed their country and wives and children in danger, and soon put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, but slew only seven of them, because their retreat was made in an orderly manner, and their wounds were only flesh wounds, as their bodies were covered with their armour in all parts, and because

<sup>1</sup> *Akka*.

<sup>2</sup> *Jefat*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

the Jews rather threw their missiles at them from a distance, than ventured to come to close quarters, and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. And three men were slain on the Jews' side, and a few wounded. And Placidus, finding himself too weak to assault the city, retreated.

§ 2. Then Vespasian set out to invade Galilee, and marched from Ptolemais, having put his army in the order wherein the Romans march. He ordered those auxiliaries who were lightly armed and the archers to march first, that they might check any sudden assaults of the enemy, and might search the woods that looked suspicious and fit for ambuscades. Next to them followed those of the Romans who were completely armed, both foot and horse. Next to them followed ten out of every hundred, carrying with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp, and after them road-makers, to make crooked roads straight, and to level uneven ground, and to cut down woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be impeded or tired with their march. Behind these he put such baggage of the army as belonged to himself and the other commanders, with a strong troop of horse for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him some picked foot and horse and pikemen; and he was followed by the cavalry belonging to his legion, for a hundred and twenty horse belonged to each legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the battering-rams and the other military engines. After them came the other commanders and prefects of the cohorts and tribunes, having with them picked soldiers. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, being the king and 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, and behind them came the main army in column six deep, who were followed by a centurion, who, according to custom, saw that the ranks were well kept. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the foot, and brought up the baggage of the soldiers, which was carried by the mules and other beasts of burden. And behind all the legions came

the crowd of mercenaries, and next to them came those that brought up the rear for the security of the whole army, who were foot-soldiers, both light-armed and heavy-armed, and a strong force of cavalry.

§ 3. Thus did Vespasian march with his army, and arrived at the borders of Galilee, where he pitched his camp and restrained his soldiers who were eager for war, and also showed his army to the enemy to frighten them, and to afford them opportunity to change their minds before it came to a battle. At the same time he made preparations for besieging their strongholds. And indeed the sight of the general induced many to repent of their revolt, and threw all into consternation. Those indeed that were in Josephus' camp, which was at the city called Garis,<sup>1</sup> not far from Sepphoris,<sup>2</sup> when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans were all but fighting with them hand to hand, dispersed and fled, not only before a battle, but before ever the enemy came in sight. So Josephus was left with but a few others, and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to cope with the enemy, and that the spirits of the Jews were depressed, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they could get trusted, he already began to be afraid as to the issue of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he could out of danger; so he took those that continued loyal to him, and fled to Tiberias.

## CHAP. VII.

*Vespasian, after taking the City of Gadara, marches to Jotapata. After a long Siege, that City is betrayed by a Deserter, and taken by Vespasian.*

### § 1.

AND Vespasian marched to the city of Gadara,<sup>3</sup> and took it at the first assault, because he found it destitute of a fighting population, and entered into it and slew all the

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown. Life, § 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Sefárieh.*

<sup>3</sup> *Umm Keis.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

population from the youths upwards, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatever, because of the hatred they bore to the Jewish nation, and because of their remembrance of the lawlessness of the Jews 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 it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, but from others he carried the inhabitants into captivity as slaves.

§ 2. As to Josephus, his retiring to the city of Tiberias,<sup>1</sup> which he chose for his security, filled it with great alarm. For its people did not imagine that he would have fled at all, unless he had entirely despaired of the issue of the war. And indeed as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw how the affairs of the Jews would end at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by changing their conduct. As for himself, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet he preferred to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to disgrace that command of the army which had been intrusted to him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to write an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem, that he might not by exaggerating the power of the enemy make them too timorous, nor by understating that power encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps disposed to repentance, and that, if they thought of coming to terms, they might quickly write him an answer, or if they resolved upon war, send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. So he wrote these things, and sent messengers to carry his letter with all despatch to Jerusalem.

§ 3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of rasing Jotapata<sup>2</sup> to the ground, for he had heard that most of the enemy had retired there, and that it was also a strong *point d'appui* for them. So he sent both foot and horse to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, and not without difficulty to be travelled over by foot, and absolutely impracticable for horse. And they accomplished this in four days' time, and opened a broad way for the army.

<sup>1</sup> *Tubariya*. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Jefat*.



Now on the fifth day (which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius) Josephus anticipated him, and got into Jotapata from Tiberias, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian that Josephus had removed there, so he hastened to that city, supposing that with taking it he should take all Judæa, if he could but get Josephus in his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God, that he who appeared to be the most intelligent of all their enemies should go into a self-chosen prison. So he sent Placidus with a thousand horse, and the decurion Ebutius, a person of eminence both in council and in action, to invest the city, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

§ 4. Vespasian himself followed them the very next day with his whole army, and by marching till late in the evening arrived at Jotapata. And taking his army to the north side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain hill which was seven furlongs from the city, being most desirous to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into consternation; indeed such a panic seized the Jews immediately, that not one of them durst go outside the walls. But the Romans put off an immediate attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, but they placed a double line round the city, with a third line of cavalry behind, in order to stop up every way out. Now this, making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men fight so desperately in war as necessity.

§ 5. Now when an assault was made next day by the Romans, the Jews at first maintained their ground and opposed the enemy face to face, having encamped before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and all those that threw missiles from a distance, he bade them shoot, while he himself with the foot mounted an acclivity, where the wall was easily to be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and made a sally, and all the Jewish multitude with him. And they fell upon the Romans *en masse*, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and

bold actions. But they suffered as much as they made the enemy suffer. For as despair of safety encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans; and these last had skill as well as strength, while the others were only armed by courage, which made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of night. A very great many of the Romans were wounded, and thirteen of them killed, while seventeen of the Jews were slain, and six hundred wounded.

§ 6. On the next day the Jews sallied out and made another attack upon the Romans, and fought much more desperately than the day before, for they were now become more confident on account of their unexpectedly holding their own the day before, and they found that the Romans also fought more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed them into passion, as they thought not winning victory at once a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans attack the Jews continually till the fifth day, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought from the walls most desperately; neither were the Jews dismayed at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in regard to taking the city.

§ 7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it a precipice, having on all sides of it but one ravines immensely deep, so that those who try to look down find their sight fail them before it reaches the bottom. It is only to be got at on the north side, where the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. Josephus had surrounded this mountain with a wall when he fortified the city, that its summit might not be able to be seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and is invisible till one comes just upon it. Such was the strong situation of Jotapata.

§ 8. Vespasian, therefore, being put on his mettle by the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, resolved to prosecute the siege with vigour. To this end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them as to the assault. And when it was resolved to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was accessible, he sent

his whole army abroad to collect materials. So when they had cut down all the trees<sup>1</sup> near the city, and had got together a great heap of stones besides the wood they had cut down, some of them spread fascines over their works, to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above at them, under cover whereof they kept on forming their bank, and so were hurt little or nothing by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighbouring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought them earth, so nobody was idle, as they were busy three sorts of ways. But the Jews cast great stones from the walls and all sorts of darts upon the fascines which protected the men, and their noise, though they did not reach them, was so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

§ 9. Vespasian then put into position all round the city the engines for throwing stones and darts (the number of which was in all an hundred and sixty), and bade the engineers shoot at those that were upon the wall. Then simultaneously the catapults hurled lances with a great noise, and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines for hurling stones, and fire and a vast multitude of arrows, which not only made the walls difficult of access to the Jews, but also reached the parts within the walls. For the mass of the Arabian archers, as well as all those that threw darts and slung stones, hurled their shot at the same time as the engines. However, the others did not lie still when they could not fight the Romans from the higher ground. For they then made sallies, like robbers, in bands, and tore away the fascines that covered the workmen, and struck them when they were thus unprotected; and when those workmen gave way, they shovelled away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the woodwork of it and the fascines, till Vespasian perceived that the intervals between the works caused this damage, for these intervals gave the Jews opportunity to attack the Romans. So he united the fascines, and at the same time concentrated all his army close to them, which prevented these sallies of the Jews.

<sup>1</sup> Surely for *ὀρῶν* we must read *δρουῶν*. And so I have done.

§ 10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought very close to the battlements, Josephus thought it would be strange if he could make no counter-contrivance for the city's preservation, so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher. And when they said that it was impossible to build while they were being pelted with so many darts, he invented the following shelter for them. He bade them fix stakes, and stretch over them the raw hides of oxen just killed, that these hides, by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them, might receive them, and the other darts would slide off them, and fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set over the workmen, and under them they went on with their work in safety, and raised the wall higher both by day and night, till it was twenty cubits higher. He also built frequent towers upon the wall, and fitted to it strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who thought by now they would have already got inside the city, and they were at once dismayed at Josephus' contrivance and at the courage of the citizens.

§ 11. And Vespasian was irritated at the great subtlety of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the men 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 in bands, together with all such contrivances as robbers make use of, as plundering all that came to hand, as also setting fire to all the Roman works; till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to sit down before the city, and to starve it into a surrender, supposing that they would either be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or, if they should have the courage to hold out till the last extremity, that they would perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he left them alone for a time, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine. But he gave orders that they should guard all the outlets from the city.

§ 12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn and indeed of all other things within the city, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people there

being supplied with rain water. But it is a rare thing in that country if ever to have rain in summer. And as the siege was at this season, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst, and they chafed as if already entirely in want of water. For Josephus, seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and wishing to protract the siege longer than the Romans expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure. But they deemed this scanty distribution of water by measure a thing harder than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would stimulated still more their desire for drinking, and they were as much disheartened thereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans ignorant of the condition they were in; for where they stood opposite them above the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins there, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

§ 13. And Vespasian hoped that their cisterns of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him. But Josephus, being minded to frustrate his hope, commanded a great many to wet their clothes, and hang them out upon the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this the Romans were discouraged and in consternation, seeing them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink. And the Roman general despaired of taking their city by famine, and even betook himself again to arms and force, which was what the Jews greatly desired. For as they despaired of safety for either themselves or their city, they preferred death in battle to death by hunger and thirst.

§ 14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem, besides the foregoing one, to get plenty of what they wanted. Through a certain ravine that was almost inaccessible, and so was neglected by the soldiers, Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of it, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that

were outside the city, and procured from them in abundance whatever necessaries they wanted in the city. He ordered them also to creep along generally when near the watch as they returned to the city, and to cover their backs with fleeces, that if any one should observe them by night, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivance, and surrounded the ravine.

§ 15. And now Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own safety would be doubtful if he continued in it, so he deliberated about flight with the most influential men of the city. When the multitude were aware of this, they all came round about him, and begged of him not to leave them, as they entirely depended on him and him alone; for there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them, because everybody would zealously fight for him, and there would be some comfort for them, even if they should be captured. They added that it became him neither to flee from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of the city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came in a calm; for by going away he would wreck the city, for nobody would any longer venture to oppose the enemy, when he was once gone on whom they wholly relied.

§ 16. Then Josephus concealed from them that he was going away to provide for his own safety, and told them that he was going out of the city for their sakes; for if he stayed with them, he should be able to do them little good, while they were in a safe condition, and if they were once taken, he should only perish with them to no purpose; whereas if he once got out of the siege, he should be able to help them very much from outside; for he would then with all speed get the Galilæans together out of the district, and divert the Romans from their city by another war. He said also that he did not see what advantage he could do them now by staying among them, for that would only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, since they deemed it a very great point to take him; but if they heard that he had escaped, they would greatly relax in their eagerness against the city. But he did not persuade the people, but incited them the more to hang on him.

Indeed children and old men and 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 much wailing to share their fortunes, and I think they did this, not envying his deliverance, but hoping for their own; for they did not think they should suffer any great misfortune, if Josephus did but stay with them.

§ 17. Now Josephus thought, if he resolved to stay, that it would be ascribed to their entreaties, and if he resolved to go away by force, he would be put into custody. His pity also for the people in their lamentation 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, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is noble to prefer glory to life, and having done some noble deed to be remembered by late posterity." When he had said this, he turned to deeds, and with his bravest men made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' outposts, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents upon their bank to pieces, and set fire to their works. And he never left off fighting in the same manner either the next day or the day after that, or for a considerable number of both days and nights.

§ 18. Upon this Vespasian, as he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, (for they were ashamed to be put to flight by the Jews, and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far, and the Jews, when they had done any mischief, before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city,) ordered his armed men to avoid their attacks, and not fight it out with men in desperation, for nothing was more courageous than despair, and their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed of their purposes, as fire was quenched when it wanted fuel. He said also that it became the Romans to gain their victories as cheaply as they could, since they did not fight for their existence, but only to enlarge their dominions. So he repelled the Jews most by the Arabian archers, and Syrian slingers and stone-throwers. Nor was there

any intermission of the numerous engines that hurled missiles. Now the Jews suffered greatly by these engines and gave way before them, but when they threw stones or javelins a great distance, then the Jews came to close quarters and pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body, one detachment relieving another by turns when it was tired out.

§ 19. Now Vespasian, looking upon himself as besieged in turn by these sallies of these Jews and the long time the siege lasted, as his banks were now not far from the walls, determined to apply his battering-ram. This is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship, its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by its middle by ropes, and is hung, like the balance in a pair of scales, from another beam, and braced by strong beams on both sides of it. When this is pulled backward by a great number of men, and then with united force thrust forward by the same men, it batters walls with the iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong, or walls so broad, if they resist its first battery, but are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, as he was eagerly bent upon taking the city, for he found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage, as the Jews would never be quiet. So the Romans brought their catapults and other engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the walls who endeavoured to frustrate their attempts, and threw stones and javelins at them, and the archers and slingers in like manner came closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews durst man the walls, and then other Romans brought forward the battering-ram that was cased with wicker-work all over, and in the upper part was covered by skins, and this both for the security of themselves and it. Now the wall was shaken at the very first stroke of this battering-ram, and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

§ 20. Now when Josephus observed this ram frequently



battering the same place, and saw that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of that contrivance. So he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to let them down before the place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel less of the stroke in consequence of the yielding nature of the chaff. This very much delayed the Romans, because, let them remove their battering-ram to what part they pleased, those that were on the walls also removed their sacks, and placed them opposite the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was not at all injured in consequence of the resistance that the sacks made, till the Romans made a counter-contrivance of long poles, and by tying scythes at their ends cut off the sacks. Now when the battering-ram thus became effective again, and the wall (having been but newly built) was giving way, Josephus and those about him had thenceforward recourse to fire to defend themselves. So they took whatever materials they had that were dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines and wicker-work and banks of the Romans. And they could not well come to their assistance, being at once in consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their aid. For the materials being dry, and bitumen and pitch and brimstone also being among them, the fire spread quicker than one would think, and what cost the Romans a great deal of labour was in one hour consumed.

§ 21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation. He was the son of Samæas, and was called Eleazar, and was born at Saab<sup>1</sup> in Galilee. He took up a stone of vast size, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and that with such force that it broke off the head of it. He also leaped down and took the head of the ram from the midst of the enemies, and without the slightest fear carried it to the top of the wall. And all the while he stood as a mark for all the enemies, and received their strokes upon his naked body, and was pierced with five darts: nor did he mind any of them

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *Kefr Sabt*.

till he got up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of all conspicuous for his boldness, after which he writhed with pain from his wounds, and fell down dead with the ram. Next to him two brothers Netiras and Philip showed their courage most conspicuously, both of them from the village Ruma,<sup>1</sup> and both Galilæans also. They 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 whom they rushed.

§ 22. After them Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings and the works belonging to the fifth and tenth legions, whom they put to flight, and others followed them immediately, and buried their instruments and all their materials under ground. However, about evening the Romans raised and applied the battering-ram again where the wall had suffered before; and there a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans, hit Vespasian with a dart in the flat of his foot, and wounded him only a little, the distance being so great that it broke the force of the missile. However, this caused the greatest confusion among the Romans, for as those who stood near were alarmed at the sight of his blood, a report spread through the whole army that the general was wounded, and most left the siege and came running in dismay and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, in the concern he had for his father, so that the soldiers were in great anxiety both from the regard they had for their general and because of the agony that the son was in. But Vespasian soon put an end to his son's fear, and to the alarm of the army. For rising superior to pain, and taking care to show himself to all that had been anxious about him, he incited them to fight the Jews with more sternness: for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger to avenge the general, and encouraging one another with a shout they rushed to the wall.

§ 23. But those who were with Josephus, though they fell one after another being struck by the darts and stones

<sup>1</sup> *Kh. Rûmeñ*, on the south side of the plain *el-Buttauf*.

which the engines threw at them, could not for all that be driven from the wall, but attacked with fire and iron weapons and stones those who were propelling the ram under the protection of the wicker-work: though they could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, because they were seen by those whom they could not see. For the light of their own fire shone about them, and made them as visible a mark to the enemy as they were in the day-time, while the enemy's engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them could not well be avoided. For the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them wound many at a time, and the whizzing stones that were cast by the engines carried away the battlements, and broke off the corners of the towers. Indeed, no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the size 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 Josephus was on the wall, his head was knocked off by a stone, and his skull carried as far as three furlongs. In the day-time also a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she had just come out of her house, that the unborn babe was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The whirr of the instruments and the noise of the missiles was more terrible still. Dire too was the noise the dead bodies made when they were knocked down one after another on the walls, and dreadful was the clamour which the women raised within the city, which was echoed back by the cries of those outside who were being slain; and the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been climbed up to over dead bodies. The mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes, nor was there on that night any thing wanting that could terrify either the ear or eye. And very many of those that fought nobly at Jotapata fell, and very many were wounded, and the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission; and those within covered their bodies with their armour, and built up again what was thrown down of the wall, before those scaling

machines were laid to the wall by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

§ 24. In the morning Vespasian mustered together his army to take the city, after a little rest from the fatigues of the night. And as he wished to draw off those that checked him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of his cavalry dismount from their horses, and placed them in three files opposite these breaches in the wall, defended by their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so they might begin the ascent as soon as the machines for such ascent were laid to the wall. And behind these he placed the flower of his foot, and he ordered the rest of the horse to deploy from the walls over all the hills to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers all round, and commanded them to have their arrows ready to shoot. He gave the same commands to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bade others bring ladders and apply them to those parts of the wall that were uninjured, that those who tried to hinder their ascent might leave off guarding the breaches in the wall, while the rest of the besieged might be overpowered by the darts cast at them, and yield an entrance into the city.

§ 25. But Josephus, seeing through Vespasian's plan, set the old men and those that were tired out at the sound part of the wall, as not at all likely to be hurt there, but set the most efficient of his soldiers at the place where the wall was broken down, and in front of them all six men by themselves, among whom he himself shared in the post of greatest danger. He also gave orders that when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be dismayed at it, and also that, to avoid the shower of the enemies' darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and retreat a little backwards for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; and that, when the Romans should lay their machines for ascending the walls, they should leap out, and with their own instruments meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved,

but to revenge it, as if it was already destroyed ; and that they should try and picture before their eyes how their old men would be slain, and their children and wives killed immediately by the enemy ; and that they should beforehand spend all their fury on account of the calamities coming upon them, and pour it out on the perpetrators of them.

§ 26. Thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men. As for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city surrounded by a triple line (for none of the former guards were withdrawn for battle), and their enemies with swords in their hands at the breaches in the wall, as also the hilly country above them shining with arms, and the darts ready and poised in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final wail at their capture, as if their ruin was not only imminent, but had actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should unnerve the courage of the men by pity, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, and went himself to the breach, where his position was allotted. As to those who brought up ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the expected shower of arrows.

§ 27. And now the trumpeters of all the Roman legions sounded together, and the army raised a terrible shout, and as a shower of darts were hurled at a preconcerted signal, the air was darkened by them. But Josephus' men remembered the orders he had given them ; they stopped their ears at the shouts, and protected their bodies against the darts ; and as for the scaling engines that were laid to the wall, the Jews sallied out at them, before those that should have used them were got upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great hand to hand fight, and much valour both of hands and soul was exhibited, while the Jews earnestly endeavoured, 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 as the Jews grew weary with defending

themselves continually, and had not enough men to relieve them, so on the side of the Romans fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men quickly got upon the scaling engines in the room of those that were thrust down, encouraging one another, and joining side to side, and protecting themselves with their shields over their heads, so that they became an invincible body, and as they pushed back the Jews with their whole line, as though they were but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

§ 28. Then did Josephus in this utmost distress take for his counsellor necessity (which is very clever in invention when it is sharpened by despair), and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready, for many brought it and in great quantities, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them the vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire. This so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed their compact body, who now tumbled down from the wall in dreadful pain, for the oil easily ran down their whole bodies from head to foot under their full armour, and fed upon their flesh like fire, its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated and slowly cooled. And as the men were encumbered with their helmets and breast-plates, they could in no way get free from this burning, and could only leap and roll about in pain, as they fell off their gangways. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they became an easy prey to those that wounded them from behind.

§ 29. However, in spite of this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want wit; for the Romans, although they saw their own men in a miserable condition from this oil that was poured on them, yet tried with all their might to get at those that poured the oil upon them, each reproaching the man before him as a coward that hindered him from exerting his strength. As for the Jews they made use of another stratagem to prevent the ascent of the Romans, and poured boiling fenugreek upon their planks, to make them slip and

fall down; so that 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 by which they were ascending and got trampled under foot, and many fell upon the bank they had raised, and when they fell were slain by the Jews. For as the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews, being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. And in the evening the general called off those soldiers that had suffered so sorely in the assault, of whom the slain were not a few, and the wounded were still more numerous; while of the people of Jotapata only six men were killed, though more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Dæsius.

§ 30. Now when Vespasian comforted his army as to what had happened, he found them angry, and rather wanting action than exhortation, so he gave orders to them to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, covered with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm from their weight, and not liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, and the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and also set upon them the strongest of the slingers, who not being descried themselves because of the height they stood upon and the parapets of the towers, hurled their missiles at those that were upon the wall, who were easily seen by them. Thereupon the Jews, being neither able easily 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 on them made them fire-proof, left the walls, and made sallies upon those that tried to take their city by assault. Thus did the people of Jotapata hold out, though a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retaliate upon their enemies, except that they kept them out of the city, though not without danger to themselves.

§ 31. During these days Vespasian sent out Trajan

against a city called Japha,<sup>1</sup> that lay near to Jotapata, and was disaffected to Rome, and elated by Jotapata against all expectation holding out so long. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian entrusted one thousand horse and two thousand foot. When Trajan arrived at that 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 coming out of it ready for battle, he engaged with them, and after a short resistance put them to flight. And as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely that they got inside it with them: but when the Jews endeavoured to get also inside the second wall, their fellow-citizens shut them out, being afraid that the Romans would enter in with them. It was certainly God who, to gratify the Romans by the woes of the Galilæans, did now expose the people of the city every one of them, being shut out by their own hands, to be utterly destroyed by their bloody enemies. For they rushed at the gates *en masse*, earnestly calling on those that kept them by name, but they 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 that they were closely cooped up between the two walls, and many were run through by the swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to retaliate, for to the consternation they were in from the enemy was added their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all slain, being twelve thousand in number. Then Trajan, inferring that the city was empty of people that could fight, and although there should be a few of them therein, supposing that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition, reserved the actual taking of the city for the general; so he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to put the finishing strokes on the victory he had gained. Vespasian, there-

<sup>1</sup> *Yāfa*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.



upon, imagining there might be some work still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horse and one thousand foot. And he quickly arrived at the city, and put his army in order of battle, and set Trajan in command of the left wing, while he took the right himself, and led the blockading force in person. And when the soldiers applied ladders to the wall on every side, the Galilæans opposed them for a while from above, but soon abandoned the walls. Then did Titus' men leap into the city, and master it quickly, but when they had got inside a fierce battle took place between them and the Jews who formed against them. For those that could fight fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatever came to hand at them from the houses; and the fight was kept up for six hours' time; but when the fighting men were despatched, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, both young and old together, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses. So there were now no males remaining besides the infants, who, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity. And the number of those both now slain 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 Galilæans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Dæsius.

§ 32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes. For they assembled upon the mountain called Gerizim,<sup>1</sup> which is their holy place, and there they remained: and this mustering together of them, and the spirit they showed, seemed to threaten war. Nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon the neighbouring cities, but notwithstanding the great success the Romans had had, marched on very foolishly considering their own weakness, being ripe for any tumult. Vespasian therefore thought it best to anticipate their movements, and to cut short their attempts. For although all the district of Samaria had always had garrisons posted throughout it, yet the number of those that had gathered together at Mount Gerizim and their organisation gave ground for alarm. He therefore despatched there Cerealis, the com-

<sup>1</sup> Mount Gerizim, south of Shechem, *Nāblus*.

mander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse and three thousand foot. And he did not think it safe to go up the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher ground, so he surrounded all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were short of water, suffered terribly from the violent heat (for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries), so that some of them died that very day from thirst, while others of them preferred slavery to such a death, and fled to the Romans; from whom Cerealis understood, that those who still stayed there were very much cowed by their misfortunes. So he went up the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he first besought them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and so save themselves; and assured them that, if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but as he could not prevail upon them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being eleven thousand six hundred. This took place on the twenty-seventh day of the month Dæsius. Such were the calamities that befell the Samaritans.

§ 33. However, the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, and on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks thrown up by the Romans were become higher than the wall. And on that day a certain person deserted to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and how they were worn out with perpetual watching and continual fighting, so that they could not now oppose any energetic force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one attacked them; for about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from their unremitting toil, and when morning sleep steals most upon people thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep, and his advice was that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian suspected this deserter, knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be

inflicted on them; for one of the people of Jotapata (who had been taken prisoner before this) had undergone all sorts of torments, and though they tortured him with fire, he would inform his enemies nothing of the affairs within the city, and when he was crucified, smiled at death. However, the probability of the story made the deserter credited, and Vespasian thought he probably spoke the truth, and that they would be no great sufferers if it was a trap; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

§ 34. At the appointed hour they marched without noise to the wall; and Titus himself first got upon it, with one of his tribunes Domitius Sabinus, and a few of the fifteenth legion also. And they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After them came Sextus Cerealis the tribune and Placidus, who led on those that were under them. Now though the citadel was taken, and the enemy were moving about in the very midst of the city, and it was already day, the taking of the city was not yet known to those that were taken; for most were tired out and 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 had got in, and they rose up only to find the miseries they were in, and perceived the city was taken only by their being slain. As for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they neither spared nor pitied any, but thrust the people down the precipice from the citadel and so slew them, where the difficulty of the ground hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves. For as they were crowded in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overwhelmed with the crowd of those that came fighting them from the citadel. This incited 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 slain by the Romans, and got together in the outlying parts of the city, and killed themselves.

§ 35. However, such of the watch as fled at once, at the

first intimation that the city was taken, went up into one of the towers on the north of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were surrounded by a multitude of enemies, they offered to surrender when it was too late, and then courageously offered themselves for slaughter. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of the siege was without blood [on their side], had not a centurion Antonius been slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery: one of those that had fled into the caverns, who were a great number, begged that this Antonius would reach him his right hand, both to assure him that he would preserve him, and to give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; and he incautiously reached him out his right hand, when the other was too quick for him, and stabbed him from below in the groin with a spear, and killed him immediately.

§ 36. On this day the Romans slew all the people that appeared openly; and on the following days they searched the hiding places, and attacked those that were under ground and in caverns, and spared males of no age, but only infants and women. And twelve hundred were gathered together as captives. As for those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, forty thousand were counted. And Vespasian gave orders that the city should be rased to the ground, and all the fortifications burnt down. Thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Josephus was informed against by a Woman, and was willing to deliver himself up to the Romans; and what Speech he made to his own Men, when they endeavoured to hinder him; and what he said to Vespasian, when he was brought before him; and how Vespasian treated him.*

## § 1.

AND now the Romans searched for Josephus, both from the hatred they themselves bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that, if he were taken, the chief fomentor of the war would be removed. So they searched among the dead, and looked into the hiddeu nooks of the city. But when the city was first taken, Josephus was assisted by a certain supernatural providence, for he stole away from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, which had a large cavern adjacent to it, which could not be seen by those that were above; and here he met with forty persons of note that had concealed themselves, and had provisions enough to last for not a few days. So in the day-time he hid himself from the enemy who occupied all places, and in the night-time he came out of his cavern, and looked about for some way of escaping, and reconnoitred the watch. But as all places were guarded everywhere on his account, so that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the cavern. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was informed against by her. Thereupon immediately, without losing a moment, 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.

§ 2. So they went and invited him to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved: but they did not prevail upon him; for he was suspicious from the probability that one who had done so much against the

Romans would have to suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. And he was afraid that they invited him to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent to him a third tribune also, Nicanor, who was well known to Josephus, and had been his intimate friend formerly. 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 superior officers rather admired than hated him; and that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not to punish him, for he could do that though he should not surrender, but because he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He also added that Vespasian, had he meant to lay a trap for him, would not have sent to him a friend of his, nor have put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning treachery, nor would he himself have acquiesced and come to him, had it been to deceive him.

§ 3. Now when Josephus hesitated about accepting Nicanor's proposal, the Roman soldiers were so angry, that they desired to set fire to the cavern, but the tribune would not permit them to do so, being very desirous to take Josephus alive. And now, as Nicanor earnestly pressed Josephus to comply, and he noticed how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night-time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now Josephus was able to conjecture well as to the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by the deity; moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, being himself a priest, and of the posterity of priests. So at that moment he became inspired, and remembering the dreadful character of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleases 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 my soul to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly surrender to the Romans, and am content to live. But I declare that I do

not go over to the Romans as a deserter, but as thy minister."

§ 4. When he said this, he gave himself up to Nicanor. But when those Jews who had fled with Josephus understood that he meant to surrender to those that invited him to come up, they stood round him in a body, and cried out, "Now, indeed, may the laws of our forefathers groan aloud, now may God himself well be dejected, who has created the souls of the Jews of such a temper, that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou 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 then had a false reputation for manhood, and a false reputation for wisdom, if thou hopest for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so valiantly, and art willing to be preserved by them, if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans has made thee forget thyself, we ought to see to the glory of our forefathers. We will lend thee our right hand and sword. And if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor." At the same time that they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he surrendered to the Romans.

§ 5. Upon this, Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a traitor to the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered, so he began to philosophize to them in the emergency he was in, and spoke to them as follows. "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our dearest things, the soul and body, at such variance? Does any one say that I am changed? Nay, the Romans are sensible how the matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war, but only according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I flee from the sword of the Romans, I truly deserve to die by my own sword and my own hand; but if they will spare their enemy, how much more justly ought we 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 admit that it is noble to die for liberty; but only in war, and at the

hands of those who try to take that liberty from us ; but now our enemies are neither meeting us in battle, nor killing us. Now, he is equally a coward who wishes not to die when he is obliged to die, and he who wishes to die when he is not obliged to do so. What are we afraid of that we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, shall we inflict on ourselves for certain what we are afraid of, when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us? But some one will say that we fear slavery. Are we then altogether free at present? It may also be said that it is a manly act to kill oneself. No, certainly, but a most unmanly one, as I should esteem that pilot most cowardly, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Indeed suicide is unknown to the common nature of all animals, and is impiety to God our Creator. For no animal dies by its own contrivance, or by its own means. For the desire of life is a strong law of nature with all ; on which account we deem those that openly try to take it away from us to be our enemies, and we take vengeance on those that try to do so by treachery. And do you not think that God is very angry when a man despises what he has bestowed on him? For it is from him 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 created out of corruptible matter ; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a part of God that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or misuses deposit he has received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person ; and if any one cast out of his own body the deposit of God, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their masters shall be punished, though the masters they run away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavour 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 the 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 posterity are sure, and that their souls



are pure and obedient, and obtain the most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves, are received in the darkest place in Hades, and God, who is their father, punishes those that offend against either soul or body in their posterity. So God hates suicide, and it is punished by our most wise legislator. For our laws ordain that the bodies of such as kill themselves shall be exposed till sunset without burial, although it be lawful to bury even our enemies. The laws of other nations also enjoin to cut off such men's right hands when they are dead, as they had used them in destroying themselves, for they reckoned that, as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand also alien from the body. It is, therefore, my friends, a noble thing to reason justly, and not to add to the calamities which men bring upon us impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do so; for to be preserved by our enemies, to whom we have given so many proofs of our courage, is no way inglorious; and 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 shall not transfer myself to our enemies' ranks, to be a traitor to myself. For certainly I should then be much more foolish than those who deserted to the enemy, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, and that my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after the 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."

§ 6. Much similar language did Josephus use to these men to deter them from committing suicide. But they shut their ears in desperation, having long ago devoted themselves to die, and were irritated at Josephus; and ran upon him with their swords, one from one place, another from another, and called him a coward, and each seemed as if going at once to smite him. But he calling one of them by name, and looking like his general at another, and taking a third by the right hand, and making a fourth

ashamed of himself by praying him to forbear, though distracted in this emergency by various emotions, kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to act like wild beasts surrounded on every side, who ever turn on the last assailant. And the right hands of some were paralysed by the reverence they still bore their general even in these extremities, and their swords dropped out of their hands, and several while pointing their swords at him spontaneously desisted.

§ 7. However, in this emergency Josephus was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard. So he said, "Since you are determined to die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to settlement by lot. He whom the lot falls on first, let him be killed by him that has the second lot, and thus fortune shall take 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 very fair, and when he had prevailed upon 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, supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death sweeter than life, if Josephus might but die with them. And he was left with another to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he were left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his fellow-countryman, he persuaded him to trust to him and to live as well as himself.

§ 8. Thus Josephus escaped both in the war with the Romans, and in this war with his own friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. And all the Romans flocked to see him; and as the multitude crowded round the general, there was a confused clamour, some rejoicing that Josephus was taken, and some threatening him, and some pressing very near to see him. And those that were at greater distance cried out to have their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and marvelled at the reverse in his fortunes; nor were there

any of the Roman commanders, however enraged they had been at him before, but relented at the sight of him. And Titus was moved above all the rest, by Josephus' endurance under his reverses and pity for his youth; for he recalled to mind that but a little while ago he was fighting, and now lay 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 condition of men is stable and sure. So he then induced a great many as well as himself to commiserate Josephus. He had also very great influence in persuading his father to save his life. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he was to be kept with great care, as though he intended forthwith to send him to Nero.

§ 9. When Josephus heard this, he said that he had something that he wished to say to the general alone. When therefore all were ordered to withdraw, except Titus and two friends, Josephus said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive, but I come to thee as a messenger of greater things. For had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew the custom of the Jews, and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou intend to send me to Nero? Why? Will not<sup>1</sup> Nero have successors up to thee? Thou, Vespasian, wilt be Cæsar and emperor, and so will thy son here. Bind me now still more carefully, and keep me for thyself, for thou, O Cæsar, wilt not only be lord over me, but over the land and 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 falsely affirm any thing as from God." When he had said this, Vespasian at first did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this, as a cunning trick, in order to be saved alive; but in a little time he was induced to believe what he said to be true, God stirring him up already 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 when one of those friends that were present at the secret conference said to Josephus, "I cannot but wonder why thou couldst not foretell to the

<sup>1</sup> I read οὐ for οἱ, as the sense seems to require.

people of Jotapata that they would be taken, nor couldst foretell this captivity which has happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be silly talk to evade the consequences of the anger against thee ;” Josephus replied, “I foretold to the people of Jotapata that they would be captured on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be taken 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. But he did not set Josephus at liberty from his bonds or from custody, but gave him suits of clothes and other precious gifts ; he treated him also in a very kind manner, and continued to do so, Titus co-operating very much in the honour paid to him.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Joppa was taken, and how Tiberias surrendered.*

### § 1.

NOW Vespasian returned to Ptolemais<sup>1</sup> on the fourth day of the month Panemus, and from thence he went to Cæsarea,<sup>2</sup> which lay on the coast, and was a very great city of Judæa, and mostly inhabited by Greeks. Here the citizens received both the Roman army and its general with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicing, partly from the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally from the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them. So they came *en masse* clamouring against Josephus, and begged that he might be punished. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by an inconsiderate multitude, with mere silence. He also placed two of the legions at Cæsarea for their winter quarters, perceiving that the city was fit for such a purpose ; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis,<sup>3</sup> that he might

<sup>1</sup> Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, Kaisariyeh.

<sup>3</sup> Bethshean, Beisân.

not distress Cæsarea with the entire army. Cæsarea was warm even in winter, and suffocating hot in the summer-time, as it lay in a plain and was near the sea.

§ 2. Meantime there was gathered together a great number, as well of such as had through sedition revolted from the Romans as those that had escaped out of the cities that had been overthrown, and they repaired Joppa<sup>1</sup> (which had been laid desolate by Cestius) that it might serve them as a *point d'appui*; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to shift their operations to the sea. So they built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates on the seas near Syria and Phœnicia and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their organisation, he sent both foot and horse to Joppa, who entered into it by night as it was unguarded. And those that were in it perceived that they would be attacked, and were afraid, and did not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night out of the reach of darts.

§ 3. Now Joppa is without a haven naturally, for it ends in a rough shore, straight all the rest of it, but the two ends converge towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great rocks that jut out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound are still shown, attesting the antiquity of that fable, and the north wind blows and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the open sea. Now as these people from Joppa were tossing about in the offing, in the morning a violent wind blew upon them (it is called by those that sail there Black Boreas), and dashed some of their ships against one another there, and some against the rocks; and many that were violently striving against the advancing tide to get into the open sea (for they were afraid of the rocky shore and the enemy upon it) were submerged by the waves that rose mountains high. Nor was there any place where they could flee to, nor any

safety if they stayed where they were, as they were thrust off the sea by the violence of the wind, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And there was loud lamentation when the ships dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude in them were swallowed up by the waves, and so perished, and a great many were entangled in the wrecks. And some of them thought that to die by their own swords was an easier death than by the sea, and so they killed themselves, however, most were carried away by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the rocks, so that the sea was bloody a long way, and the shore was full of dead bodies, and the Romans watched for those that were carried ashore safe and slew them. And the number of bodies that came ashore was four thousand two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and rased it to the ground.

§ 4. Thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a short time. And Vespasian, to prevent pirates from flocking together there any more, placed a camp in the citadel, and left a troop of horse in it and a few foot, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and that the horse might plunder the surrounding country, and might destroy the neighbouring villages and small towns. So they scoured the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day ravaged and desolated the whole region.

§ 5. Now when the fate of Jotapata<sup>1</sup> was reported at Jerusalem, most at first disbelieved it, not only because of the vastness of the calamity, but also because they had no eye-witness to attest the truth of what was reported, for not a single person escaped to carry the news, but rumour, naturally apt to spread bad tidings, had of itself spread abroad news that the city was taken. However, the truth oozed out by degrees from the places near Jotapata, and the tidings appeared to all to be too true; but fictitious additions were made to what had really happened, for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city. This news filled Jerusalem with the greatest sorrow; and in every house, and among all to whom any of the slain

<sup>1</sup> *Jefât.*

were related, there was lamentation for them, but the mourning for the commander was a public one; and some mourned for people who had been their guests, others for their kindred, others for their friends, others for their brothers, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day, and a great many hired flute-players<sup>1</sup> to lead off their coronachs.

§ 6. But as the truth came out in time, and the real state of affairs at Jotapata, it was found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when the people of Jerusalem understood that he was alive and that the commanders treated him differently than they generally treated captives, they showed as much anger at his being alive as they had shown good-will before when they thought he was dead. He was abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as having been a traitor; and the city was full of indignation and reproaches against him: their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually produce caution in wise men, I mean reverses, became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and the end of one misery became ever the beginning of another. They therefore were more eager to fight the Romans, intending to take their revenge on Josephus also as well as them. Such was the confusion that now reigned at Jerusalem.

§ 7. Now Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa (which that king himself invited him to do, partly to treat the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private means would enable him to do, and partly by their help to correct such things as were amiss in his kingdom), removed from Cæsarea<sup>2</sup> by the sea-side to that which is called Cæsarea Philippi.<sup>3</sup> And there he

<sup>1</sup> 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.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>3</sup> Of this Cæsarea Philippi (twice mentioned in our New Testament, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark vii. 27), there are coins still extant, as Spanheim here informs us.—W. Now *Bániás*.

rested his army for twenty days, and himself feasted, and returned public thanks to God for the success he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was on the eve of insurrection, and that Taricheæ<sup>1</sup> had revolted (both which cities were part of the kingdom of Agrippa), being resolved to subdue the Jews every where, he thought it opportune to make an expedition against these cities, and for the sake of Agrippa, in return for his hospitality, to bring those cities to reason. So he sent his son Titus to [the other] Cæsarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Scythopolis,<sup>2</sup> which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, where he also himself went, and waited for his son. He then marched forward with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs from Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the insurgents, called Sennabris.<sup>3</sup> He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horse, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were factiously overpowered by some who tried to force them to fight. When Valerian had ridden 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 he could speak to them, the most warlike of the insurgents made a sally upon them with their arms; their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Shaphat, the captain of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, not thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, even if he were sure of victory, and knowing that it was a hazardous undertaking for a few to fight against many, and for those that were unprovided to fight against those that were ready, and being also alarmed at this unexpected audacity of the Jews, fled away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses

<sup>1</sup> *Kerak*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Beisân*. Scythopolis was the only city of the Decapolis situated west of the Jordan.

<sup>3</sup> *Sinn en-Nabrah*, near the south-west end of the Sea of Galilee, and not far from *Kerak*.



Jesus and his men led off to the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle and not by surprise.

§ 8. Now the elders of the people, and such as seemed of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of the matter, fled to the camp of the Romans : and taking their king with them, fell down before Vespasian as suppliants, and besought him not to despise them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city, but to spare a people that had ever been friendly to the Romans, and to bring the authors of this revolt to punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they had long been anxious to give the Romans the security of their right hands, they had not yet found an opportunity to do so. To these supplications the general hearkened (though he was very angry with the whole city because of the carrying off the six horses), for he saw that Agrippa was greatly concerned about this. And 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 any longer at Tiberias, so they fled to Taricheæ. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan on with some horse to the mountain-ridge, 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 as the suppliants, 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 getting in at the gates because they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broader entrance. However, he charged his men to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king, and on his account also spared the walls, as the king undertook that the citizens would 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 faction.

## CHAP. X.

*How Taricheæ was taken. A Description of the River Jordan, and of the Country round the Lake of Gennesar.*

## § 1.

AND now Vespasian pitched his camp between Tiberias and Taricheæ, and fortified his camp very strongly, suspecting that the war there would be long; for all the insurgents flocked into Taricheæ, relying on the strength of that city, and on the lake that lay near it, which is called Gennesar<sup>1</sup> by the people of the country. The city itself is situated, like Tiberias, at the foot of a mountain, and on all sides not washed by the sea had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias. For the walls of Tiberias had been made strong at the beginning of the Jews' revolt with much expenditure of money and strength, but Taricheæ had enjoyed only the remains of that liberality. But they had many ships ready upon the lake, in order that, if they were beaten on land, they might retire to them, and they were also equipped for a sea-fight if necessary. But as the Romans were fortifying their camp, Jesus and his party were neither dismayed at the numbers nor discipline of the enemy, but made a sally upon them, and at the very first onset dispersed those that were fortifying the camp, and pulled what little work they had done to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men mustering together, before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But the Romans pursued them, and drove them to their ships, where they launched out just as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with their missiles, and then cast anchor, and drew up their ships close as in line of battle, and so fought a sort of sea-fight with the enemy who were on land. And Vespasian, hearing that great numbers of them were concentrated in the plain that was before the city, sent his son with six hundred picked horse against them.

<sup>1</sup> The Sea of Galilee. Jewish War, iii. 10, §§ 7, 8.

§ 2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him that he should want a larger force. But as he saw that most of his cavalry were eager to fight, and that before any reinforcement could come to them, though some were secretly dismayed at the number of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and spoke to his men as follows. “Men and Romans! for it is well for me to remind you in the beginning of my speech what nation you are, that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and against whom we are going to fight. For as to us Romans, no part of the world has been able to escape our hands hitherto; while the Jews, that I may speak of them too, do not yet grow weary of being beaten. And it would be monstrous for us to grow weary in success, when they bear up under reverses. As to the eagerness which you openly show, I see it and rejoice at it; but I am afraid lest the numbers of the enemy should bring secret panic to any individual among you. Let such an one consider again who he is, and against whom he is to fight. For these Jews, though they be very bold and despise death, are but a disorderly body and unskilful in war, and may rather be called a mob than an army. And I need say nothing of our skill and good order; for the only reason why we Romans are exercised for war in time of peace, is that we may not think of numbers when we come to fight with our enemies. For what advantage should we reap by our continual military training, if we must still be equal in numbers to such as have not been used to war? Consider, further, that you are to contend against men unarmed, while you are well armed, against foot, while you are horse, and against those that have no general, while you have one; and as these advantages make you in effect many times as numerous as you really are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the number of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though there be but a few. And indeed a few are easily set in battle array, and can easily assist one another, while armies too numerous are more hurt by themselves than by the enemy. It is boldness and rashness, emotions caused by

despair, that lead the Jews, emotions powerful indeed in the flush of victory, but quite extinguished at the least ill success; but we are led by courage and discipline and fortitude, which shows itself indeed in our good fortune, and does not desert us for ever even in our bad fortune. Moreover, you will fight for greater stakes than the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty and country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory, and that it may never be said, after we have got dominion of the world, that the Jews are able to confront us? We ought also to reflect that there is no fear of our suffering any irreparable disaster in the present case, for many are ready to assist us, and at hand also, but it is in our power to win this victory by ourselves, and I think we ought to anticipate those troops my father is sending to our assistance, that our success may be unshared and so greater. And I cannot but think that now my father and I and you are all put on our trial, whether he is worthy of his former glorious performances, whether I am his son, and whether you are really my soldiers. For it is usual for him to conquer, and for myself, I could not bear the thought of returning to him if I were defeated. And for you, how will you not be ashamed, if you are beaten, when your commander goes before you into danger? For know well that I shall go into danger first, and first attack the enemy. Do not you therefore desert me, but be persuaded that God will assist and encourage my charge. Know this also before we begin, that we shall have better success in a hand to hand fight than we should have if we were to fight at a distance."

§ 3. As Titus was saying this, a divine fury fell upon his men, and when Trajan came up with four hundred horse, before the fight began, they chafed because the fame of the victory would be diminished by being shared with others. Vespasian had also sent Antonius Silo with two thousand archers, and had charged them to occupy the mountain opposite the city, and repel those that were upon the wall. And they did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them in that quarter. And now Titus rode first against the enemy, and the others with a shout after him, and they deployed so as to make as large a front in the plain as the enemy, so that they

appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now although the Jews were dismayed at their attack and good order, they resisted their charge for a little while; but being pricked with their long poles, and upset by the charge of the horse, they got trampled under foot. And as many of them were slain on every side, they dispersed and fled to the city as fast as each of them was able. And Titus hotly pursued and slew some from behind, and some he cut his way through as they were *en masse*, and some he charged face to face, and ran them through, and many he charged as they fell one upon another, and stabbed them. And he intercepted the retreat of all to the walls, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their numbers, and got away, and fled into the city.

§ 4. And now a terrible disturbance awaited them inside the city. For the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were indisposed to fight from the very beginning, and much more so now they had been beaten; but the foreigners, who were very numerous, tried to force them to fight so much the more, insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them, all being angry with one another, and all but fighting. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, now is our time; why do we make any delay, when God is giving up the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given you: do not you hear what a noise they make? Those that have escaped our hands are at variance with one another. We have the city, if we make haste. But besides haste we want energy and courage. For no great thing is wont to be accomplished without danger. And we must not only prevent the enemy uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also anticipate the coming of our own men to our assistance, that (few as we are) we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city."

§ 5. Directly Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and led the way to the lake, through which he rode, and entered the city first, and the others followed him. Thereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with

panic at his boldness, nor durst any one venture to fight or hinder him, but Jesus and those that were with him left the garrison and fled through the country, while others ran down to the lake, and met the enemy face to face; and some were slain as they were trying to get on board their ships, and others as they attempted to swim to those ships that had already put out to the middle of the lake. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, as those foreigners that had not fled already fought against the Romans, but the inhabitants were killed without fighting (for in hope of Titus' giving them his right hand for their security, and being conscious that they had not given their counsel for war, they avoided fighting), till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any further slaughter, feeling pity for the inhabitants of the place. As for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

§ 6. Thereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, to announce to him the good news of what he had done: at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious success of his son (for he thought now the greatest part of the war was over). He then went to Taricheæ himself, and set men to surround and guard that city, and commanded them to take care that nobody got privately out of it, and to kill such as attempted to do so. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded rafts to be constructed to pursue those that had fled in their ships. These rafts were quickly constructed accordingly, because there was plenty of material, and a great number of carpenters also.

§ 7. Now this lake of Gennesar<sup>1</sup> is so called from the country adjoining it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length a hundred and forty, and its water is sweet and very agreeable for drinking, for it is finer than the thick water of marshes, the lake also is pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores and sands; it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a softer nature than river or fountain water, and cooler invariably than

<sup>1</sup> The Sea of Galilee.

one would expect from the extent of the lake. Indeed, when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as snow, so the country people keep it in the open air by night in summer. There are also several kinds of fish in it, different both in taste and appearance to those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium<sup>1</sup> is thought to be the source of the Jordan, but in reality it is carried to it underground in some secret manner from the place called Phiala:<sup>2</sup> which is, as you go up to Trachonitis,<sup>3</sup> a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæsarea,<sup>4</sup> and not far from the road on the right hand. Indeed the lake gets its name of Phiala<sup>3</sup> very justly from its roundness, being round like a wheel; and its water continues always up to its edge, without either sinking or running over. And though this source of the Jordan was not formerly known, it was discovered when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis. For he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found carried down the water to Panium, where the ancients thought the source of the river was. As for Panium itself, its natural beauty has been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and set off by his wealth. Now the Jordan's visible stream rises at this cavern, and divides the marshes and swamps of the lake of Semechonitis;<sup>5</sup> and when it has run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city of Julias,<sup>7</sup> and then passes through the middle of the lake of Gennesar,<sup>8</sup> after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then has its exit into the lake Asphaltitis.<sup>9</sup>

§ 8. The country also that is near the lake has the same name of Gennesar,<sup>10</sup> and is wonderful for its nature as well

<sup>1</sup> *Bániás*. Jewish War, i. 21, § 3. The allusion here is to the cavern in the hill-side out of which one of the sources of Jordan issues.

<sup>2</sup> *Birket er-Râm*. The circular lake on the road from *Bániás* to Damascus. There is no truth in the belief that a subterranean connection exists between the lake and the spring.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish War, i. 20, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsarea Philippi, *Bániás*. <sup>5</sup> Vial or bowl.

<sup>6</sup> The 'waters of Merom,' *Baheiret el-Hüleh*. Antiq. v. 5, § 1; Jewish War, iv. 1, § 1.

<sup>7</sup> Bethsaida-Julias. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

<sup>8</sup> The Sea of Galilee. <sup>9</sup> The Dead Sea.

<sup>10</sup> 'The land of Gennesaret,' now the plain *el-Ghuweir*, at north-west end of the lake.

as its beauty. For 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 different sorts. Thus walnuts, which of all trees 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, though they require a more temperate air. One might call this country the ambitious display of nature (as it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together), and the happy contention of the seasons (as if every one of them laid claim to this country); for it not only nourishes different sorts of fruit beyond men's expectation, but preserves them a great while. For it supplies the principal fruits, as grapes and figs, continually during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe through the whole year. For besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain, which the people of the country call Capharnaum.<sup>1</sup> Some have thought this to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces a fish<sup>2</sup> similar to that produced by the lake near Alexandria. And the length of this country extends along the banks of the lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and it is in breadth twenty furlongs. Such is the nature of the district.

§ 9. And when the rafts were constructed, Vespasian put upon them as many of his troops as he thought sufficient to deal with those that were upon the lake, and put out after them. Now those who had been driven on to the lake, could neither flee to the land, where all was in the enemies' hand, nor could they fight upon equal terms on the water. For their vessels were small and fitted only for piracy, and were too weak to fight with Vespasian's rafts, and the men on board them were so few, that they were afraid to come to close quarters with the Romans, who attacked them *en masse*. However, as they sailed round the rafts, and sometimes came near them, they

<sup>1</sup> The great spring at *et-Tabghah*, which was carried by an aqueduct to Gennesaret.

<sup>2</sup> Called *coracinus*. Like our perch.



threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came closer and smote them; but they received most hurt themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a continuous rattle (for they threw them against men in complete armour), while the Roman darts pierced them, and when they ventured to come near the Romans, they suffered themselves before they could do any harm to them, and were submerged, they and their ships together. And as for those that endeavoured to break through, the Romans reached at them and ran many of them through with their long pikes, and others they slew leaping into their vessels with their swords in their hands, and some who were entangled by the collision of the rafts they captured as also their vessels. And for such as were submerged, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or captured by the rafts, and if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to the enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands. And indeed they were slain in various manners everywhere, till those that remained being routed were forced to get on land, as their vessels were surrounded. And as many were prevented getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake, and the Romans slew many who leaped out of their vessels on to the land. And one might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies, for none escaped. And a terrible stench and dreadful sight was there on the following days all over that country; for the shores were full of wrecks and of dead bodies all swollen; and as the dead bodies were burnt by the sun and putrefied, they corrupted the air, so that this tragic sight was not only a pitiable object to the Jews, but was even hateful to those who had been the authors of it. This was the upshot of the sea-fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand five hundred.

§ 10. After the fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheæ,<sup>1</sup> to distinguish the foreigners from the inhabitants (for the foreigners appeared to have begun the

<sup>1</sup> *Kerak*.

war), and he consulted with his generals whether he ought to save the inhabitants or not. And when they all said that the letting them go would be detrimental to the Roman interests (for if they were set at liberty, they would not be quiet, since they would be people destitute of homes, and might be able to compel such as they fled to to fight against them), Vespasian came to the conclusion that they did not deserve to be saved alive, and that, if they escaped, it would be to the detriment of those who let them go, and considered with himself how they should be slain. For if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country would become his bitter enemies; for they would never put up with so many that had been suppliants to him being killed; and he could not himself bear the idea of offering violence to them, after they had surrendered on promise of their lives. However, his friends carried the day, for they said that nothing done against the Jews could be impious, and that he ought to prefer what was expedient to what was honourable, when both could not co-exist. So he gave the Jews a doubtful security, for he permitted them to go out along no other road than that which led to Tiberias. And as they readily believed what they wished to be true, and went along securely and openly with their effects on the road which was allowed them, the Romans occupied all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might escape, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium; and commanded to kill the old men together with the others that were useless for war, who were twelve hundred in number. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth,<sup>1</sup> and sold the remainder for slaves, namely thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them: and the king sold these also. As for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites,<sup>2</sup> and Gaulanites,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Suetonius, Nero, § 19.

<sup>2</sup> The people of Trachonitis.

<sup>3</sup> The people of Gaulanitis, *Jaulân*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 4.

and from Hippos,<sup>1</sup> and some from Gadara,<sup>2</sup> most were factious persons and fugitives, whose bad characters in peace commended war to them. All these were taken prisoners on the eighth day of the month Gorpizæus.

## BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM  
THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO  
BESIEGE JERUSALEM.

### CHAP. I.

#### *The Siege and Capture of Gamala.*

##### § 1.

NOW all those Galilæans who had revolted from the Romans after the capture of Jotapata, joined them again upon the capture of Tarichææ, and the Romans got possession of all the fortresses and cities, except Gischala<sup>3</sup> and the fortresses on Mount Tabor.<sup>4</sup> Gamala<sup>5</sup> also, a city opposite Tarichææ, lying above the lake, joined with these. This city formed part of Agrippa's kingdom, as did also Sogane<sup>6</sup> and Seleucia.<sup>7</sup> Now both Sogane and Gamala belonged to Gaulanitis<sup>8</sup> (for Sogane was a part of what was called Upper Gaulana, as was Gamala of Lower Gaulana), and Seleucia was situated near the lake of the Semichonitæ,<sup>9</sup> which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length ;

<sup>1</sup> *Sûsiyeh*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> *el-Fish*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

<sup>4</sup> At the north-east end of the plain of Esdraelon.

<sup>5</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Sukhnin*. Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

<sup>7</sup> Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Jaulân*.

<sup>9</sup> *Baheiret el-Hâleh*.

and its marshes extend to the place called Daphne,<sup>1</sup> which in other respects is a delicious place, and has fountains which supply water to what is called the Little Jordan,<sup>2</sup> under the temple of the golden calf,<sup>3</sup> and send it on to the Great Jordan.<sup>4</sup> Now Agrippa had united Sogane and Seleucia to himself by treaty at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans, but Gamala did not come over to him, as it relied upon the difficulty of getting at it even more than Jotapata.<sup>5</sup> For it was situated upon the rugged ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of hump in the middle; for where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and declines as much before as behind, so that it is like a camel in shape, from which indeed it gets its name,<sup>6</sup> though the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately. Both on its side and front it breaks off in inaccessible ravines; but behind it is somewhat easier of ascent, where it joins the mountain, but this too the people belonging to the place have by an oblique trench made difficult of ascent. On its acclivity, which is almost perpendicular, houses are built, terribly thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It faced south, and its southern ridge, which reached to an immense height, served as a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice not walled in, ending in a very deep ravine. There was also within the walls a spring of water, where the city came to an end.

§ 2. Though the city was naturally so hard to take, Josephus had made it still stronger by building a wall round it, and by mines and underground passages. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature

<sup>1</sup> Probably Dan should be read here, now *Tell el-Kâdy*, where one of the sources of Jordan rises; there is, however, a mound called *Difneh*, north of Lake *Hüleh*, which represents an ancient Daphne.

<sup>2</sup> The stream from *Tell el-Kâdy*.

<sup>3</sup> Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves, at the exit of the Little Jordan into the Great Jordan, near a place called Daphne, but of old Dan. See *Antiq.* viii. 8, § 2. But Reland suspects, that even here we should read Dan instead of Daphne, there being no where else any mention of a place called Daphne hereabouts.—W.

<sup>4</sup> The stream from *Baniás*.

<sup>5</sup> *Jefât*. *Jewish War*, ii. 20. § 6.

<sup>6</sup> Gamala, as though *Cauala*. That is the *Paronomasia*.

of the place than the people of Jotapata had been, but they had much fewer fighting men in it, and had such confidence in the natural strength of the place, that they did not take in any more. For the city was full of those that had fled to it for safety, on account of its strength. So it held out against those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months.

§ 3. And now Vespasian removed from Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> where he had encamped before the city of Tiberias (now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered Warm Baths, for in it is a spring of warm water useful for healing), and went to Gamala. But its situation was such, that he was not able to surround it with soldiers to watch it; but where it was practicable, he set his men to watch it, and occupied the mountain which lay above it. And as the legions, according to their usual custom, fortified their camp on it, he began to cast up earthworks at the bottom, at the part towards the east, where the highest tower of the city was, and there the fifteenth legion pitched their camp; while the fifth legion was on duty opposite the middle of the city, and the tenth legion filled up the ditches and the ravines. Now at this time, when king Agrippa came near the walls, and endeavoured to speak to those that were on the walls about surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers. As for the king, he was immediately surrounded by his own men, but the Romans were excited to set about the siege from their indignation on the king's account, and fear on their own account; for they concluded that these men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, seeing they were so savage against one of their own nation, who advised them to nothing but what was for their advantage.

§ 4. So when the earthworks were finished, which was soon done owing to the multitude of hands and their being accustomed to such work, the Romans brought up their machines. But Chares and Joseph, who were the most influential men in the city, set their armed men in order, though they were greatly afraid, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they

<sup>1</sup> Hammath, *Hammām Tabariya*. Antiq. xviii. 2, § 3.

had not a sufficient quantity either of water or other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the walls, and for a while indeed they drove away those that were bringing up the machines; but when those machines hit them with darts and stones, they retired into the city. Then did the Romans bring up battering-rams to three separate points, and battered in the wall, and poured in over the breaches made, with a mighty sound of trumpets and din of armour, and shouts of the soldiers, and rushed in upon those that were in the city. But they resisted the Romans for some time at their first entrance, and prevented their going any further, and with great courage repelled them; and the Romans were so overpowered by the numbers who routed them on every side, that they were obliged to flee to the upper parts of the city; whereupon the people turned round and fell upon their enemies who attacked them, and thrust them down hill, and kept slaying them as they were crowded together on the narrow and difficult ground. And as the Romans could neither repel those that were above them, nor go back through their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to take refuge on the roofs of their enemies' houses, which were close to the ground. But these, being thus full of soldiers, could not bear the weight, and soon fell in; and when one house fell in it shook down a great many of the houses under it, as they again did those that were under them. In this way a very great number of the Romans perished, for they were in such a hopeless condition, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they still leaped upon the roofs of them. So many were buried in the ruins, and many of those that got from under them were injured in some part of their bodies, and a still greater number were suffocated by the dust that choked them. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what injury they suffered themselves, pressed upon the enemy, and thrust them on to the tops of the houses, and when they stumbled in the steep and narrow streets, and were perpetually tumbling down, they threw their missiles at them from above, and kept slaying them. And the very ruins afforded them stones, and for iron

weapons the dead bodies of the enemies afforded them what they wanted; for drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to despatch such as were half dead. Many also fell down from the roofs of the houses, and died from the fall. Nor indeed was flight easy for those that were beaten back, for they were so ignorant of the roads, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without recognising one another, and fell foul of one another.

§ 5. Now those that were able with great difficulty to find their way out of the city retired. But Vespasian ever stayed among those that were hard pressed (for he was deeply affected at seeing the city falling in ruins about his army), and, neglecting his own safety, went up gradually to the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left there in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him at this time, having been sent into Syria to Mucianus. However, he thought it neither safe nor decorous to flee, but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if possessed by a divine fury, he ordered those that were with him to form the *testudo* with their shields over their bodies and armour, and so bore up against the enemy's attack, who came running down from the top of the city, and without showing any dread at the numbers of the men or of their darts, he stood his ground, until the enemy took notice of the divine courage of his soul, and abated in their ardour. And when they pressed less keenly upon him, he retired slowly, not showing the enemy his back till he had got outside the walls. Now a very 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 everywhere and on former occasions, to be of the truest courage, and he was one that had done very great harm to the Jews. And a certain centurion, whose name was Gallus, being surrounded in the confusion, stole with ten soldiers into the house of a certain person, where he overheard them talking at supper about what the people intended to do against the Romans, or about themselves (for both Gallus and those with him

were Syrians). And he got up in the night-time, and cut all their throats, and got back safe, he and the other ten soldiers, to the Romans.

§ 6. And now Vespasian set himself to comfort his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on its ill success, both because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and still more because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided saying any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of their conduct. He said that they ought to bear manfully what was common in war, considering the nature of war, and that conquest could never be without bloodshed, for fortune was fickle. And as they had killed so many myriads of the Jews, they now paid fortune only a small return. And as it was the part of weak people to be too much elated by success, so it was the part of cowards to be too much disheartened in reverses. "For the change from the one to the other is quick, and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully repair mistakes. As to what has now happened, it is neither owing to our own effeminacy, nor to the valour of the Jews; but the difficulty of the ground is the reason both of their success and our defeat. As to this one might blame your excess of zeal. For when the enemy had retired to their heights, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not have exposed yourselves to the dangers that presented themselves at the top of the city; but upon having mastered the lower parts of the city by degrees, you ought to have provoked those that had retired to the heights to a safe and steady battle; whereas, by being so keen for victory, you took no care for your own safety. But this incautiousness in war and mad zeal is not the habit of the Romans, for we get our success by skill and good order; it is rather the conduct of barbarians, and what the Jews mainly owe their usual defeats to. We ought therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than any longer dejected at this unworthy reverse. And let every one seek for his best consolation from his own hand; for so he will avenge



those that have been slain, 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 retire last.”

§ 7. Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech. As for the people of Gamala, they took courage for a little while after such great and unexpected success. But when they considered with themselves afterwards that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflected that they could not escape (and their provisions began already to be short), they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them; however, they did not neglect what might ensure their safety, as far as they were able, but the most courageous of them manned those parts of the wall that were broken down, while the rest manned as much of the wall as still remained entire. And as the Romans raised their earthworks, and attempted again to take the city by assault, a great many fled out of the city by ravines difficult of access, where no guards were placed, as also through underground passages. But all those citizens who were afraid of being taken, and so stayed in the city, perished for want of food, for what food there was was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

§ 8. Such was the unfortunate condition of the people of Gamala. And Vespasian besides this siege marched against those that had seized upon Mount Tabor<sup>1</sup> (a place that lies midway between the great plain and Scythopolis<sup>2</sup>); whose top reaches as high as thirty furlongs, and is almost inaccessible on its north slope; its top is table land of twenty-six furlongs, and it is entirely surrounded by a wall; which Josephus erected, long as it is, in forty days, who was furnished with other materials and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water. As, therefore, a great multitude of people had gathered together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he

<sup>1</sup> The position assigned to Mount Tabor is not quite accurate. Scythopolis is at the end of the Valley of Jezreel to the south of Tabor.

<sup>2</sup> *Beisán*.

invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them; and they came down, but with treacherous designs. Placidus also had treacherous designs upon them, though he spoke mildly to them, intending to capture them when he got them in the plain; they also came down as if to comply with his proposals, but really intended to fall upon him when he was off his guard. However, Placidus' stratagem carried the day. For when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away, and when they pursued, he drew them a great way along the plain, and then made his horsemen turn round. Thereupon he beat them, and slew most of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest, and prevented their return. So they left Mount Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, whereupon the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and delivered up both the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

§ 9. Now the bolder of the people of Gamala fled away and hid themselves, while the infirm perished by famine; but the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperberetæus, when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and secretly undermined it, nor did those that guarded it perceive them, either when they were approaching it, for it was night, nor when they had actually got up to it. These soldiers avoided making a noise, and when they had rolled away five of the strongest stones, leaped away; and the tower fell down suddenly with a very great noise. And its guards fell headlong with it, whereupon those that kept guard at other places were so alarmed that they fled, and the Romans slew many of those that ventured to try and break through, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was trying to escape at that part of the wall that was broken down. And as those that were in all parts of the city were greatly confounded at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great panic fell upon them, as though all the enemy had burst in upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was in bed and in the doctors' hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his illness fatal. However, the Romans

so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

§ 10. At that time Titus (who was now with the army), in his indignation at the reverse the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horse and some foot with them, and entered without noise into the city. Now when the watch perceived that he had passed by them, they shouted out and betook themselves to their arms ; and as his entrance was soon known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and wives, and dragged them after them, and fled up to the citadel with lamentation and cries, while others of them encountered Titus, and were killed without any intermission. And all who were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards. And the groans of those that were being killed were endless everywhere, and the blood ran down all the lower parts of the city from the upper. And now Vespasian himself came up to Titus' assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him. Now this upper part of the city was everywhere rocky and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast height, and very full of people on all sides, and surrounded by precipices, and there the Jews cut down those that came up to them, and did much mischief to the others by their darts, and rolled down large stones upon them, while they themselves were so high that the enemies' darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a terrible storm as was directly instrumental to their destruction, for it carried the Roman darts against them, and made those which they threw return back, or drove them obliquely away from the foe. Nor could the Jews stand upon the precipices because of the violence of the wind, as they had no firm footing, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them. So the Romans got up and surrounded them, and slew some as they were defending themselves, and others as they were holding out their hands for quarter. For the remembrance of those that had been slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now. And a great number of those

who were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and wives and themselves also headlong into the ravine below near the citadel, which had been dug out a vast depth. And it so happened that the anger of the Romans appeared to be milder than the desperation of those that were now taken; for the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that threw themselves down was found to be five thousand. Nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip's sister, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called Jacimus, who had been general of king Agrippa's army; and these escaped because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken. For they spared not so much as infants; of whom many were flung down by each of them from the citadel. Thus was Gamala taken on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperberetæus, the city having first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpiaëus.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Surrender of Gischala; when John flees from it to Jerusalem.*

#### § 1.

NOW no place in Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala,<sup>1</sup> whose people were desirous of peace, for they were mostly husbandmen, and ever applied themselves to cultivating the fruits of the earth. However, a great band of robbers had crept in among them to their detriment, and some of their community were infected with the same contagion. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this revolt, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and very versatile in character, sanguine in expecting great things, and very clever in getting what he hoped for, and it was known to every body that he desired

<sup>1</sup> *el-Jish.* Jewish War. ii. 20, § 6.

war that he might thrust himself into authority. And the seditious part of the people of Gischala put themselves under his management, owing to whom probably the people, who had already sent ambassadors to treat of surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent Titus against them with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, and himself returned to Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking also that the plenty which was in those cities would recruit their bodies and spirits for the struggles that still lay before them. For he saw there would be no little trouble about Jerusalem, as it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and as those that had fled all flocked into it. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little anxious about it. Moreover, he thought the men that were in it so courageous and bold, that even without the walls it would be hard to subdue them. So he exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they train athletes for their contests.

§ 2. Now when Titus rode up to Gischala, he saw it would be easy for him to take the city by assault; but he knew also that, if he took it by storm, the people would be butchered by the soldiers without mercy (and he was already glutted with blood), and he pitied the majority who would then perish indiscriminately with the guilty, so he desired rather that the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, as he saw the walls full of men, who were mostly those that had been led astray, he said to them, that he wondered what it was they relied on, when they alone stayed to fight the Romans, after every other city had been taken by them, when they had seen cities much better fortified than theirs overthrown by a single assault, while all that had trusted themselves to the good faith of the Romans, which he now offered them, without regarding their former insolence, enjoyed their possessions in safety. For their hope of liberty might be pardoned, but their continuing to fight for what was impossible was inexcusable.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

He added that, if they would not comply with his humane offer and promise of security, they should have experience of a war that would spare nobody, and should soon be made sensible that their walls would be but amusement for the Roman battering-rams, in relying on which walls they demonstrated themselves to be the only Galilæans that were arrogant captives.

§ 3. To these words of Titus the people could not only make no reply, but could not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all occupied by the robbers, who also guarded the gates, that nobody should go out for submission, nor admit any of Titus' horsemen into the city. But John answered that for himself he was content to accept Titus' offer, and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. However, he said, Titus ought to pay so much regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them that one day (for it was the sabbath), on which it was unlawful not only to fight, but to treat of peace also. For even the Romans were not ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labour; and he who should compel them to transgress the law about that day, would be equally guilty as those who were compelled to transgress it. He added that this delay could be of no disadvantage to Titus (for what could any body think of doing in the night, unless fleeing away? which he could prevent by placing his camp round them), and that they should think it a great point gained, if they were not obliged to transgress the laws of their country; and that it would be becoming in him, who intended to grant them peace beyond their expectation, to regard the laws of those he saved alive. He thus put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day, as to his own preservation, for he was afraid that he would be left in the lurch directly the city was taken, and that his only hopes of life lay in his flight that night. Now this was the work of God, who so preserved this John for the destruction of Jerusalem, so that not only was Titus prevailed upon by this pretext for delay, but also pitched his camp further off the city at Cydyssa.<sup>1</sup> This Cydyssa was a

<sup>1</sup> Kedesh Naphtali, *Kades*. Jewish War, ii. 18, § 1.

strong inland village of the Tyrians, which always hated and was at war with the Galilæans, and had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a convenient place for its enmity to our nation.

§ 4. Now during the night, when John saw that there was no guard of the Romans about the city, he seized the opportunity, and, taking with him not only the armed men that were with him, but also a considerable number of those that had little to do together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive or losing his life, yet could he take out of the city with him a multitude of women and children as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them, as he proceeded further on his journey, when sad were the lamentations of those that were left behind; for the further every one of them had come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also frightened themselves with the idea that those who would carry them into captivity were close at hand, and kept turning back at the mere noise they themselves made in their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were close upon them. Many of them also missed their ways, and the struggling of those on the road who tried to get before the rest crushed many to death. Indeed, miserable was the destruction of women and children, and some of them ventured to call their husbands and kinsmen back, beseeching them with the bitterest lamentations to wait for them. But John's exhortation prevailed, who cried out to them to save themselves and flee to a place where, if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they could take their revenge on them for it. So this multitude that ran away was scattered abroad, according as each had strength or speed of foot.

§ 5. The next day Titus came to the walls to complete the arrangements for the surrender of the city; whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him with their children and wives, and hailed him as their benefactor, who had delivered the city from its garrison. They also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to enter the city and bring any

insurgents that remained to punishment. But Titus, disregarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horse to pursue John, but they could not overtake him, for he was got to Jerusalem by now, but they slew six thousand of those who had gone out with him, and surrounded and brought back with them almost three thousand of the women and children. However, Titus was greatly vexed that he could not bring this John, who had deluded him, to immediate punishment; though he had captives enough, as well as slain enough, to satisfy his anger, though he missed of John. And he entered the city amidst acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall to show a military occupation, he repressed those that disturbed the city rather by threats than by punishment, for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons from private hatred and variance, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to leave a guilty person in suspense with his fears, than to destroy with him one that did not deserve it. For probably such a one would learn prudence from fear of punishment, and feel shame at his former offences when he was forgiven; whereas the punishment of such as had once been put to death could never be undone. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he could restrain those that were likely to revolt, and could leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. Thus was all Galilee reduced, but not till after it had cost the Romans much pains first.



## CHAP. III.

*Concerning John of Gischala. Also concerning the Zealots, and the High Priest Ananus ; as also how the Jews raised Factions in Jerusalem.*

## § 1.

NOW upon John's entry into Jerusalem the whole body of the people poured forth, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives, and inquired of them what misfortunes had happened abroad, as their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in. But the fugitives talked big under their misfortunes, and pretended that they had not fled from the Romans, but only come there to fight them with less hazard ; for it would be an unreasonable and fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala<sup>1</sup> and such weak cities, when they ought to husband up their weapons and vigour, and reserve them for the metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their "decent departure," as they expressed it, from that place, most people understood it to be no better than a flight. And when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great alarm, and inferred these things to be plain indications that they would be taken also. As for John, he blushed very little for those he had left behind him, but went about among the people individually, and egged them on to war by the hopes he gave them, for he affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also bantered the ignorance of the inexperienced, as if the Romans, even if they could take to themselves wings, could never fly over the walls of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulty in taking the villages of Galilee, and wore out their engines of war against their walls.

§ 2. By these harangues of John most of the young men

<sup>1</sup> *el-Fish.*

were led astray and excited to the war, but as to the more prudent and older men, there was not one of them who did not foresee what was coming, and make lamentation as if the city was already undone. In such confusion were the people at Jerusalem, but the population all over the country was at variance before the sedition at Jerusalem began. For Titus went from Gischala to Cæsarea,<sup>1</sup> and Vespasian went from Cæsarea to Jamnia<sup>2</sup> and Azotus,<sup>3</sup> and took them both, and when he had put garrisons into them he returned with a great number of the people who had come over to him upon his offering them his right hand. There was also disorder and civil war raised in every city, and all those that had a respite from the Romans turned their hands against one another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were enamoured of war and those that desired peace. At first this quarrelsome temper attacked persons in families who could not agree among themselves, and afterwards those people that were dearest to one another broke away from one another, and every one associated with those who held his own opinions, and already began to range themselves on different sides throughout the community. And faction was everywhere, and those that were for innovation and desirous of war were by their youth and boldness too powerful for the aged and prudent. And first all the people of the country betook themselves individually to plunder, after which they got together in companies to rob the people of their district, so that in barbarity and lawlessness those of the same nation in no way differed from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be destroyed by the Romans than to be undone by one another.

§ 3. And the Roman garrisons in the cities, partly from their disinclination to trouble themselves, partly from the hatred they bore to the nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these companies of robbers everywhere, being satiated with rapine all over the country, got together from all parts, and became a compact band of wickedness, and stole into

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Yebnah.*

<sup>3</sup> Ashdod, *Esdûd.* Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

Jerusalem, which was now a city without a governor, and which, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to the nation, and now still more, because all men supposed that those who flocked into the city came out of kindness and for their assistance. And yet these very men, besides the sedition they raised, were the direct cause of the city's destruction eventually; for as they were an unprofitable and idle population, they consumed those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men, and besides the war brought sedition and famine on the Jews.

§ 4. There were other robbers besides that came out of the country and entered the city, and joining to them those in the city who were worse than themselves, committed every kind of barbarity; for they did not confine their audacity to rapine and plundering only, but proceeded as far as murdering men, and that not in the night-time or privately, or ordinary persons, but openly in the day-time, and began with the most eminent persons. For the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal race, and the most influential man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care; him they arrested and put in prison: and next they did the same to Levias, a person of great note, and to Sophas the son of Raguel, both of whom were of royal race 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 seeing to his own safety, as if the city had been taken in war.

§ 5. But they were not satisfied with the confinement into which they had put these men, nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were influential men, and had numerous relations who were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the people also would perhaps be so moved at these unlawful proceedings, as to rise in a body against them. They therefore resolved to put these prisoners to death, so they despatched to the prison one John, who was the ripest for murder of them all; he was called the son of Dorcas in the language of our country. Ten men accompanied him into

the prison with their swords drawn, and they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The chief pretext they feigned for so flagrant a crime was that these men had discussed the surrender of Jerusalem with the Romans, and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty, and by degrees came to boast of this bold act of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

§ 6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of insolence, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. And when they had set aside the succession of those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they appointed certain unknown and lowborn persons to that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings. For those who obtained this highest of all honours without any desert were forced to obey those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance with one another by various contrivances and tales, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased owing to the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures, till, satiated with the unjust actions they had done to men, they transferred their insolence to God himself, and went into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

§ 7. And now when the multitude were already going to rise up against them (for Ananus, the oldest of the high priests, instigated them to it, a very wise man, who would perhaps have saved the city, if he could have escaped the hands of those who plotted against him), these men made the temple of God their stronghold against the troubles they feared from the people, and the sanctuary became their refuge and head-quarters of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced, which was more painful than what they actually did. For to test the submission of the populace, and to see how far their own power extended, they attempted to dispose of the high priesthood by lots, whereas, as I have said already, it was to descend by family succession. The pretext they made for this plan was ancient usage, for they said that the high priesthood was of old determined by lot; but it was actually the abrogation of a constant law, and a cunning contrivance to

seize upon power, by making what appointments they themselves pleased.

§ 8. Thereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim,<sup>1</sup> and cast lots which of it should be the high priest; and by fortune the lot fell so as to demonstrate their iniquity in the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was Phannias, the son of Samuel, of the village of Aphtha,<sup>2</sup> a man not only not sprung from high priests, but one that did not clearly know what the high priesthood was, such a rustic was he; yet did they drag this man against his will from the country, and gave him a part to play foreign to his character, as if on the stage, and also put upon him the sacred garments, and instructed him what he was to do at the right time. This horrid wickedness was sport and pastime to them, but the other priests, who at a distance saw their law made a jest of, could not but shed tears, and sorely lamented the cessation of their sacred honours.

§ 9. And now the people could no longer bear this act of audacity, but all were moved with zeal as if to overthrow a tyranny. Those that seemed the most prominent were Gorion, the son of Joseph, and Symeon, the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them (by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and by going to each apart), to inflict punishments upon these destroyers of their liberty, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high priests, as Jesus the son of Gamala, and Ananus the son of Ananus, at their assemblies bitterly reproached the people for their apathy, and excited them against the Zealots, for that was the name those audacious persons went by, as if they were zealous in good practices, and were not rather zealous and extravagant in the worst actions.

§ 10. So when the multitude were gathered together in assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men

<sup>1</sup> This tribe or course of the high priests, or priests here called Eniachim, 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.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Site unknown.

occupying the sanctuary, and at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun to retaliate upon them (because they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these Zealots, as indeed it was), Ananus stood in the midst of them, and frequently gazing at the temple, with his eyes full of tears, spoke as follows. "Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations, or those sacred places that ought not to be trodden crowded by the feet of these blood-stained wretches. And yet I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high priest, and am called by that most venerable of august names, still live and am fond of life, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age. If indeed I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life 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 their present miseries? For when you are spoiled you bear it, when you are beaten you are silent, and when people are murdered, nobody dares even groan openly. O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I blame the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first banded together, for they were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to be many, and by remaining quiet when they took up arms, turned them in effect against yourselves, when you ought to have prevented their first attempts, when they fell to abusing your relations? But by neglecting that you encouraged these wretches to plunder, and when houses were pillaged, nobody said a word. That was why they carried off the owners of those houses, and when they were dragged through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to outrage by bonds those whom you betrayed. I do not say how many they were, and what character they bore, but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none. And as nobody succoured them when they were put in bonds, the consequence was that you saw them slain. We looked on at this also, as if the best of a herd of brute animals was still being dragged to the sacrifice, nor did any-

body say one word, or move his right hand. Will you bear, then, will you bear to see your sanctuary trodden, and will you yourselves lay steps for these profane wretches to mount to still higher degrees of insolence? Are you not disgusted at their exaltation? Nay, they would have proceeded to still greater enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place in the whole city; you may call it the temple, if you please, though it is more like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have so great a tyranny planted like a fort in your midst, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel, and what do you support your minds with? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places? Are matters then brought to that pass in our city, and are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O most patient of mortals, will you not rise up, and turn upon those that strike you, which you may observe even wild beasts themselves do, will you not retaliate on those that smite you? Will you not call to mind the calamities every one of you have suffered, will you not set before your eyes the afflictions you have undergone, and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is then that most honourable and most natural of passions utterly dead in you, I mean the desire of liberty? And are we in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received the principle of subjection from our ancestors? Why, they went through many and great wars for the sake of liberty, nor were they so overcome by the power of the Egyptians or the Medes, as to disobey their own laws. But why need I speak of our forefathers? And what is the cause of our present war with the Romans? I waive now decision on the point whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not. Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Then, if we will not bear the lords of the world as lords over us, shall we bear tyrants of our own fellow-countrymen? And yet submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune has already doomed us to it, but submission to wicked people would argue unmanliness and choice. And since I have once mentioned the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that

comes into my mind as I am speaking, and turns my attention to them ; it is this, that though we should be taken by them (God forbid the event should be so !), yet we can undergo nothing that will be harder to bear than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding tears, when we see the votive offerings of the Romans in our temple, while those of our own nation spoil us and plunder our glorious metropolis and slaughter our fellow-countrymen, enormities from which the Romans themselves would have abstained ; and when we see those Romans never going beyond the limit assigned to profane persons, and never violating any of our sacred customs, nay, feeling a holy awe when they view at a distance our sacred precincts ; while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, walk about in the midst of the holy places, when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their fellow-countrymen ? Who therefore fears war from without, or people much milder by comparison than our own people ? For truly, if we suit words fitly to the things they represent, it is probable one may find the Romans as much the supporters of our laws as those within our walls the enemies of them. And now I think that every one of you are absolutely persuaded that these plotters against our liberty deserve to be destroyed, and that no one could devise adequate punishment for what they have done, and that you are all exasperated, even before my words, by their wicked actions, from which you have suffered. But perhaps most of you are frightened at their numbers and audacity, as also at the advantage they have over us in their position. For as these things have been brought about by your carelessness, so will they become still greater by being any longer neglected ; for their numbers are every day augmented, as every bad man deserts to those who are like himself, and their audacity is increased by their meeting with no opposition up to now ; and as to their higher position, 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 mount up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences, and the advantage they have in their high position will be counter-balanced by their moral sense. Perhaps also God himself, who has been



affronted by them, will turn what they hurl at us against themselves, and these impious wretches will be killed by their own missiles. Let us but only make our appearance before them, and they will be dejected. However, it is a noble thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to expend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake and for his sanctuary. I myself will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any device of mine be wanting for your support, nor shall you see me sparing of my body either."

§ 11. By these words Ananus encouraged the multitude to go at the Zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to crush them, because of their numbers and youth and the courage of their souls, but chiefly because of their consciousness of the ill deeds they had done; for they would not be likely to yield in consequence of hoping for pardon at last for what they had done. However, Ananus preferred undergoing any suffering whatever to allowing things to continue in such disorder. And the multitude cried out to him to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most ready to run any hazard.

§ 12. Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and drawing up those that were fit for his purpose in battle array, the Zealots got wind of his intention (for there were some who went to them and told them all that the people were doing), and were irritated at it, and rushing out of the temple, some *en masse*, some in companies, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together quickly, who were more numerous indeed than the Zealots, but inferior to them in arms and also in organisation. But ardour supplied all that was wanting on both sides, the citizens being animated by a passion stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple superior to any numbers whatever, and indeed thinking the city uninhabitable, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it; while the Zealots thought, unless they won the day, there would be no punishment that would not be inflicted on them. So both parties were led by their passions in the fight, and at first

they only cast stones at each other in the city and before the temple, and threw their javelins from a distance; but when either side gave way, the victorious one made use of their swords; and great slaughter was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for any of the people that were wounded, their relations carried them into their own houses; but when any of the Zealots were wounded, they went up into the temple, and stained its sacred floor with their blood, so that one might say it was their blood alone that polluted the sanctuary. Now in these encounters the robbers sallied out and always got the best of it, till the populace grew very angry, and ever flocked up in greater numbers, and reproached those that gave way, and those behind would not give room to those that were retreating, but forced them back again, and so turned their whole force against their adversaries, and when the robbers could no longer stand against their vehemence, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple, Ananus and his party rushed into it with them. This threw the robbers into a panic, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court quickly, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the others threw their stones and darts at them from above, but deemed it unlawful, even should he be victorious, to introduce the multitude before they were purified. He therefore chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the porticoes; so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to mount guard in turn. But many of the chief men in the city were discharged from this duty by those that took on them the government, upon their hiring poorer persons and sending them to mount guard in their own stead.

§ 13. Now it was John, who as I said ran away from Gischala,<sup>1</sup> who was the cause of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craftiness, and bore about in his soul a strong passion after tyranny, and had long plotted against the government. And at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinions, and went about with

<sup>1</sup> *el-Jish.*

Ananus, who consulted with the great men by day, and in the night-time went round the watch; but he divulged secrets to the Zealots, and every thing that the people intended to do was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon. And that he might not be brought into suspicion, he cunningly paid extravagant court to Ananus and the chiefs of the people; yet did this overacting of his turn against him, for he flattered them so immoderately that he was but the more suspected; and his constant presence everywhere, even when he was not invited, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy. For they plainly perceived that the enemy knew of all the resolutions taken at their consultations, nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of revealing them as John. But it was not easy to get rid of him, so powerful had he grown by his wickedness, and besides that he was a remarkable man, was supported by many who were always consulted upon all considerable public affairs. It was therefore thought well to oblige him to give them assurance of his good-will upon oath. And John took oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or acts to their enemies, and would assist them in putting down those that attacked them both by his hand and advice. And Ananus and his party believed his oath, and now received him to their consultations without further suspicion; nay, they actually sent him as their ambassador 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 in it.

§ 14. But now John, as if his oath had been made to the Zealots, and in good-will to them, and not against them, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and said that he had run many hazards on their account, to let them know of every thing that was planned against them by Ananus and his party; and that both he and they would now be all cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them. For Ananus (he added) would make no longer delay, but had prevailed upon the people to send ambassadors to

Vespasian, to invite him to come quickly and take the city; and that he had appointed a religious service for the next day against them, that his party might either enter the temple on the pretext of worship, or force their way in and fight with them there; and he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight so many enemies. He added further, that it was by the providence of God, that he was himself sent as ambassador to them for an accommodation: for Ananus offered them these proposals, that he might attack them when they were unarmed; and they ought, to save their lives, either to supplicate those that besieged them, or to get some help from outside. For if they cherished the hope of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate acts they had done, or supposed, as soon as the actors repented, that those that had suffered by them were sure to be at once reconciled to them: whereas even the repentance of those that had done injuries was frequently hated, and when those who were wronged got the power into their hands, they were very severe. He said also that the friends and kindred of those who had been killed by them would always be lying in wait for them; and that a large body of people were very angry with them because of their having put down their laws and law-courts, so that if some commiserated them, they would be quite outvoted by the majority who were very incensed with them.

#### CHAP. IV.

*The Idumæans being sent for by the Zealots, come immediately to Jerusalem, and are excluded from the City. Jesus, one of the High Priests, makes a Speech to them; and Simon the Idumæan makes a reply to it.*

##### § 1.

BY this crafty speech John made the Zealots afraid: and though he durst not directly state what help from outside he meant, he intimated the Idumæans. And that he

might also privately irritate the leaders of the Zealots, he calumniated Ananus as a savage person, and as having particularly threatened them. Their leaders were Eleazar (the son of Simon), who seemed the most reliable man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of the same, and Zacharias (the son of Phalek), both of whom were of priestly descent. Now when these two men had heard, not only of the common threats, but also of those peculiarly levelled against themselves; and also how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own power, had invited in the Romans (for that also was part of John's lie), they doubted a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of time by which they were pressed. For the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and the suddenness of the plot laid against them almost cut off all their hopes of getting any help from outside; for they might suffer everything before any of their allies could hear of it. However, it was resolved to invite in the Idumæans. So they wrote a short letter to them to the effect that Ananus had deceived the people, and intended to betray their metropolis to the Romans: that they themselves had revolted for liberty's sake and were besieged in the temple: that a short time would settle the question of their safety; for unless the Idumæans came quickly to their assistance, they would themselves soon be in the power of Ananus and their enemies, and the city would be in the hands of the Romans. They also charged the messengers to narrate generally the state of the case to the rulers of the Idumæans. Now two active men were proposed for the carrying of this message, men well able to speak, and to persuade the Idumæans as to the state of affairs, and what was a qualification still more necessary, they were very swift of foot. For they knew well enough that the Idumæans would immediately comply with their request, as they were a tumultuous and unsettled nation, always eager for disturbances and delighting in changes, and upon ever so little flattery on the part of petitioners ready to take up arms, and hastening to battle as if to a feast. There was indeed occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers (who both had the

name of Ananias), were no way defective, and they soon arrived before the rulers of the Idumæans.

§ 2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them, so they ran about the nation like mad men, and made proclamation for war. And their population was mustered together sooner than the time appointed in the proclamation, and all snatched up arms as if to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them marched in battle array to Jerusalem, under four commanders, John and Jacob, the sons<sup>1</sup> of Sosas, and besides these Simon the son of Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusoth.

§ 3. Now this departure of the messengers was not known either to Ananus or to the garrison, but the approach of the Idumæans was. And as Ananus 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, he wished to try what argument would do. So Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was opposite the Idumæans, and spoke to them as follows. "Many and various troubles indeed have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much as now wondered that fortune should in so extraordinary a manner play into the hands of wicked men. For I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and that with such zeal as you could hardly exhibit if our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like those who invited you, I should not have deemed your impetuosity unreasonable: for nothing so much cements the minds of men together as similarity of manners. But as it is, if one were to examine these men who have invited you one by one, each one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and offscouring of the whole country, who have spent their own substance in debauchery, and exercised their violence on the

<sup>1</sup> Reading *παισι*. Itaque vertit Dindorfius.

neighbouring villages and cities, have at last stolen into this holy city; robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are now to be seen drinking themselves drunk fearlessly in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their insatiable bellies. Whereas for your numerous host, one can see that they are as 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 but the sport of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so quickly; because certainly you would not put on your armour on behalf of robbers, and against a people akin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing. But since we have heard something about the Romans and treason (for some of your men have lately made a clamour about these matters, and have said they are come to set this metropolis free), we wonder more at these wretches devising such a lie as this against us than at their other audacity. For they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that are naturally lovers of liberty, and so chiefly disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by concocting the story that we were going to betray that so much loved liberty. But you ought to consider who they are that spread this calumny, and against whom, and to gather the truth not from false speeches, but from palpable facts. For what reason is there for us to sell ourselves now to the Romans, since it was in our power either not to have revolted from them at first, or, when we had once revolted, to have returned to their yoke again, before all the surrounding country was laid waste? Whereas it is no easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, even if we desire it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent; and to pay court to them now they are so near us, would bring reproach upon us worse than death. As for myself indeed, I should have preferred peace with them to death; but now I have once warred against them, and fought with them, I prefer glorious death to living in captivity. But

further, do they say that we, the rulers of the people, have sent privately to the Romans, or has it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be us, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to negotiate this treason. Has any one been detected going out on this errand, or been taken as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we escape the notice of so many of our fellow-citizens, among whom we live every hour; when what is done secretly in the country is, it seems, known by the Zealots, who are but few in number and besieged, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city? But now they know that they must be punished for their crimes; but as long as they were free from fear, none of us were suspected to be traitors. If, however, they lay this charge against the people generally, the decision must of course have been arrived at openly (for everybody is present<sup>1</sup> at a general assembly), so that public news of this matter would have come to you sooner than any private information. But how could that be? Would not ambassadors have been sent in that case to confirm the agreements? Let them tell us then who was voted for that purpose. But this is only a pretext of men who are loath to die, and are trying to escape the punishments that are at hand for them. For indeed if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed, only these men that accuse us falsely would have had the impudence to do it, there being no wickedness wanting in them but treason only. And now that you Idu-mæans are actually come here with your arms, it is your duty to come to the rescue of our metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants who have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals, trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbiters of right and wrong. For they have seized men of great eminence lying under no accusation in the market-place, and further outraged them by putting them into bonds, and, refusing to hear what they had to say, or their supplications, put them to death. You may, if you please, come into the city, though not in the way of war, and see proofs of what I

<sup>1</sup> I read ἀποστρεῖ.



say, as houses stripped bare by their rapacious hands, and wives and families in black for their slaughtered relations, as also you may hear groaning and lamentation all over the city. For there is nobody who has not suffered from the attack of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of desperate recklessness, as not only to have transferred their robbing impudence from the country and the remote cities to this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but also from this city to the temple. For that is now made their *point d'appui* and refuge, and base of operations against us. And this place, which is adored by the world, and honoured by strangers from the ends of the earth who know it by report, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition of affairs, when they hear that one people is going to fight against another people, and one city against another city, and that our nation has got an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which the best and fit thing to do would be, as I said, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, and to be revenged on them for putting this cheat upon you, I mean, for having the impudence to invite you in as allies, when they ought to have stood in fear of you as avengers. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation, you may yet lay aside your arms, and come into the city in the guise of kinsmen, and take upon you a middle name between that of allies and enemies, and so become judges in this case. And yet consider how much these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, after such undeniable and flagrant crimes, seeing that they would not allow such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them get this favour from your coming. But if you will neither join in our indignation nor judge in the matter, the third thing is to let us both alone, and neither insult our calamities, nor remain with these plotters against our metropolis. For though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have had dealings with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the approaches to the city; and if any thing that we have been accused of is brought home to us, you can then come and guard our

metropolis, and inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot anticipate you as you are so near to the city. But if none of these proposals seem acceptable or moderate, do not wonder that the gates are shut against you, as long as you are in arms."

§ 4. Thus spoke Jesus, but the multitude of the Idumæans gave no 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 were indignant at the idea of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as tantamount to captivity to throw them down at any man's injunctions. But Simon, the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, quieted with some difficulty the tumult of his men, and stood where the high priests could hear him, and spoke as follows. "I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are besieged in the temple, since there are some who now shut the gates of a city common to the 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 Idumæans from their towers, and enjoin them to throw down arms taken up for the preservation of liberty. And while they will not intrust the guard of the metropolis to their kinsmen, they propose to make them judges of the differences between them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without trial, they themselves would condemn a whole nation to dishonour; and have now walled off from their own kinsmen that city which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. It is a likely idea that we have hurried here to slaughter and war against our own countrymen, when we have only made such haste to keep you who are so unhappy free! You have doubtless been wronged in a similar way by those whom you besiege, and have, I suppose, made a list of the like plausible suspicions against them also! And then, after besieging all those inside the city who are interested in public affairs, and having also shut the gates of the city against a whole nation most nearly related to you, and after giving such insulting orders to others, you complain that you are yourselves tyrannized over, and attach the name of tyrants to those who are really tyrannized over

by you! Who can bear this assumption in words, who looks to the facts which are totally contrary, unless indeed the Idumæans are now excluding you from the metropolis, and not you yourselves excluding them from the national rites! One may indeed justly complain that those who are besieged in the temple, when they dared to punish those traitors whom (because they were your companions) you call eminent and unaccused men, did not begin with you, and so cut off beforehand the most dangerous traitors. But if they have been more merciful than they should have been, let us Idumæans watch over this house of God, and fight for our common country, and repel as enemies both those that attack us from without and those that betray us from within. Here will we stay before the walls in arms, till either the Romans grow weary of waiting for you, or till you change your behaviour and become friends to liberty."

§ 5. At these words all the Idumæans made acclamation. But Jesus went away sorrowful, as he saw that the Idumæans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was threatened with two wars. Nor indeed were the minds of the Idumæans at rest, for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion from the city; and as they had thought the Zealots strong, but saw no support likely to come from them, they knew not what to think, and many repented that they had come. But the shame that would be theirs if they returned without doing any thing at all, so prevailed over their regret, that they stayed there all night before the wall, though in a very wretched bivouac. For a prodigious storm broke out in the night, and violent winds with very heavy showers of rain, and continuous lightning, and terrible thunderings, and extraordinary noises as of the earth shaken by an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was thus put out of joint, and any one would guess that these prodigies portended some great calamities.

§ 6. Now the opinion of the Idumæans and of those in the city was one and the same, for the Idumæans thought that God was angry at their expedition, and that they

would not escape punishment for taking up arms against the metropolis, while Ananus and his party thought that they had gained the day without fighting, and that God was on their side. But truly they proved ill conjecturers of what was to come, and prognosticated for their enemies what they were themselves to undergo. For the Idumæans formed in close order with their bodies and kept one another 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 mustered together, and looked about to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The more rash of them thought it best to force their way through the garrison with their arms, and after that to rush into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those who had come to their assistance; for they supposed the garrison would be in disorder and give way at such an unexpected attack of theirs, especially as most of them were unarmed and unskilled in war, and also because the multitude of the citizens would not be easily got together, as they would be confined to their houses by the storm; and even if there were any danger, it became them to suffer anything whatever rather than to allow so great a multitude to perish miserably on their account. But the more prudent despaired of force, because they saw not only that the garrison round them was very numerous, but also that the walls of the city were carefully watched because of the Idumæans, and they also supposed that Ananus would be everywhere, and visit the garrison every hour; which indeed was done on other nights, but was omitted that night, not because of any remissness on the part of Ananus, but by the overruling appointment of fate, that so both he himself and the whole of the garrison might perish. For as the night was far spent, and the storm at its height, Ananus gave the garrison in the portico leave to go to sleep, and it came into the heads of the Zealots to take the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut through the bars of the gates. The noise of the wind and the continuous thunder played into their hands, so that the noise of the saws was not heard.

§ 7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the walls,

and made use of their saws, and opened the gate which was next the Idumæans. But at first there came a fear upon the Idumæans themselves, as they imagined that Ananus and his party were about to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword to defend himself; but they soon recognized who had come to them, and entered the city. And had the Idumæans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying every man of the people, such was the rage they were in; but, as it was, they first of all made haste to get the Zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to leave those for whose sakes they were come in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into still greater danger; for when they had once captured the garrison, it would be easy for them to enter the city; but if the city were first roused, they would not then be able to master the garrison, because as soon as they should perceive who they were there, they would put themselves in battle-array and would bar their approach.

## CHAP. V.

*The Cruelty of the Idumæans, when they got into the Temple during the Storm, and of the Zealots. Concerning the Slaughter of Ananus, and Jesus, and Zacharias. Also how the Idumæans returned home.*

### § 1.

THIS advice pleased the Idumæans, and they ascended through the city to the temple, and the Zealots were impatient and anxious for their coming. Directly therefore they entered, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixed themselves with the Idumæans, and attacked the garrison. And they killed some of those that were on guard but had fallen asleep, but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in spite of their alarm caught hold of their arms and betook themselves to their defence. And as long as they

thought it was only the Zealots who attacked them, they felt confidence, hoping to overpower them by their numbers; but when they saw others pouring in upon them from without, they perceived that the Idumæans were got in; and most of them laid aside their arms and courage together, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the youths covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumæans, and for some time protected the more inert multitude. Others revealed to those that were in the city the dreadful situation they were in by their cries: but when they got to know that the Idumæans had entered the city, none of them durst come to their assistance, only they loudly wailed and shrieked back, and great howling of the women took place also, and every one of the garrison was in danger. The Zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumæans; and the storm itself rendered the shouts of everybody more terrible. Nor did the Idumæans spare anybody, for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they used their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and treated in the same manner those that supplicated for their lives as those that fought them; and ran through many with their swords, who reminded them of the relation there was between them, and begged them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was no opportunity for flight, nor any hope of preservation, but as they were thrust against one another so were they slain, and as most were driven along (as there was now no place to retire to, and the murderers hotly pursued them) in their distress they threw themselves down headlong into the city, undergoing, in my opinion, a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because it was a voluntary one. And now all the outer temple overflowed with blood, and that day saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies.

§ 2. But the rage of the Idumæans was not satiated by these slaughters, but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met. As for the rest of the multitude, they esteemed it idle to go on killing them, but they sought for the high

priests, and most rushed against them, and as soon as they took them they slew them, and then, standing over their dead bodies, jeered at Ananus for his goodwill to the people, and at Jesus for 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 usually take so much care of the burial of people, that they take down and bury those that are condemned and crucified before the going down of the sun. I should not be wrong if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of Jerusalem, and that from the day whereon they saw their high priest, and champion of their safety, slain in the midst of their city, may be dated the overthrow of their walls, and the fall of the Jews. He was in various respects a very worthy and just man, and besides the grandeur of the nobility and dignity and honour which he had, he was a lover of equality even in regard to the meanest of the people; and he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of democracy, and ever preferred the public welfare to his own advantage, and peace above all things (for he knew that the Romans were invincible), and he foresaw that, unless the Jews made up matters with them cleverly, a war would of necessity follow, and that they would be destroyed. And to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived, the Jews would certainly have come to terms with the Romans. For he was an able man in speaking and persuading the people, and if he had already got the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war, the Jews would have put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans under such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him, and although he was inferior to him upon comparison, he was superior to all the rest. And I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed the city to destruction as a polluted city, and wished to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these its great defenders and well-wishers, so that those that had a little before worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship, and had been esteemed worthy of respect by those who from the whole world visited our city, were cast out naked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts.

And I cannot but think that virtue itself groaned at these men's cases, and lamented that she was so terribly conquered by wickedness. For such was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

§ 3. Now, after these were slain, the Zealots and the multitude of the Idumæans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats. As for the common people, they were slain wherever they were captured, but they arrested and bound the noblemen and the youths, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would come over to their party. But not one of them would comply, for all preferred death to being enrolled among wicked wretches against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments, for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies could no longer bear their torture, when at last with difficulty they got the favour to be slain. Those whom they captured in the daytime were slain in the night, and their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners. And the terror of the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for any 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 dared 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 as those whom they mourned for. Only by night they would take a little dust in their hands, and throw it upon their bodies, and here and there a very bold person would do so even in the day. And no less than twelve thousand noble youths perished in this manner.

§ 4. And now they were quite weary of simple butchery, so they set up fictitious tribunals and courts for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain (for what provoked them against him was that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so remarkable in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they not only hoped to seize his effects, but also to get rid



of a man able to put them down), so they called together by public proclamation seventy of the principal men of the populace, nominally as judges, but they had no real authority, and accused Zacharias of a design to betray them to the Romans, and of having traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or evidence of what he was accused of, but they affirmed that they were themselves quite satisfied of his guilt, and desired such affirmation to be taken as evidence sufficient. Now when Zacharias saw clearly that there was no hope left him of escape (for he had been treacherously summoned to prison, rather than a court of justice), he took great liberty of speech from his despair of life, and stood up and jeered at their specious accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and enumerated all their transgressions of the law, and made great lamentation over the confusion they had brought public affairs to. But the Zealots made an uproar, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they wished to preserve the appearance and farce of a trial to the end, and were also desirous to test the judges, whether they would consult the interests of justice at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict that the accused was not guilty, choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors; whereupon there arose a great clamour of the Zealots at his acquittal, and they were all indignant at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but a farce; and two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him, and as he fell mocked at him and said, "Thou hast also our verdict, and a more sure acquittal;" and immediately threw him down from the temple into the ravine beneath it. Moreover, they insolently struck the judges with the backs of their swords, and thrust them out of the temple precincts, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might let all know they were no better than slaves.

§ 5. But by this time the Idumæans repented that they had come, and were displeased at what was taking place. And

when they were assembled together by one of the Zealots, who came privately to them, he declared to them what a number of lawless acts they had done in conjunction with those that had invited them, and enumerated what had been done in the metropolis. He said that they had taken up arms on the idea that the high priests were betraying the metropolis to the Romans, but had found no evidence of any such treason, but they had supported those that pretended to believe such a thing, while they ventured to do their works of war and tyranny. It would indeed have been their business to have hindered them at 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 if any took it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and that they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet those who had excluded them had been punished, and Ananus was dead, and almost all those people had been slain in one night. He added that many of themselves might now be seen repenting of what they had done, and they might also see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, who had no regard to those who had saved them, but were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things under the eyes of their allies, and their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumæans, as long as nobody obstructed them, or separated himself from their actions. They ought therefore to retire home (since the imputation of treason appeared to be a calumny, and there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at present, and the city was secured by such walls as could not be easily thrown down), and, by avoiding any further fellowship with these bad men, make some excuse for themselves as to their previous participation with them under a delusion.

## CHAP. VI.

*How the Zealots, when they got rid of the Idumæans, slew a great many more of the Citizens. Also how Vespasian dissuaded the Romans, when they were very earnest to march against the Jews, from proceeding in the War at present.*

## § 1.

THE Idumæans listened to these arguments, and first set those that were in the prisons at liberty (who were about two thousand of the populace; who thereupon fled immediately and betook themselves to Simon, of whom I shall speak presently), and then retired from Jerusalem, and went home. Now this departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people, not knowing of their repentance, took courage for a while, as being eased of their enemies, while the Zealots grew more insolent, not as being deserted by allies, but as being rid of men who might put them out of countenance, and repress their wickedness. So they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their crimes, but made use of the shortest methods in all their plans, and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice almost sooner than they imagined it. But they thirsted chiefly for the blood of valiant men and men of good families, the latter of whom they destroyed out of envy, the former out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no influential person alive. And so among many others they slew Gorion, a person eminent for merit and family, and inclined to democracy, and full of a liberal spirit, if ever any of the Jews was. The principal thing that ruined him, added to his eminence in other respects, was his boldness of speech. Nor did Niger of Peræa escape their hands, a man who had displayed great valour in the wars with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, frequently crying out and showing the scars of his wounds. And when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his life, he besought them to grant him burial; but they threatened him first that they would not grant him any

spot of earth for a grave, which he so greatly desired, and then slew him. Now while they were slaying him, Niger prayed that the Romans might be his avengers, and that the Jews might undergo both famine and pestilence in the war, and besides all that that they might come to mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God ratified against these impious men, and what came most justly upon them was that not long afterwards they experienced their madness in their factions against one another. But when Niger was killed, their fears of being put down were diminished. And indeed there was no section of the people but they found out some pretext to destroy them. Some were slain because they had had some longstanding differences with some of them, and as to those that had not opposed them in time of peace, they watched their opportunity to accuse them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was suspected by them as a proud man, if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a despiser of them, and if any one paid court to them, he was supposed to be a plotter against them. And the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death; nor could any one escape, unless he was very inconsiderable from the meanness of his birth or fortune.

§ 2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans thought this dissension of their enemies a wind-fall, and were very eager to march against the city, and were urgent with Vespasian as he was armed with full authority, and said that the providence of God was on their side, by setting their enemies at variance with one another; but that changes in such cases were sudden, and the Jews might quickly be united again, either because they were tired or repented of their civil strife. But Vespasian replied, that they were greatly mistaken as to what was necessary, desiring as on a theatre to make a show of their hands and weapons, but doing so at their own hazard, without considering what was for their advantage and security. For if they attacked the city immediately, they would but unite their enemies together, and turn their strength now at its acme against themselves; but if they stayed a while, they would have fewer enemies, because they would be con-

sumed in this civil strife. For God made a better general of the Romans than he was, who was giving the Jews up to them without any trouble, and granting their army a victory without any danger. He said that it was therefore their best course, while their enemies were destroying each other with their own hands, and experiencing the greatest misfortune, which was civil strife, to sit still as spectators of dangers rather than to fight with men that loved murder and were mad against one another. "And if (he proceeded) any one imagines that the glory of victory will be more insipid when it is got without fighting, let him know that success quietly obtained is more profitable than the uncertainty of a battle. For we ought to esteem those who have done great things by self-control and prudence no less glorious than those who have gained great reputation by their actions in war. For such will have a stronger army to lead, when their enemies are weakened, and their own army is refreshed by rest from continual labours; moreover this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory. For the Jews are not now employed in forging armour or building walls, or in getting together allies, in which case delay would be prejudicial to those who gave them time for such, but they are harassed to death every day by their civil strife and dissensions, and suffer greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether therefore any one has regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to be consumed by one another, or whether he has regard to the glory of success, he ought by no means to attack men who are suffering from domestic troubles. For it would be said speciously that our conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their dissensions."

§ 3. And now the other commanders assented to what Vespasian said, and it was soon evident how wise an opinion he had given. For many of the Jews deserted every day, and fled from the Zealots, although flight was difficult, since they guarded every outlet from the city, and slew every one that was captured at them, taking it for granted he was going over to the Romans. However, he who gave them money was allowed to go, and only he that gave them none was a traitor; so the upshot was that the rich pur-

chased their flight so, and none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay in heaps, and many of those that had been anxious to flee changed their minds and preferred rather to perish within the city; for the hope of burial made death in their own city appear of the two the less terrible to them. But these Zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, that they did not bestow burial either on those slain in the city or on the roads, but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, at the same time that they ill-treated men they outraged the Deity also, and allowed dead bodies to rot in the sun. And the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any of their relations as to those that deserted, which was no other than death; so that he that granted the favour of a grave to another forthwith stood in need of a grave himself. And to say all in a word, no good emotion was so entirely lost among them during those unhappy times as mercy; for what ought to have excited pity irritated these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called those that had died before them happy, as being at rest already, and those that were under torture in the prisons declared that, upon comparison with themselves, those that lay unburied were happy. These men, therefore, trampled upon every ordinance of men, and laughed at the laws of God: and they mocked at the oracles of the prophets as the tricks of impostors. And yet these prophets foretold many things as to virtue and vice, which when these Zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of prophecies against their own country. For there was a certain very ancient prophecy of inspired men, that the city would be taken and the sanctuary burnt by right of war, when dissensions should break out and their own hands should pollute the temple of God. Now though these Zealots did not disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

## CHAP. VII.

*How John tyrannized over the rest ; and what Mischief the Zealots did at Masada. Also how Vespasian got possession of Gadara : and the actions that were performed by Placidus.*

## § 1.

BY this time John began to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept merely the same honours that others had ; and joining to himself by degrees some of the wickedest men of all, he detached them from their own faction. And as he ever disagreed with the opinions of others, and gave injunctions of his own in a rather improper manner, it was evident he was setting up monarchical claims. Now some submitted to him out of fear, and others out of good-will (for he was clever at enticing men to him by delusion and deception), and many thought they would be safer themselves, if the crimes that they perpetrated should be referred to one person and not many. His activity also was so great, and that both in action and counsel, that he had not a few body-guards. But a large part of his antagonists left him ; among whom envy had a good deal of influence, as people thought it monstrous to be in subjection to one who 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 once obtained it, and they knew he would always have this objection against them, that they had opposed his having power. So each one chose rather to suffer anything whatever in war than, when they had been in voluntary slavery for some time, afterwards to perish like slaves. So the faction was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them. And these two factions 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 vied with one another which should get most spoil. And since the city was exposed to three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and faction, it appeared to the

people upon comparison that war was the lightest of the three. Accordingly, they fled from their own people to foreigners, and sought that preservation from the Romans, which they despaired of obtaining among their own people.

§ 2. And now a fourth misfortune arose to bring our nation to destruction. There was a very strong fortress 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 their personal safety. It was called Masada.<sup>1</sup> Those who were called Sicarii had occupied it, and for a time scoured the country all round it, but only to procure themselves necessaries, for the fear they were in prevented further ravages; but when they heard that the Roman army was quiet, and that the Jews were divided by faction and private 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 made a descent by night, without being discovered by those who might have stopped them, and ravaged a certain small town called Engaddi, where they were too quick for those inhabitants that might have repelled them, for they dispersed them before they could arm themselves and fight them, and drove them out of the town, while of such as could not run away, as women and children, they slew more than seven hundred, and then stripped their houses of every thing, and seized upon all the ripe fruit, and took all their spoil home to Masada. And indeed these men laid all the villages waste that were round the fortress, and ravaged the whole country, and slew daily on all sides of them no few people. At this time all the other regions of Judæa were disturbed by the robbers who had hitherto been quiet. Now as in the body, if some principal part be inflamed, all the members suffer with it, so owing to the faction and disorder that was in the metropolis, the wicked men that were in the country had security to ravage, and when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert: and now banding together and joining the

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.



confederacy by companies, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves, they fell upon the holy places<sup>1</sup> and cities. But it happened that they were sometimes very ill handled by those whom they attacked in war, thinking them isolated, but sometimes they anticipated retaliation, as robbers directly they have done their plundering run away. Nor was there now any part of Judæa that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city.

§ 3. These things were told Vespasian by deserters. For although the factious watched all the outlets of the city, and slew whoever approached for whatever purpose, yet there were some who evaded them and fled to the Romans, and urged the Roman general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; for they said that it was because of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them had been already slain, and that the survivors were in danger of the same treatment. And Vespasian, who already pitied the calamities these men were in, moved his camp to all appearance as if he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from the siege they were already enduring. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing in his rear to interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he marched against Gadara,<sup>2</sup> the strong metropolis of Peræa, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus. For its influential persons had sent an embassy to him, without the knowledge of the factious, to treat about a surrender, which they did out of the desire they had for peace, and to save their property, for many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. The opposite party knew nothing of this embassy, but discovered it as Vespasian drew near the city. And they despaired of being able to keep possession of the city, as they were inferior in number to their enemies who were within the city, and as

<sup>1</sup> By these *hiera* or "holy places," as distinct from cities, must be meant "proseuchæ," or "houses of prayer," out of cities; of which we find mention made in the New Testament and elsewhere. See Luke vi. 12; Acts xvi. 13. 16: Antiq. xiv. 10, § 23; Life, § 54. "In qua te quero proseucha?" Juvenal Sat. iii. 296. They were situated sometimes by the side of rivers, or by the sea side.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

they saw the Romans very near the city; so they resolved to flee, but thought it dishonourable to do so without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on those who had invited in Vespasian. So they seized upon Dolesus (a person not only the first in rank and family in the city, but also the one who was thought responsible for the embassy to Vespasian), and slew him, and treated his dead body in a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then fled from the city. And as the Roman army was now just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, and also a garrison of horse and foot to guard them against the incursions of the fugitives: for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them to do so, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and had no mind to war against them.

§ 4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus with five hundred horse and three thousand foot to pursue those that had fled from Gadara, while he himself returned to Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the cavalry pursuing them, before an engagement came off, they crowded together in a certain village, which was called Bethennabris,<sup>2</sup> where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, some by their own consent, some by force, they rashly rushed upon Placidus and the troops that were with him. And they at the first onset gave way a little, so contriving to entice them further from the walls. And when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they rode round them, and threw their darts at them, and the horse cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot cut to pieces those that fought against them. For the Jews did no more than show their courage, and were then cut to pieces. For as they attacked the Romans, who were in close formation, and, as it were, walled in by their panoply, they could not find any place where their darts could penetrate, nor were they able to break the

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Beth-nimrah, now *Tell Nimrin*, east of Jordan, and nearly opposite Jericho.

enemy's ranks, while they themselves were run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of beasts, rushed upon the sword. And some of them were slain by being stabbed by their enemies' swords in their faces, and others were dispersed by the cavalry.

§ 5. For Placidus was anxious to cut off their return to the village, and riding continually on that side by them, he would then wheel round and at the same time make use of his darts, and take sure aim at those that were nearest, and make those that were further off turn back from the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them cut their way through 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; as indeed happened; for as they were forcing their way together to the wall, the Roman horsemen all but entered in with them. However, the guards prevented them and shut the gates, when Placidus ordered a general assault, and fighting stoutly till it was evening, made himself master of the wall and of those that were in the village; when the feeble part of the population was cut to pieces, but those that were more able ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that escaped from the village, they excited such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, put them in great fear on every side. So they all got together *en masse* and fled to Jericho,<sup>1</sup> for it alone afforded them any hopes of safety, as it was a city that was strong from its wall and large population. But Placidus, relying upon his horse and former success, followed them, and slew all that he came up with as far as the Jordan: and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the stream (for it was swollen by rain and not fordable), he drew up his soldiers in battle array opposite to

<sup>1</sup> *er-Riha*. Jewish War, i. 15, § 6.

them. And necessity induced those who had no place to flee to to hazard a battle. So they extended themselves as much as possible along the banks of the river, and received the darts that were thrown at them, as well as the charges of the cavalry, who wounded many of them and thrust them into the stream. In this hand to hand fight fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into the Jordan was countless. Two thousand two hundred were also taken prisoners, besides immense spoil consisting of asses and sheep and camels and oxen.

§ 6. Now this blow that fell upon the Jews was not inferior to any of the rest, but appeared greater than it really was, because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and the Jordan could not be crossed over because of the dead bodies that were in it, but also because the lake Asphaltitis<sup>1</sup> was full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, making the most of his good fortune, marched against the neighbouring small towns and villages, and took Ábila,<sup>2</sup> and Julias,<sup>3</sup> and Besimoth,<sup>4</sup> and all the others as far as the lake Asphaltitis, and put such deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board ships, and slew those who had fled on to the lake. So all Peræa either surrendered or was taken by the Romans as far as Machærus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Dead Sea*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Keferein*. *Antiq.* iv. 8, § 1; v. 1, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Betharampha*. *Jewish War*, ii. 4, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> Beth-Jesbimoth, *'Ain Suweimeh*.

<sup>5</sup> *Mekaur*. *Jewish War*, i. 8, § 2.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Vespasian, upon hearing of Commotion in Gaul, made haste to finish the Jewish War. A Description of Jericho, and of the Great Plain; with an Account also of the Lake Asphaltitis.*

## § 1.

MEANTIME news came of commotion in Gaul,<sup>1</sup> and that Vindex with the influential persons of that country had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This news excited Vespasian to go on briskly with the war, for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming, nay, he saw that the very empire was in danger, and he thought, if he could first reduce its eastern parts to peace, he should make the anxiety less about Italy. As long therefore as the winter continued, he put garrisons for their security into the villages and small towns which he had subdued, and put decurions into the villages, and centurions into the cities; he also rebuilt many places that had been laid waste. But at the beginning of spring he took most of his army, and led it from Cæsarea<sup>2</sup> to Antipatris,<sup>3</sup> where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and on the third day marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had subdued all the places in the toparchy of Thamna,<sup>4</sup> he marched on to Lydda<sup>5</sup> and Jamnia.<sup>6</sup> And when both those cities had been subdued first, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then went to Emmaus,<sup>7</sup> where he seized upon the passes which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and, leaving the fifth legion there, went on to the toparchy of Bethleptepha.<sup>8</sup> He then destroyed it and the

<sup>1</sup> France.<sup>2</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*<sup>3</sup> *Räs el-'Ain.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 7.<sup>4</sup> *Thamna, Tibneh.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 4.<sup>5</sup> *Ludda.*<sup>6</sup> *Yebnah.*<sup>7</sup> *'Amwäs.* Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.<sup>8</sup> Unknown, but apparently south of Jerusalem.

neighbouring region by fire, and fortified at convenient places the strongholds all about Idumæa;<sup>1</sup> and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of Idumæa, Betaris<sup>2</sup> and Caphartoba,<sup>3</sup> he slew more than ten thousand, and carried into captivity more than a thousand, and expelled the rest of the population, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who over-ran and laid waste the whole of the mountainous country; while he himself with the rest of his forces returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and near the city called by others Neapolis,<sup>4</sup> but by the people of that country Mabortha, to Corea,<sup>5</sup> where he pitched his camp on the second day of the month Dæsius, and on the following day he arrived at Jericho, on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought from Peræa,<sup>6</sup> as all the places beyond the Jordan were already subdued.

§ 2. Now most of the people of Jericho anticipated the approach of the Romans, and fled to the mountainous region over against Jerusalem, while no few of those who were left behind were slain. So they found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain, but a naked and barren mountain of very great length overhangs it, which extends northwards to the land about Scythopolis,<sup>7</sup> and southwards as far as the country of Sodom and the boundaries of the lake Asphaltitis. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited because of its barrenness; and there is a mountain situated opposite it near the Jordan, which begins at Julius<sup>8</sup> and the northern region, and extends southwards as far as Somorrhon,<sup>9</sup> which is the boundary of Petra<sup>10</sup> in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that extends as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these two mountains is called the Great Plain;<sup>11</sup> it extends from the

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 2, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> An unknown town.

<sup>3</sup> Unknown.

<sup>4</sup> Shechem, *Näblus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Keriüt*. Jewish War, i. 6, § 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Beisán*.

<sup>6</sup> Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently Bethsaida Julius. Jewish War, ii. 9, § 1.

<sup>9</sup> Unknown. Possibly for Gomorrhæ.

<sup>10</sup> Jewish War, i. 6, § 2.

<sup>11</sup> The *Ghor* or Jordan Valley.

village of Ginnabris<sup>1</sup> to the lake Asphaltitis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and it is bisected by the Jordan. It has two lakes in it, that of Asphaltitis and that of Tiberias,<sup>2</sup> 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 because of the extraordinary heat has a very pestilential air; it is entirely destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of the Jordan is the reason why those plantations of palm-trees that are near its banks are more flourishing and fruitful, as those that are remote from it are less so.

§ 3. However, there is a fountain near Jericho,<sup>3</sup> that is copious and very fit for watering the ground; it bubbles up near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, first took in the land of Canaan by his spear. The story goes that this fountain originally caused not only the blasting of the fruit of the earth and trees, but also made women miscarry, and was injurious and pernicious to all things, but that it was made mild on the contrary and very wholesome and fruitful by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was intimate with Elijah and his successor, and when he was once the guest of the people of Jericho, and the men of that city had treated him very kindly, he requited them and benefited their country by an everlasting favour. For he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the water an earthen vessel full of salt, after which he stretched out his righteous right hand to heaven, and pouring into the fountain propitiatory libations, he prayed that the water might be mollified, and that veins of sweet water might be opened; also that God would temper the water with more fertile air, and would bestow upon the people of the 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 in a

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Sennabris. Jewish War, iii. 9, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> The *Dead Sea* and the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> The spring *'Ain es-Siltân*.

skilful manner, and changed the fountain, and the water, which had been the cause of barrenness and famine before, did from that time supply a numerous posterity, and afford great abundance to the country. Indeed, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it does but once touch the land, it gives greater returns than other waters do, though they remain on the ground to satiety: so the advantage gained from other waters flowing in great plenty is but small, while that of this water is great, when it flows even in little quantities. And it waters a larger space of ground than the other waters do, for it glides through a plain seventy furlongs long and twenty broad, and affords nourishment to most excellent and frequent gardens. There are also many sorts of palm-trees watered by it, differing from each other in taste and name; the richer sort of which, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior to other honey; and the region abounds with bees. It also produces that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, and the cypress tree and the myrobalanus; so that he would not be mistaken who should pronounce this place to be divine, wherein such plenty of very rare and most excellent trees are produced. And, indeed, if we speak of other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the world that can well be compared to this, for whatever is here sowed comes up with such wonderful returns; the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air, and the fertility of the waters: the warmth calling forth and diffusing what is planted, and the moisture making every thing planted take root firmly, and supplying it with strength in summer-time. For this country is then so burnt up, that nobody can easily go into the open air. But if the water be drawn before sun-rise, and is after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceedingly cold, and has a nature quite contrary to the surrounding air; as in winter again it becomes warm, and to those who bathe in it appears very mild. The air here is also so well-tempered, that the people of the country dress in linen only, even when it snows in the rest of Judæa. Jericho<sup>1</sup> is one hundred

<sup>1</sup> *er-Riha.*



and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from the Jordan. The country as far as Jerusalem is desert and stony, but that as far as the Jordan and the lake Asphaltitis is more level, though equally desert and barren. But thus much shall suffice to say about Jericho and its great fertility.

§ 4. The nature of the lake Asphaltitis<sup>1</sup> is also worth describing. It is, as I have said, bitter and unfruitful, and so light that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it, nor is it easy for any one to make things sink to the bottom of it, if he tries to do so. For example, 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 its depths, when it happened that they all floated on the top as if a wind forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of colour in this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day, and its light is variously reflected according to the rays of the sun. And it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it, which float on the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and size headless bulls. And when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it as it is in a composite mass, they drag it into their boats; but when the boats are full, it is not easy to detach it, for it is so tenacious as to make the boat adhere to its mass, till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women and urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but also for the cure of men's bodies, so it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, as it extends as far as Zoar<sup>2</sup> in Arabia, and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom borders upon it, which was of old a happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it is now all burnt up. They say that it was burnt by lightning for the impiety of its inhabitants. And there are still vestiges of that divine

<sup>1</sup> The Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> This Zoar, which cannot be the same place as the Zoar of the Bible, was probably in the *Wādy ed-Dra'a*, at the south-east end of the Dead Sea.

fire, and the traces of five cities are still to be seen, as also ashes growing on the fruits, which fruits look as if they were fit to eat, but if people pluck them with their hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related about the land of Sodom is borne out by our eyesight.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Vespasian, after he had taken Gadara, made Preparations for the Siege of Jerusalem; and how he changed his Intention on hearing of the Death of Nero. Also concerning Simon of Gerasa.*

### § 1.

AND now Vespasian invested Jerusalem on all sides, and erected fortresses at Jericho and Adida,<sup>1</sup> and placed garrisons in them both, partly consisting of Romans, and partly of a body of auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa,<sup>2</sup> and delivered to him a troop of horse and a considerable number of foot. And when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who could not get away first, and he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages. And the able bodied fled away while the weak were slain, and everything that was left was burnt. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were prevented from leaving the city. For such as had a mind to desert were watched by the Zealots; and such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, were kept in by their army, which surrounded the city on all sides.

§ 2. Now when Vespasian had returned to Cæsarea,<sup>3</sup> and was getting ready to march with all his army upon Jerusalem itself, he was informed that Nero was dead, after

<sup>1</sup> *Hadithel*, near the foot of the hills east of Lydda. Antiq. xiii. 6, § 4; 15, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Jerash*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Kaisariyeh*.

having reigned thirteen years and eight days. As to how Nero abused his imperial power, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freedmen; and how he was plotted against by them, and deserted by all his guards, and fled with four of his most trusty freedmen, and slew himself in the suburbs of Rome; and how those who brought about his death were in no long time themselves brought to punishment; how also the war in Gaul ended, and how Galba was made emperor, and returned from Spain to Rome, and how he was accused by the soldiers of being a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the forum at Rome; and how Otho was declared emperor, and of his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and overthrow; as also what troubles there were under Vitellius, and of the fight near the Capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius and his German legions, and so put an end to the civil war; I have omitted to give an exact account of all this, because it would be tedious to everybody, and has been related by a great number of Greeks and Romans. Yet, for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incomplete, I have just touched upon each of these things briefly. So Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting to see to whom the empire would be transferred after Nero. Again, when he heard that Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing till he also should send him some directions about the war; but he sent his son Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his commands as to the Jews. King Agrippa sailed with Titus upon the very same errand to Galba; but as they were in their long ships coasting by Achaia<sup>1</sup> (for it was winter-time) Galba was slain before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After him Otho became emperor, and assumed the management of public affairs. And Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome, without any fear on account of the change in the government; but Titus by a divine impulse sailed back from Greece to Syria, and

<sup>1</sup> The Roman province, Greece.

went in great haste to Cæsarea to his father. And now both Vespasian and he were in suspense about the state of affairs, the Roman empire being now in an unstable condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, for they thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, because of the anxiety they were in as to their own country.

§ 3. And now there arose another war in Jerusalem. There was one Simon, the son of Gioras, a young man, and native of Gerasa (not so cunning indeed as John [of Gischala],<sup>1</sup> who had already seized upon the city, but superior to him in strength of body and courage, on which account he had been expelled by Ananus the high priest from the toparchy of Acrabatta,<sup>2</sup> which he once held, and joined those robbers who had seized upon Masada).<sup>3</sup> At first they suspected him, and only permitted him and the women he brought with him to enter the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. But afterwards (on account of his similarity of character to them, and because he seemed trusty), he went out with them, and ravaged and devastated the country in the neighbourhood of Masada; but when he urged them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail upon them to do so. For, as they were accustomed to dwell in that fortress, they were afraid of going far from what was as it were their lair, but he, desiring to play the monarch, and being ambitious, when he heard of the death of Ananus, left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country, and proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and rewards to those already free, and got together a band of bad men from all quarters.

§ 4. And as he had now a strong body of men, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country, and as still more and more flocked to him, he ventured to descend to the plain. And, since he was now become formidable to the cities, many influential persons were attracted to him by his strength and success, so that his army was no longer composed only of slaves and robbers, but also of

<sup>1</sup> *el-Jish.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Akrabeh.* Jewish War, ii. 12, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Sebbeh.*

a great many of the populace, who were obedient to him as to their king. He then over-ran the toparchy of Acrabatta, and the district as far as the Great Idumæa. And he walled a certain village called Nain,<sup>1</sup> and made use of it as a fortress for his security; and at the ravine called Pharán<sup>2</sup> he widened many of the caves, and many others he found fit for his purpose, and these he used as repositories for his treasures and receptacles for his spoil, and in them he laid up the fruits that he got by rapine; and many of his bands dwelt in them; and he made no secret that he was training his men beforehand, and making preparations to attack Jerusalem.

§ 5. Thereupon most of the Zealots, fearing his plots, and wishing to nip in the bud one that was growing strong to their hurt, went out against him with their weapons. And Simon met them, and joined battle with them, and slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust his forces so much yet as to make an assault upon the walls, so he resolved first to subdue Idumæa, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched with them to the borders of that country. Thereupon the rulers of the Idumæans concentrated quickly the most warlike part of their people, amounting to about twenty-five thousand in number, and left the rest to guard their own country, because of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada, and received Simon at their borders, where he fought them, and continued the battle all that day, and left the field after a drawn contest. And he went back to Nain, and the Idumæans returned home. But it was not long ere Simon burst into their country again with a larger force, when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Thecoe,<sup>3</sup> and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to the garrison at Herodium,<sup>4</sup> which was near, to try and persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, as long as they knew not what he came about; but when he began to speak of

<sup>1</sup> An unknown town, apparently in Edom.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Feiran*, in the Peninsula of Sinai.

<sup>3</sup> Tekoa, *Teki'a*, south of Bethlehem.

<sup>4</sup> *Jebel Fureidis*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

the surrender of the place, they pursued him with their drawn swords, till finding he had no chance of escape, he threw himself down from the walls into the ravine below, and so died immediately. But the Idumæans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought it well to reconnoitre the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle.

§ 6. Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon this occasion, but intended to betray them. He set out therefore from the village Alurus,<sup>1</sup> where the army of the Idumæans was concentrated, and went to Simon; and first agreed to betray Alurus to him, and took assurances upon oath from him that he would always hold him in esteem, and next promised to assist him in subduing all Idumæa. Upon this he was feasted in a friendly manner by Simon, and being elated by his handsome promises, when he returned to his own men, he first stated falsely that the army of Simon was much larger than it really was; after which he addressed and urged the commanders, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender to him the whole government without fighting. And as he was negotiating this, he invited Simon by messengers, and promised to disperse the Idumæans, which he also did. For as soon as Simon's army drew near, he first mounted his horse, and fled with those whom he had corrupted. Thereupon a panic seized on the whole multitude, and before an engagement came on, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

§ 7. Thus unexpectedly did Simon march into Idumæa without bloodshed, and first made a sudden attack upon the city of Hebron, and captured it, and got possession of a great deal of spoil in it, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now its inhabitants say that Hebron is a more ancient city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis<sup>2</sup> in Egypt, and reckon it to be two thousand three hundred years old. They also relate that it was the habitation of Abraham, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed from Mesopotamia, and they say that his

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 9, § 4.

posterity went down from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very day shown in that small city, wrought of very excellent marble in a most elegant manner. There is also shown there at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine tree, and they say that this tree has lasted from the creation of the world to now. From thence Simon marched through all Idumæa, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but laid the whole country waste. For, besides his men at arms, he had forty thousand men that followed him, so that he had not provisions enough for such a multitude. And, besides this want of provisions, he was of a savage disposition, and very angry at this nation, so it came to pass that Idumæa was greatly devastated. For, as one may see all the woods 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 whatever grew in the country they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made cultivated ground harder than that which was barren. In short there was no indication remaining that those places that had been laid waste had ever existed.

§ 8. This success of Simon excited the Zealots afresh, and though they were afraid to fight him in open battle, they laid ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, and a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they returned to the city rejoicing as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and almost expected that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife. But instead of feeling merciful, he was very angry with them for seizing his wife; so he went to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot get at those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons he met with. Accordingly he seized all those who came out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and in years, and tortured them and slew them, so immense was his rage, and all but tasted the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of many, and sent them into the city to dismay his enemies, and at the same time

to try and make the people rise against those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people, that Simon swore by God, the ruler of the universe, that unless they quickly restored 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 threats so greatly frightened, not the people only, but the Zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him, when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual slaughtering.

§ 9. And now faction and civil war was rampant not only throughout Judæa, but also in Italy. For Galba was slain in the middle of the forum at Rome, and Otho was declared Emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for Emperor also, for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle at Bedriacum<sup>1</sup> in Gaul to Valens and Cæcinna, who were Vitellius' generals, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius' soldiers had the victory: and when Otho heard of this defeat after much slaughter, he slew himself at Brixellum,<sup>2</sup> after he had been at the head of affairs three months and two days. Otho's army also went over to Vitellius' generals, and Vitellius himself marched for Rome with his army. Meantime Vespasian removed from Cæsarea<sup>3</sup> on the fifth day of the month Dæsius, and marched against those places in Judæa which were not yet overthrown. So he went up into the mountainous country, and took those toparchies that were called the Gophnitic and Acrabattene toparchies,<sup>4</sup> after which he took Bethela<sup>5</sup> and Ephraim,<sup>6</sup> two small cities, and, when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, taking many prisoners, and slaying many on his march. And Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horse and foot, and laid waste that part of

<sup>1</sup> A small village of Cisalpine Gaul, between Verona and Cremona.

<sup>2</sup> *Brescello*, about twelve miles north-east of Parma.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>4</sup> The toparchies of which Gophna, *Jifna*, and Acrabatta, '*Akrâbeh*, were the chief towns.

<sup>5</sup> Bethel, *Beitin*.

<sup>6</sup> *et-Taiyibeh*.



Idumæa which was called Upper Idumæa, and took Caphethra,<sup>1</sup> which pretended to be a small town, at the first onset and burnt it down. He also attacked another place called Capharabin,<sup>1</sup> and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall, and he expected to have to spend a long time in the siege, when those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had reduced them he went to Hebron, another very ancient city, situated, as I have said already, in the mountainous country not far from Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, he slew all that he captured therein from the youths upwards, and burnt down the city. So as all fortified places were now taken, excepting Herodium<sup>2</sup> and Masada<sup>3</sup> and Machærus,<sup>4</sup> which were in the possession of the robbers, Jerusalem was the mark at which the Romans henceforth aimed.

§ 10. And now, as soon as Simon had recovered his wife from the Zealots, he returned back to what remained of Idumæa, and, harassing the nation on all sides, compelled a great number of them to flee to Jerusalem; and followed them himself also to the city, and surrounded the wall again, and when he lit upon any labourers that were coming there out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon without was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, and the Zealots within were more trouble to them than either. And during this time mischievous contrivances and audacity corrupted the army of the Galilæans; for they had advanced John to power, and he made them returns from the authority he had obtained by their means, permitting them to do everything that any of them desired to do. And their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich, and murdering men and ravishing women was sport to them. They also devoured the spoil they took with blood, and indulged themselves to the full in sodomitical practices with impunity, arranging their hair and putting on women's garments, and smeared all over with perfume,

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

<sup>2</sup> *Jebel Fureidis*. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Sebbeh*. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Mekaur*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

and that they might appear more comely, painting their eye-lashes. And they imitated not only the attire, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they contrived unlawful pleasures; and wallowed in the city as in a brothel, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions. And though their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands, and though their gait was effeminate, they suddenly attacked people and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and stabbed every body through whom they met. And Simon was on the look out for those that fled from John, and was the more bloody of the two: and he who had escaped the tyrant within the walls, was slain by the one before the gates, so that all chance of fleeing and deserting to the Romans was cut off, if any had a mind to do so.

§ 11. But the army that was under John rose against him, and all the Idumæans in it separated themselves from him, and plotted against the tyrant, out of envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty. And they fought and slew many of the Zealots, and drove the rest before them into the royal palace that was built by Grapte (who was a relation of Izates, the king of Adiabene),<sup>1</sup> and the Idumæans rushed in with them, and drove the Zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plundering John's effects; for he himself dwelt in the forementioned palace, and had laid up there the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. Meantime the multitude of the Zealots that were dispersed all over the city gathered together to the temple to those that had fled there, and John prepared to lead them out against the people and the Idumæans. And they were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves better soldiers, as at their desperation, lest they should privately sally out of the temple by night, and not only destroy them but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together with the high priests, and took counsel how they should guard against their assault. And God it seems turned their opinions to bad advice, and they devised a remedy

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

for their safety worse than ruin. For in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and to supplicate for the introduction of a second tyrant among them. This was the resolution of the council. So they sent Matthias the high priest, and besought this Simon, of whom they had been so greatly afraid, to enter their city. Those also from Jerusalem who had fled from the Zealots joined in this request to him, from the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. And he in an arrogant manner granted them his lordly protection, and entered the city as if to deliver it from the Zealots, being hailed with acclamations by the people as their saviour and preserver: but when he was come in with his army, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those who had invited him in as no less his enemies than those against whom he had been invited in.

§ 12. Thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month of Xanthicus; whereupon John and his crowd of Zealots, being not only prevented from coming out of the temple, but also having lost their property in the city, (for Simon and his party robbed them at once 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 Zealots stood upon the porticoes and 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 the higher ground, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies. And having the advantage of situation, they further erected four very large towers, that their darts might come from still higher places, one at the north-east corner, another above the Xystus,<sup>1</sup> the third at another corner opposite the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests usually stood and gave a signal beforehand in the evening with a trumpet at the beginning of every seventh day, as also in the evening when the sabbath day was finished, giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they

<sup>1</sup> The Xystus was parallel to the west wall of the Temple, between the 'Causeway' and 'Robinson's Arch.'

were to go to work again.<sup>1</sup> They also set upon those towers engines to cast darts and stones, and archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assaults upon the temple less energetically, because most of his men were weary, yet he held out because his army was superior in numbers; but the missiles which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of the fighting men.

## CHAP. X.

*How the Soldiers, both in Judæa and Egypt, proclaimed Vespasian Emperor, who released Josephus from his Bonds.*

### § 1.

NOW about this very time heavy calamities came on Rome. For Vitellius arrived from Germany with his soldiers, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides, and as the spaces allotted for the soldiers could not contain him and his following, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled every house with armed men. And they, when they saw the riches of Rome with eyes which had never seen such riches before, and had the glitter all round them of silver and gold, had much ado to contain their covetous desires, so as not to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as opposed them. Such was the state of affairs in Italy at this time.

§ 2. Now when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near Jerusalem, he returned to Cæsarea,<sup>2</sup> and there heard of the troubles at Rome, and that Vitellus was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed as well as to govern, for he thought him unworthy of being his lord who so madly seized upon the empire as if it were going a begging, and as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torment he felt, nor to apply himself to other wars, when

<sup>1</sup> The Sabbath began on the evening of Friday, and ended on the evening of Saturday.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

his native country was being laid waste. But as much as his passion excited him to vengeance, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance from home; because fortune might anticipate 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, though vehement, for the time.

§ 3. But now his commanders and soldiers met in companies, and consulted openly about a change, and cried out in their indignation that the soldiers at Rome lived delicately, and though they did not venture so much as to hear the fame of war, voted whom they pleased as rulers, and in hopes of gain made them emperors; while they themselves who had gone through so many labours, and grown old under their helmets, gave away their power to others, and that though they had among themselves one more worthy to rule. And what juster opportunity would they ever have of requiting their general, if they did not seize that now before them? and there was as much juster reason for Vespasian being emperor than Vitellius, as they were themselves more deserving than those who had declared the other emperor. For they had undergone as great wars as had the troops that came from Germany, nor were they inferior in arms to those who brought that tyrant to Rome. Nor was there any need for a contest: for surely neither the Roman senate nor people would put up with such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, instead of the chaste Vespasian; nor would they endure a most barbarous tyrant instead of a good governor, nor choose one that was childless to rule over them instead of one that was a father; because the advancement of their own sons to dignities was certainly the greatest security for peace that kings could give. If then they estimated the capacity for governing from the experience of years, they ought to have Vespasian, or if from the strength of youth, they ought to have Titus; for so they would have the advantage of the different ages of both. And they would not only supply strength to those whom they should make emperors, as they had already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings, and would have further all the armies in the East to support them, as also all those in Europe

which were out of the reach and dread of Vitellius, and also such allies as they had in Italy itself, as Vespasian's brother<sup>1</sup> and other son,<sup>2</sup> the latter of whom would win over a great many of the young men that were of rank, while the other was entrusted with the charge of the city, which office of his would be no small help towards Vespasian's obtaining the empire. In short, if they themselves made any further delays, the senate might choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who were the saviours of the empire, would hold in contempt.

§ 4. Such was the language the soldiers held in their various knots, after which they mustered together *en masse*, and encouraging one another declared Vespasian emperor, and exhorted him to save the empire which was in danger. Now Vespasian had been concerned for a considerable time about the state of public affairs, but he did not himself intend to set up for emperor, though his actions made him think himself worthy of it, for he preferred the safety of a private life to the dangers of an illustrious position. But on his refusing the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance of it, and the soldiers flocked about him with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live as became his merits. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away empire from him, at last, not being able to persuade them, he yielded to those who hailed him emperor.

§ 5. So upon consenting to the urgent requests of Mucianus and the other commanders that he would be emperor, and to those of the rest of the army who cried out that they were willing to be led against all his rivals, his first idea was to become master of Alexandria, knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence to the empire, because of its supplying corn (so that if he could get master of Egypt, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, if he tried to keep the empire by force, for the population of Rome would not stand hunger), and also because he was desirous

<sup>1</sup> This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, as Suetonius informs us, Vitell. § 15, and Vespas. § 2. He is also named by Josephus presently, chap. xi. § 4.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Domitian.

to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to his present army. He also considered that he should then have that country for a defence against the uncertainty of fortune. For Egypt is hard to enter by land, and has no havens by sea. It is protected on the west by the dry deserts of Libya, and on the south by Syene,<sup>1</sup> which divides it from Ethiopia, and by the cataracts of the Nile that cannot be sailed over, and on the east by the Red Sea that extends as far as Coptos,<sup>2</sup> and it is fortified on the north by the land that extends to Syria, and by what is called the Egyptian Sea, which has no havens in it for ships. Thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium<sup>3</sup> and Syene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine<sup>4</sup> to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. And the Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephantine, the forementioned cataracts hindering ships from going any further. The haven also of Alexandria is not approached by mariners without difficulty, even in time of peace; for the entrance is narrow, and full of sunken rocks, which obliges mariners to turn from the straight course. And its left is fortified by artificial moles, and on its right lies the island called Pharos, which has a very great tower, which gives light to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, so that ships may cast anchor some distance off in the night because of the difficulty of sailing in. Round this island is built a very great artificial sea-wall, and when the sea dashes itself against it, and its waves are broken against that breakwater, navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous; but the haven itself inside is a very safe one, and is thirty furlongs in extent, and into it is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, as also the abundance the country affords more than it wants is distributed hence all over the world.

§ 6. With reason, therefore, did Vespasian desire to get

<sup>1</sup> *Assuan*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kobt* or *Koft*, on the right bank of the Nile between *Keneh* and *Karnak*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tineh*.

<sup>4</sup> In the neighbourhood of Alexandria and Lake Mareotis.

possession of Alexandria to support his attempt upon the whole empire. So he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and Alexandria, and informed him of the devotion of the army, and how, being forced to accept the burden of empire, he was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as Alexander had read this letter, he promptly obliged the legions and the populace to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. And both of them willingly obeyed, being already acquainted with his excellence from his command in that neighbourhood. And Alexander, being now entrusted with all things relating to the empire, got all things ready for Vespasian's arrival at Alexandria. Now rumour carried the news that he was emperor over the East quicker than one would have thought, upon which every city kept festivals, and had sacrifices and thank-offerings; and the legions that were in Mysia<sup>1</sup> and Pannonia,<sup>2</sup> who had been in commotion a little before because of the audacity of Vitellius, took the oath of fidelity to Vespasian with greater joy. Vespasian then removed from Cæsarea to Berytus,<sup>3</sup> where many embassages came to him from Syria, and many from other provinces, bringing with them crowns and congratulatory decrees from every city. Mucianus came also, who was the governor of the province, and told him of the devotion of the people, and how in every city they had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

§ 7. And as Vespasian's fortune succeeded to his wishes everywhere, and affairs mostly turned out favourably to him, he considered that he had not arrived at power without divine Providence, but that a righteous fate had brought the empire to him. And as he called to mind the other signs, which had been frequent, that foretold he should obtain the empire, he remembered also what Josephus said to him, who had ventured to hail him as emperor while Nero was still alive. So he was much con-

<sup>1</sup> A province in the north-west of Asia Minor, on the south side of the sea of *Marmara*.

<sup>2</sup> On the south and west of the *Danube*. It contained the eastern portions of *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, part of *Hungary*, *Slavonia*, and portions of *Croatia* and *Bosnia*.

<sup>3</sup> *Beirut*. Jewish War, i. 20, § 11.



cerned that this man was still in bonds with him, and called for Mucianus and his other commanders and friends, and first informed them of the valour that Josephus had shown, and what great trouble he had given him in the siege of Jotapata;<sup>1</sup> and then related those predictions of his, which he had at the time suspected as made up from fear, but which were now by time and facts proved to be divine. "It is a shameful thing (added he) that this man who foretold my coming to the empire, and was the minister of the voice of God to me, should still be detained 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 hoped for glorious things for themselves, as Vespasian made this requital to a stranger. And Titus, who was then present with his father, said, "O father, it is but just that the reproach of prisoner should be taken from Josephus by the steel. For if we do not loose his bonds, but cut them off, he will be like a man that has never been bound at all." For that is the usual method of treating such as have been bound without cause. This suggestion seemed good to Vespasian, so a man came in, and cut off the chain with his axe. So Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to the future.

## CHAP. XI.

*How upon the Conquest and Slaughter of Vitellius, Vespasian hastened his Journey to Rome, but Titus his Son returned to Jerusalem.*

## § 1.

AND now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of his preferments justly and according to every one's deserts, he went to Antioch. And deliberating which way he had best take, he preferred to go to Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was secured to

<sup>1</sup> *Jefat.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

him already, while affairs at Rome were in disorder owing to Vitellius. So he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horse and foot to him. But Mucianus was afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.<sup>1</sup>

§ 2. Meantime Antonius Primus took the third legion of the troops that were in Mysia, for he was governor of that province, and hastened to fight Vitellius. Whereupon Vitellius despatched Cæcinna with a great army, having great confidence in him because of his having beaten Otho. And Cæcinna marched from Rome by forced marches, and came up with Antonius near Cremona<sup>2</sup> in Gaul, a city which is on the borders of Italy. But when he saw that the enemy there were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them, and as he thought retreat dangerous, he began to think of treason. So he assembled together the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and urged them to go over to Antonius, diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and exaggerating the strength of Vespasian. He also told them that with the one there was only the bare name of emperor, but the other had the power, and it was better for them to anticipate necessity and gain favour, and, as they were sure to be beaten in battle, to avoid danger by taking that course of action. For Vespasian was able without them to get what still remained, while Vitellius could not with them keep what he already had.

§ 3. Cæcinna said this and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him, and both he and his army deserted to Antonius. 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 come off the stronger: and they drew their swords and rushed at Cæcinna intending to kill him. And the deed would have been done by them, had not the tribunes fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it. So the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds as a traitor, and intended to send him to Vitellius. When

<sup>1</sup> Provinces in Asia Minor. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> In Upper Italy, on the north bank of the *Po*.

Primus heard of this, he roused his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted. And they drew themselves up in order of battle, and made resistance for a while, but were soon routed and fled to Cremona. Then Primus took his cavalry, and cut off their access to that city, and surrounded and cut to pieces a great number of them before the city, and rushed into the city with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here many strangers who were merchants perished, and many of the inhabitants, and Vitellius' whole army, consisting of thirty thousand and two hundred men; while Antonius lost only four thousand five hundred of those that came with him from Mysia. He then set Cæcinna free, and sent him to Vespasian to report to him what had happened. And he went and was well received by him, and covered the disgrace of his treachery by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

§ 4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was at hand, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and mustered together those bands of soldiers that kept watch by night, and during the night seized upon the Capitol. And at daybreak many nobles flocked to him, and among them Domitian, his brother's son, who added greatly to their hopes of victory. Now Vitellius was not much concerned about Primus, but was very angry with those who had revolted with Sabinus, and thirsting from his own natural barbarity for noble blood, let loose upon the Capitol that part of his army which had come with him from Germany. And both those on this side, and those who occupied the temple,<sup>1</sup> fought with great bravery; but at last the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got possession of the hill. Domitian himself, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while all the rest of the multitude were cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought before Vitellius and put to death, and the soldiers plundered the temple<sup>1</sup> of its votive offerings, and set it on fire. But the next day Antonius arrived with his army, and was met by Vitellius and his army; and after they had fought in three different places,

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Jupiter, on the summit of the Tarpeian rock. This and the hill were both alike called the Capitol.

the last were all cut to pieces. Then did Vitellius come out of his palace drunk, and glutted with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as availing himself of his last chance; and being dragged along by the multitude, and undergoing all sorts of ill-treatment,<sup>1</sup> was butchered in the middle of Rome, having reigned eight months and five days, and had he lived much longer, I think the empire would not have sufficed for his lust. Of the others who were slain, were counted more than fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apellæus, and the next day Mucianus entered the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killing many of Vitellius' soldiers, and many of the populace, supposing them to be of his party, their rage preventing any accurate discrimination between friends and foes. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude as emperor, until his father should arrive in person. And the people, being now freed from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian as their emperor, and kept festival for his establishment in power and for the fall of Vitellius.

§ 5. And now, upon Vespasian's arrival at Alexandria, this good news reached him from Rome, and simultaneously came embassies from all the world, now his own, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitudes that now flocked to it. And the empire being now secured to him, and the Roman state being now unexpectedly saved from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained still undone in Judæa. However, he himself was in a hurry to set out for Rome, as the winter was now almost over, so he soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, and despatched his son Titus with a picked force to capture Jerusalem. And Titus went by land as far as Nicopolis,<sup>2</sup> which is twenty furlongs from Alexandria; and there he put his army on board some

<sup>1</sup> As to these see Suetonius, Vitellius, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Nicopolis was a little west of the Delta proper, on the canal connecting Canopus with Alexandria.

men-of-war, and sailed up the Nile to the district of Mendes<sup>1</sup> as far as the city Thmuis;<sup>2</sup> and there he disembarked, and marched by land, and bivouacked at a small city called Tanis.<sup>3</sup> His second station was Heracleopolis,<sup>4</sup> and his third Pelusium.<sup>5</sup> 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 Casian Zeus,<sup>6</sup> and on the next day encamped at Ostracine.<sup>7</sup> This station had no water, for the people of the country make use of water brought from elsewhere. After this he rested at Rhinocorura,<sup>8</sup> and from thence he went to Raphia,<sup>9</sup> which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza,<sup>10</sup> after which he went to Ascalon,<sup>11</sup> and thence to Jamnia,<sup>12</sup> and after that to Joppa,<sup>13</sup> and from Joppa to Cæsarea,<sup>14</sup> having determined to concentrate all his forces there.

<sup>1</sup> The Nome of which Mendes was the capital, on the shore of Lake *Menzáleh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tmai*, south-west of *Mansúrah*.

<sup>3</sup> *San*, on Lake *Menzáleh*.

<sup>4</sup> Near Pelusium; the ruins are now covered by Lake *Menzáleh*.

<sup>5</sup> *Tineh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

<sup>6</sup> *el-Katieh*.

<sup>7</sup> A desert station between *el-Katieh* and *el-Arish*.

<sup>8</sup> *el-Arish*. Jewish War, i. 14, § 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Bir Refá*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ghuzzeh*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ascalán*. Jewish War, i. 9, § 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Yebnah*. Jewish War, i. 2, § 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Jaffa*.

<sup>14</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*. Jewish War, i. 7, § 7.

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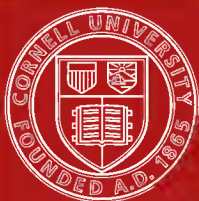












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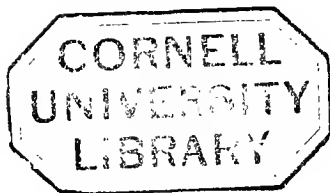
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THE JEWISH WAR,  
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HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF  
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BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEARLY SIX MONTHS.—  
FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM,  
TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE  
REDUCED.

CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Factions at Jerusalem; and the terrible  
Miseries that afflicted the City owing to them.*

§ 1.

WHEN Titus had marched over the desert which lies between Egypt and Syria in the forementioned manner, he arrived at Cæsarea, having resolved to concentrate his forces there, before he began the war. Now while he was assisting his father at Alexandria to get firmly settled in the empire which had been newly conferred upon him by God, it so happened that the civil strife at Jerusalem revived, and formed three factions, and each faction fought against the others, which in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing and the result of justice. Now the attack the Zealots made upon the people, which was the cause of the city's destruction, has been set forth already

in an accurate manner, as also whence it arose, and what a height of mischief it grew to. But for the present sedition, one would not be wrong if one called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from without, fell at last to eating its own flesh.

§ 2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who first separated the Zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's daily outrages upon the people (for he never left off murdering), but the truth was that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who was later in point of time than himself. So being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion for himself, he severed his connection with John, and formed a party consisting of Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were influential persons, and Ezekias the son of Chobari, a person of eminence. Each of these were accompanied by a great many of the Zealots, and they seized upon the inner court of the temple, and placed their arms over the holy gates and upon the sacred fronts. And as they had plenty of provisions they were of good courage (for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses for such as scrupled not to make use of them), but they were afraid on account of their small numbers, and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the spot. As to John, whatever advantage he had over Eleazar in the number of his followers, he had as much disadvantage in the situation he was in; for as he had his enemies over his head, he could not make any assault upon them without loss, yet his anger was too great to let him be at rest. And although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet he would not leave off assaulting them, so that there were continual sallies and hurling of missiles against one another, and the temple was defiled everywhere with slaughter.

§ 3. And now Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, hoping for his assistance in the great distresses they were in, but finding a tyrant, having in his power the upper city and a great part of the lower, made more effective assaults upon John and his party,

because they too were fought against from above. For he was beneath them when he attacked them, as they were beneath those above them. And John, being fought against on both sides, did easily both receive and inflict great damage, and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, had he by his higher situation over Simon, so that he easily repelled the attacks that were made from below by weapons thrown by the hand only; but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him by his engines of war: for he had many engines which threw darts and javelins and stones, and that in no small number, by which he not only kept off such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests who were engaged in their sacred ministrations. For although 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, and both suspected and watched them, while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although at their entrance they pleaded earnestly against their cruelty, were yet often destroyed incidentally by the sedition. For those darts that were thrown by the engines flew over with such force that they reached as far as the altar and sanctuary itself, and fell upon the priests and those that were engaged in the sacred offices, insomuch, that many persons who came there with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this famous place which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down themselves before their own sacrifices, and sprinkled the altar which was venerated by all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood. And the dead bodies of strangers were mixed with those of their own countrymen, and the corpses of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcases made quite a lake in the holy precincts. Most wretched city, what misery equal to this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy civil strife? For thou couldst no longer be a place fit for God, nor couldst thou longer continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thy own people, and hadst made the sanctuary itself a burying-place in this

civil war of thine. Yet mayst thou again grow better, if ever thou dost appease the anger of God who is the author of thy destruction. But I must restrain my emotion by the rules of history, since this is not the time for domestic lamentations, but for historical narrative. I therefore return to the events that followed in this sedition.

§ 4. For now there were three different sets of plotters in the city. Eleazar and his party, who guarded the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups, and those that were with John plundered the populace, and were excited against Simon, who had his supply of provisions from the city contrary to the interests of the rival factions. When, therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, and threw his darts from the porticoes upon those from the city that came up against him, while he repelled by his engines of war those that attacked him from the temple. And if at any time he was free from those that were above him (which happened frequently from their being drunk and tired), he sallied out the more securely with a large force upon Simon and his party. And whatever parts of the city he came to, he set on fire those houses that were full of corn and all other kinds of necessaries. The same thing was done by Simon, who upon John's retreat attacked the city also; as if they had done so on purpose to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the sinews of their own strength. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places round the temple were burnt down, and the city became half desert and half camp, and almost all the corn was burnt, which would have sufficed them for a siege of many years. So they were captured eventually owing to famine, which it was almost impossible they would have been, unless they had thus paved the way for it for themselves.

§ 5. And now that the city was infested on all sides by plotters and rabble, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body being torn to pieces. And the aged men and the women were in such distress in consequence of their internal calamities, that they prayed for the coming of the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an external war to free them from their domestic miseries.

The citizens themselves were in terrible consternation and fear, nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel and changing their conduct, nor was there any hope of coming to an agreement with their enemies, nor could such as wished flee away. For guards were set at all places, and the chiefs of the robbers, although they were at rivalry with one another in other respects, yet agreed in killing as their common enemies those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert, though they agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that deserved to be safe. The shouts also of those who were fighting were incessant both by day and night, but the continual lamentations of those that mourned were more dreadful still. And their calamities gave perpetual cause for lamentations, although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing; for 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 by their relations to those who were still alive, nor was any care taken for the burial of those who were dead; the reason for both was that every one despaired about himself. For those who were not among the seditious had no great desires for any thing, expecting for certain that they would very soon be killed; and the seditious fought against each other, and trod upon the dead bodies as they lay heaped one upon another, and taking up a mad rage from the dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer; and were still inventing something or other that was pernicious against one another, and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, and omitted no kind of outrage or barbarity. Nay, John wickedly employed the sacred timber in the construction of his engines of war. For the people and the high priests had formerly determined to underprop the temple, and raise the sanctuary twenty cubits higher, for king Agrippa had at very great expense, and with very great pains, brought from Mount Libanus <sup>1</sup> such timber as was adapted for that purpose, being wood well worth seeing both for

<sup>1</sup> Mount Lebanon.

for straightness and size. But as the war interrupted this work, John had them cut, and built towers with them, finding them long enough to oppose from them his adversaries that fought from the temple above him. He also had them brought and placed behind the inner court opposite the west end of the cloister, where alone he could place them, for the other sides were for a long way occupied by steps.

§ 6. Now John hoped to be too much for his enemies by these engines constructed by impiety, but God made his labour vain by bringing the Romans upon him before he had reared any of his towers. For Titus, when he had concentrated part of his force, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched from Cæsarea. There were the three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judæa waste, and also the twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which legion, on other occasions remarkable for its valour, now marched with greater zeal to avenge itself on the Jews for what it had formerly suffered at their hands. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to march by Emmaus<sup>1</sup> to meet him, and the tenth to march by Jericho;<sup>2</sup> and himself set out with the rest, among whom were all those numerous auxiliaries that came from the kings, and a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. The gaps also made in these four legions by the picked men who were sent by Vespasian with Mucianus to Italy were filled up by the soldiers that came with Titus. These were two thousand men, chosen out of the army of Alexandria, and three thousand also followed him of those that guarded the river Euphrates, as also Tiberius Alexander, who was a most valuable friend of his both for his good-will to him and for his intelligence. He had formerly had the management of Egypt, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army, as he had been the first who had welcomed the new emperor,<sup>3</sup> and had joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not

<sup>1</sup> *Amwās*, near the foot of the mountains, to the left of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *cr-Riha*.

<sup>3</sup> Vespasian.

yet declared for him. He now accompanied Titus as a counsellor in the emergencies of war, a position for which he was well qualified both from his age and experience.

## CHAP. II.

*How Titus marched to Jerusalem, and how he was in Danger, as he was making a Reconnaissance of the City. Of the place also where he pitched his Camp.*

## § 1.

NOW as Titus advanced into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, and all the other auxiliaries with them, after whom followed those who were to make the roads and measure out the camp; then came the commanders' baggage, and after that the soldiers completely armed to guard it, and then came Titus himself, having with him another select body and the pikemen; and behind him the cavalry belonging to the legion. All these marched before the engines, and after them the tribunes and leaders of the cohorts with picked men; and after them the standards with the eagle, and before the standards the trumpeters belonging to them; next to these came the main body of the army, every legion being six deep; and the servants belonging to every legion came after these; and before these last the 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 in order, and marched through Samaria to Gophna,<sup>1</sup> a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was now garrisoned by Roman soldiers. And when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone a day's march, he pitched his camp in the valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call the Valley of Thorns,<sup>2</sup> near a certain village called Gabath-saul<sup>3</sup> (which signifies the hill of Saul), about thirty furlongs

<sup>1</sup> *Jifna*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a branch of *Wady Suweinit*.

<sup>3</sup> Either *Tell el-Fâl* or *Jeb'a*.

from Jerusalem. From thence he took with him six hundred picked horsemen, and went to make a reconnoissance of the city, to gauge its strength and the courage of the Jews, and to see whether, when they saw him, before a battle came off, they would be frightened and submit; for he had been informed, as was really true, that the people who had fallen into the hands of the seditious and the robbers were greatly desirous of peace, but being too weak to rise against the rest remained still.

§ 2. Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared in front of the gates; but when he left the road, and turned aside towards the tower Psephinus,<sup>1</sup> and made his troop of horse file off, an immense number of Jews sallied forth suddenly at the towers called the Women's Towers, through the gate which was opposite the tomb of queen Helena,<sup>2</sup> and broke through his horse, and, standing directly opposite those that still rode along the road, hindered them from joining those who had turned aside from it, and cut off Titus and a few others. Now it was impossible here for him to go forward (because all the place had trenches dug from the wall for the gardens round about, and was full of walls at right angles and many hedges), and he saw it was also impossible to return back to his own men, because of the multitude of the enemies that lay between, and most of his men did not so much as know that the prince was in any danger, but supposed him still among them, and continued their flight. And he perceived that his preservation would be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse round, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him, and charged into the midst of his enemies, endeavouring to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn, that both the turning-points in wars and the dangers of princes are in the hand of God. For though such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his helmet on nor his breast-plate (for, as I told you, he went out not to fight, but to make a reconnoissance), none of them touched his body, but merely whizzed

<sup>1</sup> At the north-west angle of the Third Wall.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Tombs of the Kings,' north of Jerusalem.



past without hurting him, as if all of them missed him on purpose. And he perpetually kept off with his sword those that came on his side, and overturned many of those that met him face to face, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a great shout at the boldness of Titus, and urged one another on to rush upon him, but those against whom he rode fled, and dispersed pell-mell; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but one hope of safety, namely to assist Titus in opening a way before he was surrounded by his enemies. Now there were two of these at some distance from him, one of whom the enemy surrounded and slew with their darts, and his horse also, and slew the other as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and got back safe to his camp. This success of the Jews in their first encounter with the Romans elated their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope, and this transient inclination of fortune on their side made them very confident as to the future.

§ 3. As the legion from Emmaus<sup>1</sup> joined him at night, Titus removed thence when it was day, and advanced to the place called Scopos;<sup>2</sup> from whence the city could well be descried, and the splendour and size of the temple, as the place, joining the north quarter of the city, was a plain, and very truly called Scopos.<sup>3</sup> And as he was then seven furlongs from the city, Titus ordered a camp to be constructed for two of the legions to be there together, and ordered another camp to be constructed three furlongs behind for the fifth legion; for he thought that they might be tired by their night march, and deserved being protected from the enemy, and so would with less fear construct their camp. And as they were just beginning to do so, the tenth legion had already arrived which came through

<sup>1</sup> *Amwās.*

<sup>2</sup> *el-Mesharif*, on the road leading from Jerusalem to *Náblus*; the point at which Jerusalem and the Temple site are first seen by a traveller from the north.

<sup>3</sup> Fair-view.

Jericho, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain to guard the pass which had been occupied before by Vespasian. These troops had orders to encamp six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives, which lies opposite the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep ravine lying between called Cedron.

§ 4. Now, although hitherto the several parties in the city had been contending with one another perpetually, this foreign war now suddenly coming upon them in full stream put the first stop to their mutual strife, and, as the seditious now saw with alarm the Romans pitching three different camps, they began to think of an evil sort of concord, and said to one another, "What are we thinking of to suffer three fortified camps to be built to coop us in, so that we shall not be able to breathe freely? for while the enemy is securely fortifying himself in opposition to us, we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of their fine and excellent works, with our hands idle and our armour laid by. We are, it seems (so did they cry out), only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed owing to our factions." Thus did they encourage one another when they were got together, and seized their armour immediately, and sallied out upon the tenth legion, and rushed through the ravine, and fell upon the Romans with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. And as the Romans were in different parties at their work, and so had mostly laid aside their arms (for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them, and even had they been disposed to do so they supposed their sedition would have absorbed their attention), they were thrown into disorder unexpectedly, and some of them left the work they were about, and immediately retired, while many ran to their arms, but were struck and slain before they could turn round on the enemy. The Jews also flocked up perpetually in greater numbers, being encouraged by the good success of those who first made the attack, and as they had such good fortune, seemed both to themselves and the enemy to be more numerous than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting also at first threw the Romans into disorder, as they had

been constantly used to fight in good order, and keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders given them. So the Romans were now taken at disadvantage, and gave way to the assaults made upon them; and although whenever those that were overtaken turned round upon the Jews, they checked them in their course, and wounded them, as they were less on their guard owing to their impetuosity; yet as more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at last thrown into more and more disorder, and repulsed from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, had not Titus been informed of the case they were in, and sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and turned back those that were running away, and fell himself upon the flank of the Jews with those picked troops that came with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and pushed them down the ravine. Now these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity, but when they were got through it, they turned about and faced the Romans, and there fought them with the ravine between them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that had come to the rescue with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, in battle-array against the Jews who sallied out, and then sent the rest of the legion to the mountain-ridge to fortify their camp.

§ 5. This move of the Romans seemed to the Jews flight, and when the watchman who was placed upon the wall gave a signal by shaking his garment, a fresh swarm of Jews sallied forth with such impetuosity, that one might compare it to the running of the most savage wild beasts. Indeed none of those that were drawn up in battle-array against them could stand their attack, but, as if they had been hurled from an engine, they broke the enemies' ranks, who were put to flight and fled to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the declivity. Now these friends of his despised the danger they were in and stood their ground, being ashamed to leave their general, but earnestly exhorted him to give way to these Jews that were

fond of dying, and not to run into danger for those that ought to fight for him, but to consider what his position was, and not to fill the place of a common soldier, nor to stand his ground in such a sudden crisis as this, as he was general in the war, and lord of the world, on whom everything depended. These words Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face, and forced them back and slew them, and also fell upon the enemy as they marched *en masse* down the declivity, and thrust them back. But though they were so dismayed at his courage and strength, they did not flee even then to the city, but fell off from him on both sides, and pressed upon those that fled up the hill. But he still fell upon their flank, and checked their ardour. Meantime disorder and terror again seized those that were fortifying the camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away, and the whole legion was dispersed, for they thought that the sallies of the Jews were irresistible, and that Titus was himself put to flight; for they took it for granted, that, if he had stood his ground, the rest would never have fled. Thus were they possessed by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed one way, some another, till some of them saw their general in the very heat of action, and being in great concern for him, loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion. And now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another with having done worse than running away by deserting their prince, so they used their utmost force against the Jews, and when they once lost ground on the declivity, they drove them to the bottom of the valley. The Jews fought indeed as they retired, but as the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the ravine. Titus also pressed upon those that faced him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp, while he himself and those that were with him before resisted the enemy, and kept them back. Thus, if I must neither add any thing out of flattery, nor extenuate anything out of envy, but speak the plain truth, Titus himself twice delivered the entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them security to fortify their camp.

## CHAP. III.

*How Faction again revived in Jerusalem, and yet the Jews contrived Snares for the Romans. How Titus also threatened his Soldiers for their headlong Rashness.*

## § 1.

AS now the war abroad ceased for a while, faction within revived; and as the feast of Unleavened Bread was now come, on the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, on which day it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates, and admitted such of the people as wished to worship God.<sup>1</sup> But John made use of this feast as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most obscure of his own party, most of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them quickly into the temple to occupy it. And they, when they were got in, threw their garments away, and were at once seen to be in armour. Upon this there was very great disorder and disturbance in the sanctuary, as the people, who had no part in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without exception, but the Zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So they left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from the battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled to the underground parts of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar were jostled and trampled upon in the sanctuary, and were beaten both with clubs and steel without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of private enmity and hatred, pretending that they belonged to some rival faction; and everyone that had formerly offended any of these plotters,

<sup>1</sup> Here we see the true reason of such vast numbers of Jews being in Jerusalem during this siege of Titus, and perishing therein; that the siege began at the feast of the Passover, when such prodigious multitudes of Jews and proselytes of the gate were come from all parts of Judæa, and from other countries, in order to celebrate that great festival.—W.

if now recognised, was led away to slaughter as a Zealot. And when they had cruelly treated the innocent in various ways they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the underground parts; and themselves seized upon the inner temple, and upon everything stored therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. Thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

§ 2. Now Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer the city than Scopos, placed opposite the Jews as many picked horse and foot as he thought sufficient to prevent their sallying out, and gave orders to the whole army to level all the ground up to the walls of the city. So they threw down all the hedges and fences which the inhabitants had put round their gardens and trees, and cut down all the fruit-trees that lay between them and the walls of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and gullies, and levelled projecting rocks with iron instruments, and so made all the place level from Scopos to Herod's tomb, which was close to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3. Now at this very time the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out of the city at the towers called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were in favour of 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 at intervals upon the wall, and seemed to be men of the people, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated they might have security for their lives given them, and invited the Romans, promising to open the gates to them; and at the same time that they cried out this, 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 begged those that were within to let them in; and rushing towards the Romans perpetually, they then turned back, and seemed to be in great alarm. Now the Roman soldiers did not suspect this trick of theirs, but thinking they had the one party in

<sup>1</sup> The sites of Herod's tomb and the Serpent's Pool have not been identified.

their power, and could punish them when they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set about the matter at once. But Titus himself viewed this surprising conduct of the Jews with suspicion; for whereas he had invited them by Josephus to come to terms of accommodation only 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 those that were in front of the works were too quick for him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates. Thereupon those that feigned to have been ejected at first retired: but as soon as the Romans had got between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and surrounded them, and fell upon them behind, while the multitude that stood upon the wall threw a quantity of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number and wounded most of them. For it was not easy for the Romans to escape from the walls, because those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were in for their mistake, and the fear they were in of their commanders, encouraged them to persevere in their false step. So they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had surrounded them. But the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the tomb of Queen Helena.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. At this the Jews grew insolent at their good fortune, and in bad taste jeered at the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and brandished their shields, and leaped and shouted for joy. But the Roman soldiers were received with threats by their officers, and with indignation by Titus himself, who spoke as follows. "These Jews, who are only led by desperation, do everything 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 is ever subservient because of their good

<sup>1</sup> The 'Tombs of the Kings.'

discipline and ready submission to their commanders, have now met with reverse owing to the contrary behaviour, and have been beaten in consequence of not being able to restrain their hands from action, and what is most to their reproach, have fought without the orders of their commanders in the very presence of their Prince. Truly, the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father himself also when he shall be informed of this blow, for he, who is grown old in wars, never made such a mistake. Our laws also ever inflict capital punishment on those who in the least break good order, while now they have seen an entire army leaving their post. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even those who conquer among the Romans without orders are in disgrace." When Titus had spoken vehemently to the commanders in this way, it appeared evident that he would carry out the law against all that were concerned; so the soldiers' minds sunk in despair, as they expected to be put to death, and knew they deserved it. However, the other legions flocked round Titus, and supplicated him on behalf of their fellow-soldiers, and begged that he would pardon the rashness of a few because of the good discipline of all the rest; and promised on their behalf that they would make amends for their present fault by better behaviour for the time to come.

§ 5. And Titus attended to their petition and to expediency also; for he esteemed it fit to punish individuals in deed, but he thought that the punishment of multitudes should proceed no further than word: so he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them many directions to act more wisely for the future, and considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now, when the space between the Romans and the walls had been levelled, which was done in four days, as he wished to bring the baggage of the army and the rest of the multitude safely to the camp, he posted the strongest part of his army opposite the wall which lay on the north of the city facing west, and drew up his army seven deep, with the foot in front, and the horse behind, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And as the Jews were



now prevented by so great a host from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts of burden of the three legions and the multitude marched on without fear. As for Titus himself, he encamped about two furlongs from the wall, at that part of it where was an angle opposite the tower called Psephinus, at which tower the compass of the wall extending north bent towards the west. And the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus,<sup>1</sup> and was also only two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its position upon the Mount of Olives.

## CHAP. IV.

*Description of Jerusalem.*

## § 1.

THE city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, where it was not girt with impassable ravines (for in such places it had but one wall), and was built upon two hills opposite to one another, but divided in the middle by a ravine, at which the rows of houses ended. Of these hills, that which contained the upper city was much higher, and in length more direct; and because of its being fortified was called the Citadel by king David (he was the father of that Solomon who first built the temple), but it is by us called the Upper Market-place.<sup>2</sup> But the other hill, which was called Acra,<sup>3</sup> and supported the lower city, was the shape of the crescent moon. And opposite this was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad ravine; but afterwards, when the Asamonæans reigned, they filled up the ravine with earth, wishing to join the city to the temple, and took off part of the height of Acra, and

<sup>1</sup> The tower at the *Jaffa* gate.

<sup>2</sup> The modern *Sion*; the western hill at Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> The position of the hill Acra is matter of dispute; some writers suppose it to be the hill on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, others the western slope of modern *Sion*, or the lower portion of the Temple Hill.

reduced it to a lower elevation than it was before, that the temple might be higher than it. Now the ravine of the Cheese-makers, as it was called, which (as I said before) separated the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that was the name we gave a fountain which had sweet water in it in great abundance. And on their outsides these two hills were surrounded by deep ravines, and because of the precipices on both sides were everywhere impassable.

§ 2. Now of the three walls the old one was hard to be taken, both because of the ravines and of the hill above them on which it was built. But besides that great advantage as to the place where it was situated, it was also built very strong, because David, and Solomon, and the kings who were their successors, were very zealous about this work. This wall began on the north at the tower called Hippius, and extended as far as what was called Xystus, and then joined the council-house, and ended at the west portico of the temple.<sup>1</sup> But the other side westwards it began at the same tower, and extended through a place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, and after that it turned southwards above the fountain of Siloam, where it also again turned eastwards towards Solomon's Pool, and reached as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas,<sup>2</sup> where it joined the east portico of the temple. The second wall took its beginning at the gate which they called Gennath,<sup>3</sup> which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the north quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia.<sup>4</sup> The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippius, whence it reached towards the north quarter of the city as far as the tower Psephinus, and then

<sup>1</sup> This section of the first wall ran almost in a straight line from the *Jaffa* gate to the Temple enclosure at Wilson's Arch.

<sup>2</sup> The wall passed by the Protestant Cemetery, and then curved round to the pool of Siloam, taking in a larger area than that included within the present wall; it then passed round the hill of Ophel to the eastern cloister of the Temple. Solomon's Pool has not been identified.

<sup>3</sup> The site of the gate Gennath is unknown; it was possibly a gate leading to the gardens of Herod's palace.

<sup>4</sup> The course of the second wall is the subject of much dispute. Some writers draw it so as to include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; others so as to exclude it. No certain trace of the wall has yet been found; and the point at which it commenced is still unknown.

extended as far as the tomb of Helena, who was queen of Adiabene, and mother of Izates: it then extended further, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and turned off again at the corner tower at what is called the Monument of the Fuller, and joined the old wall at the ravine called Cedron.<sup>1</sup> Agrippa added this wall to the new portions of the city, which had been all unprotected before; for as the city became more populous, it gradually outgrew its old walls, and the people joining to the city those parts that were north of the temple near the hill, made the city considerably larger, and caused the fourth hill (which is called Bezetha<sup>2</sup>) to be inhabited also. This fourth hill lies opposite the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep ditch, which was dug on purpose to prevent the foundations of the tower of Antonia<sup>3</sup> from joining this hill, and from being accordingly easy of access and less high. And the depth of the ditch made the height of the towers more remarkable. This new-built part of the city was called Bezetha in our language, which, if interpreted in the Greek language, might be called New Town. As therefore its inhabitants stood in need of protection, Agrippa, the father of the present king of the same name, began the wall I have been speaking of: but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, being afraid that Claudius Cæsar might suspect that so big a wall was built for the purpose of some innovation or rebellion. For the city could not possibly have been taken, if that wall had been finished in the same manner as it was begun; as it was constructed with 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 would probably have been greater in height than it was, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from

<sup>1</sup> The course of the third wall is equally a matter of dispute. Some writers carry it from the Jaffa gate to the point occupied by the Russian Consulate; and then by a bold sweep round to the present north-east angle of the city. Others make it almost conterminous with the existing wall of the city.

<sup>2</sup> The hill to the north of the *Harâm esk-Sherîf*.

<sup>3</sup> The ditch which separated Antonia from Bezetha can still be traced in the *Souterrains* beneath the Convent of the Sisters of Sion.

exerting itself. After this, though it was raised with great diligence by the Jews, it only rose as high as twenty cubits, above which were battlements two cubits high, and turrets on the top of them three cubits high, so that the whole height extended to twenty-five cubits.

§ 3. Now the towers on this wall were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height, and were square and solid as the wall itself, and the masonry and beauty of the stones were no way inferior to those of the sanctuary itself. Above this solid height of towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and several cisterns to receive rain-water, and broad ascents to each. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, and the space between each of them was two hundred cubits; and the middle wall had fourteen towers, and the old wall was divided into sixty. And the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now though the third wall was all of it wonderful, yet the tower Psephinus<sup>1</sup> was more wonderful still at the north-west corner, and there Titus took up his position. For as it was seventy cubits high, it not only afforded a prospect of Arabia at sunrise, but also of the utmost limits of the land of the Hebrews as far as the sea. It was an octagon. And opposite it was the tower Hippicus,<sup>2</sup> and near it were two others erected by king Herod in the old wall, which for size, beauty, and strength, exceeded all that were in the world. For besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his munificence towards the city, Herod built these in such a splendid manner to gratify his own private affection, for he dedicated these towers to the memory of the three persons who had been dearest to him, and from whom he named them, namely, his brother, his friend, and his wife. He had slain his wife in love [and jealousy,] as I have already related, and had lost the other two in war, courageously fighting. Hippicus, so called from his friend, was square, its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it was solid throughout. Over this solid building, which was composed of great

<sup>1</sup> The exact position of Psephinus is not known.

<sup>2</sup> The tower at the *Jaffa* gate; an aqueduct still conveys water to the cisterns of the tower.

stones united together, was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which was an house of two stories (whose height was twenty-five cubits), divided into several parts; over which were turrets two cubits high, and all round battlements three cubits high, so that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he called after his brother Phasaelus,<sup>1</sup> had its breadth and height equal, each of them being forty cubits; over which was a solid height of forty cubits; over which a portico ran round ten cubits high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks. There was also built over the portico in the middle another tower, divided into magnificent rooms and a place for bathing, so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear a royal palace. Its roof was also adorned with more battlements and turrets than the one I mentioned before, and its entire height was about ninety cubits, and the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharos, which is a lighthouse for such as sail for Alexandria, but it was much larger than it in compass. It was now the place where Simon exercised his tyranny. The third tower Mariamne<sup>2</sup> (for that was the queen's name) was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were each twenty cubits. Its upper buildings were more magnificent and more ornate than the other towers, for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was called after his wife handsomer than those called after men, as those were built stronger than this one that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty-five cubits.

§ 4. Now though these three towers were very high, they appeared much loftier because of their position; for the old wall whereon they were, was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of crest of the hill but thirty cubits higher, and as the towers were situated on it, they appeared much higher. The size also of the stones was wonderful; for these towers were not made of common-sized stones, nor of such as men could carry, but of white marble hewn out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in

<sup>1</sup> The present 'Tower of David,' near the *Jaffa* gate.

<sup>2</sup> No remains of the tower Mariamne have yet been found; it was apparently east of Phasaelus.

length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly joined to one another, that each tower looked like one entire and natural block of stone, afterwards moulded by the hands of the artificers into its present shape and angles; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear.<sup>1</sup> Now these towers were on the north side of the wall, and the king had a palace on the inside joining them, which exceeds all my ability to describe it. For it wanted 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 dining rooms that would hold a hundred guests apiece; in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed (for a large quantity of those that were everywhere rare was collected together), and the roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms were also very great, and the variety of the carving in them was prodigious; and the furniture of all was complete, and most of the vessels that were put in them were of silver and gold. There were also many colonnades, one after another, round about, and in each of them curious pillars. And all the places exposed to the air were everywhere green; and there were several groves of trees, and long walks through them, and round them deep canals and cisterns, that in several places had brazen statues, through which the water ran out, and there were also many dove-cotes of tame pigeons round the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of this palace, and the very remembrance of it is a torture to one, as reminding one what vastly rich buildings the fire which was kindled by the robbers consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by the plotters within the city, as I have already related, in the beginning of the rebellion. The fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers.

<sup>1</sup> The remains of Phasaelus, as seen in the 'Tower of David,' fully bear out the description in the text.

## CHAP. V.

*Description of the Temple.*

## § 1.

NOW the temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill, and at first the plateau on its top was hardly sufficient for the sanctuary and the altar, for all round it was steep and precipitous. But when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall on its east side, a portico was then added on an artificial mound, and on all its other sides the sanctuary was unprotected. But in subsequent ages the people added new mounds, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterwards for the area of the entire temple. And when they had built walls round three sides of the temple from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for (in which work long ages were spent by them, and all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole world), they then built round the upper precincts as well as the lower part of the temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more. However, the entire depth of the foundations did not appear, for they brought earth and filled up the ravines, desiring to level the narrow streets of the city. And they made use of stones of forty cubits in size. For the great quantity of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs succeed wonderfully, and what could not so much as be hoped ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.<sup>1</sup>

§ 2. Nor were the works above these foundations un-

<sup>1</sup> Recent surveys and excavations have shown that there is not so much exaggeration in the description of Josephus as was at one time supposed. See "Recovery of Jerusalem," and P. E. F. Memoir, "Jerusalem," for an account of the excavations.

worthy of them. For all the porticoes were double, and the pillars that supported them were twenty-five cubits in height, and were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble, and the roofs were adorned with fretwork of cedar curiously graven. The natural magnificence and excellent polish and good masonry made a handsome spectacle, thought it was not adorned on the outside with any work of the painter or sculptor. The porticoes were in breadth thirty cubits, and their entire area measured six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia. And all the space exposed to the air was laid with stones of various sorts. When you went through this space to the second temple, there was a partition of stone, whose height was three cubits, of very elegant construction; upon which stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, others in Roman letters,<sup>1</sup> that no foreigner was to enter the holy place; for the second temple was called the holy place, and had an ascent of fourteen steps from the first temple, and was square, and had its own wall round it. Its exterior height, although forty cubits, was hidden by the steps, and inside the height was but twenty-five cubits. For being built on higher ground with steps, all the interior was not visible, being covered by the hill. Behind these fourteen steps to the wall was the distance of ten cubits, all level. Then there were other steps, each five cubits apiece, 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 where they were to worship, there was a necessity for a second gate for them; this gate was cut opposite the first gate. There was also on the other sides one south and one north gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women: for the women were not allowed to pass through the other gates, nor when they went through their own gate could they pass beyond their own wall of partition. This court was allotted for worship to the women of our own country and of other

<sup>1</sup> One of these stones, with the inscription in Greek, was discovered at Jerusalem by M. Clermont Ganneau in 1871. See P. E. F. "Quarterly Statement," 1871, p. 132.



countries equally, provided they were of our nation. The western side of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entire on that side. And the porticoes between the gates extended from the wall inward in front of the treasure-chambers, and were supported by very fine and large pillars. These porticoes were single, and, except for size, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

§ 3. Now nine of the gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, and similarly the door-posts and their lintels: but there was one gate outside the sanctuary of Corinthian brass, which greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, the height of each was thirty cubits, and the breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within containing rooms on each side built like towers, thirty cubits both in breadth and in length, and in height more than forty cubits. Two pillars twelve cubits in circumference supported each of these rooms. Now the size of the other gates was the same, but that beyond the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east opposite the gate of the sanctuary, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits, and it was adorned in a more costly manner, having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold than the others. These nine gates had the silver and gold plates made for them by Alexander the father of Tiberius. Now fifteen steps led from the wall of the court of the women to the larger gate; whereas but ten steps led from there to the other gates.

§ 4. As to the sanctuary itself, the most sacred place, which was placed in the midst, it was ascended to by twelve steps. In front its height and breadth were equal, each being a hundred cubits, but behind it was forty cubits narrower, for on its front it had as it were shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits further. Its first gate seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad, had no doors; for it represented the invisible infinity of heaven; and its front was covered with gold all over, and through it all the first house within appeared, which was very large, and all the parts about the inward gate appeared to glitter with gold to those that saw them. And as the sanctuary was divided into two parts within,

only the first house was open to view. Its height was ninety cubits, and its length fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty cubits. And all the gate which opened into this first house, was, as I have said, covered with gold, as was the whole wall about it: it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man. But as the sanctuary was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the outer, and had golden doors fifty-five cubits in height, and sixteen in breadth. And before these doors was a veil of equal size as the doors, a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue and fine linen and scarlet 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 seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine linen the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them suggesting this resemblance by their colours, while the other two, the fine linen and the purple, suggest that resemblance by their origin, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was to be seen in the heavens, except the signs of the Zodiac.

§ 5. When any persons entered within, the floor of the sanctuary received them. Its height was sixty cubits, and its length the same, and its breadth twenty cubits, and 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 very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table [of shew bread,] and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps, for so many lamps branched out from the candlestick, signified the seven planets, and the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the Zodiac and the year; and the altar of incense by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices, with which the sea and earth and air replenished it, signified that all things belong to God and are all for his use. And the inmost part of all the temple was of twenty cubits, and was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In it there was nothing at all, but it was inaccessible and 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 sanctuary were several chambers three stories high with passages out of one into another, to which there were entrances on each side from the gate of the temple. But the upper part of the temple had no such chambers, because the temple was narrower there, and forty cubits higher, and plainer than the lower part. Thus we gather that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

§ 6. Now the outward front of the temple wanted nothing that could strike either men's minds or eyes. For it was covered all over with massive plates of gold, and reflected at the first rising of the sun a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But it appeared to strangers, when they were approaching it at some distance, like a mountain covered with snow, for where it was not gilt, it was exceeding white. On its top were spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before it stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and fifty cubits both in length and breadth. It was built square, and had corners projecting like horns, and the ascent to it from the south was a gentle rise. It was made without any iron tool, nor did any 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 pleasant to the sight, which ran round the sanctuary and altar, and kept the people that were outside away from the priests. Now those that had gonorrhoea and leprosy were excluded from the city entirely: women were also shut out of it when their courses were upon them, nor, when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned. Men, also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner court of the temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure were prohibited to come into it also.

§ 7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister because of some bodily imperfection came

within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share of the sacrifices with them because of their stock, but only used private garments; for nobody but the officiating priest had on sacred vestments. And those priests that were pure and without any blemish went up to the altar and sanctuary clothed in fine linen, and abstained from wine chiefly from the fear lest otherwise they should make some mistake in their ministrations. The high priest also went up with them, not always indeed, but on the sabbath days and new moons, and on the occasion of any festival belonging to our nation, or public festal gathering. When he officiated, he had on drawers that hid his person and thighs, and had on an under garment of linen, together with a blue round garment, without seam and with fringe-work, reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, the pomegranates lightning. And the girdle that fastened the garment to the breast was embroidered with five zones of various colours, as gold and purple and scarlet and fine linen and blue, with which colours I said before the veils of the temple were embroidered also. Similar embroidery was upon the ephod, but the quantity of gold thereon was greater. Its figure was that of a breast-plate to be worn. There were upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment: in these buttons were enclosed two very large and fine sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of the nation inscribed upon them. On the front side hung twelve stones, three in rows one way, and four 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 stones again was engraved the name of one of the twelve tribes. A mitre also of fine linen covered his head, which was tied by a blue riband, about which there was another golden crown, on which were engraven the sacred letters. They consisted of four vowels. However, the high priest did not wear these garments generally, but a more plain habit: he only wore them when he went into the most

sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on the day when our custom is for everybody to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and sanctuary, but about the customs and laws thereto relating I shall speak more fully another time; for much remains to be said about them.

§ 8. As to the tower of Antonia,<sup>1</sup> it was situated at the corner of the two porticoes of the first temple that faced west and north; and was erected upon a rock fifty cubits high and precipitous throughout. It was the work of king Herod, wherein he displayed his natural magnificence. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth tablets of stone from its foundation, partly for ornament, partly that any one who either tried to get up or down it might slip; and next, before the edifice of the tower, was a wall three cubits high, and within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia was raised to the height of forty cubits. The interior had the size and form of a palace, being divided into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as porticoes and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps, so that, from having all conveniences, it seemed a city, but from its magnificence it seemed a palace. And the entire structure resembled that of a tower, and had also four other towers, namely at its four corners, whereof three were but fifty cubits high, but the one which lay at the south-east corner was seventy cubits high, so that from it the whole temple could be viewed. And where it joined the two porticoes of the temple, it had passages down to them both, by which the guard descended (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) and spread among the porticoes fully armed at the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not attempt any innovation; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, and the tower Antonia guarded the temple; and in that tower were the guards of all three. There was also a private fortress belonging to the upper city, which was

<sup>1</sup> The tower Antonia appears to have occupied the north-west corner of the *Harâm esh-Sherif*, and the rock on which the Turkish Barracks now stand.

Herod's palace.<sup>1</sup> As for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as I have already said, and being the highest of all joined part of the new city, and was the only hill that shut out the view of the temple on the north. Thus much shall suffice at present about the city and walls, as I propose to make a fuller description elsewhere.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Tyrants Simon and John. How Nicanor was wounded by a Dart, as Titus was going round the Wall of the City; which Event provoked Titus to press on the Siege.*

### § 1.

NOW the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumæans, and these ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom Simon was supreme. And the Idumæans that joined him were five thousand, and had ten commanders, among whom those of greatest eminence were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. And John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders: the Zealots also that now came over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same leader that they had formerly, Eleazar, as also Simon the son of Arus. Now, while these factions fought against one another, the people were their prey on both sides, as I have said already, and those of the people who would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions. Now Simon held the upper city,<sup>2</sup> 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 Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni beyond the Euphrates: he also held the

<sup>1</sup> Herod's palace and gardens lay to the south of the 'Tower of David.'

<sup>2</sup> The western hill or modern Sion.

fountain, and Acra (which was no other than the lower city), and all that reached to the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. And John held the temple and the neighbouring parts for a great way, as also Ophla,<sup>1</sup> and the ravine called the ravine of Cedron. And they burnt all the space between them, and left it as a ground whereon they might fight against each other. For their internal dissensions did not cease even when the Romans were encamped near their walls, and although they had grown wiser for a while at the first attack the Romans made upon them, they returned to their former madness, and quarrelled and fought with one another again, and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do. Nor did they ever suffer any thing worse at the hands of the Romans than they made each other suffer, nor was there any misery experienced by the city after them that could be considered new, but it was most unhappy of all before it fell, while those that took it did it more good. For I venture to affirm that faction destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the faction, which was much stronger than our walls. So we may reasonably ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, but only justice to the Romans. But as to this matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

§ 2. Now, when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the outside of the city with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a fit place where he might attack the walls. But as he was in doubt as to all sides (for approach was impossible where the ravines were, and on the other side the first wall appeared too strong for the engines), he thought it best to make his assault near the tomb of John the high priest. For there 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 inhabited; and there 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. Now, as he was going round the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor,

<sup>1</sup> Ophel, south of the Temple.

was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached with Josephus too near the wall, and attempted to discuss terms of peace with those that were upon the wall, for he was a person not unknown to them. This circumstance provoked Titus, who recognized by it their passion, that they would not keep their hands off even such as approached them for their safety, to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to ravage the suburbs, and ordered them to bring up timber 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 the archers and those that shot darts in the midst of the banks, and before them he placed the engines that threw javelins and darts and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and stop those on the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were cut down immediately, and the suburbs left bare. However, the Jews did not remain quiet, while the timber was being brought to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in the work. But the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, now felt good courage, for they supposed they would have breathing time, while the others were busy in opposing their enemies outside the city, and that they would now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, if the Romans did but come off victorious.

§ 3. However, John remained quiet from fear of Simon, even though his own men were anxious to make a sally upon their enemies outside. But Simon did not lie still, for he was near the besiegers, but placed his engines of war at due intervals upon the wall, both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they captured the garrison in the tower of Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, most of them had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless, but there were a few who had been taught by deserters how to use them, and they used them, though in an awkward manner. They also threw stones and shot arrows from the wall at those who were making the banks; they also ran out upon them in companies, and engaged



with them. But those that were at work protected themselves with spreading hurdles over their banks, and pointed their engines at them when they sallied out from the city. Now the engines that all the legions had prepared were admirable, but especially those that belonged to the tenth legion, for their engines that threw darts were more powerful, and those that threw stones were larger than the rest, so that they not only repelled the sallies of the Jews, but also knocked down those that were upon the walls. Now, the stones that were thrown were of the weight of a talent, and they were carried two furlongs and further; and the blow they gave was irresistible, not only to those that stood first in the way, but also to those that were far behind them. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was white, and could therefore be perceived not only by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came because of its brightness. So the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let off and the stone projected, and cried out aloud in their national language, "The missile is coming."<sup>1</sup> Then those that were in its way moved out of it, and threw themselves down flat upon the ground; and by their taking this precaution the stone when it fell did them no harm. But the Romans contrived to prevent that by blacking the stone. They could then aim at them with success, when the stone was not seen beforehand, as it had been till then, and so they slew many at one blow. However, the Jews in spite of all this galling fire did not permit the Romans to raise their banks undisturbed; but with ingenuity and boldness kept repelling them both by night and day.

§ 4. And now, upon the finishing of the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall by lead and line, which they threw from their banks, for they could not measure it otherwise, as the Jews shot at them from above. And when they found that the battering-rams could reach the wall, they brought them up, and Titus placed his catapults at certain intervals nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel the battering-rams, and gave orders that these last should go to work.

<sup>1</sup> Adopting Hudson's splendid emendation, *iòç* instead of *viòç*.

And when thereupon a prodigious noise rang all round on the sudden from three places, there was a great cry of alarm raised by the citizens that were within the city, and no less terror fell upon the seditious themselves. And both factions, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make common defence. So the different factions cried out to one another to act entirely in concert because of their enemies; saying they ought, anyhow, in their present circumstances, if God did not grant them a lasting concord, to lay aside their enmity against one another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those in the temple leave by proclamation to go upon the walls; John also himself, though he could hardly trust Simon, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they forgot their hatred and private quarrels, and formed themselves into one body, and manned the walls, and having a vast number of torches, threw them from the walls at the machines, and shot darts perpetually at those who impelled the battering-rams. Nay, the bolder sort leaped out *en masse* upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those who were in charge of them, and got the better of them, not so much by any skill they had, as by their daring. However, Titus himself ceased not to send assistance to those that were the hardest pressed, and placed both horsemen and archers on each side of the engines, and so kept off those that tried to apply fire to them, and also repelled those that hurled missiles from the towers, and then set the battering-rams to work. But the wall did not yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion knocked off the corner of a tower, while the wall continued unhurt; for the wall was not immediately in the same danger as the tower, for the latter jutted out a long way, so it could not easily break off any part of the wall with itself.

§ 5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while, but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works and in their various camps, (for they thought the Jews had retired from weariness and fear,) they all at once made a sally near the tower Hippicus<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Near the *Jaffa* gate.

through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications. And at the cry they made, those that were near them came quickly to their assistance, and those further off came running up. And the boldness of the Jews was too much for the good order of the Romans, and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed hard those that were now gathered together. And the fight round the machines was very hot, for the Jews tried hard to set them on fire, and the Romans to prevent this; and on both sides there was a confused cry raised, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews had the best of it from their desperate valour, and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves, would have been in danger of being burnt, had not most of the picked soldiers from Alexandria resisted this, and behaved with courage such as surprised even themselves, for they outdid in this fight those that had greater reputation than themselves. Such was the state of things till Titus took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, and slew with his own hand twelve of those that were in the van of the Jews; and at the death of these men the rest of the multitude gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from fire. Now, it happened in this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive, and he by Titus' order was crucified before the walls, to see whether the rest of them would be terrified at the sight and give in. And after the retreat John, who was commander of the Idumæans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded in the breast by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately, leaving the greatest grief to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was distinguished both in action and for intelligence.

## CHAP. VII.

*How one of the Towers erected by the Romans fell down of its own accord; and how the Romans after great Slaughter got possession of the first Wall. Also how Titus made Assault upon the second Wall; also concerning Longinus the Roman, and Castor the Jew.*

## § 1.

THE following night an unexpected panic fell upon the Romans. For whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive back those who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight. And as its fall made a very great noise, a panic fell upon the army, and they all ran to arms, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them. And a disturbance and tumult arose among the legions, and as no one could tell what had happened, they were in the greatest anxiety and doubt, and as no enemy appeared, they were afraid of one another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now they were like people beset by a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with the real state of things, and then, though not without some difficulty, they got rid of their alarm.

§ 2. Now these towers very much harassed the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they were shot at by the enemy's lighter engines from those towers, as also by the javelin-men and archers and slingers. For the Jews could not get at them because of their height; and it was not practicable to take the towers, or to overturn them, because they were so heavy, or to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and no longer endeavoured to hinder the shocks of the battering-rams, which by continually beating at the wall gradually pre-

vailed against it. And as the wall already gave way to Nicon<sup>1</sup> (for by that name did the Jews themselves call the largest of the Roman battering-rams, because it conquered all things), and they were now for a long while grown weary of fighting and mounting guard, and of bivouacking at a distance from the city, most grew faint-hearted and retired, especially as from their sloth and ill-advisedness on all occasions they thought it superfluous to guard the wall, there being, besides that, two other walls still remaining. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nicon<sup>1</sup> had made one, and all the Jews left guarding that wall, and retired to the second wall. So the Romans that had got over that wall opened the gates, and admitted all the army. Thus did the Romans get possession of the first wall on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, when they rased to the ground a great part of it, as they did also to the northern parts of the city, which had been also demolished by Cestius formerly.

§ 3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at the place which was called the Camp of the Assyrians,<sup>2</sup> occupying all that lay between as far as Cedron, but taking care to be so far from the second wall as to be out of reach of the Jews' darts, and at once began his attacks upon it. Upon this the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended the second wall, while John and his men fought from the tower of Antonia, and from the north portico of the temple, and before the tomb of king Alexander; and Simon's division occupied the spot of ground near John's tomb, and fortified it as far as the gate<sup>3</sup> where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus. And the Jews frequently made violent sallies *en masse* from the gates, and fought the Romans, and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those conflicts, lacking the skill of the Romans, but they got the best of it in the battles from the walls. And the Romans were encouraged by their power joined to their

<sup>1</sup> That is, conqueror.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently in the north-west portion of the modern city, between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the city wall.

<sup>3</sup> A gate on or near the site of the present *Jaffa* gate.

skill, as the Jews were by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that stoutness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still more by the hope of deliverance, as the Romans were by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. So neither side grew weary; but attacks and fightings upon the walls, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, took place all day long; nor was there any mode of fighting that was not then put in use. Nay, night itself scarcely stopped them, though they began to fight in the morning, for night was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more trying than the day to them, for the Jews were afraid lest the wall would be taken, and the Romans lest the Jews should attack their camps: so both sides spent all night in their armour and were therefore ready to fight at the first dawn of light. And the rivalry among the Jews was who should first undergo danger, and so gratify their commanders, and they had a great veneration and dread of Simon above all, for to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. And what made the Romans so courageous was their usual habit of conquering, and their inexperience of defeat, and their constant wars, and their perpetual drill, and the grandeur of their empire; and above all the constant presence of Titus everywhere. For it appeared disgraceful to play the coward when their Prince was present and fought bravely with them, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and was there to reward them also; so it was esteemed an advantage to have one's valour known to the Prince, which made many display more valour than their strength warranted. For example, as the Jews were about this time standing in battle-array in a strong body before the wall, while both parties were throwing their darts at each other from a distance, Longinus, one of equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed upon this attack, he slew two of their bravest men, striking one of them in the mouth as he was coming to meet him, and slaying the other with the very spear which he drew out

of the body of the first, with which he had pierced him through the side, as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he got back safe from the midst of his enemies to his own side. Thus did he distinguish himself for his valour, and there were many who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation for bravery. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered at the hands of the Romans, and were only solicitous about what harm they could do them; and death itself seemed a very small matter to them, if at the same time as they fell they could but kill one of their enemies. But Titus considered the personal safety of his soldiers as important as their victory, and he said that inconsiderate valour was madness, and that that alone was true courage that was joined with prudence. He therefore commanded his men to take care when they fought their enemies that they received no harm from them, and so to show themselves to be truly valiant men.

§ 4. And now Titus brought up his battering-ram to the middle tower of the north wall, where a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush with ten others like himself, the rest having fled away because of the archers. These men lay still for a while crouching under their breastworks, but when the tower began to rock they rose up, and Castor stretched out his hands as a petitioner, and called for Titus, and begged him in a miserable voice to have mercy upon them. And Titus, in his simplicity, 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 these suppliants, and bade Castor say what he wished. And when he said that he would come down, if Titus would give him his right hand for his security, Titus replied that he was well pleased at his good sense, and would be well pleased if all the Jews were of the same mind, and that he was ready to offer the same 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, when it was in their power to die free. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed, and Castor sent to Simon, and told

him that he might take his time to deliberate about urgent matters, for he himself would elude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent this message, he appeared openly to exhort those that were unwilling to accept Titus' offer of security; but they seemed very angry at this, and brandished their naked swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breastplates, and fell down as if they had been slain. Thereupon Titus, and those that were with him, were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able, being on lower ground, to see exactly what was taking place, they marvelled at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. Meantime a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in the nose, whereupon he at once pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. And Titus reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who stood by him, to offer his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, for these petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were anxious to go. But one Æneas, a deserter, said he would go to him. Castor also called out to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; which made Æneas the more earnestly run to him with his bosom open. Then Castor took up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him because he guarded himself against it, but it wounded another soldier who was advancing. When Titus understood that this was a trick, he saw that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less scope for them in the school of severity. So he set his battering-ram to work more strongly than before, because of his anger at the trick put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flames into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans again suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.



## CHAP. VIII.

*How the Romans took the second Wall twice, and got ready for taking the third Wall.*

## § 1.

NOW Titus took the second wall the fifth day after he had taken the first, and as the Jews fled from it, he entered inside it with a thousand armed men, and those his choice troops, at the place where were the wool market and smiths' shops, and the market for garments, of New Town,<sup>1</sup> and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Now if Titus had either demolished a considerable part of the wall immediately, or on entering in had, according to the law of war, destroyed what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any detriment to himself. But as it was, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by his showing himself unwilling though he was able to afflict them more than was actually necessary, he did not widen the breach of the wall to make retreat easy upon occasion; for he did not think those whom he thought of benefiting would lay snares for him. When therefore he entered in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they captured, 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, to do so, and promised to restore the people's effects to them. For he was very desirous to preserve the city for himself, and the temple for the city. As to the people, they had been for a long time ready to comply with his proposals, but to the fighting men this humanity of his seemed weakness, and they imagined that Titus made these offers because he was not able to take the whole city. They also threatened death to the people, if any one of them should say a word about surrender, and cut the throats of such as talked of peace, and attacked the Romans that had come inside the wall,

<sup>1</sup> On Bezetha.

some meeting them in the narrow streets, and some fighting from their houses, and others made a sally at the upper gates outside the wall, at whom those that guarded the wall were so frightened, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their camps. Upon this a great shouting was made by the Romans that were within, because they were surrounded on every side by their enemies; as also by those Romans that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. And the Jews kept continually flocking up, and had great advantage over the Romans from their knowledge of the narrow streets, and they wounded many of them, and fell upon them and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were forced to make the best resistance they could, for they were not able to get out *en masse* at the narrow breach in the wall; indeed it is probable that all those who had entered in would have been cut to pieces, had not Titus come to their aid. For he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of the narrow streets, and stood himself where the greatest number of the enemy was, and with his darts kept them back, as did also Domitius Sabinus with him, a valiant man, and one that in this battle showed himself so. And Titus continued to shoot darts at the Jews perpetually, to hinder them from coming at his men, until all his soldiers had withdrawn.

§ 2. Thus were the Romans driven out, after they had got possession of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and elated at their success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more, and that, if they themselves fought, they would not be any more beaten. For God had blinded their minds because of the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor did they realize how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now repelled, any more than they saw that famine was creeping upon them. For they could still feed themselves on the public miseries, and drink the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the good, and a great many had already died from want of necessaries; but the factious thought the destruction of the people a relief to themselves. For they

desired that none 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 those of the contrary opinion died off *en masse*, as being then freed from a heavy burden. Such was their disposition of mind with regard to those who were within the city. And they covered themselves with their armour, and tried to prevent the Romans who were trying to get into the city again, and fortified with their own bodies the breach in the wall. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not hold out against the energy of Titus' assault, but were compelled to flee where they had fled before. So he got possession again of the wall, and at once rased it to the ground entirely; and when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south of the city, he considered how he might storm the third wall.

## CHAP. IX.

*As the Jews were not at all mollified by his leaving off the Siege for a while, Titus set himself again to prosecute the same; but soon sent Josephus to treat with his fellow-countrymen about Peace.*

### § 1.

TITUS now determined to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the factious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the rasing to the ground of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or the fear of famine (for the spoils they had got by rapine would not be sufficient for them long), and he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own ends. Accordingly, when the appointed time came for him to distribute provision-money to the soldiers, he gave orders that his commanders should draw up the army in battle-array in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. Then the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases in which their arms before lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, and the

cavalry led their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places before the city glitter with silver and gold a long way; nor was any thing so agreeable to Titus' own men, or so terrible to the enemy, as that sight. For the whole of the ancient wall, and the north side of the temple, was full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of people peeping out to look at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered with people. And a very great consternation seized upon the boldest, when they saw all the army in one place, and observed the fineness of their arms, and the good order of the men. And I cannot but think that the factious would have changed their minds at that sight, had not the crimes they had committed against the people been so dreadful, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; and as they believed that death with torture would be their punishment if they surrendered, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also so far prevailed over them, that the innocent had to perish with the guilty, and the city was doomed to destruction with the seditious that were in it.

§ 2. Now the Romans spent four days in distributing their provision-money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, as no proposal for peace came from the Jews, Titus divided his legions into two parts, and began to raise banks both at the tower of Antonia<sup>1</sup> and at John's tomb, intending to take the upper city at that tomb, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to occupy the city. So at each of these places he raised banks, each legion raising one. As for those that worked at John's tomb, the Idunæans and Simon's soldiers made sallies upon them, and hindered their work, while John's party and the multitude of Zealots did the same to those who were before the tower of Antonia. The Jews were now too much for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon higher ground, but also because they had now learned to use their engines, for their continual use of them one day after another by degrees improved their skill. For they had three

<sup>1</sup> The two attacks were at Antonia, at the north-west corner of the *Harâm esh-Sherif*; and at John's tomb, in the vicinity of the *Jaffa* gate.

hundred engines for darts, and forty for stones, and by them they made it more difficult for the Romans to raise their banks. But Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, not only pressed on the siege, but did not neglect to exhort the Jews to repentance. So he mixed counsel with action, and being aware that argument is frequently more effectual than force, he urged them to surrender the city which was now in a manner already taken, and so to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language, for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a fellow-countryman of their own.

§ 3. So Josephus went round the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them in many words to spare themselves and the people, and to spare their country and temple, and not to be more hard-hearted in these matters than foreigners. For the Romans, though they had no part in those things, respected what their enemies regarded as sacred, and had till now kept their hands off them, while those who were brought up among them, and who, if they were preserved, would be the only people that would reap the benefit of them, were urgent to have them destroyed. Moreover, they had seen their strongest walls rased to the ground, and the wall still remaining was weaker than those that had been taken; and they knew the power of the Romans was invincible, and to serve them was no new experience. And if it was noble to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; for after having once fallen under the power of the Romans, and having submitted to them for so long a time, then to try to shake off their yoke was the action of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, it was right to despise ignoble masters, but not those who had all things under their feet. For what parts of the world had escaped the Romans, unless such as were of no use either from intense heat or intense cold? And it was evident that fortune had on all sides been transferred to them, and that God, who had given all the nations power in turn, had now settled in Italy. Moreover, it was a strong and fixed law, among brute beasts as well as among men, to yield to those that

were too strong for them, and that the dominion should be with those who were supreme in war. That was why their forefathers, who were far superior to them both in souls and bodies and other advantages besides, had yet submitted to the Romans, which they would not have done, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what did they rely on in holding out, when most of their city was already taken, and when those that were within it were in greater misery than if they had been taken, if their walls were still standing? For the Romans were not unacquainted with the famine which was in the city, whereby the people were already consumed, and the fighting men would soon be so too. For even if the Romans should raise the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there an irresistible war that beset them within, and grew bigger every hour, unless indeed they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone of mankind conquer their natural appetites. He added further, that it would be well to change their conduct, before their calamities were become incurable, and to have recourse to safety while they had opportunity. For the Romans would not bear malice for their past actions, unless they persevered in their obstinate behaviour to the end; for they were by nature mild in their conquests, and preferred what was expedient to gratifying their passions. And what advantage could there be in having a city empty of inhabitants, and a desert region? That was why Titus was now willing to offer them his right hand; whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not spare any of them, especially if they rejected his offers in this their dire distress. For the walls that were already taken assured him that the third wall could not but be quickly taken also; and, even if their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would famine fight for the Romans against them.

§ 4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested at him from the wall, and many railed at him, nay, some threw their darts at him. And as he could not persuade them by open advice, he betook himself to the history of their nation, and cried out, "O miserable people, and unmindful of your own helpers, will you fight

with weapons and hand to hand against the Romans? When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when did God, the creator of the Jews, not avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn and consider what made you fight with such success, and how great a divine helper you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers, and with regard to this holy place, how great enemies of yours God in days of old subdued unto you? I indeed tremble to declare the works of God to people unworthy to hear them: however, hearken to me, that you may know that you are fighting not only against the Romans, but also against God himself. In old times one Nechao king of Egypt (who was also called Pharaoh) came with a countless army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself against this tyrant by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them, or did he deem them no number at all without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted, and enlisted God as his invincible supporter? Was not his queen sent back undefiled to her husband the very next evening, while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place which you have defiled by shedding therein the blood of your own countrymen, and trembling at the visions which he saw in the night-season, and bestowing both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on people beloved by God? Shall I be silent, or speak of the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they were used tyrannically, and had fallen under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, though they 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 that Egypt was over-run with all sorts of wild beasts, and harassed by all sorts of plagues, that their land did not bring forth its fruit, that the water of the Nile failed, and that the ten plagues of Egypt followed one upon another, and that owing to this our fathers were sent away with a guard without any bloodshed, and without running any

danger, 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? And did not their idol Dagon groan, as also the entire nation of those that carried the ark away; for they were smitten with a loathsome disease in the secret parts of their bodies, and their very bowels came down with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole the ark away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and kettledrums, and with oblations to appease the anger of God for the violation of his holy ark? God was then our general, and accomplished those great things for our fathers, because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about the affair. When Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, brought in his train all Asia, and encompassed this city with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? Were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers, without meddling with arms, when the angel of God destroyed that countless host in one night? And did not the Assyrian king, when he arose the next day, find an hundred and eighty-five thousand dead bodies, and did he not with the remainder of his army flee away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed and did not pursue after him? You also know of our slavery at Babylon, where our people were captives for seventy years, and not restored till Cyrus gratified God by bringing it about; when they were restored by him, and again celebrated the worship of their deliverer in his temple. And, to speak generally, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success without war, when they committed themselves to God. When they stayed at home they conquered, as it pleased their Judge, but when they went out to fight, they always met with reverses; for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to the prophecies of Jeremiah, he was himself taken prisoner, and saw the city and sanctuary overthrown. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king than is that of your present rulers, and that of the people under him than is that of you at this time! For when Jeremiah cried out aloud, that



God was very angry with them because of their transgression, and told them they would be taken prisoners unless they surrendered up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death. But you (to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe as your wickedness deserves), you I say abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and being unable to bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. To take another example, when Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, besieged this city, and was guilty of many outrages against God, and our forefathers met him in arms, they themselves were slain in the battle, and the city was plundered by our enemies, and the sanctuary was desolate for three years and six months. Why need I bring any more examples? Indeed, what can it be that has stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it not the impiety of the people of our country? And whence did our servitude originate? Did it not proceed from the dissensions of our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus and their mutual quarrels brought Pompey upon this city, when God reduced those who were unworthy of liberty to subjection to the Romans? For after a siege of three months they had to surrender, although they had not been so guilty of offences with regard to our sanctuary and our laws as you have been, and that though they had much greater resources for war than you have! Do we not know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, in whose reign God again punished the people's offences by the capture of this city? And when Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sossius, and Sossius brought upon us the Roman army, they were then surrounded and besieged for six months, till as a punishment for their sins they were captured, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that warfare is never allowed our nation; but that capture always follows our fighting. For I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and to disregard the hand of men, when they plead to the Judge above. But as for you, what have you done of the things approved of by our legis-

lator? and what have you not done of the things that he condemned? How much more impious are you than those who were so quickly captured! You have not disdained so much as those sins that are done in secret, as thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. Do you not vie with one another in rapine and murders, and do you not invent strange modes of wickedness? Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and the divine place is polluted by the hands of our own countrymen, although it was revered by the Romans who lived at a distance, for they 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 helper? You have forsooth a right to be petitioners, and to call upon him to assist you, so pure are your hands! Did our king lift up such hands in prayer against the king of Assyria, when God destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness, as did the king of Assyria, that you may hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on condition that he should not destroy the city, and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, did he not come down to burn the temple? Whereas the Romans demand no more than the accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they but once obtain that, they will neither destroy this city, nor touch this sanctuary. Nay, they will in that case grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and they will preserve your holy laws inviolate. It is indeed madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, for he knows when it is proper to punish people for their sins immediately. Accordingly, he broke the power of the Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. And had he judged our nation worthy of freedom, or the Romans deserving of punishment, he would have immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans (as he did upon the Assyrians) when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him Sossius came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or lastly now, when Titus drew near the

city. Whereas Magnus<sup>1</sup> and Sossius did not only suffer nothing, but took our city by storm, and Vespasian went from the war he made against you to become emperor. As for Titus, those springs that were formerly dried up for you run very plentifully for him. For you know very well how Siloam,<sup>2</sup> as well as all the other springs outside the city, so failed that water was sold by measure;<sup>3</sup> whereas they are now so full of water for your enemies, that there is sufficient drink not only for themselves and their cattle, but for their gardens also. The same wonderful phenomenon you experienced formerly at the time of the capture of our city, when the forementioned king of Babylon made war against us, and when he took our city, and burnt our temple, though I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. So that I think God is fled from his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you now fight. Why, even a good man will flee from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you think that God will abide with you in your crimes, who sees all secret things, and hears things kept most private? Though what crime is there that is so much as kept secret or concealed by you? nay, what is not open to your enemies? For you make a pompous show of your lawless doings, and vie with one another daily which of you shall be the worse, and make a public display of your vice as if it were virtue. However, there is yet a road left for your preservation, if you are willing to take it; for God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults and repent of them. Ye men of iron, cast away your arms, and take pity on your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the beauty and excellence of the city you are going to betray, and of the temple rich with the donations of so many nations! Who will first set these things on fire? who wishes that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O

<sup>1</sup> That is, Pompey.

<sup>2</sup> Siloam derives its water, by a rock-hewn channel, from the Virgin's Fountain, in the Cedron Valley, which was probably closed at the time of the siege.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, by amphoræ.

hard-hearted creatures, and more unfeeling than stones! And if you do not look on these things with genuine eyes, yet have pity upon your families, and let every one of you set before your eyes your children and wives and parents, who will soon perish either by famine or war. I am aware that this danger extends to my mother and wife, and to my not ignoble family, and house very eminent in old time; and perhaps you imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice. If that be so, kill them, nay, take my blood as the hire of your safety; for I am ready to die, if you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

#### CHAP. X.

*How many of the People had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; also what intolerable things those that stayed in the City suffered from Famine, and the sad Consequences thereof.*

##### § 1.

AS Josephus uttered these words in a loud voice, not without tears, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe to alter their conduct; but the people had a great inclination to desert to the Romans. So some of them sold what they had for very little, and others swallowed down their most precious treasures, namely pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers, and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and so had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves. For Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, wherever each pleased. And the main reason why they were so ready to desert was that now they would be freed from those miseries which they endured in the city, and yet would not be slaves to the Romans. However, John and Simon, and their factions, more carefully watched 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.

§ 2. As for the richer sort, their staying in the city brought death all the same; for they were put to death on the pretext that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get their property. The recklessness of the seditious did also increase with the famine, and both these miseries grew every day worse. And as there was no corn anywhere apparent, the robbers came running up, and ransacked houses; and if they found any corn, they tortured persons as if they had denied they had any; and if they found none, they tortured them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The test they made use of whether they had any or not was the bodies of these miserable wretches. If they were in good condition, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any further; for they did not think it reasonable to kill such as would very soon die for want of food. Many indeed privately sold their possessions for one measure of wheat, if they were of the richer sort, but of barley if they were poorer; and when they had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had got, some without grinding it because of the extreme want they were in; and others baked bread of it, as necessity and fear dictated. Nowhere was a table laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire only partially baked, and ate it greedily.

§ 3. Miserable were now their meals, and it was a sight for tears, for the strong had more than their share, and the weak lamented their going short. But famine overcomes all other passions, and is destructive of nothing so much as modesty; for what is otherwise worthy of reverence is in this case despised. Indeed wives pulled the morsels that their husbands were eating out of their very mouths, and children did the same to their fathers, and what was still more pitiable, so did mothers to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing in their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might have preserved their lives. Yet while they ate in this manner, they were not unobserved in so doing; for the seditious every-

where stood over them, and snatched away from them what they had got from others. For whenever they saw any house shut up, this was to them an indication that the people within had got some food; whereupon they straightway broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost out of their very throats by force. And old men who held their food fast were beaten, and if women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing. Nor was there any pity shown either to grey hairs or to babes, but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had got, and dashed them down upon the ground. But they were still more barbarous and cruel to those who tried to prevent their coming in, and had actually gulped down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their rights. They also invented terrible methods of torment to discover where any food was, stopping up with pulse the passages of the private parts of these miserable wretches, and driving sharp stakes up their fundaments. And a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might bring out a handful of barley-meal that was concealed. And this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry, for the thing would have been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it, but it was only done to keep their recklessness in exercise, and to get before-hand 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 outposts, to gather plants and herbs that grew wild; and when such people thought they had got clear of the enemy, they snatched from them what they were bringing with them, even while they frequently entreated them, invoking the awful name of God, to give them back some part of what they had at great danger brought, but they would not give them the least crumb; and it was a subject of congratulation to these poor wretches that they were only spoiled, and not killed also.

§ 4. Such was the treatment that the lower sort of people suffered from the tyrant's body-guards; but the men

that were of rank and rich were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some of them were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and were consequently put to death, others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was to suborn somebody to inform 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; so that they drank in turn among themselves the blood of the populace, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them. And though they contended with each other for the mastery, yet they very well agreed in their wicked practices. For he who did not share with another what he had got by the miseries of others seemed only partially guilty, and he that did not go shares in such barbarity grieved at the loss, as at the loss of something valuable.

§ 5. It is however impossible to narrate in detail every instance of these men's lawlessness. I shall therefore say briefly, that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness from the beginning of the world; and at last they disparaged the Hebrew nation, that they might appear less impious to strangers, and confessed (what was indeed true) that they were slaves and the scum and base refuse of the nation. Indeed it was they that overthrew the city, and forced the Romans against their will to gain a melancholy reputation by their success, and all but drew that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly. And certainly, when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they neither grieved at it nor wept, though these emotions were noticed among the Romans themselves. But these things I shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when I come to treat of them.

## CHAP. XI.

*How the Jews were Crucified before the Walls of the City. Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes ; and how the Jews overthrew the Earthworks that had been raised by the Romans.*

## § 1.

AND now Titus' earthworks had made great progress, although his soldiers were much galled from the walls. He then sent a troop of horse, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to get food. Some of these last were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine, but most of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were in for their relations; for they could not hope to escape 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 instead of themselves. It was the severity of the famine that made them thus bold in going out, though nothing remained for them, if they escaped the notice of the robbers, but capture by the enemy. And when they were going to be taken, they resisted from necessity for fear of punishment, and after they had fought they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy. So they were first scourged, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures before they died, and were crucified opposite the walls of the city.<sup>1</sup> Their misery made Titus pity them, as every day five hundred Jews were taken, and sometimes more, but it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force go their way, and to guard so many would be, he saw, to turn all his men into guards. But the main reason why he did not forbid these crucifixions was that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield

<sup>1</sup> 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.—W.



at that sight, from fear lest they might themselves afterwards suffer the same. So the soldiers, in their wrath and hatred to those they captured, nailed them in different ways to the crosses by way of jest, though their numbers were so great that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

§ 2. But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they tried to make the rest of the multitude believe the case was different. For they dragged the relations of those that had deserted upon the walls, as also such of the populace as were 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 who had been arrested [and crucified] by them were suppliants, and not prisoners taken after resistance. This kept many of those who were eager to desert within the city, till the truth was known. However, some ran away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be rest,<sup>1</sup> if compared with death by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many that were taken should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of this bad treatment, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, that they would now at length cease fighting, and not force him to destroy the city, but by repentance even at the eleventh hour to preserve their own lives and city, and that temple which was their peculiar glory. He then went round the earthworks, and hastened on the workers at them at the same time, to show that his words would in no long time be followed by deeds. At this the seditious cast reproaches upon Titus himself and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, that they despised death, and did well to prefer it to slavery; and that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could, while they had breath in them; and as for their city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and the world itself was a better temple to God than this. However, this temple would yet be preserved by him that dwelt therein, whom

<sup>1</sup> Or euthanasia.

they had for their helper in this war, and therefore laughed at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing, because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only. These words they mixed with reproaches and loudly vociferated.

§ 3. Meantime Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about his person, who were all of the same age, and tall, and just past their boyhood, and armed and trained in the Macedonian manner, from which circumstance they got their name, yet most of them were unworthy of so famous a nation. For it had so happened, that the king of Commagene<sup>1</sup> had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till he experienced a change in his condition; but when he became an old man, he was an instance that we ought not to call any man happy before his death. However, this son of his, who was now present when his father was still in his prime, said that he wondered what made the Romans so tardy to storm 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 success. And though Titus smiled, and said "We will go shares in the labour," Antiochus went as he was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall. And as for himself his strength and skill were so great that he kept off the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them, while the young men with him were almost all sorely galled. For they had so great a regard to the vaunts that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in fighting, and at last many of them retired wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

§ 4. Now the Romans began to raise their earthworks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, and had 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 earthworks

<sup>1</sup> A district of which Samosata, *Samsât*, on the Euphrates, was the capital.

raised, one of which was at the tower of Antonia, which was raised by the fifth legion opposite the middle of the pool called Struthius.<sup>1</sup> Another was thrown up by the twelfth legion, at the 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 at the pool called Amygdalon;<sup>2</sup> and that of the fifteenth legion was about thirty cubits from it at the high priest's tomb.<sup>3</sup> Now when the engines were brought up, John had from within already undermined the space that was opposite the tower of Antonia as far as the earthworks, and had propped up the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an insecure foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought up as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross-beams that propped up the earthworks burnt, all the mine suddenly subsided, and the earthworks fell in with a prodigious noise. Now at first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the earthworks; but when the materials that pressed it down were gradually consumed, an evident flame broke out. On the sudden appearance of this flame consternation fell upon the Romans, and the cleverness of the contrivance dejected them; and indeed this happening to 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 no good taking pains to extinguish the fire, since, even if it should be extinguished, the earthworks were swallowed up already.

§ 5. Two days after this Simon and his party made an attack upon the other earthworks; for the Romans had brought their battering-rams up there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephthæus of Garsis,<sup>4</sup> a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them the son of Nabatæus, from Adiabene,<sup>5</sup> who was called by the name of Chagiras

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the pool now known as the '*Souterrains*' of the Convent of the Sisters of Sion.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown; it must have been near the modern 'Hezekiah's Pool.'

<sup>3</sup> That is, John's tomb (see 9, § 2).

<sup>4</sup> An unknown town.

<sup>5</sup> Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

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 boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were a band of enemies, but friends, without fear or delay: nor did they withdraw till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their engines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with the enemies' swords, yet they did not withdraw from the danger they were in, till the fire caught hold of the enemies' engines. And when the flame mounted up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines, but the Jews hindered them from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire without any regard to the danger their own bodies were in. And the Romans tried to pull the battering-rams out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire, but the Jews caught hold of the battering-rams through the flames and held them fast, although the iron upon them was now red-hot. And now the fire spread from the battering-rams to the earth-works, and prevented those that came to defend them; for the Romans were now surrounded with the flames, and despairing of saving their works from them retired to their camp. Then did the Jews flock up in ever increasing numbers, those that were within the city coming up to their assistance; and as they were flushed with victory their impetuosity carried everything before it, and they got as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now a body of soldiers relieved by turns always stands armed before every camp, and as to these the law of the Romans is terrible, that he who leaves his post, whatever the occasion be, must die. So this body of soldiers, preferring rather to die fighting courageously than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood their ground, and at the necessity these men were in of standing their ground, many of the others that had run away turned back again from shame. And when they had placed in position their engines for hurling darts against

the wall, they tried to prevent the multitude from flocking out of the city, who took no pains either to preserve their lives or guard their bodies; for the Jews fought with all they met, and without any caution rushed against the points of their enemies' spears, and dashed against them with their very bodies, and now overpowered the Romans, not so much by their actions, as by their courage, for the Romans gave way to their boldness more than because they were much hurt.

§ 6. And now Titus came up from the Tower of Antonia, where he had gone to look out for a place for throwing up other earthworks: and he reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own camp to be in danger, when they had carried two of the walls of their enemies, and for sustaining themselves the fortune of men besieged, and for allowing the Jews to sally out against them, though they were in a sort of prison. He then made a *détour* with some chosen troops, and fell upon the enemies' flank in person. And the Jews, though they were attacked in front as well, wheeled round and fought stoutly against Titus. And when the armies were now engaged, the dust that was raised so hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could any longer discern foe from friend. And the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of safety, and the Romans were nerved by the regard they had to their glory and reputation in war, and because Titus himself led them into danger; so that I think the Romans would eventually have overpowered the whole of the Jews, so enraged were they, had not these anticipated the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, as their earthworks were done for, the Romans were very dejected at the loss in one hour of what had cost them such pains. Indeed many despaired of taking the city with the usual engines of war.

## CHAP. XII.

*Titus determines to surround the City with a Wall ; after which the Famine consumes the People by whole Houses and Families.*

## § 1.

AND now Titus consulted with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were the most sanguine thought he should lead up the whole army against the city and storm the wall ; for hitherto the Jews had fought with only a fragment of their army, but if the entire army were to attack *en masse*, the Jews would not be able to bear their attack, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were more cautious some were for constructing earthworks again, and others advised without these to sit before the city, to prevent the coming out of the Jews and the introduction of provisions, and so to leave the enemy to famine, without direct fighting with them ; for despair made men invincible, who hoped to die by the sword, because a more terrible end was reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it right for so great an army to be entirely idle, though he felt that it was unnecessary to fight against those who would be destroyed by one another ; he also showed them how difficult it was to throw up any more earthworks, for want of material, and still more difficult to prevent the Jews making sallies. Nor was it easy to surround the whole city with his army, because of its size and the difficult ground, and it was also dangerous because of the sallies the Jews might make from the city ; for although they might guard the known outlets from the place, yet the Jews could contrive secret passages out in their necessity, and from knowledge of such places ; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer protracted. He also owned that he was afraid that the length of time thus spent would diminish the glory of his success ; for though it was true that length of time would perfect every thing, yet celerity was necessary for gaining reputation. His opinion therefore was, that if they aimed at

celerity joined with safety, they must build a wall round about the whole city; for that was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or they would be the more easily conquered when the famine had further weakened them. Nor did he intend to be entirely idle in other respects, but would take care to raise earth-works again, when their enemies had become weaker. And if any one should think such a work great and hard to accomplish, he ought to consider that it was not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing.

§ 2. 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 in the division of the whole wall that was to be built among them, not only did one legion vie with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; so 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. And Titus himself took notice of and rewarded the like friendly rivalry in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and reconnoitered what was done. He began the wall at the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and extended it to the lower parts of Cænopolis, from whence it went along Cedron to the Mount of Olives; it then turned off to the south, and encompassed the mount as far as the rock called Peristereon, and the hill next it which lies opposite the ravine near Siloam; whence it turned off again to the west, and went down to the ravine of the Fountain. After this it went up again to the tomb of Ananus the high priest, and taking in the mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and extended as far as a certain village called the House of the Erebinthi; after which it took in Herod's tomb, and then on the east joined Titus' own camp

again, where it began.<sup>1</sup> Now the length of this wall was thirty-nine furlongs, and on the outside of it were erected thirteen forts, whose circumferences amounted to ten furlongs. And the whole work was completed in three days, so that what would have been adequate work for some months, was done in so short a time as is almost incredible. And as soon as Titus had surrounded the city with this wall, and put men into these forts, 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, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were between the forts.

§ 3. So all hope of safety was now cut off from the Jews, as also their liberty of going out of the city. And famine increased its dimensions, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the roofs were full of women and children that were dying of starvation, and the lanes of the city were full of dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all wasted away with famine, and fell down dead, wherever death seized them. As for burying their relations, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it, and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great quantity of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty of their own life; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before the fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentation made in these calamities, nor was any wailing heard, but the famine stifled all natural emotions. For those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and smiling mouths, and a deep silence and kind of deadly night had seized upon the city. But the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were, for they broke into houses which were little else than graves of dead bodies, and plundered the dead, and stripped off the coverings of

<sup>1</sup> Very few of the points on Titus' wall of circumvallation have been accurately identified; but its course within certain limits can be readily laid down upon a map of Jerusalem.



their bodies, and went away laughing, and tested the points of their swords in their dead bodies, and in order to prove what metal they were made of, thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground. As for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand and sword to despatch them, they contemptuously refused, and left them to perish by famine. Now every one of these as he died fixed his eyes earnestly upon the temple, at the idea of leaving the seditious alive behind him. And they at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, not being able to endure the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the ravines below.

§ 4. Now when Titus, going his rounds along these ravines, saw them full of dead bodies, and observed the thick matter running from these clammy corpses, he groaned and spread out his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his doing. Such was the sad state of affairs in the city. But the Romans were very joyful, because none of the seditious could now make sallies out of the city, for they were now dejected, and the famine already touched them; but the Romans had quantity of corn and other necessaries from Syria and the neighbouring provinces; and many of them would stand near the wall of the city, and show the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine from the great plenty even to satiety which they themselves had. However, as the seditious showed no signs of yielding in spite of famine, Titus pitying the people that remained, and earnestly desiring to rescue those that were still left, began to raise earthworks again, although material for them was hard to come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former earthworks. But the soldiers brought other material from a distance of ninety furlongs, and raised earthworks much bigger than the former at four places, though only near the tower of Antonia. And Titus went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the work, and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men only were incapable

of repenting of the wickedness they had been guilty of, and, separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other people. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they still tore the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and filled the prisons with those that were feeble.

### CHAP. XIII.

*The great Slaughter and Sacrilege that went on in Jerusalem.*

#### § 1.

SIMON would not even suffer Matthias, by whose aid he got possession of the city, to die without being tortured. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was descended from high priests, and was one that had been very faithful to the people, and was held in great esteem by them; and it was he, when the multitude were distressed by the Zealots, to whom John had already attached himself, who urged the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, though he had made no conditions with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon had come in, and had got the city in his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as much his enemy as the rest, looking upon that advice as a piece of simplicity. So he had him brought at once before him, and condemned him to death for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence, and passed the same sentence upon three of his sons, for the fourth had already fled to Titus. And when he begged as a favour that he might be slain before his sons, because he had got the gates of the city opened to him, Simon gave orders that he should be slain the last of all. So he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and was himself led out to execution opposite the Romans; for such was the charge given by Simon to Ananus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his body-guards. Simon also jeered at him,

and told him that he might now see whether those to whom he had intended to go over, would send him any succour or not. He also forbade their dead bodies being buried. After them a certain priest Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminence, and Aristeus, the scribe of the sanhedrim, a native of Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> and with them fifteen men of note among the people, were slain. They also shut Josephus' father in prison, and kept him there, and made public proclamation that no citizens should associate or assemble together, for fear of treason, and also slew without trial all that lamented this dreadful state of affairs.

§ 2. Now when Judes, the son of Judes, who was one of Simon's under-officers, and a person entrusted by him to guard one of the towers, saw this conduct of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him (partly perhaps from pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but mainly to provide for his own safety), and spoke to them as follows. "How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of safety by continuing faithful to such a wicked wretch? Is not the famine already come against us, and are not the Romans almost within the city, and is not Simon unfaithful to his benefactors, and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us too to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come then, let us surrender the wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, since he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he expects." Now, these ten were prevailed upon by these arguments, and Judes sent at daybreak the rest of those that were under him, some one way, some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon, and himself invited the Romans from his tower about the third hour. But some of them treated what he said disdainfully, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, but most postponed action because they believed they would get possession of the city in a little time without any hazard. But when Titus

<sup>1</sup> Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amuás*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

was just coming up with his armed men, Simon saw the state of affairs before he came, and quickly occupied the tower, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans, and when he had mangled their dead bodies, threw them down before the wall of the city.

§ 3. Meantime, as Josephus was going round the city, for he did not cease exhorting the Jews, he was wounded on the head by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down at once, being stunned. At this fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he would have been dragged into the city, had not Titus quickly sent men to protect him. And while these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he knew little of what had happened. And the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they most desired to kill, and raised thereupon a great shout by way of rejoicing. News of this spread about the city, and the multitude that remained were very dejected at the news, believing that he, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans, was really dead. And when Josephus' mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to her jailors that she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata,<sup>1</sup> that she would never enjoy him alive again. She also made great lamentation privately to the maid-servants that were about her, and said that this was the advantage she had had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this into the world, that she should not be able even to bury him by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not long put his mother to pain, nor afford joy to the robbers. For Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came forward, and cried aloud, that it should not be long before they should be punished for this wound they had given him. He also again besought the people to trust in him. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought great consternation upon the seditious.

§ 4. Now some of the deserters, having no other means, leaped down from the wall quickly, and others went out

<sup>1</sup> *Jefat.* Jewish War, ii. 20, § 6.

of the city with stones as if to battle, but soon fled to the Romans. But a worse fate soon came upon these, than what they would have found within the city, and they met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from famine among the Jews. For when they first came to the Romans, they were puffed up by famine, and swollen like men in a dropsy; after which they all over-filled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were prudent enough to restrain their appetites, and took food by degrees into bodies unaccustomed to it. And another trouble came to those who were thus preserved; for among the Syrians a certain deserter was detected picking pieces of gold out of his excrements. For the deserters used to swallow their gold, as I said before, when they came out, as the seditious searched them all (for there was a great quantity of gold in the city; insomuch that as much was now purchasable for twelve Attic drachmæ as was sold before for twenty-five). But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the rumour spread about the camp, that deserters came full of gold. So the multitude of Arabians and Syrians ripped up those that came as suppliants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me that any misery more terrible than this befell the Jews, for in one night about two thousand of these deserters were thus ripped up.

§ 5. When Titus heard of this lawless conduct, he was within an ace of surrounding those that had been guilty of it with his cavalry, and shooting them dead; and would have done so, had not so great a number been involved in it, for those that were liable to punishment would have been many times more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the allies and of his own legions (for some of his own soldiers were also accused of the same conduct), and was very indignant against both. "What? (said he) have any of my own soldiers done such things as this for uncertain gain, without respecting their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first begin to indulge their passions as they please in a

foreign war, and then get their barbarity in murdering men and hatred to the Jews ascribed to the Romans?" For this infamous practice was said to have spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus next threatened to put to death any one who should dare to act so again if detected; moreover, he charged the legions, that they should make a search for such as were suspected of such conduct, and should bring them before him. But it appeared that the love of money overcame all their dread of punishment, for a vehement desire for gain is innate in men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; though such passions have generally certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But in this case God condemned the whole nation, and turned to their destruction every step that was taken for their safety. What therefore was forbidden by Titus on pain of death was ventured upon privately against the deserters. For these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before they were themselves descried, and looking about to see that no Romans spied them, would rip them up, and pull this impure money out of their bowels; which was only found in a few of them, though a great many were killed from the bare hope of getting it. Now this miserable treatment made many deserters return back again to the city.

§ 6. As for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the votive offerings in the temple, as also many of the vessels which were necessary for divine service, as the bowls, the dishes, and the tables. Nay, he did not keep his hands off those ewers that had been sent by Augustus and his wife. For the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn our temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to his friends that they might use divine things without fear, as they were fighting for the deity, and that those who were fighting for the temple might live on the temple. So he emptied the vessels of the sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to pour on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner part of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, and they

without fear used above a hin each in their anointing and drinking. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and state what the concern I am in dictates to me. I suppose, had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these wretches, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening, or been deluged by water, or else been destroyed by such lightning as the inhabitants of Sodom perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more impious than those were who suffered those punishments. At any rate it was by their madness that all the people came to be destroyed.

§ 7. But why need I relate particular calamities? Why, Mannæus, the son of Lazarus, fled to Titus at this very time, and told him that there had been carried out, through that one gate that was entrusted to his care, no less than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus. This was an immense multitude. And though this man was not himself set over the duty of carrying these bodies out, yet he was appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so of necessity numbered them. And the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was to take them away, and cast them out of the city. After him many of the eminent citizens fled to Titus, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead was no less than six hundred thousand who were thrown out at the gates, and that the number of the rest could not be discovered. They told him further, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also, that a measure of wheat was sold for a talent, and that afterwards, when it was not possible to gather herbs because the city was all walled in, some persons were driven to such terrible distress that they searched the common sewers and old dunghills of cattle, and ate the dung which they got there; and what of old they could not endure so much as to look at, they now used for food. When the

Romans heard this, they felt great pity, but the seditious, who saw it, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves. For they were blinded by the fate which was already coming upon the city and upon themselves.

## BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH.—FROM  
THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE RE-  
DUCED, TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

### CHAP. I.

*How the Miseries of the Jews still grew worse ; and how the  
Romans made an Assault upon the Tower of Antonia.*

#### § 1.

THUS did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they suffered, for the famine finally preyed upon them after it had preyed upon the people. Indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another throughout the city was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, and was an hindrance to those that wanted to make sallies out of the city and fight the enemy. For they were obliged, as men that had in battle been initiated in ten thousand murders, to tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along ; but they did not shudder, nor did they pity the poor men as they marched over them, nor did they deem this affront offered to the dead an ill omen to themselves ; but with their right hands already polluted with the murder of their fellow-countrymen, they ran out to fight with foreigners, casting a reproach (as it seems to me) on the deity for slowness in punishing them ; for the war was now gone on with, not as if they had any hope of victory, but were nerved by the energy of despair. And



although the Romans had great trouble in getting together material, they raised their earthworks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country near the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly the very appearance of the land was a melancholy sight; for those places which were before adorned with trees and gardens, were now become desolate country everywhere, and stripped of all their trees. Nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judæa and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change. For the war had played havoc with every sign of beauty, nor had any one, that had known the place before, come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again, but though he were at the city, he would have inquired for it.

§ 2. And now that the earthworks were finished, they afforded grounds for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews. For the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn these earthworks, and the Romans expected that, if these were once destroyed, they should never be able to take it. For there was a great scarcity of material, and the bodies of the soldiers began to faint under such hard labours, as their souls were dispirited at so many reverses one upon another; and the very sufferings of those in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within it. For they found the fighting men of the Jews to be no less energetic for their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hope of success, as their earthworks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the hardness of their wall, and their hand to hand fights to the boldness of their attack. And what was the greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews' courage of soul to be superior to such great evils as they were suffering from, as their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; so that they imagined that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the spirit they showed would never be cowed by their calamities; and what would not those be able to bear, if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to courage? These considerations made the Romans

keep a stronger guard about their earthworks than they had formerly done.

§ 3. And now John and his party in the tower of Antonia took care for securing themselves afterwards, even if their last wall should be thrown down, and set about attacking the Roman earthworks before the battering-rams were placed in position upon them. But their attempt did not succeed, for though they went out with torches, they came back under great discouragement before they got near the earthworks. For first their plan did not seem to be unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties and at distinct intervals, and in a slow and timorous manner, and, to say all in a word, not like Jews. For they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, boldness and impetuosity, and rushing upon the enemy *en masse*, and returning without serious reverse. For they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and found the Romans drawn up in battle array, and more courageous than usual. And they guarded their earthworks both with their bodies and their entire armour on all sides, so that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and each one nerved up his soul rather to die than leave their ranks. For besides that all their hopes were cut off, if these works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that craft should prevail over courage, desperation over armour, numbers over experience, and Jews over Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for throwing darts and stones reached the Jews as they were rushing out of the city, and when any one fell he got in the way of the one that was next, and the danger of going further made them less zealous. As for those that had run within shot, some of them were terrified at the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked by their spears, and turned back again; and at last they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This sortie was made upon the first day of the month Panemus. And when the Jews retired, the Romans brought up their battering-rams, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and

sword, and by all sorts of missiles which necessity supplied the Jews with. For though they had great reliance on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman battering-rams, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them up. The Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them up, as they thought that this zeal of the Jews was to prevent any harm being done to the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak, and its foundations they hoped rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it by the battering-rams, but the Romans bore up against the enemies' darts, which were perpetually cast at them from above, and did not succumb to their dangers, but brought their battering-rams into play. And as they were beneath the Jews, and sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them placed their shields over their bodies,<sup>1</sup> and partly with their hands, partly with crowbars, undermined its foundations, and with great trouble removed four of its stones. And night put an end on both sides to this struggle. However, that night the wall, that had been shaken by the battering-rams where John had ingeniously undermined the previous earthworks, as the ground gave way, fell down suddenly.

§ 4. When this event unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were encouraged. For though one would have expected that the Jews would be dejected, as this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision to meet the case, yet were they full of confidence because the tower of Antonia was still standing; and the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall was soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built inside the other wall. However, to attack this second wall appeared less difficult than the storming of the former wall, because it seemed easier to get up to it through the breach in the former wall. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and the Romans imagined that they should soon overthrow it, because it had been only a temporary erection. However, nobody

<sup>1</sup> In testudo (or tortoise) fashion.

ventured to go up to this wall; for it was evident death to such as led the forlorn hope.

§ 5. And now Titus, considering that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hope and argument, and that exhortations and promises frequently make men forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried to work on his men by the following speech. "Fellow-soldiers, to exhort men to do what has no peril in it, is merely inglorious to those to whom the exhortation is made, and in him that makes the exhortation suggests cowardice. I therefore think that such exhortations ought only to be made use of when affairs are in a critical condition, and yet worthy of being attempted by every one. I grant you that it is a difficult task to scale this wall; but I shall proceed to show that it is proper for those that desire reputation for valour to cope with difficulties, and that it is a noble thing to die with glory, and that the courage of those who take the initiative shall not go unrewarded. And let my first argument to urge you on be taken from what probably some would think likely to deter you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews in spite of their reverses. For it is unbecoming in you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have been taught in peace how to make war, and who have also been used to conquer in war, to be inferior to Jews either in hand or soul, especially as you are near final victory, and are assisted by God. For our reverses have been owing to the desperation of the Jews, while their sufferings are intensified by your valour and the assistance of God. For what can their internal dissensions, and the famine and siege, and the fall of their wall without our engines, signify but God's anger against them, and his assistance of 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 the divine assistance which is afforded you. And how can it be esteemed other than disgraceful that, while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be defeated, because they have long learned to be slaves, do yet despise death that they may be so no longer, and make sallies into the midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us,

but merely as a bare demonstration of their courage; yet we, who have conquered almost every land and sea, to whom it will be a great disgrace if we are not victorious, do not once run any risk against our enemies, but with such arms as we have sit still and inactive, and only wait till famine and fortune do their work against them, and that though we have it in our power, with some small risk, to gain all that we desire? For if we get up to the 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 be, yet our being then upon the top of the hill,<sup>1</sup> and being upon the enemy before they can take breath, promises us a complete victory. As for myself, I shall at present waive any commendation of those who die in war,<sup>2</sup> and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery, yet I cannot forbear to pray for those who are of a different temper that they may die of disease in time of peace, and their souls be condemned to the grave together with their bodies. For who does not know that the souls of good men which are severed from the flesh in battle by the sword are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and placed among the stars, and manifest themselves as good genii and heroes propitious to their posterity; whereas upon those souls that waste away in diseased bodies, notwithstanding they be mostly clean from spots and defilements, comes a subterraneous night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all remembrance of them, so that in their case the soul at the same time comes to the termination of its life and body and memory? But since death is of necessity fated to all men, and a sword is an easier instrument of it than any disease, how is it not a very mean thing for us not to yield up to the public benefit what we must yield up

<sup>1</sup> 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, § 5.—W.

<sup>2</sup> In this speech of Titus we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war, and the contrary estate of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness.—W.

to fate? I have said all this upon the supposition that those who first attempt to scale this wall must needs be killed, although men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For first, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easy to ascend; in the next place everything that is built is easily destroyed. As for the rest of you, pluck up your courage, and set about the work, and mutually encourage and assist one another, for your daring will soon cow the spirit of your enemies. And perhaps your glorious undertaking may be accomplished successfully without bloodshed. For although it is probable that the Jews will try to hinder your scaling the wall, yet if you once steal a march on them and storm their wall, they will not be able to withstand you any longer, though only a few of you get the start of them. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should be ashamed if I did not make him envied by others for the rewards I should bestow upon him. If such a one escapes with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now only his equals, but the happiest rewards will be theirs who fall in the attempt."

§ 6. At this speech of Titus, the rest of the soldiers were frightened at so great a danger: but one whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and was a Syrian by birth, showed himself very brave, both in hand and soul, though any one would have thought at first sight from his habit of body that he was not fit to be a soldier. For his colour was black, and he was lean, and his flesh lay close together, but an heroic soul dwelt in this lean body, and one far more noble<sup>1</sup> than his strength. And he was the first that rose up, and spoke as follows. "I readily offer myself to thee, Prince. I will first ascend the wall, and I pray that thy fortune may follow my strength and resolution. And if some Nemesis is on 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, he held his shield over his head with his left hand, and with his right hand drew his sword, and marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There

<sup>1</sup> I read γενναιώτερα.

followed him only eleven others, who resolved to imitate his bravery: but he went a long way ahead of them all, as if possessed by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and threw innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very huge stones upon them, which knocked down some of the eleven that were with him. As for Sabinus himself, he faced the darts that were thrown at him, and though he was deluged by them, he did not relax his ardour before he had got up on the top of the wall, and put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were dismayed at his strength and bravery, and as they also imagined more persons had got upon the wall than really had, they fled. And here one cannot but complain of fortune as envious of virtue, and ever hindering the performance of glorious achievements; for this hero, when he had all but attained his purpose, 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 that he was alone, and had fallen down also, they showered darts at him from all sides. However, he leaned upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, from the number of wounds that had been given him, and at last he was quite deluged with darts before he gave up the ghost. He was a man who deserved a better fate because of his bravery, but he fell as might be expected in so great an attempt. As for the remaining eleven, the Jews crushed three of them to death with stones, when they had already got up to the top of the wall; the other eight, who were knocked down and wounded, were carried back to the camp. This happened on the third day of the month Panemus.

§ 7. Now two days afterwards twenty of the men that were in the front, and kept guard at the earthworks, got together, and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horse, and one trumpeter, and marched without noise about the ninth hour of the night through the breach in the wall to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of

the first guards of the place they met, as they were asleep, they occupied the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon this the rest of the guards rose up suddenly and ran away, before any body could see how many had scaled the wall; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined that the enemy had scaled the wall *en masse*. But as soon as Titus heard the trumpet, he ordered the army to put on their armour quickly, and went there with his commanders, and ascended first of all with the picked men that were with him. And as the Jews fled towards the temple, they rushed into the mine which John had dug under the Roman earthworks. Then the seditious of both sections of the Jews, as well those of John's as those of Simon's party, formed themselves into two masses, and tried to keep the Romans back, and indeed fought with the greatest of energy and vigour; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, and the Romans looked upon the same thing as the beginning of entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, for the Romans tried to force their way in to get possession of the temple, and the Jews tried to drive them back to the tower of Antonia. In this battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, so both armies drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand, and during this struggle the positions of the men were indistinguishable on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed with one another, and jumbled together because of the narrowness of space; while the shouts of the combatants fell on the ear in an indistinct manner because they were so loud. And great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies and armour of those that had fallen, and crushed them to pieces. And to which ever side the battle inclined, those that were victorious encouraged one another, and those that were beaten made great lamentation; but there was no room for flight or pursuit, but doubtful phases and changes succeeded one another, as the armies were intermixed. And those that were in the front ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any



chance of escape ; for those on both sides that were behind forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. But as the Jews' ardour was too much for the Romans' skill, and the whole Roman line was beginning already to give way (for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night till the seventh hour of the day), and the Jews came on *en masse*, and had the danger of capture as an incitement to valour, whereas the Romans had here only a part of their army (for those legions on which their soldiers relied had not yet come up) it was thought by the Romans sufficient at present to occupy the tower of Antonia.

§ 8. But one Julian, a centurion that came from Bithynia,<sup>1</sup> a man of great reputation, and the most excellent of all whom I observed in the war for skill in arms, strength of body, and courage of soul, seeing the Romans giving ground and making a feeble defence (for he stood near Titus at the tower of Antonia), rushed forward and himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner part of the temple. For the Jews fled from him *en masse*, supposing that neither his strength nor daring could be those of a mere man. And he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they all fled pell mell, some in one direction some in another, and killed those that he came up with ; nor, indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Titus, or more terrible to the others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible for him, who was but a mortal man, to escape ; for as he had shoes full of thick and sharp nails. as had every one of the other soldiers, while he was running 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 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 crowded round him *en masse*, and struck at him with their spears and swords on all sides. And he received a great many of the strokes of

<sup>1</sup> A province in the north-west of Asia Minor. Jewish War, i. 12, § 4.

these iron weapons on his shield, and often attempted to get up, but was kept down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay on the ground, stab many with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as he was covered with his helmet and breastplate in all those parts of his body where he could be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs being hacked about, and nobody daring to come to defend him, he yielded to his fate. Now Titus was deeply affected at this man of such great bravery being killed in the sight of so many people: and wished himself to come to his assistance, but the place gave him no chance, and such as might have done so were too much terrified to attempt it. So, when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wounds go off unhurt, he at last had his throat cut, though not without difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only with the Romans and Titus himself, but with his enemies also. But the Jews snatched up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most distinguished themselves, and fought most bravely in this battle on the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyphthæus of John's party, and of Simon's party Malachias and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumæans; and of the Zealots two brothers, Simon and Judes, the sons of Arus.

## CHAP. II.

*How Titus gave Orders to demolish the Tower of Antonia, and commanded Josephus to urge the Jews again to surrender.*

### § 1.

AND now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to rase to the ground the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make an easy ascent for all his army; and himself had Josephus brought to him (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the

seventeenth day of Panemus,<sup>1</sup> the sacrifice called the continual sacrifice had not been offered to God for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously dejected at this), and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, namely, that if he had any evil inclination for fighting, he might come out to fight with as many men as he pleased, without destroying either city or temple; but he desired he would not any longer defile the temple, nor offend against God. He added that the sacrifices which had been discontinued might be offered up by any of the Jews whom he should choose. And Josephus stood in a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then gave them the message of Titus in the Hebrew language, and earnestly prayed them to spare their city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the sanctuary, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein. At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people, but the tyrant<sup>2</sup> cast many reproaches and imprecations upon Josephus, and at last added that he did not fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city. Then Josephus cried out with a loud voice, "Certainly you have kept this city pure for God! the sanctuary also continues unpolluted! Nor have you been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance you hope! He still receives the accustomed sacrifices! Vilest wretch, if any one should deprive you of your daily food, you would esteem him an enemy, yet do you hope to have for your supporter in this war that God whom you have deprived of his everlasting worship? And do you impute your sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel those sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by you been intermitted? Who is there that would not groan and lament at the amazing change in regard to this city, that foreigners and enemies do now

<sup>1</sup> This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus, 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.—W.

<sup>2</sup> John of Gischala is meant. Cf. §§ 5, 6.

correct your impiety, while you, who are a Jew, and were educated in our laws, are become a bitterer enemy to them than they are? But, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and turn from what is bad, even at the last extremity, and you have a good example before you, if you desire to save the city, in Jechoniah, the king of the Jews, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him in old days, did of his own accord go out of the city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his family, that this 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 handed down fresh to posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example, even if danger be involved. But I promise that the Romans will forgive you. And remember that I, who advise you thus, am one of your own nation; I, who promise you this, am a Jew; and it is right to consider who gives advice and where it comes from. For while I am alive may I never be such a slave as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. You are indignant at me again, and make a clamour at me, and reproach me, and I cannot deny that I am worthy of worse treatment than this, because I advise you thus in opposition to fate, and endeavour strongly to save those whom God has condemned. And who does not know the writings of the ancient prophets, and particularly the oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this unhappy city? For they foretold that this city should be taken when somebody should begin the slaughter of his fellow-countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your fellow-countrymen? It is God therefore, it is God himself, who in concert with the Romans is bringing fire to purge the city and temple, and is going to root up this city, which is full of so many pollutions."

§ 2. As Josephus spoke these words with groans and tears, his voice was broken by sobs. And the Romans pitied his emotion and admired his good intention; but John and his party were only the more exasperated against the Romans, and desired to get Josephus also

into their power. But his speech influenced many of the better sort. And some only stayed where they were, because they were afraid of the guards set by the seditious, though they were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also watched for a convenient opportunity to get quietly away, and fled to the Romans, among whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of the high priests, three of the sons of Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene,<sup>1</sup> and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father's death, for his father was slain by Simon the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many other noble men also went over to the Romans with the high priests. And Titus not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but also, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, sent them to Gophna,<sup>2</sup> and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he had finished the war, he would restore their possessions again to each of them at his leisure. So they gladly retired to the small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger; but as they were not seen again, the seditious spread it abroad again that deserters were slain by the Romans, which they did of course to deter the rest from running away from fear of the same treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded for a while as before; for others were deterred from deserting by fear of the same treatment.

§ 3. So Titus recalled these men from Gophna, and bade them go round the walls with Josephus, and show themselves to the people, upon which a very great many fled to the Romans. They also assembled *en masse*, and standing before the Romans, besought the seditious with lamentations and tears first to receive the Romans into the city while it was entire, and save their country again, and if not, at least to depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for them; for the Romans would not venture to

<sup>1</sup> The chief town of Cyrenaica, the Libyan Pentapolis, on the north coast of Africa. Antiq. xiv. 7, § 2; xvi. 6, § 5. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4; vii. 11, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Jifna*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

set the sanctuary on fire except on the most pressing necessity. But the seditious were only the more obstinate in their opposition, and cast loud reproaches upon these deserters, and also mounted their engines for throwing darts and bolts and stones upon the sacred gates of the temple at due distances from one another, so that all the space round the temple was like a cemetery, so great was the number of dead bodies therein, and the holy house itself was like a citadel. For they rushed into the Holy and Holy of Holies in their armour, while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their fellow-countrymen, nay, they proceeded to such great lawlessness, that the Romans had now against the Jews the very same indignation, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs, that the Jews would naturally have had against the Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them. Indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with awe at the holy house, and adore it, and wish that the robbers would repent before their sufferings were past remedy.

§ 4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and again reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Did not you, vilest of wretches, put up a wall of partition before your Holy of Holies? Did you not put up pillars in the temple at due distances, and engrave on them in Greek and Roman letters the order that no one should go beyond that wall? And did we not give you leave to kill any that went beyond it, even though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, accursed wretches? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in the temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place (for I do not suppose it is now regarded by any of them); I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not force you to defile your sanctuary; and if you will but change your battle-ground, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it. Nay, I will endeavour to preserve to you your holy house, whether you will or not."

§ 5. When Josephus was the spokesman of these words of

Titus, both the robbers and the tyrant<sup>1</sup> thought that this exhortation proceeded from Titus' fear, and not from his good-will, and treated it with contempt. And as Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by pity for themselves, nor had any concern about the holy house being spared, he proceeded unwillingly to war again. He could not indeed lead all his army against them, the space was so narrow, but choosing thirty of the most valiant soldiers out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis the commander in chief, he gave orders that they should attack the garrison of the Jews about the ninth hour that night. And when he was now in his armour, and intending to go down with them, he was stopped by his friends because of the greatness of the danger, and by the remarks of the commanders; for they said that he would do more by sitting in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that distinguished themselves in the fight, than by coming down, and hazarding his own person in the front; for they would all fight stoutly while Titus looked on. To this Titus hearkened, and said that the only reason which made him listen to the soldiers was that he might so be able to judge of their valour, and that no brave soldier might be unnoticed and lose his reward, and that no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be a spectator and eye-witness of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards. So he sent the soldiers about their work at the forementioned hour, and went himself to a watch-tower in the tower of Antonia, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

§ 6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the garrison asleep, as they hoped to have done, but were obliged to engage with them immediately, as they rushed upon them with a great shout. And as soon as the rest heard the shout of those that were upon the watch, they sallied out upon them *en masse*. And the Romans received the onset of those that came first upon them, but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and

<sup>1</sup> John of Gischala is meant. Cf. §§ 1, 6.

many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies. For the confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from accurately distinguishing one another's voices, and the darkness of the night hindered them from distinguishing them by sight; besides that blindness which was inspired by passion in some, and by fear in others. So it was all one to the soldiers whom they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, for they fought more shoulder to shoulder, and advanced in better order, and each of them remembered their watch-word: while the Jews were perpetually scattered about, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and frequently seemed to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans who were attacking them. And so more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming of day, the nature of the fight was henceforth discerned by the eye; they then stood in line of battle, and regularly cast their darts and defended themselves. Nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans vied with each other who should fight the most energetically, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus, and every one concluded that this day would be the beginning of his promotion, if he fought bravely; while the great encouragements which the Jews had to act vigorously were their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant,<sup>1</sup> who urged on some, and scourged and threatened others. Now it so happened that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, as the soldiers had to manœuvre in small space and quickly; for there was no great space of ground for either party for flight or pursuit. And at every phase of the battle there was an appropriate cry raised by the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out to their own men to press on courageously, when they were getting the best of it, and to stand their ground when they were retreating; so that here was a kind of theatre of war; for what was done in this fight could not

<sup>1</sup> John of Gischala is meant. Cf. §§ 1, 5.



be concealed either from Titus or from those that were with him. And this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day, and was fought on the same ground where the battle began, and neither party could say they had made the other retire, but both armies left the victory in uncertainty between them. Now those that distinguished themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josias; and of the Idumæans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, as James was the son of Sosas; and of those that were with John, Gyphæus and Alexas; and of the Zealots, Simon the son of Arus.

§ 7. Meantime, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made ready a broad way up to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first wall, and began to raise their earthworks, one opposite the north-west corner of the inner temple, another at the hall facing north which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one was at the western portico of the outer temple, the other outside opposite the northern portico. However, these works were not thus far advanced by the Romans without great pains and difficulty, particularly as they were obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They were still further injured sometimes by ambushes, being over-secure because of their frequent victories, and finding the Jews over-bold from their despair of safety. For when some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed without having their bridles on, while they were foraging, the Jews sallied out *en masse*, and carried them off. And as this was continually being done, and Titus believed, what was indeed the truth, that the horses were stolen more from the negligence of his own men than the valour of the Jews, he determined to use great severity to force the rest to take care of their horses; so he commanded that one of those soldiers who lost their horses was to be put to death,

whereby he so terrified the rest, that they took care of their horses for the time to come. For they did not any longer let them graze about, but as if they were joined to them, went always with them when they wanted necessaries. And the Romans still continued to besiege the temple, and to raise their earthworks.

§ 8. Now the day after the Romans had ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by famine, as plunder now failed them, that they gathered together and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, about the eleventh hour of the day, supposing first that they would not expect an attack, and next that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they would very easily cut their way through them. But the Romans were apprized beforehand of their coming to attack them, and quickly ran up from the neighbouring camps, and prevented them from getting over their fortifications, and breaking through and forcing their lines. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; for the Romans showed both their strength and skill in war, and the Jews rushed at them with headlong impetuosity and intolerable passion. The former were urged on by shame, and the latter by necessity; for it seemed very disgraceful for the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net, while the Jews had but one hope of safety, and that was if they could by violence break through the Roman lines. And when the Jews were already routed and driven down the ravine, a trooper, whose name was Pedanius, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ancle, as he was running away, and a man too of a robust body and in his armour; so low did Pedanius bend himself down from his horse even as it was galloping, and so great was the strength of his right hand, as of the rest of his body, and so skilful was he in horsemanship. So he seized this man as a treasure, and carried him off captive to Titus. Thereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was captured to be punished for his attempt on the Roman lines, and himself

went on with the siege of the temple, and the raising of the earthworks.

§ 9. Meantime the Jews were so distressed by their various fights, as the war ever mounted higher and higher, and crept up to the holy house, that they cut off as it were those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper spreading further. For they set on fire the north-west portico, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, and afterwards broke off about twenty cubits, and so with their own hands made a beginning of burning the sanctuary. And two days after, on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month,<sup>1</sup> the Romans set fire to the next portico, when the fire went fifteen cubits further. The Jews, in like manner, cut off the roof, nor did they at all desist from their work till the tower of Antonia was disconnected from the temple, even though it was in their power to have stopped the fire. But they were inactive when the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their advantage. And both armies kept still fighting against one another in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the war was full of continual sallies against one another by turns.

§ 10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews, of low stature and despicable appearance, and of no note either as to his family or in other respects, whose name was Jonathan. He went out near the high priest John's tomb,<sup>2</sup> and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them to single combat. But most of those in the Roman army disdained him, and some (as well they might be) were afraid of him. Some also reasoned justly enough that it was not wise to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of safety had besides other things a headlong impetuosity in attack, and had no regard to God; and to hazard oneself against persons, whom to overcome was no great matter, and by whom to be beaten was dangerous and disgraceful, was a proof not of courage but temerity. Now as nobody came out to accept this man's challenge, and the Jew twitted them with a great number

<sup>1</sup> Panemns.

<sup>2</sup> Near the *Jaffa* gate. Jewish War, v. 9, § 2.

of reproaches as cowards (for he was a very bragging fellow himself, and a great despiser of the Romans), a trooper whose name was Pudens, disgusted at the other's words and impudence (and perhaps inadvisedly elated at the other's lowness of stature), ran out to him, and was too much for him in other respects, but was betrayed by fortune. For he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then standing upon his dead body, brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and shouted loudly to his own army, and insulted over the dead man, and jeered at the Romans who were looking on, till one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him, as he was leaping about and playing the fool, and pierced him through: upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and Romans, though from different motives. And Jonathan swooned away from the pain of his wound, and fell down upon the body of his adversary, showing the very quick vengeance that can come upon men that have success in war without deserving the same.

### CHAP. III.

*Concerning a Stratagem that was devised by the Jews, by which they burnt many of the Romans, with a Description of the terrible Famine that was in the City.*

#### § 1.

AND now the seditious that were in the temple openly endeavoured every day to beat off the soldiers who were upon the earthworks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month<sup>1</sup> contrived the following stratagem. They filled that part of the western portico, which was between the beams and the roof underneath, with dry wood, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from the place, as though they were quite exhausted with the pains they had taken. At this proceeding on their part many of the inconsiderate among the Romans, who were

<sup>1</sup> Panemus.

carried away by their impetuosity, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the portico, and jumped upon it, but the more prudent of them, thinking this unaccountable retreat of the Jews suspicious, remained where they were. However, the portico was full of those that had mounted on it, and meantime the Jews set it all on fire. And as the flames burst out suddenly from all sides, the Romans that were out of danger were seized with very great consternation, as those that were in the midst of danger were in the utmost distress. And when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down headlong backwards into the city, and others among their enemies, and many in hope of safety leaped down among their own men, and broke their limbs, but most of those that were going to take these violent steps were prevented by the fire, but some anticipated the fire by their own swords. However, the fire soon so spread as to surround immediately those who would have otherwise perished. As for Titus, he could not but pity those that thus perished, since there was no way of bringing them any relief, although he was angry with them for going up there without orders. Yet was it some comfort to those who perished that they saw him grieve for whose sake they were lavish of their lives; for he was visible crying out to them, and leaping up, and exhorting those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, carrying off with them the words and grief of Titus as a splendid epitaph. Some indeed retired to the wall of the portico, which was broad, and so got safe out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews, and although they resisted for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at last all fell.

§ 2. Finally a young man among them, whose name was Longus, threw a lustre on all this tragedy, and while every one of them that perished was worthy of a memorial, this man appeared the bravest of them all; and the Jews admired him for his courage, and were also unable to kill him, so they urged him to come down to them, upon security being given him for his life; but Cornelius his brother besought him, on the contrary, not to tarnish his own

glory, nor that of the Roman army. He listened to him, and lifted up his sword in the presence of both armies, and slew himself. But one Sertorius among those surrounded by the fire escaped by his cleverness. For when he had with a loud voice called Lucius, one of his fellow-soldiers that lay in the same tent, he said to him, "I leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me. Upon this he came running to receive him readily, and Sertorius threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so violently against the pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This tragedy made the Romans dejected for a while, but yet it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the treachery of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged through their ignorance of the localities, and through the nature of the inhabitants. Now this portico was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he had built in the war he made against Simon over the gates that led to the Xystus.<sup>1</sup> The Jews also cut off the rest of that portico, after they had slain those that had got upon it. And the next day the Romans burnt down the north portico entirely as far as the east portico, whose connecting angle was built over the ravine that was called Cedron, so that the depth was frightful. Such was the state of the temple at this time.

§ 3. Now the number of those that perished by famine in the city was prodigious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food anywhere appeared in any house, a fight ensued, and the dearest friends fell to contending with one another for it, snatching from each other the wretched supports of life, Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them even when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in his bosom and counterfeited death. And the robbers themselves gaped for want, and ran about staggering like mad dogs, and reeling

<sup>1</sup> The Xystus was parallel to the west side of the Temple, between the causeway and 'Robinson's Arch.' The gate leading to it is apparently that known as 'Barclay's Gateway.'

against the doors of houses like drunken men, and would also in their dire distress rush into the same houses two or three times in one hour. And their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, and they picked up such things as the filthiest animals would not touch, and actually eat them. Nor did they at last abstain from girdles and shoes, and pulled off and gnawed the very leather which belonged to their shields. And wisps 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 need I describe the shamelessness that the famine brought on men in eating inanimate things? For I am going to relate a fact such as no history records either among Greeks or Barbarians, horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I would indeed have willingly omitted this tragic story, that I might not seem to be merely telling marvels to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it of my contemporaries. Besides, my country would have little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

§ 4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond the Jordan, whose name was Mary, and her father was Eleazar, of the village of Bethesob<sup>1</sup> (which signifies the House of Hyssop). She was eminent for her family and wealth, and had fled to Jerusalem with the rest of the community, and was besieged with them at this time. All the other effects that she had brought with her from Peræa,<sup>2</sup> and removed to the city, had been seized upon by the tyrants, and any scraps that she had treasured up besides, as also any food that she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running to her house. This greatly provoked the poor woman, and from the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these robbers, she incensed them to anger against her. But as none of them either in rage or pity would take away her life, and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and it was now become almost hopeless for her to find any, and the famine pierced through her very

<sup>1</sup> An unknown place east of Jordan.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, ii. 3, § 1.

bowels and marrow, her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself, nor did she take any counsellor but her rage and the necessity she was in. So she proceeded to a most unnatural thing, and, snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she exclaimed, "O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in war, famine, and sedition? As to the Romans, even if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves; but the famine will anticipate that slavery, yet are these seditious persons more terrible than both the other plagues. So be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious persons, 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 then roasted him, and eat half of him, and kept the rest by her concealed. And straight-way the seditious came in, and smelling the scent of this uncanny food, threatened to cut her throat immediately, if she did not show them the food she had dressed. She replied that she had saved a very fine portion of it for them, and uncovered what was left of her son. There-upon they were seized with horror and amazement of mind, and their blood ran cold at the sight. And she said to them, "This is mine own son, and this is my doing. Come, eat of this food, for I have eaten of it myself, and be not more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you are too scrupulous, and abhor my sacrifice, as I have eaten half, let the rest be reserved for me also." At this they went out trembling, being cowards at this sight alone, and with some difficulty prevailed on themselves to leave the rest of that meat to the mother. And the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately, and as every body considered this miserable case before their eyes, they shuddered, as if this unheard-of action had been done by themselves. And 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 see such miseries.

§ 5. This tragic story soon spread among the Romans, some of whom hardly believed it, and others felt intense pity, but most were excited by it to a more bitter hatred



than before against our nation. As for Titus, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said, that for his part he had offered peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as amnesty for all their former audacity, but that they instead of concord had chosen sedition, and instead of peace war, and before satiety and abundance famine, and had begun with their own hands to burn down the temple, which the Romans had preserved hitherto, and so they deserved to eat such food as this. However, this horrid action of eating a child ought (he said) to be covered by the overthrow of their country, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the earth to be seen by the sun, where mothers were thus fed; although such food was fitter for the fathers than for the mothers, since it was they that continued still in a state of war, even after such miseries as these. At the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in, for they would hardly ever be likely to come to their senses, who had endured all kinds of sufferings, when they need not by repenting have suffered at all.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Earthworks being completed, and the Battering-rams brought up, to no purpose, Titus gives orders to set fire to the Gates of the Temple; in no long time after which the Holy House itself is burnt down against his Wish.*

## § 1.

AND now two of the legions had completed their earthworks on the eighth day of the month Lous, whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering-rams should be applied to the western hall of the inner temple. For before they were brought up, the strongest of all the siege-engines had been incessantly applied to the walls for six days without making any impression upon them; but the great size and excellent masonry of the stones was too much for those and for these also. And some of the Romans undermined the foundations of the northern gate, and

after a world of pains removed the outermost stones; but the gate was upheld by the inner stones, and continued in its position, till the workmen, despairing of all attempts by battering-rams and crowbars, brought up ladders to the porticoes. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing, but when they had got on these ladders, they fell upon them, and fought with them, and some they thrust down, and threw back headlong, and others they met and slew. They also struck and slew with their swords many that were getting off the ladders before they could protect themselves with their shields, nay, some of the ladders, when they were full of armed men, they tipped over and threw down from above. And no small slaughter was made of the Jews also. Those Romans that bore the standards fought especially hard for them, deeming it a terrible thing, that would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be seized by the enemy. But the Jews at last got possession of those standards, and slew those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so cowed by the fate of those who had been slain that they retired. Now none of the Romans died without having slain some of his foes first; and of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now, as also did Eleazar, the nephew of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and got them killed, he gave orders to set the gates on fire.

§ 2. Meantime there deserted to him Ananus of Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> the most bloody of all Simon's body-guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, who hoped to be forgiven, because they deserted at a time when the Jews were victorious. Titus accused these men of this as a cunning trick, and as he had been informed of all their barbarity to the Jews, he had a great mind to have them both put to death, for he said that they were only driven to this desertion by necessity, and had not come there from choice, and that they did not deserve to be saved alive who now hurried away from their own city which was already on fire owing to them. However, the security he had promised deserters overcame

<sup>1</sup> *Amwās*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

his resentment, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not put them in the same rank that he had placed others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver melting quickly made the flames spread to the wood-work, whence the flames continually extended till they reached the porticoes. Upon the Jews seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk together with their bodies, and they were in such a panic that not one of them attempted 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 for the time to come, but they whetted their passion against the Romans, as though the sanctuary itself was on fire already. This fire prevailed during that day and the following night; for the soldiers were not able to burn the porticoes all together at one time, but only partially.

§ 3. 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 summoned the commanders together. And when the six principal ones were assembled together, namely, Tiberius Alexander, the general of the whole army, and Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, and Larcus Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion, and Titus Phrygius, the commander of the fifteenth legion, and Liternius Fronto, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the procurator of Judæa, and after them the rest of the procurators and tribunes, Titus asked for their advice about the temple. Now some thought it would be best to act according to the rules of war [and demolish it], for the Jews would never leave off rebelling while the temple was standing, where they all used to congregate from all quarters. Others were of opinion, that if the Jews would leave it, and cease to make it their arsenal, they might save it, but if the Jews fought from it any more, they must burn it; for it must then be looked upon not as a temple but as a citadel; and the impiety of burning it would belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, that even if the Jews did get upon the temple

and fight them from thence, yet they ought not to avenge themselves on inanimate things instead of on men, nor ought they in any case to burn down such a work as that; for that would be a loss to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their empire as long as it continued. And Fronto and Alexander and Cerealis confidently agreed with the opinion of Titus. Then Titus broke up the meeting, when he had first given orders to the commanders that their other forces should rest, that they might be more vigorous in action, but that picked men from the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

§ 4. On that day the Jews were so weary, and in such a panic, that they refrained from any attacks: but on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and very boldly sallied forth through the east gate upon those that guarded the outer part of the temple, about the second hour of the day. And they received their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields in front closed in their ranks like a wall, but it was evident they could not stand their ground very long, but would be overcome by the numbers and passion of those that sallied out upon them. So Titus, seeing from the tower of Antonia that these troops would be likely to give way, sent some picked cavalry to reinforce them. Thereupon the Jews were not able to sustain their onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the front, most of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans retired, the Jews turned back upon them, and pressed upon them, but when the Romans wheeled round, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were beaten and shut themselves up inside the temple.

§ 5. Then Titus retired again to the tower of Antonia, and resolved to invest and storm the temple the next day early in the morning with his whole army. As for it, God had certainly long ago doomed it to the fire, and now the fated day had come round in the revolution of ages, namely the tenth day of the month Lous, upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon. Howbeit, these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them. For upon Titus' retiring, the

sedition were quiet for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the sanctuary fought with those that tried to quench the fire that was burning the outside of the temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the sanctuary. At this time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any horror at so great a crime, being possessed by a certain weird fury, snatched a brand out of the wood that was on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms round the sanctuary on the north side. As the flames went upwards, the Jews made a great clamour worthy of so mighty an affliction, and ran up to prevent it; and now they were reckless of their lives, and spared not their strength at all, since that was perishing which they had long been fighting to protect.

§ 6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the recent fight, and he leaped up in great haste as he was, and ran to the temple to put a stop to the fire; and all the commanders followed him, and the legions accompanied them in great agitation. And there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly movement of so great an army. Then Titus, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting in a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, ordered them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spoke so loud, having their ears already dinned by a greater noise, nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand either, as the attention of some of them was diverted by fighting, and of others by passion. As for the legions that came running up, neither any exhortation nor threatening could restrain their violence, but each one's passion was his leader; and as they jostled one another in the entrances into the temple, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the still hot and smoking ruins of the porticoes, and perished in the same miserable way as those whom they had conquered. And when they were near the sanctuary, they pretended not to have heard Titus' orders,

and 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], for they were everywhere slain, and everywhere beaten. As for most of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were taken, and a quantity of dead bodies lay heaped upon one another round about the altar, and at the steps going up to it ran a great quantity of blood, and the dead bodies also that were slain above slipped down.

§ 7. And now, as Titus was unable to restrain the fury of his enthusiastic soldiers, and the fire prevailed more and more, he went into the Holy of Holies with his generals, and saw it and what was in it, which he found to be far superior to the report of foreigners, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted and thought of it. But as the flame had not as yet reached its inner parts, but was consuming the rooms round the sanctuary, Titus supposing, as was the case, that the sanctuary might yet be saved, rushed up, and endeavoured in person to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave orders to Liberalis the centurion to beat and keep back the soldiers that were refractory with the staves of the spearmen that were round him. But their passion overcame the regard they had for Titus, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as also did their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as they thought that all the places within were full of money, and they saw that all round it was made of gold. And, besides, one of those that had entered the place anticipated Titus, when he rushed up to restrain the soldiers, and put fire under the hinges of the gate in the dark, and as the flame burst out from within immediately the generals retired with Titus, and nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to the sanctuary. Thus was it burnt down against Titus' wish.

§ 8. Now, although one could not indeed but greatly lament the destruction of such a splendid pile as this was, since it was the most wonderful of all the works that we have seen or heard of, not only for its curious structure

and size, but also for the vast cost of every part of it, and for the glorious reputation of its Holy of Holies, yet might such a one greatly comfort himself with the thought that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which neither living creatures nor works and places can avoid. However, one cannot but wonder at the exactness of the period. For the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, as that whereon the temple was burnt before by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first building, commenced by king Solomon, till this destruction of it, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are inferred to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it 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.

*The great Distress the Jews were in upon the Burning of the Temple. Concerning a false Prophet, and the Signs that preceded this Destruction.*

## § 1.

WHILE the temple was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were taken were slain: nor was there pity for any age, nor any regard paid to dignity, but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war pursued and included all sorts of men, as well those that made supplication for their lives as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flames also spread a long way and roared in unison with the groans of those that were slain, and because the hill was high, and the size of the burning pile so great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire; nor could one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than the noise. For there was at once the shouting of the Roman legions, who were all marching together, and the cries of the seditious,

who were now surrounded with fire and sword, and the flight of the people that were left above in great panic to the enemy, and their wailing at their woes; and the people also in the city joined those that were upon the hill in this lamentation. Many also of those that were wasted away by famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the sanctuary on fire, exerted their utmost strength, and broke out into groans and wailing again; and Peræa and the mountains round Jerusalem returned the echo, and augmented the hubbub. But the sufferings were more terrible than this uproar. For one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot from its base, so full of fire was it on every side, and that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and that those that were slain were more in number than those that slew them. For the ground was nowhere visible for the dead bodies that lay on it, and the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies as they pursued those who fled from them. And now the multitude of the robbers with some difficulty thrust back the Romans, and broke through their ranks into the outer temple, and thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled to the outer portico. As for the priests, some of them plucked off from the sanctuary the spikes that were upon it, and their bases which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans as missiles. But as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they then retired to the wall, which was eight cubits broad, and there they stayed. However, two of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage and shared the fortune of others, threw themselves into the fire, and were burnt with the temple, namely Meirus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Dalæus.

§ 2. And now the Romans, as the temple was on fire, judging it idle to spare anything in its vicinity, burnt everything, as the remains of the porticoes, and the gates, two excepted, one on the east side, and the other on the south; both of which, however, they destroyed afterwards. They also burnt the treasuries, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious things; indeed, to say all in a few words,



the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up there, for the rich had built themselves store-chambers there. The soldiers also went to the remaining portico of the outer temple, where the women and children, and a very great mixed multitude of people had fled, in number about six thousand. And before Titus had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers, carried away by their rage, set the portico on fire; whereupon some of these persons were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong to avoid the flames, and some were burnt in them. Nor did any out of so many escape. A false prophet was the cause of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that God commanded them to ascend up to the temple, and that they should there receive miraculous signs of their deliverance. Now many prophets were suborned by the tyrants at this time to impose on the people, who announced to them that they should wait for deliverance from God, and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man in adversity quickly listens to such comfort; and whenever a deceiver makes him believe that he shall be delivered from the miseries which oppress him, then the sufferer is full of hope.

§ 3. Thus were the miserable people led astray by these deceivers, who falsely said they were sent by God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident and so plainly foretold their future desolation, but like men stupefied, without either eyes to see or mind to consider, did not regard the public intimations that God gave them. Thus there was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet that continued a whole year. And 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, at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and sanctuary, that it appeared to be bright day-light, and this light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful, but was interpreted

by the sacred scribes to portend those events that immediately followed. At the same feast also an heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner temple, which was of brass and exceedingly heavy, and was with difficulty shut every evening by twenty men, and rested upon bars covered with iron, and had posts let down very deep into the firm floor, which consisted of one entire stone, was seen to open of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Thereupon those that kept watch in the temple ran to the captain of the temple, and told him of it, and he went up there, and was not able without great difficulty to shut it again. This also appeared to the ignorant to be a very happy omen, as if God did thereby open to them the gate of happiness; but the men of learning understood by it that the security of their temple was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate opened for the advantage of their enemies, and they declared that the sign foreshowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after the feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, a certain marvellous and incredible phenomenon appeared. I suppose what I am going to tell would seem a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the sad events that followed it deserving of such signs. Before sunset chariots were seen in the air, and troops of soldiers in their armour running about among the clouds and besieging cities. Moreover, at the feast which is called Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said that first 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 rustic and one of the people, 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 wherein it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple, and began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and

the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, and a voice against the whole people!" This he cried, as he went about by day and by night, in all the streets of the city. Now some of the most eminent of the people were very indignant at this ill-omened cry of his, and arrested the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes. But he neither said any thing for himself, nor any thing privately to those who scourged him, but still went on uttering the same words as before. Thereupon the rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that the notion of the man proceeded from the Deity, brought him before the Roman procurator, where he was scourged 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 scourge his utterance was, "Woe to Jerusalem!" And when Albinus (who was then our procurator) asked him, "Who he was? and whence he came? and why he uttered these words?" he made no reply at all to this, but still did not leave off repeating his melancholy lament over the city, till Albinus saw that he was a madman, and let him go. Now, during all the time that passed before the war begun, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was he seen speaking, but every day he uttered these lamentable words, as if he were repeating a prayer, "Woe to Jerusalem!" Nor did he give ill words to any of those who beat him every day, nor good words to those who gave him food. But this was his one reply to all men, which was indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was loudest at the feasts, and he continued repeating it for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage fulfilled in earnest in our siege, when he stopped. For as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out in a loud voice, "Woe to the city again, and to the people, and to the temple!" And just as he added at last, "Woe to myself also!" there came a stone out of one of the engines, and struck him, and killed him immediately; and as he was still uttering the very same presages, he gave up the ghost.

§ 4. Now, if any one consider these things, he will find that

God takes care of mankind, and in all ways foreshows our race what is for their safety, and that men perish by their own folly and self-chosen evils. For example, the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia,<sup>1</sup> had made their temple square, though they had it written in their sacred oracles, that their city and sanctuary should be taken, when their temple should become square. But what most stirred them up to the war, was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, that about that time one from their country should become ruler of the world. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves, and many wise men were thereby deceived in their judgment. Now, this oracle certainly denoted the rule of Vespasian, who was declared emperor in Judæa. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. And these men interpreted some of these signs according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was shown both by the capture of their city and their own destruction.

## CHAP. VI.

*How the Romans carried their Standards to the Temple, and made joyful Acclamations to Titus. The Speech that Titus made to the Jews when they begged for Mercy. What Reply they made, and how that Reply moved Titus' Indignation against them.*

### § 1.

AND now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the temple itself and of everything round it, brought their standards to the temple, and set them opposite its eastern gate, and there offered sacrifices to them, and hailed Titus as Emperor with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had got by plunder such vast quantity of spoil, that in Syria a lump<sup>2</sup> of gold was sold

<sup>1</sup> The tower of Antonia was connected by a colonnade with the north-west corner of the Temple.

<sup>2</sup> Or pound. The Greek word here is indefinite in meaning.

for half its former value. As for the priests that remained still upon the wall of the sanctuary, a lad of theirs, because of the thirst he was in, begged some of the Roman guards to give him their right hand, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards pitied his youth and distress, 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 away and fled up to his own friends; nor could any of these guards overtake him, but they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he answered that he had not broken his agreement; for the security he had had given him was not about his staying with them, but only about his coming down and taking some water, both which things he had done, and therefore thought himself faithful to his engagement. Thereupon those whom the lad had imposed upon marvelled at his cunning because of his youth. On the fifth day afterwards the priests who were half starved came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, begged for their lives. But he replied that the time of pardon was over for them, for the temple, for whose sake he could have reasonably spared them, was destroyed, and it was fitting that priests should perish with their temple. So he ordered them to be put to death.

§ 2. As for the tyrants themselves and those who sided with them, when they found that they were surrounded on every side, and, as it were, walled in without any chance of escape, they invited Titus to a colloquy. And such was the kindness of his nature, and desire to preserve the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were become more moderate, that he accepted this, and stood on the west side of the outer temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge connected the upper city with the temple,<sup>1</sup> which bridge lay between the tyrants and Titus. And the multitude was numerous on each side, the Jews round Simon and John, in suspense as to their hope of pardon, and the Romans round Titus, wondering how he would receive

<sup>1</sup> The Causeway bridge, now known as 'Wilson's Arch.'

the supplication of the Jews. And Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and placed an interpreter by his side, and began to speak first, which was a sign that he was the conqueror. "I hope, sirs, you are now satisfied with the miseries of your country, who had no conception either of our power or your own weakness, but in inconsiderate fury and madness have brought your people and city and temple to destruction, and will also yourselves rightly perish. Your nation has never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you, and since that time you have made open war upon the Romans! Have you relied on your numbers? Why, a very small part of the Roman soldiers has been strong enough for you. Have you relied on the fidelity of allies? Pray what nations outside our empire would prefer to assist Jews rather than Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? Nay, you know that the Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have? Pray, what greater defence is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are surrounded, and yet they bow down before the arms of the Romans? Do you exceed us in stoutness of soul, and in the skill of your commanders? However, you know that we conquered even the Carthaginians. It can therefore be nothing but the humanity of the Romans that has excited you against them. For they, in the first place, gave you this land to possess, and, in the next place, set over you kings of your own nation, and, in the third place, preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and also permitted you to live, either by yourselves or among others, as you pleased. And, what is our chief favour of all, we have given you leave to pay your tribute to God,<sup>1</sup> and to collect such other gifts as are dedicated to him, nor have we called those that offered these gifts to account, nor prohibited them, and the end has been that you have become only richer enemies, and have made preparations for war against us with our own money. Thus, after enjoying all these advantages, you turned your satiety against those that gave it you, and, like untamable

<sup>1</sup> 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 evidence in Josephus already on other occasions.—W.

serpents, spit your venom on those that treated you kindly. It is possible, indeed, that you might despise the easiness of Nero, and, like parts of the body fractured or ruptured, you quietly waited formerly, though with malicious intent, and have only now shown your true selves in the climax of the disease, and extended your desires to impudent and immense hopes. My father came to this country, not to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you. For had he come to overthrow your nation, he would have hastened at once to your fountain-head, and immediately sacked this city, whereas he ravaged Galilee and the neighbouring parts, and so gave you time for repentance. But that humanity of his you took as a sign of weakness, and nourished your audacity on our mildness. And when Nero was dead, you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us because of our civil dissensions, and abused the time, when both I and my father were away in Egypt, in making preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to give trouble to those as emperors, whom you had found to be mild generals. For when the empire devolved upon us, and all other people were thereupon quiet, and foreign nations sent embassies and congratulated us on our accession, then did you Jews show yourselves again our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your own nation that were beyond the Euphrates, to assist you in raising disturbances, and you built new walls round your city, and seditions arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke out among you; things indeed such as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city on a sad errand from my unwilling father; and when I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it. I exhorted you to leave off your action before I began the war, I spared you even when you had fought against me a long while, I gave my right hand to deserters, I kept faith with those that fled to me, I had compassion on many of those that I had taken captive, I tortured those that were eager for war in order to restrain them, I unwillingly brought my engines of war against your walls, I always checked my soldiers when they were set upon your slaughter, and

after every victory I invited you to peace, as though I had been myself the conquered party. When I came near your temple, I again willingly forgot the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your temple for yourselves, and allowed you a quiet exit out of it and pledged you your personal security, nay, if you had a mind, I gave you opportunity to fight on other ground. But you despised every one of my offers, and set fire to your temple with your own hands. And now, vilest of wretches, do you invite me to a colloquy? To what end would you save such a holy house as this was,<sup>1</sup> which is now destroyed? What safety can you now claim after the destruction of your temple? Yet you still stand at this very time in your armour, nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be suppliants even in your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures, what is it you depend on? are not your people dead? is not your temple burnt to the ground? is not your city in my power? and are not your very lives in my hands? and do you then deem it a proof of valour to be unwilling to die? However, I will not try to rival your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your persons to me, I grant you your lives, and will act like a mild master of a family, punishing what cannot be healed, and preserving the rest for myself."

§ 3. To this offer of Titus they replied that they could not accept his right hand, because they had sworn never to do so, but they desired they might have leave of exit through the enemy's lines with their wives and children; for they would go into the desert and leave the city to him. At this Titus was very indignant, when they were in the case of men already taken captives, that they should offer their own terms to him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered proclamation to be made to them, that they were no more to come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further offers of security, for he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army, and they might save themselves as well as they could; for he would from henceforth treat them with all the rigour of

<sup>1</sup> I conjecture *τοιούτων ναὸν οἶον*. Itaque verti. I suspect *ναὸν* to have dropped out ductu literarum.



war. And he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and plunder the city. And they did nothing indeed that day, but the next day they set fire to the archives, and Acra, and the council-house, and the place called Ophlas,<sup>1</sup> and the fire spread as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra. The streets also were burnt down, as were also the houses, which were full of the dead bodies of those who had died of famine.

§ 4. On the same day the sons and brothers of king Izates, together with many other prominent men of the people, assembled together there, and besought Titus to give them his right hand. And he, though he was very angry at all who were now left, did not change his character, but received these men. For the time indeed, he kept them all in custody, but bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and afterwards took them away with him to Rome, to be hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

## CHAP. VII.

*What afterwards befell the Seditious, when they had done a great deal of Mischief, and suffered many Misfortunes; as also how Titus became Master of the Upper City.*

### § 1.

AND now the seditious rushed to the royal palace,<sup>2</sup> into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered everything. They also took two Romans alive, one a horse-soldier, the other a foot-soldier. They cut the throat of the foot-soldier immediately, and dragged him through the whole city, as if revenging themselves upon all the Romans in this one person. But the horse-soldier said he had something to suggest to them for their safety, whereupon he was brought before Simon, but having nothing to say when

<sup>1</sup> To the south of the Temple.

<sup>2</sup> Herod's palace, near the Jaffa gate.

he was there, he was handed over to Ardalis, one of the Jewish commanders, to be punished. And he bound his hands behind him, and put a bandage over his eyes, and then led him out opposite the Romans, intending to cut off his head. But he was too quick for this, and ran away to the Romans, while the Jewish executioner was drawing his sword. Now as he had got away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death, but he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, because he had been taken alive by the enemy, so he took away his arms, and turned him out of the legion to which he belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

§ 2. On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam.<sup>1</sup> They were indeed glad to see the city destroyed, but they missed getting any plunder, because the seditious had carried off everything beforehand, and had retired into the upper city. For these last did not at all repent of the mischief they had done, but were insolent, as if they had done well. At any rate, when they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances in expectation, as they said, of death ending their miseries, for as the people were now slain, and the temple burnt down, and the city on fire, there was nothing further left for the enemy to do. However, even in this utmost extremity, Josephus did not grow weary of begging them to spare what was left of the city, but spoke largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them much advice tending to their safety, though he gained nothing more thereby than being laughed at by them. And as they would not hear of surrender because of the oath they had taken, and were not strong enough to fight against the Romans any longer upon equal terms, being a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from doing so. So they dispersed themselves in front of the city, and laid ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans. And many were caught by them, and all slain (for they were too

<sup>1</sup> The fountain of Siloam appears to be intended here,

weak from want of food to flee away), and their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every kind of death was thought more endurable than famine, so that, though the Jews despaired of mercy, they would yet flee to the Romans, and would also of their own accord court death by falling upon the murdering insurgents. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but every place was full of those that were killed, either by the famine or the sedition.

§ 3. And now the last hope which comforted the tyrants and the robbers who were with them, was in the underground passages, into which if they once fled, they did not expect to be tracked out, but thought that, after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again and escape. This was no better than a dream of theirs, for they were not destined to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they relied on these underground passages, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and killed without mercy, and pillaged also, those that fled out of their burning houses into the underground passages, and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it, and gulped it down all bloody as it was. They also now fought with one another about the plunder; and I cannot but think that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them eat even dead bodies.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Titus raised Earthworks round the Upper City, and when they were completed, gave orders that the Battering-rams should be brought up. He then became master of the whole City.*

### § 1.

NOW when Titus perceived that the upper city was so precipitous that it could not possibly be taken without raising earthworks, he distributed this work among his troops on the twentieth day of the month Lous. Now the bringing up of wood was a difficult task, since all the trees,

as I have already said, round the city for a hundred furlongs had been stripped bare already to make the former earthworks. The works raised by the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, opposite the royal palace, and the whole of the auxiliary troops and the rest of the soldiers erected their earthworks towards the Xystus, and the bridge, and that tower which Simon had built as a citadel for himself against John, when he was at war with him.<sup>1</sup>

§ 2. During these days the commanders of the Idumæans assembled together privately, and deliberated about surrender to the Romans, and sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand. And Titus, thinking that the tyrants would yield if the Idumæans, who played a great part in the war, were but once detached from them, after some delay complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumæans were preparing to depart, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and arrested their commanders, of whom the most eminent was James, the son of Sosas, and put them in prison; but as for the rank and file of the Idumæans, who did not at all know what to do now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and manned the walls with a more careful garrison. Yet could not that garrison stop desertion, for, although a great number of them were slain, the deserters were far more numerous. They were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself, owing to his clemency, grew negligent as to his former orders, and because the soldiers themselves grew weary of killing them, and hoped to get some money by sparing their lives. For they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price, because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were few. And although Titus had made proclamation beforehand that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families also with them, yet did he receive such as came alone also; however, he set over them such as were to

<sup>1</sup> The auxiliaries were on the east side of the Upper City, which was protected by a wall.

decide if any of them deserved to be punished. And the number of those that were sold was immense, but more than forty thousand of the populace were saved alive, whom Titus allowed to go where each of them pleased.

§ 3. During the same days one of the priests, the son of Thebuthi, whose name was Jesus, upon his having security given him by the oath of Titus that he should be preserved, on condition that he would deliver up to him certain of the holy treasures, came out, and delivered up to him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like those that lay in the holy house, and tables and bowls and vials, all made of solid gold and very heavy. He also delivered up to him the veils and vestments of the high-priests with the precious stones, and many other vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was arrested, and showed Titus the cassocks and girdles of the priests, and much purple and scarlet, which were kept there to make the veils, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, and a quantity of other spices, which used to be mixed together and burnt as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered up by him, and not a few sacred ornaments, the delivery up to Titus of which things obtained for this man, though captured by force, the same pardon that was given to such as deserted.

§ 4. And now the earthworks were finished, which took eighteen days, on the seventh day of the month Gorpæus, and the Romans brought up their engines; and some of the seditious, already despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to Acra; others hid themselves in the underground passages, though many of them stood their ground and defended themselves against those that brought up the battering-rams. But the Romans overcame them by their numbers and strength, and what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were already quite dejected and worn out. Now, as soon as part of the wall was battered down, and some of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering-rams, those that manned the wall fled, and a much greater terror fell upon the tyrants than the occasion required; for, before the enemy got over the breach they

were numb with fear and keen for flight. And now now one might see those men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, cast down and trembling, so that the change excited pity even for such vile persons. And although their idea now was to make a rush on the Roman lines, and to try to thrust back those that guarded them, and to break through and get away; yet, when they nowhere saw those who had formerly been faithful to them (for indeed they fled wherever necessity suggested), and when some came running up who told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans had got in, and others that they were near at hand and seeking for them, and others that they saw the enemy on the towers, fear made their eyes roll, and they fell upon their faces, and loudly lamented their own mad conduct, and their nerves were so terribly paralysed, that they could not even flee. And here one may chiefly see the power of God in the case of these wicked wretches, and the good fortune of the Romans. For these tyrants now wholly deprived themselves of the security they had, and came down of their own accord from those very towers, whereon they could have never been taken by force, but could only have succumbed to famine. Thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have got by their engines: for three of these towers, which I have spoken about before, were too strong for any siege-engines whatever.

§ 5. So now they left these towers, or rather were ejected from them by God himself, and fled forthwith to the ravine which was below Siloam. And they again recovered for a while from their panic, and rushed against the Roman lines on that side. But as their courage was too much depressed for them to make their attacks with sufficient vigour, and their strength was now broken with fear and reverses, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersed from each other, and slunk down into the underground passages. And the Romans, being now masters of the walls, placed their standards upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, having

found the end of this war much less arduous than its beginning. For having got upon the last wall without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe their eyes, and seeing nobody to oppose them, stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. However, rushing into the streets of the city with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they met without mercy, and set fire to the houses into which the Jews had fled, and burnt every soul in them. And in their frequent search for plunder, whenever they came inside any houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the bedrooms full of corpses of such as had died of famine. They then stood in horror at the sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they pitied such as died in this manner, they did not feel the same pity for those that were still alive, but they ran everyone through whom they met, and blocked up the streets with dead bodies, and made the whole city run with blood, to such a degree indeed, that the fire of many of the burning houses was quenched with these men's blood. And they left off slaying at evening, but the fire greatly prevailed in the night. And the eighth day of the month Gorpiaeus, when it dawned, found all Jerusalem burning, a city that had suffered such fearful horrors during the siege, that if it had enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would justly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as for its producing such a generation of men as caused its overthrow.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Instructions Titus gave when he entered the City. The number of the Captives, and of those that perished in the Siege ; as also concerning those who escaped into the Underground Passages, among whom were the tyrants Simon and John themselves.*

## § 1.

NOW when Titus entered the city, he admired not only the other places of strength in it, but particularly those towers<sup>1</sup> which the tyrants in their madness had relinquished. For when he saw their solid height, and the size of each stone, and the excellence of their masoury, as also their great breadth and extent, he said, " We have certainly had God for our helper in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications, for what could engines or the hands of men do towards overthrowing these towers ? " At this time he held many such discourses to his friends ; and also let such go free as had been put in bonds by the tyrants and left in the prisons. Moreover, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and rased its walls to the ground, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had fought on his side and enabled him to take what he could not otherwise have taken.

§ 2. And now, as his soldiers were already quite tired of their butchery, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still surviving, Titus gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. However, they slew the aged and infirm as well as those whom they had orders to slay, but as for those that were in the flower of their age, and might be useful to them, they drove them all into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women ; and Titus set as guard over them one of his freedmen, and also Fronto, one of his own friends,

<sup>1</sup> The towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, near the *Jaffa* gate.



which last was to determine every one's fate according to his deserts. And Fronto slew all those that had been seditious and robbers, who were informed against by one another, but chose out the tallest and most beautiful of the young men, and reserved them for Titus' triumph. As for the rest of the multitude that were more than seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also distributed very many among the provinces, that they might be destroyed in the theatres by the sword or by wild beasts.<sup>1</sup> But those that were under seventeen years of age were sold as slaves. Now during the days in which Fronto was adjudicating about these men, eleven thousand perished for want of food, some of whom did not get any food owing to the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take it when it was offered them. And corn also ran rather short in proportion to their numbers.

§ 3. Now the number of all those that were captured during the whole war was conjectured to be ninety-seven thousand, and the number of those who perished during the whole siege was eleven hundred thousand. Of these most were Jews, but not inhabitants of Jerusalem. For they had come up from all parts of the country to the feast of Unleavened Bread, and suddenly found themselves meshed in with the war, which density of population first produced a pestilence, and very soon afterwards a famine. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by the numeration taken under Cestius, who being desirous to inform Nero, who despised our nation, of the number of those in their prime in the city, asked the high priests, if the thing were possible, to number the whole multitude. And they, upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices from the ninth hour till the eleventh, and a company of not less than ten men belongs to every sacrifice (for it is not lawful to feast alone, and many form a company of even twenty), counted the number of sacrifices to be two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred. Now this, upon the allowance of ten feasting together, amounts to two million five

<sup>1</sup> That is, either as gladiators, or as bestiarii.

hundred and sixty-five thousand persons that were all pure and holy; for as to those who had the leprosy or gonorrhœa, or women that had their monthly courses, or such as were otherwise defiled, it was not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice, nor indeed for any foreigners either, who came to Jerusalem for worship.

§ 4. Now this vast multitude was indeed collected from various places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate as in prison, and the Roman army invested the city when it was crowded with men. Accordingly the number of those that perished therein exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world. For, in the case of those who openly appeared, the Romans slew some of them, and some they carried captive; but others they had to search for underground, when they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also found there more than two thousand dead persons, who had perished partly by their own hands, and partly by one another's hands, but chiefly by the famine. And the stench of the dead bodies was so offensive to those that lit upon them, that many were obliged to go away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in and tread upon the dead bodies that lay on heaps. For a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it esteemed lawful. Many also were now brought out who had been put in prison by the tyrants; for they had not left off their barbarous cruelty even in their utmost need. But God avenged himself upon them both as they deserved; for John and his brothers wanted food in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now extend to him that right hand which he had often proudly rejected before: and as for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender, as I shall subsequently relate. He indeed was reserved for Titus' triumph, to be then slain, and John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and rased the walls to the ground.

## CHAP. X.

*How whereas the City of Jerusalem had been taken five times before, this was the second time of its utter Destruction.*

## § 1.

THUS was Jerusalem taken in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpiaëus. It had been taken five times before, though this was the second time of its utter destruction. For Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sossius and Herod, all took the city, but still preserved it; but before them the king of Babylon conquered it, and utterly destroyed it, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. Now he who first built it was a ruler of the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called The Righteous King,<sup>1</sup> for such he really was; on which account he was the first priest of God, and first built a temple, and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Solyma.<sup>2</sup> However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people there. It was utterly destroyed by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after David. And from King David, who was first of the Jews who reigned there, to this utter destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years. And from its first building till this last destruction two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years elapsed. So neither its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the spread of our nation all over the world, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on religious accounts, were sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. Thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> Melchizedek.

<sup>2</sup> Or Salem.

## BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.—  
FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE  
SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.

## CHAP. I.

*How the entire City of Jerusalem was demolished, except three Towers; and how Titus commended his soldiers in a Speech made to them, and distributed rewards to them, and then discharged many of them.*

## § 1.

NOW as soon as the army had no more people either to slay or plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any more such work to be done), Titus gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminence, namely, Phasaelus,<sup>1</sup> and Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west. The wall was spared that it might serve as a camp for those who were to be left in garrison there, and the towers were spared to show to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued. But as for all the rest of the compass of the city, it was so thoroughly levelled by those that razed it to the ground, that there was nothing left to make those that came there believe it had ever been inhabited. Such was the end that Jerusalem came to, owing to the madness of those that were for innovations, a city of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

§ 2. Now Titus resolved to leave as a garrison there the tenth legion, and some troops of horse and companies of

<sup>1</sup> 'David's Tower,' near the *Jaffa* gate.

foot. And having entirely completed the 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 distinguished themselves. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him within hearing of everybody, and told the whole army that he was very much obliged to them for the good-will which they had continually showed to him. He commended them for the ready obedience they had exhibited in the whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone, for they had not only thereby augmented themselves their country's power, but had also made it evident to all men, that neither the number of their enemies, nor the strength of their fortresses, nor the size of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish savageness of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to cope with Roman valour, although some of their enemies might have fortune in many respects on their side. He said also that they had put a noble end to this war which had lasted so long. Nor had they wished for anything better when they entered into it. He said also that it was more excellent still, and more for their glory, that all people willingly accepted as governors and administrators of the Roman empire those whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their countries for that purpose, and still continued under the administration of those whom they had selected, and were thankful to them for selecting them. He also said that he admired and loved them all, because he knew that every one of them had exhibited zeal to the utmost extent of their ability. However, he said he would immediately bestow rewards and honours on those who had fought the most bravely, and adorned their lives by their glorious deeds, and had made his army more famous by their success, for no one who had been willing to take more pains than another should fail to receive a just return. For he attached great importance to this matter, since he would much rather reward the virtues of his fellow-soldiers than punish such as had offended.

§ 3. Thereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read out the list of all that had performed great exploits in the war. He next called them to him by their names, and praised them as they came up to him, and rejoiced in them as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits, and put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and standards that were made of silver, and gave every one of them promotion. Moreover, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoil and other booty they had taken, silver and gold and garments. And when they had had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his decision in regard to each one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down from his tribunal amidst great acclamations, and betook himself to offering thank-offerings for victory, and 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 feasted three days with the principal commanders, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be each best quartered, but permitted the tenth legion to garrison Jerusalem, and did not send them back to the Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had been beaten by the Jews, under Cestius, as their general, he expelled them out of all Syria (for they had been stationed formerly at Raphanæ),<sup>1</sup> and sent them away to a place called Melitine,<sup>2</sup> near the Euphrates, on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia. He also thought fit that two of the legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, should attend upon him till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to Casarea,<sup>3</sup> by the sea-side, and there stored up the bulk of his spoils, and gave orders that the captives should be kept there: for the winter season hindered sailing for Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Now Beilan, in Syria, at north end of Lebanon. Jewish War, vii. 2. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Melitine.

<sup>3</sup> Kaisariyah.

## CHAP. II.

*How Titus exhibited all sorts of Shows at Cæsarea Philippi. Also how Simon the Tyrant was taken, and reserved for Titus' Triumph.*

## § 1.

NOW at the time when Titus Cæsar was busy in the siege of Jerusalem, Vespasian went on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes.<sup>1</sup> From thence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars, and was joyfully received at all the cities that he touched at that lay on his road, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Coreyra<sup>2</sup> to the Iapygian promontory,<sup>3</sup> whence he took his journey by land. But Titus marched from Cæsarea by the sea-side, and arrived at what is called Cæsarea Philippi,<sup>4</sup> and stayed there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts,<sup>5</sup> and others in companies forced to fight with one another.<sup>6</sup> And here Titus was informed of the capture, in the following manner, of Simon, the son of Gioras. This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city, but when the Roman army had got within the walls, and was ravaging all the city, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with the iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as many provisions as would last for many days, and let himself and all of them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now they went onward along it as far as it had been dug of old, and where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, in the hope that they should be able to proceed so far as to emerge from under ground in a safe place, and so escape. But

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 14, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Corfu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Capo Santa Maria di Leuca*, at south-east point of Italy.

<sup>4</sup> *Baniás*. Jewish War, i. 21, § 3.

<sup>5</sup> Called *bestiarii*.

<sup>6</sup> As gladiators, a common show among the Romans.

when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that only with difficulty, and their provisions, although they distributed them by measure, began to fail. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to elude the Romans by frightening them, put on white raiment, and buttoned over it a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been.<sup>1</sup> At first indeed those that saw him were greatly terrified, and stood still where they were, but afterwards they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was. Now Simon would not tell them this, but bade them call for their general. And when they quickly ran to fetch him, Terentius Rufus, who was left in command of the army, learned of Simon the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Titus know that he was taken. Thus did God bring Simon to justice at the hands of those who were his worst enemies, for the bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his fellow-citizens, not getting into their power by violence, but having voluntarily delivered himself up to be punished, because he had falsely accused many Jews of intending to go over to the Romans, and had in consequence barbarously slain them. For wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice weak, but at last overtakes those who transgress its laws, and inflicts punishment so much the more severe upon the wicked, because they expect to escape it because of their not being punished immediately. Simon recognized this when he fell under the wrath of the Romans. And his coming up out of the ground caused the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious also who had hidden themselves under ground in those days. As for Simon, he was brought in bonds to Titus, when he had returned to Cæsarea by the sea-side; and he gave orders that he should be reserved for the triumph which he intended to celebrate at Rome.

<sup>1</sup> The passage by which Simon reached the Temple area was probably that discovered by Sir Charles Warren, beneath David Street.



## CHAP. III.

*How Titus, upon the Celebration of His Brother's and Father's Birth-days, had many of the Jews slain. Also concerning the Danger the Jews were in at Antioch, because of the Transgression and Impiety of one Antiochus a Jew.*

## § 1.

WHILE Titus was staying at Cæsarea, he kept the birth-day of his brother<sup>1</sup> in a splendid manner, and inflicted condign punishment on many of the Jews in his honour. For the number of those who were now slain in fighting with beasts, or were burnt alive, or killed in fighting with one another,<sup>2</sup> exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet all this seemed to the Romans, though they were thus destroyed in ten thousand various ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Titus went to Berytus<sup>3</sup> (which is a city in Phœnice, and a Roman colony), and stayed there somewhat longer, and exhibited on his father's birth-day shows more splendid still, both from the magnificence of the spectacles, and the vast expense of the various devices. And the mass of the captives perished then in the same manner as on Domitian's birth-day.

§ 2. It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch<sup>4</sup> were under accusations, and in danger of destruction, as the city of Antioch was excited against them, both because of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and because of what had happened there not long before; which I am obliged to describe briefly, that I may make my account of what passed after this easier to understand.

§ 3. As the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the world among its various inhabitants, so is it peculiarly prevalent in Syria because of its proximity, and it was espe-

<sup>1</sup> Domitian.

<sup>2</sup> See note on ch. ii. See also book vi. ch. ix. § 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Beirut.*

<sup>4</sup> Antioch, on the Orontes, in Syria.

cially numerous in Antioch, because of the size of that city, and because the kings after Antiochus had granted them secure habitatiou there. For though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, devastated Jerusalem and spoiled the temple, yet those who succeeded him in the kingdom restored all the votive offerings that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and placed them in their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges with the Greeks as citizens. And as the succeeding kings treated them in the same manner, they greatly multiplied, and gloriously adorned their temple with fine ornaments and very costly votive offerings, and also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks continually, and so in a sort made them part of themselves. But about the time when the Jewish war began, and Vespasian had recently sailed to Syria, and the hatred against the Jews was at its acme among all men, a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, who was one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father (who was governor of the Jews at Antioch),<sup>1</sup> entered the theatre when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and came forward as an informer against his father, and accused both him and the other Jews of intending to burn the whole city in one night; he also handed over to them some foreign Jews as privy to the design. When the people heard this, they could not restrain their anger, but commanded that those who were handed over to them should have fire brought to burn them, and accordingly they were all burnt in the theatre immediately. They also rushed violently upon the Jewish population, supposing that by punishing them quickly they would save their own city. As for Antiochus, he increased the rage they were in, and thought to give them a proof of his own conversion, and of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks; he urged them also to compel the rest of the Jews to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had

<sup>1</sup> The Jews at Antioch and Alexandria, the two principal cities in all the East, had allowed them, both by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans, a governor of their own, who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes governor, sometimes ethnarch, and [at Alexandria] Alabarch.—W.

plotted against them, since they would refuse to do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, and those that would not were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman governor, and became a severe despot 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 so strict did he make that necessity, that the rest of the seventh day was annulled not only at Antioch, but, the habit beginning there, in other cities also in like manner for a short time.

§ 4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befell them, the description of which I was about to give when I made the late digression. For when it happened that the square market-place was burnt down, and the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the town-hall (and it was not without difficulty that a stop was then put to the fire, which was likely, from the violent way in which it spread, to have consumed the whole city), Antiochus accused the Jews of doing this, and induced the people of Antioch (who were now very soon persuaded, because of the alarm they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not had ill-will to the Jews before), to believe his accusation, especially when they considered what had happened before, so that, as if they had all but seen the Jews bringing fire against them, they all fell violently upon those that were accused, like madmen in a very furious rage. Nor was it without difficulty that one Cnæus Collega, the imperial lieutenant, could prevail upon them to permit the matter to be laid before the emperor. For as to Cæsennius Pætus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already despatched him, but he had not yet arrived. Now when Collega had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, that <sup>1</sup> not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that it was all done by some vile wretches greatly in debt, who supposed that, if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public

<sup>1</sup> I read  $\acute{\omega}\zeta$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ . See my note on *Antiq.* xvii. 9, § 4.

records, they would have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were in great alarm and terror, in the uncertain expectation of what would be the upshot of these accusations against them.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How Vespasian was received at Rome, as also how the Germans revolted from the Romans, but were subdued. Also how the Sarmatians overran Mæsia, but were compelled to return to their own country again.*

##### § 1.

AND now Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his arrival was very welcome to all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great loyalty and pomp, betook himself to much joy and pleasure of mind, being now freed from the anxiety he had been in about him in the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy showed the respect they had in their minds to Vespasian while he was still a long way off, as if he were already come, considering the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, because of the great desire they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely spontaneous and natural. For to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their emperors, it was a desirable thing to receive one who was adorned with the gravity of age, and with the greatest fame as a military commander, whose advancement would be, they knew, for nothing else but the safety of those that were under his rule. And the people had been so harassed by civil dissensions, that they were still more earnest for his coming, supposing they would then be certainly delivered from their calamities, and believing they should recover security and prosperity. As for the soldiers, they looked to him especially, for they knew best his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced want of skill and want of courage in other emperors, they were

desirous to be freed from the great shame such had brought, and longed to receive the only emperor who could be a security and credit to them. And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those men that were eminent for rank had not patience enough to wait for him at Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it. And, indeed, none of the rest could endure delay in seeing him, but all poured out of the city *en masse*, and it seemed to all easier and more convenient to go out than to stay there, so that this was the very first time that Rome gladly perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that remained in it were fewer than those that went out. And as soon as news came that he was approaching, and those that had gone on to meet him related with what good humour he received every one that came to him, the whole population that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, lined the road to see him pass, and those whom he passed by all made all sorts of acclamations because of the joy they felt at seeing him, and the graciousness of his countenance, and hailed him as their benefactor and saviour, and the only person who was worthy to be emperor of Rome. And the whole city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odours. Nor was it easy for him to reach the imperial palace for the crowd of people that stood about him, but at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods for his safe return to the city. The multitudes then betook themselves to feasting, and celebrated their feasts by their tribes and families and neighbourhoods, and prayed God not without libations to grant that Vespasian, and his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman empire for a very long time, without their position being contested. So joyfully did the city of Rome receive Vespasian, and advanced immediately into a state of great prosperity.

§ 2. But before this time, while Vespasian was still at Alexandria, and Titus was employed in the siege of Jerusalem, a large body of the Germans rose in rebellion, and as the Gauls in the neighbourhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans

to engage in this revolt, and to begin war, were first the nature of the people, which was destitute of just reasoning, and ready to venture into danger with small hope of advantage, and next the hatred they bore to their masters, as their nation had never known compulsory subjection to any but the Romans. But it was the opportunity that now offered itself that most encouraged them. For as they saw the Roman empire in great internal disorder from the continual changes of its emperors, and heard that every part of the world under the Romans was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could offer itself for them to rise against the Romans when their affairs were at so bad a pass. Classicus also and Vitellius, two of their commanders, were the instigators of this rising, and puffed them up with these hopes. These two men had for a long time plainly been desirous of such a revolution, and were encouraged by the present opportunity to venture upon declaring their sentiments: and as the nation was well affected to the idea they intended to make the attempt. Now when a great part of the Germans had already agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as if guided by divine providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany, giving him the rank of consul, and commanding him to depart to the government of Britain. So he set out where he was ordered to go, and when he heard *en route* of the revolt of the Germans, he put his army in battle-array, and fell upon them as soon as they were concentrated, and slew a great number of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness and grow wiser. But had he not come thns quickly to the spot, it would not have been long before they would have been brought to punishment. For as soon as ever the news of their revolt reached Rome, and Cæsar Domitian heard of it, he made no delay in spite of his age, for he was very young, but undertook this weighty affair, for he inherited the courage of his father, and was better trained in the art of war than his youth would have led one to infer, so he marched against the barbarians immediately. And their hearts failed them at the very rumour of his approach, and they submitted to him from fear, and thought it a gain

to be brought under their old yoke again without suffering any further calamities. And when Domitian had put all the affairs of Gaul into such good order, that they would not be easily thrown into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, having performed such exploits as were above his own age, and would have thrown lustre even on his father.

§ 3. At the very same time as the forementioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans take place. These Scythians, who are called Sarmatians, and are a very numerous people, crossed the Ister into Mœsia<sup>1</sup> without being observed, and then with much violence, being formidable by their entirely unexpected assault, slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers, and when 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 under him, ravaging and devastating everything that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mœsia was laid waste, he despatched Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians, and he slew many of them in the battles he fought against them, and the remnant that escaped fled with fear to their own country. And when the general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and larger garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to cross over the river any more. Thus this war in Mœsia had a quick conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> A Roman province in Europe, corresponding nearly with Servia and Bulgaria.

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning the Sabbatic River, which Titus saw as he was journeying through Syria; and how the People of Antioch came with a Petition to Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by him: also concerning Titus' and Vespasian's Triumph.*

## § 1.

NOW Titus Cæsar tarried some time at Berytus,<sup>1</sup> as I said before, and then removed thence and gave magnificent shows in all the cities of Syria through which he went, and exhibited the captive Jews as proof of the destruction of that nation. He saw on his march a river<sup>2</sup> of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history. It runs between Arcæa,<sup>3</sup> which is part of Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanæa,<sup>4</sup> and has something very wonderful and 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 this it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all, and it has been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly: whence they call it the Sabbatic River,<sup>5</sup> so naming it from the sacred sabbath of the Jews.

§ 2. Now when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they could not keep within their walls for joy, but hastened away to meet him, and went as far as thirty furlongs and more with that intention, and not men only, but a multitude of women also and

<sup>1</sup> *Beirût.*

<sup>2</sup> The stream running from the intermittent spring *Fauwâr ed-Deir*, in the Lebanon.

<sup>3</sup> *Arka.*

<sup>4</sup> Jewish War, vii. 1, § 3.

<sup>5</sup> Since in these later ages, this Sabbatic river, once so famous, which, by Josephus' account here, ran every seventh day, and rested on 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.—W.



children, poured out of the city. And when they saw him coming up to them, they lined both sides of the road, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back with him. They also besought him all the time, among all the acclamations they made to him, to eject the Jews from their city. But Titus did not give any assent to this petition, but merely listened to it in silence. However, the Jews were in a great and terrible fright from the uncertainty they were in as to what his opinion was, and how he intended to act in regard to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his journey immediately to Zeugma,<sup>1</sup> which lies on the Euphrates, where messengers came to him from Vologesus, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold for the victory he had gained over the Jews; which he accepted, and feasted the king's messengers, and then returned to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch requested him frequently to come into their theatre, where the whole multitude were assembled and expected him, he graciously complied with their request. But when they pressed him again with much earnestness, and continually begged of him, to eject the Jews from their city, he gave them the following very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, where the Jews would then be obliged to retire to, is destroyed, and no other place will now receive them?" Thereupon the people of Antioch, having failed in their first request, made him a second; for they begged that he would order those tablets of brass, on which the Jews' privileges were engraven, to be removed. However, Titus would not grant that either, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt. And as he came to Jerusalem on his route, and compared the melancholy desolation he saw it now in with the ancient glory of the city, and considered the greatness of its present ruins as well as its ancient splendour, he pitied the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that he had taken by storm so great and goodly a city; nay, he

<sup>1</sup> On the Euphrates, opposite *Biréjik*, the ancient Apamea.

frequently cursed those that had been the authors of the revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city, so that it plainly appeared, that he did not desire that his renown should be founded on such a calamity as this punishment of theirs. Now there was still found among its ruins no small quantity of the riches that had been in the city, for though the Romans had dug up a great deal, yet more was discovered by the information of those who were captives. And so the Romans carried off gold and silver, and the rest of the most precious things which the Jews had, which their owners had treasured up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

§ 3. And Titus went on with his intended journey to Egypt, and travelled over the desert very quickly, and arrived at Alexandria, and resolved to sail for Italy. And as he had been accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places where they had come from, the fifth to Mœsia,<sup>1</sup> and the fifteenth to Pannonia.<sup>2</sup> As for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, and the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome in body, he gave orders that they should forthwith be transported to Italy, intending to exhibit them in his triumph. And after a prosperous voyage, the people of Rome received and met him just as they had his father. But what was the most splendid welcome to Titus was his father's meeting him, and receiving him. And the crowd of citizens felt the greatest joy when they saw all three princes together,<sup>3</sup> as they did at this time. Nor had many days elapsed, when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both Vespasian and Titus, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph. And when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for the splendid triumphal procession on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city; but every body went out and occupied every place where they might but stand, and left only such room as

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, vii. 4, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War. iv. 10, § 6.

<sup>3</sup> Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.—W.

was necessary for those who were to be the observed of all observers in the triumphal procession.

§ 4. Now, while it was still night, all the soldiers marched out in companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, and stationed themselves near the doors, not of the upper palace, but near the temple of Isis; for it was there that the emperors had rested that night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in the purple robes customary to emperors, and then went as far as Octavia's Walks; for there the senate, and the principal magistrates, and those that belonged to the equestrian order, waited for their arrival. Now a tribunal had been erected before the porticoes, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, and they came and sat down upon them, whereupon the soldiers made acclamations of joy immediately, and all gave them many attestations of valour. And they were without their arms, and only clad in silken garments, and crowned with laurel. And Vespasian graciously accepted these acclamations of theirs, but as they were still disposed to go on with such acclamations, he made them a sign to be silent. And when silence reigned in the entire assembly, he stood up, and covering most of his head in his cloak, put up the accustomed prayers; and Titus did the same. And after these prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent the soldiers away to the usual dinner prepared for them by the emperors; and retired himself to the gate which was called the gate of Triumph, because triumphal processions always passed through it. They there tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods whose statues were at the gate, they went on with the triumph, and marched through the theatres, that they might the more easily be seen by the multitudes.

§ 5. It is impossible to describe adequately the multitude of the shows, and the magnificence of them in all things such as man could devise, either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature. For almost all such curiosities, both admirable and costly, as the most fortunate men ever got by piece-

meal, were here heaped one upon another, and all brought together on that day, showing the vastness of the empire of the Romans. For there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of articles of all kinds in silver and gold and ivory, not as if carried in the triumphal procession only, but, as a man might say, like a running stream. Some hangings of the rarest purple were carried along, and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the art of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and others of other workmanship, and such a vast number of these were brought, that we could not but see how erroneous our idea was that any of them were rare. Images of the gods were also carried, as wonderful for their size as artistic and finished in their workmanship; nor were any of these images made of any other than very costly material. And many species of animals were exhibited, all with their own natural ornaments. The numerous men also who introduced each of these shows were adorned with purple and gilt garments, and those who were chosen to conduct the triumphal procession were dressed in a very striking and costly way. Moreover, one could see that even the crowd of captives was not unadorned, while the variety and beauty of their garments concealed from sight any deformity of their bodies arising from their hardships. But what afforded the greatest admiration 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 adequately to support them, such was their size. For many of them were three or even four stories high, and the magnificence of their structure excited both pleasure and astonishment; for upon many of them was laid cloth of gold, and wrought gold and ivory were attached to all of them. And various episodes in the war by many representations conveyed a very clear picture of what war was like. For there might be seen a fertile country laid waste, and entire armies of enemies slain, and some running away, and others being carried into captivity, and walls of great thickness knocked down by battering-rams, and strong fortifications taken, and the walls of populous cities upon the tops of hills scaled, and an army pouring in over the

walls, and every place full of slaughter, and the supplications of those who could no longer lift up their hands in opposition, and fire put to temples, and houses overthrown and falling upon their owners, and rivers, after passing through a large and melancholy desert, flowing not into a land cultivated, or furnishing drink for men or cattle, but through a land still on fire on every side. For the Jews had given themselves to war to undergo such things. Now the artistic magnificence of these representations was so good, that it exhibited what had taken place to those who were ignorant of the facts, as if they had been really present there. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that had been taken, just as he was captured. Many ships also followed. Other spoils were also carried in the procession in great plenty, but those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem made the greatest figure of them all, namely, a golden table which weighed many talents, and a candlestick likewise made of gold, though its construction was somewhat different from that in use among us. For its middle branch was fixed upon a pedestal, and small branches came out of it, like a trident in appearance, and each having a lamp of brass on its top. There were seven of these lamps, which represented the honour paid to the number seven by the Jews. And last of all the spoils, was carried the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed many men, carrying images of victory, all made of ivory and gold. Behind these rode Vespasian first, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode with them, himself also splendidly dressed and mounted on a handsome horse.

§ 6. The end of the procession was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and when they reached it they halted; for it was the ancient custom to stay there till somebody brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had now been led in triumph among the captives; a rope had also been thrown round him, and he had been dragged into a place over the forum, where the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to death should be slain, and he had also been scourged by those that dragged him along. And when it was reported that there was an end

of him, and all the people had shouted for joy, they then began to offer the sacrifices which they consecrated by the accustomed prayers, and then went away to the palace. And the emperors entertained some at their own feast, and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home. For the city of the Romans celebrated this day as a festival for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, and for the end of their own intestine dissensions, and for the commencement of their hopes of future happiness.

§ 7. After these triumphs were over, and after the Roman empire was settled on the surest foundation, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which he finished in a very short time, and in a manner beyond all human expectation. For bestowing his vast wealth upon it, besides what he had formerly gained in his other successes, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues. And all such rarities were collected and deposited in this temple, as men before used to wander all over the world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another. He also deposited in it the golden vessels that were taken out of the Jewish temple, and was very proud of them. And he gave orders that they should place their law, and the purple veils of the sanctuary, in the royal palace, and keep them there.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning Machærus, and how Lucilius Bassus took that Fortwess and other Places.*

### § 1.

NOW Lucilius Bassus was sent out as imperial legate to Judæa, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and made himself master of the fortress of Herodium<sup>1</sup> and the garrison that held it: after which he got together all the soldiers available (for many were distributed about the country) and the tenth legion, and

<sup>1</sup> *Jebel Fureidis.* Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

resolved to march against Machærus.<sup>1</sup> For it was quite necessary that that fortress should be demolished, lest it might draw away many into rebellion because of its strength: for the nature of the place was very capable of affording sure hope of safety to those who held it, and delay and fear to those who attacked it. For what was defended by a fort was itself a rocky hill, rising to a very great height, which circumstance alone made it very difficult to capture it. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily approached; for it is intrenched by ravines on all sides, so deep that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, nor are they easy to cross over, and it is quite impossible to fill them up with earth. For the ravine which hems it in on the west extends threescore furlongs, and does not end till the lake Asphaltitis<sup>2</sup> (and it is on the same side also that Machærus has its highest peak elevated above the rest); and although the ravines that lie on the north and south sides are not so large as that just described, yet it is similarly impracticable to think of storming them. As for the ravine that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits, and it extends as far as a mountain that lies opposite Machærus.

§ 2. Now Alexander the king of the Jews, having observed the nature of this place, was the first who built a fortress there, which was afterwards demolished by Gabinius, when he warred against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being fortified in the strongest manner, especially as it lay so near to Arabia: for it is situated conveniently in respect to that country which it faces. He therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, from which a way led up to the very top of the hill. Moreover, he built a wall round the top of the hill, and erected towers a hundred and sixty cubits high at the angles. And in the middle of this walled area he built a magnificent palace, wherein were large and beautiful rooms. He also made a great many cisterns to hold water, that there might be a

<sup>1</sup> *Mekaur.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> The Dead Sea.

plentiful supply in the most fit places, as if having a friendly contest with nature, that he might make the natural strength of the place, which made it hard to be taken, still greater by defences made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other engines of war into it, and contrived to store up every thing there that might enable its inhabitants to stand a very long siege.

§ 3. Now in this palace there grew a sort of rue, that deserves our wonder on account of its size, for it was as large as any fig-tree both in height and thickness; and the report went that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and it would probably have lasted much longer had it not been cut down by the Jews who occupied the place afterwards. And in the ravine which surrounds the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Baaras,<sup>1</sup> which produces a root of the same name as itself. Its colour is like that of fire, and towards evening it sends out a ray like lightning, and is not easily taken by such as approach it and wish to take it, but recedes from their hands, and is not stationary until either a woman's urine or menstruous blood be poured upon it; nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless one take and hang the root itself down from the hand, and so carry it away. It is also taken another way without danger, namely, as follows. Persons dig quite round it, till the hidden part of the root is very small; they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog starts to follow the person that tied him, the root is easily plucked up; but the dog dies immediately, as if a victim instead of the man that would take the plant away. Nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into his hands. Yet after all this risk in getting it, it is only sought after on account of one property it has, that if it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those who are called demons (who 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. There are also springs of hot water that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste from one

<sup>1</sup> In the *Wady Zerka Ma'in*, on the east shore of the Dead Sea.



another : for some of them are bitter, and others of them are very sweet. Cold waters also gush out frequently, and have their springs near one another, not only on the more level ground, but what is still more wonderful, there is to be seen a certain cave hard by of no great depth, covered over by a rock that juts out; and above this rock there stand out two small round [hills like] breasts, a little distant from one another, one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; and these waters, when mixed together, form a most pleasant bath, medicinal indeed in other complaints, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place also contains mines of sulphur and alum.

§ 4. Now when Bassus had made a complete reconnaissance of the fortress, he resolved to make his approach to it by filling up the ravine on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise the earth as soon as possible, and so to make the storm of the place easy. As for the Jews who were shut up inside the place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and forced these strangers, as they considered them a merely useless multitude, to stay in the lower city, and bear the brunt of danger first, while they themselves occupied the upper citadel, and held it, both on account of its great strength, and to provide for their own safety; for they thought they might obtain their pardon if they surrendered the fortress eventually to the Romans. However, they wished to make trial first whether the hopes they had of escaping a siege were feasible. So they energetically made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them, in which conflicts many of them were slain, and they also slew many of the Romans. But still it was opportunity that chiefly gained both sides their victories, they were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard, and by the Romans when, upon the Jews' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard to receive them. But the conclusion of the siege did not depend upon these skirmishes; but a certain unexpected chance event forced the Jews to surrender the fortress. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very

active with his hand, whose name was Eleazar. He greatly distinguished himself in the 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 great deal of hurt when it came to fighting, and for those who were bold enough to sally out with him he made their attack easy, and caused their retreat to be without danger by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened on one occasion, when the fight was over, and both sides had retired, that he, despising the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, stayed outside the gates, and talked a long time to those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon them. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, observed his opportunity, and ran at him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and snatched him up armour and all, while those that saw it from the wall were in such consternation, that Rufus carried Eleazar off to the Roman camp before they could stop him. And the general of the Romans ordered that he should be hoisted up naked, and set before the city so as to be seen by all the citizens, and severely scourged before their eyes. At this sad event that befell the young man the Jews were terribly confounded, and the whole city sorely lamented him, and the wailing was greater than one would have expected at the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and wished to heighten their grief, in order to prevail upon them to surrender the city for Eleazar's safety, nor did he fail of his hope. For he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to crucify Eleazar immediately. And the sight of this occasioned still greater grief among those that were in the fortress, and they groaned aloud, and cried out that they could not bear to see his tragic end. Thereupon Eleazar besought them not to allow him to suffer the most wretched of deaths, and exhorted them to save themselves by yielding to the Roman power and fortune, as all other people had been now conquered by them. And they were greatly moved by what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him (for he was of an

eminent and very numerous family), so they now yielded to compassion contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly they quickly sent out certain messengers, and treated with the Romans about the surrender of the fortress, and desired that they might be permitted to go away safe, and take Eleazar with them. And the Romans and their general accepted these terms, but the multitude of strangers 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. But as soon as they opened the gates, those who had come to terms with Bassus told him of it, whether they envied the others' safety, or whether they acted so from fear, lest the Romans should accuse them of their escape. Now the most courageous of these strangers that went out anticipated the enemy, and broke through and escaped, while those men of them that were taken within were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, and the women and children were made slaves. But as to those that had surrendered the fortress, Bassus thought it right to perform the covenant he had made with them, so he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

§ 5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he pushed on his army to what is called the wood of Jardes, for news was brought him that many of those who had fled from the sieges of Jerusalem and Machærus formerly were concentrated there. When he was therefore come to the place, and perceived that the news was correct, he first surrounded the whole place with his cavalry, that such of the Jews as were bold enough to try to break through might have no possible way of escape because of the cavalry, while he ordered his foot-soldiers to cut down the trees that were in the wood where they had fled. So the Jews were under the necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in battle, as they might perhaps so escape. So they rushed forward *en masse*, with a great shout, and fell upon those that surrounded them. And the Romans received them with great courage, and as the one side fought desperately, and the other would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account, but the issue of the battle was very different to the two armies.

For it so happened, that only twelve fell on the Roman side, while a few were wounded, but of the Jews not one escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being no less than three thousand, including Judas, the son of Arus, their general, concerning whom I have before said that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into certain underground passages had privately made his escape.

§ 6. About the same time the emperor wrote to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus (who was the procurator), and gave orders that all the land of the Jews should be sold. For he did not find any city there, but reserved the country for himself; however, to eight hundred men only, whom he had disbanded from his army, he gave for their habitation a place called Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> which is thirty furlongs from Jerusalem. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wherever they dwelt, and enjoined every one of them to contribute two drachmæ every year to the Capitol, as they used previously to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. Such was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning the Calamities that befell Antiochus, King of Commagene. Also concerning the Alani, and what great Hurt they did to the Medes and Armenians.*

### § 1.

AND now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, and all his family, fell into very great calamities on the following account. Cæsennius Pætus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether stating the real truth, or only out of hatred of Antiochus, (for the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,) sent a letter to Vespasian telling him that Antiochus and his son Epiphanes had re-

<sup>1</sup> The distance given agrees with that of *Kulónich* (Colonia) from Jerusalem. This Emmaus is very generally supposed to be the same as the biblical Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 13).

solved to revolt from the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia; and urging that it was necessary to anticipate them, lest, if they got the start of the Romans, they might begin such a war as would cause a general disturbance in the Roman empire. Now Vespasian was not disposed to neglect the matter, as this information reached him; for the neighbourhood of those kings made the matter of greater importance. For Samosata,<sup>1</sup> the capital of Commagene, lies upon the Euphrates, so that the Parthians, had they any such design, could most easily cross over it, and would also have a secure retreat back. Pætus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him to act as he should think proper in the case, so without delay he suddenly marched against Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: having with him the tenth legion, and also some cohorts and troops of horse. The following kings also came to his assistance, Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidice,<sup>2</sup> and Sohemus, king of what was called Emesa.<sup>3</sup> Nor was any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for none in that country would so much as lift up their hands against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war upon the Romans, but determined to leave all his kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately with his wife and children, thinking thereby to prove himself to the Romans to be innocent of the charge laid against him. So he went a hundred and twenty furlongs from Samosata into the plain, and there encamped.

§ 2. Pætus then sent some of his men to occupy Samosata, and by them 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 necessity he was in to do anything in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and was for enduring with patience what he had to suffer. But his sons, who were young and inexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity with-

<sup>1</sup> *Samsât*. Jewish War, i. 16, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> The country of Chalcis, now probably *Mejdel 'Anjar*.

<sup>3</sup> *Homs*.

out fighting. Epiphanes and Callinicus, therefore, betook themselves to force. And as the battle was stoutly contested and lasted all day long, they showed their own valour in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put an end to the battle, and that without any diminution of their forces; but Antiochus, although the battle had terminated in this way, did not venture to continue there, but took his wife and daughters, and fled with them to Cilicia, and, by so doing, quite discouraged the spirit of his own soldiers. So they revolted and went over to the Romans, as he despaired of keeping the kingdom, for now the case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and Callinicus should get safe from their enemies before they became entirely destitute of helpers. Nor were there any more than ten horsemen with them, when they crossed the Euphrates, whence they reached Vologesus, the king of Parthia, in safety, where they were not disregarded as exiles, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

§ 3. Now when Antiochus arrived at Tarsus<sup>1</sup> in Cilicia, Pætus despatched a centurion to arrest him, and sent him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have the king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have regard to their ancient friendship than to preserve an inexorable anger because of this war. So he gave orders, while Antiochus was still upon the road, that they should take off his bonds, and that he should put off his visit to Rome, and for the present go and live at Lacedæmon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. Now when Epiphanes and Callinicus, who were before in great fear for their father, were informed of this, their minds were freed from the great concern and anxiety they had been in. They also hoped that Vespasian would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologesus; for although they lived in plenty, they knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. And Vespasian graciously gave them leave, and they went to Rome; and as their father came at once

<sup>1</sup> *Tarsús*, in the province of *Adana*.

to them from Lacedæmon, they had all sorts of respect paid them there, and there they remained.

§ 4. Now the nation of the Alani who (as I said before somewhere) are Scythians, and dwell near the Tanais<sup>1</sup> and the lake Mæotis,<sup>2</sup> formed about this time the design of invading Media and the country beyond it, in order to plunder them. Accordingly they negotiated with the king of the Hyrcani,<sup>3</sup> for he was master of the pass that king Alexander had shut up with iron gates. And as he gave them leave to come through them, they came *en masse*, and fell upon the Medes who expected nothing of the kind, and plundered their country, which was populous and rich in cattle, and 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 get at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only with difficulty saved his wife and concubines from them, after they had been made captives, by paying a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alani therefore plundered the country with great ease and without opposition, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, and he met them and fought them, but was nearly taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from some distance, and would soon have drawn him to him, if he had not quickly cut the cord with his sword, and fled first. And the Alani, being still more provoked by this fight, laid waste the country, and carried off with them a great multitude of men, and a great quantity of other spoil they had got from both kingdoms, and then retired back to their own country.

<sup>1</sup> The *Don*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sea of Asov*.

<sup>3</sup> Hyrcania lay to the south of the Caspian, and is now the Persian province *Mazanderan*.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning Masada, and the Sicarii who held it; and how Silva besieged that Fortress. Eleazar's Speeches to the besieged.*

## § 1.

WHEN Bassus had died in Judæa, Flavius Silva succeeded him as governor there; and when he saw that all the rest of the country had been subdued in this war, and that there was only one fortress that was still in revolt, he concentrated all his army that was in those parts, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada,<sup>1</sup> and the commander of the Sicarii, who occupied it, was one Eleazar, an able man, and a descendant of that Judas who had persuaded no few of the Jews, as I before stated, not to submit to the census, when Cyrenius was sent into Judæa to take it. For it was then that the Sicarii banded together against those who were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, plundering them of what they had, and driving away their cattle, and setting fire to their houses. For they said that they differed not at all from foreigners, as they betrayed so ignobly their freedom which the Jews thought ought to be fought for to the utmost, and owned that they preferred slavery under the Romans. Now this was in reality only a pretext and cloak for their barbarity and avarice, as they afterwards made evident by their actions. For those that were partners with them in their rebellion joined them also with in the war against the Romans, and went further lengths in their audacity against them. And when they were again convicted of dissembling in such pretexts, they still more abused those who justly reproached them for their wickedness. And somehow, indeed, that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices among the Jews, insomuch that no kind of villainy was then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*, on the west shore of the Dead Sea. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.



that was new if he wished. So deeply were they all infected both privately and publicly, and vied with one another who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours, men in power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly endeavouring to destroy men in power. The latter desired to tyrannize, and the former to offer violence to and plunder those who were richer than themselves. Now the Sicarii first began this lawlessness and barbarity to their kindred, and left no word of reproach unsaid, or deed undone, to destroy those whom they plotted against. However, John showed by his actions that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself. For he not only slew all who counselled him to do what was right and expedient, treating them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens, but also filled his country generally with ten thousand woes, such as a man who was already hardened in impiety towards God would naturally do. For he had unlawful food set upon his table, and rejected the purity that the laws 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 gentleness or kindness towards men. Again, what evil did not Simon, the son of Gioras, do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to the persons of those very freemen who had set him up as a tyrant? What friendship or relationship did not make them more bold in their daily murders? For they looked upon doing hurt to strangers as only a work of ignoble villainy, but thought barbarity towards their nearest relations a glorious feat. The Idumæans also vied with these men in their fury. For they, vilest wretches that they were, cut the throats of the high priests, that so no part of piety to God might be preserved, and destroyed utterly every vestige of forms of law, and introduced the most complete lawlessness in all cases, in which the class of people called Zealots excelled, who indeed made their name good by their acts. For they were zealous in every bad work, and if their memory recalled any evil thing that had formerly been done, they did not omit zealously to do the same; and yet they gave themselves their name as if zealous for what was good, either bantering those they

treated ill because of their brutish disposition, or thinking the greatest of evils good. Accordingly, they each had a fitting end, God awarding to them punishment completely adequate to their deserts. For all such chastisements lit upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost end of their lives, and till death came upon them in various torments. However, one might say that they suffered less than they inflicted, because it was impossible they could be punished quite according to their deserts. But this is not the proper place to make adequate lamentation for those who were the victims of these men's barbarity. I will therefore return again to the remaining part of my narrative.

§ 2. The Roman general then came and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress of Masada with him. As for the whole adjacent country he made himself master of it at once, and put garrisons into the most suitable places of it, and built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged could easily escape, and also set his men to guard the several parts of it. He also carefully pitched his camp in the most suitable place for the siege, where the rocks belonging to the fortress were nearest to the neighbouring mountain, though it was indeed a difficult place for getting plenty of provisions. For not only had food to be brought from a great distance with a great deal of exertion on the part of those Jews who were told off for that purpose, but water also had to be brought to the camp, because the place supplied no fountain that was near. When, therefore, Silva had first seen to these matters, he turned his attention to besieging the place, a task which required a great deal of skill and hard work because of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

§ 3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high, surrounded by ravines of such vast depth that the eye could not reach their bottom, which were precipitous, and such as no animal could climb except at two places in the rock, where it admits of ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of these two ways one is from the lake Asphaltitis towards the east, and the other, where the ascent is easier, on the west. One of these ways they call

the Serpent,<sup>1</sup> using that comparison because of its narrowness and perpetual windings; for it breaks off where the crags jut out, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthens again by degrees, and proceeds forward not without difficulty. And he that would walk along it must first tread firmly with one foot and then with the other; for to slip is certain destruction; for on each side yawn precipices deep enough to quell all courage by terror. Now when a man has gone along this way for thirty furlongs, what remains is the top of the hill, not ending in a sharp point, but forming table-land as it were on the summit of the hill. Upon this summit Jonathan the high priest first built a fortress and called it Masada. And afterwards the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree. For he built a wall made of white stone, seven furlongs long, twelve cubits high, and eight broad, round the entire area of the top of the hill. Thirty-seven towers, each of them fifty cubits high, were also erected upon this wall from which you might pass into chambers built on the inside round the entire wall. For the king reserved the top of the hill, which was rich soil and softer than all the plain, for agriculture, that such as committed themselves for their safety to this fortress, might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever want it from abroad. He also built a palace thereon at the western ascent, beneath the walls of the fortress, and facing north. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and it had at its corners four towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the chambers within and of the porticoes and bath-rooms was of great variety, and very costly, and these buildings were supported by pillars made each of a single stone on every side, and the walls and floors of the chambers were beautified by marble being inlaid. He also cut many deep tanks out of the rocks as reservoirs for water, at every one of the places that were inhabited above and round the palace, and before the wall, and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have as plentiful a supply of water as if there had been

<sup>1</sup> This ascent, which is now in a semi-ruinous condition, is on the east side of the fortress.

fountains there. There was also a road dug from the palace, which led to the very top of the hill, but could not be seen by such as were outside the fortress. Nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the roads they could see. For the road on the east side, as I have already stated, was inaccessible because of its nature; and the western road he blocked up by 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. Indeed those that walked along it without any danger<sup>1</sup> could not, such was its contrivance, easily get to the end of it. So strong was this fortress both by nature and art against the attacks of enemies.

§ 4. As for the various things that were stored up within it, one would wonder still more at their abundance and the time they lasted. For here was laid up corn in great quantity, such as would suffice for a long time, and also wine and oil in abundance; and all kinds of pulse, and dates, were stored up there; all which things Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits also were in prime condition, and not at all inferior to fruits newly stored up, although it was little short of a hundred years from the storing up of these provisions till the fortress was captured by the Romans. The Romans also found those fruits that were left not at all spoilt. Nor would one be wrong in supposing the air to be the cause of their lasting good so long, as owing to the height of the fortress the air is so free from the mixture of everything earthy and muddy. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been stored up by king Herod, sufficient for ten thousand men: there was also unwrought iron and brass, and moreover lead, which show that Herod had taken much pains to have all things ready here for great emergencies. For it is said that he prepared this fortress for himself, as a refuge against two kinds of danger which he anticipated, one from the Jewish people, lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the throne, but the other danger was greater and more formidable,

<sup>1</sup> That is, in times of peace.

namely from Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, asking him to take off Herod, and entreating him to bestow the kingdom of Judæa upon her. And certainly one might wonder that Antony never complied with her imperiousness in this point, as he was such a slave to his passion for her; for one would not have expected that he would not have gratified her in this. However, it was the fear of these dangers that made Herod rebuild Masada, and leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

§ 5. When the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall outside round the whole fortress, as I have said already, and had so made the most careful provision to prevent any of the besieged escaping, he undertook the siege in person, though he found but one place that would allow of his raising earthworks. For behind the tower which blocked up the road that led to the palace and to the top of the hill from the west, there was a certain rock jutting out, very broad and very prominent, three hundred cubits lower than the summit of Masada, which was called Leuce.<sup>1</sup> So Silva got upon that rock, and ordered the army to bring earth. And as they fell to that work with alacrity, and there were many hands, the bank was solidly raised two hundred cubits high. However, this bank was not thought sufficiently firm and strong to support the scaling ladders, so another embankment of great stones compacted together, fifty cubits both in breadth and height, was put upon it. The structure of the other engines was like that of those that had been first devised for sieges by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus. There was also a tower constructed sixty cubits high, plated all over with iron, from which the Romans threw missiles and stones from their engines, and soon made those that fought on the wall retire, and prevented their lifting up their heads over it. At the same time Silva constructed a great battering-ram, and ordered it to be frequently applied against the wall, and with some difficulty broke down a part of the wall,

<sup>1</sup> The White Rock, or Promontory, can be readily recognised on the west side of *Sebbeh*, and the bank or causeway raised by Silva during the siege.

and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii had anticipated him by having built another wall within, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the battering-rams as the other: for it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of weakening the terrible battering of the ram. It was constructed in the following manner. Great beams were laid lengthways, near one another at their ends: laid at such a distance from each other in two parallel rows as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between these rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they further bound those beams together that lay lengthways by other beams across them. And so this work of theirs was like a real building. And when the battering-rams were applied, their blows were weakened by its yielding, and as the materials were by such concussion shaken closer together, the wall became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavour to take this wall by setting fire to it, so he gave orders to the soldiers to throw a great number of burning torches against it; and as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made the fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that blew was terrible to the Romans; for by bringing the flame down it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair, fearing their engines would be burnt. But after this suddenly the wind veered round to the south, as if by divine providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried back the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire from top to bottom. Thus the Romans, being thus divinely assisted, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the next day, and set their watch more carefully than usual that night, lest any of the enemy should steal a march on them and escape.

§ 6. However, neither did Eleazar himself once think of fleeing 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 opportunity for further exhibition of courage, and set before his eyes what

the Romans would do to them and their children and wives, if they were victorious, he thought about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this the best thing to do in the present circumstances, he got together the most courageous of his companions, and encouraged them to take that course by the following speech. "Since we, long ago, my brave friends, resolved never to be slaves to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself (who alone is the true and just lord of mankind), the time is now come that obliges us to carry out that resolve in act. And let us not at this crisis bring the reproach upon ourselves that, whereas we would not formerly undergo slavery without danger, we now together with slavery choose such punishments also as will be intolerable, if we fall alive into the power of the Romans. We were the very first of all that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them; and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God has granted us that it is still in our power to die nobly and in a state of freedom, which has not been the case of others who were conquered against their expectation. It is very plain that we shall be captured within a day's time, but we have still the choice to die in a glorious manner with our dearest friends. This our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they are very desirous to take us alive, nor can we hope any more to fight them and beat them. It was indeed our duty, perhaps, 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, to have conjectured the purpose of God, and to have recognized that the Jewish nation, of old dear to him, was now doomed to destruction. For had he either continued favourable, or been only in a minor degree displeased with us, he would not have allowed the destruction of so many men, or abandoned his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. But we, it seems, hoped to have preserved ourselves alone of all the Jewish race in a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others, when we even taught others! Wherefore, consider how God convinces us that our hopes are vain, by bringing such distress upon us, beyond our expectation, in

the desperate case we are now in. For not only has the invincible nature of this fortress not proved our safety, but also, though we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance. For the fire which did drive upon our enemies, did not of its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built, but it was God's anger that brought it against us for the many mad crimes we have been guilty of in regard to our own countrymen; the punishments for which let us not receive from the Romans, but from God himself, executed by our own hands; for these will be more easy than the treatment we should experience from the Romans. Let our wives die before they are outraged, 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 our freedom as a noble end of our lives. But first let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire. For I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail to get our wealth also. And let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will testify when we are dead, that we were not subdued for want of necessaries, but that, according to our original resolve, we preferred death to slavery."

§ 7. Such was Eleazar's speech to them. However, the opinions of those present did not acquiesce therein. For although some were eager to obey, and were all but filled with pleasure at the idea, thinking such a death noble, yet those that were more tender had compassion for their wives and families; and as these men were especially moved at the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and declared by the tears that were in their eyes their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw them in such fear, and that their souls were dejected at so stern a resolve, he was afraid lest perhaps they should by their lamentations and tears cow the spirit of those that had heard what he said courageously. So he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and, being full of matter, attempted to speak more clearly to them concern-



ing the immortality of the soul, and with indignation fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spoke as follows. "Truly I was very greatly mistaken, when I thought I was assisting brave men in struggling hard for their liberty, and men who were resolved either to live with honour or else to die. For I find that you are no better than others either in virtue or in courage, since you are afraid of dying, though you would be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor wait for any one to give you advice. For divine revelation and our national ideas have continually taught us, from the earliest moment that we could use our reason, and our forefathers have corroborated the same teaching by their actions and spirit, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death. For this last gives our souls liberty, and lets them depart to their own place of purity, where they will be insensible to all misery. For while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries, and to speak the real truth, are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine to what is mortal is unbecoming. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in the body: for by moving it in a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument of its own, and causes it to advance further in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from the weight which hangs to it and draws it down to the earth, it gets again its own proper place, and becomes then a partaker of blessed power and abilities entirely free, continuing invisible to the eyes of men, as God himself. For certainly it is not seen when it is in the body, for it comes there in an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen, for its nature is one and incorruptible, but yet it is the cause of change in the body. For whatever the soul touches lives and flourishes, but whatever is removed from it withers away and dies; so much is there in it of immortality. Let sleep be a most evident proof to you of what I say, for in it souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest in themselves, and conversing with God because of their relationship to him, go everywhere, and foretell many future things. And why

ought we to fear death, while we are pleased with the rest we have in sleep? And how is it not absurd to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to grudge it to ourselves when it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have been brought up in our national ideas, ought to set an example to others in readiness to die. However, if we stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us consider those Indians who profess to practise philosophy. Those good men unwillingly undergo the time of life as a necessary burden of nature, and hasten to let their souls loose from their bodies: nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, they have such a desire of the 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. So firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another [in the other world]. And when they have heard all such commands as are given them, they deliver their body to the fire, that they may get their soul separated from the body in the greatest purity, and die in the midst of hymns of commendation. For their dearest friends conduct them to their death more willingly than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, and weep indeed on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be received among 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 emulated by all mankind? And even if we had been brought up from the first in other notions, and taught that life is the greatest good for men, and that death is a calamity, yet the circumstances we are now in exhort us to bear it courageously, since it is by the will of God and by necessity that we are to die. For long ago God made, as it seems, this decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we were to be deprived of life, as we would not make a good use of it. For do not ascribe the causes of our present sad condition to yourselves, nor gratify the Romans by thinking that this war we have had with them has undone

us all. For these things have not come to pass by their might, but a more powerful cause has intervened, and made them seem our conquerors. By what Roman weapons, pray, were those Jews who inhabited Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> slain, who, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their sabbath, and did not so much as lift up their hands against them, yet had their throats cut by the people of Cæsarea, who ran upon them, and also cut the throats of their wives and children, and that without any regard to the Romans, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them? But, perhaps, some one will say that the people of Cæsarea always quarrelled with those that lived among them, and that they only seized the opportunity to satisfy their old hatred against them. What then shall we say of those in Scythopolis,<sup>2</sup> who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks, but did not avenge themselves upon the Romans in concert with our kinsmen? Much therefore, did their good-will and fidelity profit them, as they and their whole families were slain in the most inhuman manner, which was the return they had for their assistance! For they suffered the very same things which they had prevented from falling upon the others, as if they had themselves wished to inflict them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every particular in detail. For you cannot be ignorant that there was not any city in Syria which did not slay its Jewish inhabitants, though they were more hostile to us than the Romans were. Nay, the inhabitants of Damascus, though they were able to allege no specious pretext against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughter of our people, cutting the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, together with their wives and children. As to the number of those who were tortured to death in Egypt, we have been informed that they were more than sixty thousand. They indeed were so killed perhaps in a foreign country because they found no one to help them against their enemies; but as for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our own country, had we not sufficient reason to have hope of sure victory? For we had arms and walls,

<sup>1</sup> Cæsaria Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Bethshean, *Beisân*.

and fortresses so constructed as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be shaken by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But these advantages did us good only for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be the cause of greater miseries. For all we had has been taken from us, and all has fallen into the hands of our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious, and were not for the safety of those by whom these preparations for war were made. As for those who have already died in battle, we ought to esteem them blessed (for they died in defending, not in betraying, liberty), but as to the multitude of those who are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition? and who would not be eager to die before he suffered the same miseries as them? For some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and scourgings, and so died. Others have been half-devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been preserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies. And those that are alive still are to be looked on as the most miserable, who, though they frequently pray for death, cannot have that boon. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole Jewish nation, which was fortified by so many walls round it, and had so many fortifications and huge towers to defend it, and could hardly hold the stores prepared for the war, and had so many myriads of men to fight for it? Where, I say, is our city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting it? It is now rased to its very foundations, and the only memorial of it that is preserved is the camp of those who destroyed it, which is still erected upon its ruins. Some unfortunate old men also sit among the ashes of the temple, and a few women are kept there by the enemy for the most shameful lust. Who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet can bear the sight of the sun, though he might live free from danger? Who is so much his country's enemy, or so cowardly and fond of life, as not to be sorry that he is still alive? How I would that we had all died, before we had seen the holy city demolished by the hands of our

enemies, before we had seen our holy temple rased to the ground in so profane a manner! But since a generous hope deluded us that perhaps we might be able to avenge our country's ruin on our enemies, though it has now vanished, and left us alone in our distress, let us lose no time in dying 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 also those whom we have begotten, nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid this; but outrage and slavery, and to see our wives and children led away for disgrace, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death to them, when death is in their power, must undergo even them because of their cowardice. We revolted from the Romans, pluming ourselves greatly upon our courage, and when now, at the very last, they offered us the chance of safety, we would not listen to them. Who can, therefore, doubt that they will certainly be in a rage with us if they take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men, who will be strong enough in their bodies to bear much torture, miserable also will be those of older years, who will not be able to bear such ill treatment as young men can! One will see his wife led off to be outraged, another will hear the voice of his son, imploring help of his father whose hands are bound. But while our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them, let them minister to us in our glorious design! Let us die before we become slaves of our enemies, and let us go out of the world with our children and wives in a state of freedom! This our laws command us to do, this our wives and children crave at our hands. God himself has sent this necessity upon us, while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are captured. Let us therefore make haste, and instead of giving them the pleasure they hope for in getting us in their power, let us leave them awe at our death and admiration at our courage."

## CHAP. IX.

*How the People that were in the Fortress were prevailed on by the Words of Eleazar, except two Women and five Children, and submitted to be killed by one another.*

## § 1.

NOW though Eleazar wished to pursue his exhortation, they all cut him short, and made haste to do the work, being full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and went their way as if possessed, one still endeavouring to anticipate another, and thinking that this eagerness would be a proof of their courage and judgment, if they could avoid appearing among the last to do as Eleazar urged; so great an ardour came upon them 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 then held fast without wavering to the same resolution which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, though every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the thought carried the day with them that they were consulting for the best interests of those who were nearest and dearest to them. For husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and clung to their parting kisses with tears in their eyes; but at the same time they carried out what they had resolved on, as if doing it with the hands of strangers, making their anticipation of the miseries they would suffer, if they fell into the hands of their enemies, their comfort for the necessity of this. Nor was there at last any one of these men found who did not act his part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despatched his nearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they for the necessity they were in, to whom to slay their wives and children with their own hands seemed the lightest evil before them! Then not being able to bear the grief they were in for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it a wrong to those they had slain to live even the shortest space of time after

them, they quickly laid all they had on a heap, and set fire to it; and chose ten men by lot out of them to slay all the rest, and every one laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and offered his neck to the stroke of those who executed the melancholy office. And when these ten had intrepidly slain all the others, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he on whom the lot fell should first kill the other nine and then himself. All of these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering; and eventually the nine offered their necks to the last one left, and he took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance someone or other in so large a butchery might want his assistance to be despatched, and when he perceived that they were all dead, he set fire to the palace, and with great force ran his sword into his body, and fell down dead near his own relations. And all these died in the idea that they had not left one soul among them alive to be subject to the Romans; but one old woman, and another who was akin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in intelligence and wisdom, and five children, had secretly concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water there for their drink, when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another, who were nine hundred and sixty in number, women and children being included in that computation. This tragedy happened on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.

§ 2. As for the Romans, they expected a battle in the morning, so they put on their armour, and with their scaling ladders bridged over a way from their banks, and began their assault upon the fortress. But they saw no enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, and fire and perfect silence within the place, so they were at a loss to make out what had happened; and at last they raised a shout, as they used to do when they hurled missiles, to try if they could bring out any one that was within: and the two women heard this noise, and came out of their underground caverns, and informed the Romans of what had been done, just as it had happened, and one of them clearly described how everything had been said and done. But they did not

readily credit her account, for they could hardly believe such a desperate act: but attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting a way through it, entered the palace. And when they met with the multitude of the slain, they did not rejoice though it had happened to their enemies, but marvelled at the courage of their resolution, and the intrepid contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown by such a deed as this.

## CHAP. X.

*How many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria, and what Dangers they were in there; on which account the Temple, which had formerly been built by Onias the High Priest, was destroyed.*

### § 1.

WHEN Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress, and himself went to Cæsarea with his army. For there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war, which brought about perception and danger of disorder even in places very remote. Moreover, it came to pass that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt after this. For as many of the Sicarii as were able to flee there were not content with having saved their lives, but again attempted to make new disturbances, and urged many of those who entertained them to assert their liberty, and to esteem the Romans as no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only lord and master. And when some of the leading Jews opposed them, they slew some of them, and were very pressing in their exhortations to the others to revolt from the Romans. But when the principal members of the Jewish council saw their madness, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook it, so they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and laid before them the madness of the Sicarii, and showed that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also that these men, since they had no sure hope of escape, now they had fled from Judæa (because as soon as



ever it was known they were there, they would at once be destroyed by the Romans), had come there to give those who had not been partakers with them in any of their crimes a share in their own richly-deserved misfortunes. So they exhorted the multitude to have a care lest they should be brought to destruction by them, and to make their apology to the Romans for their own conduct in harbouring them by delivering these men up to them. And they, recognising the greatness of the danger they were in listened to what was said, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and arrested them. And six hundred of them were captured immediately, and it was not long before all those that fled into Egypt and to the Egyptian Thebes<sup>1</sup> were arrested also and brought back; whose stout-heartedness, whether recklessness or obstinacy of opinion, everybody was amazed at. For though all sorts of torture and ill-treatment of their bodies were devised, they could not get any of them to confess or be willing to say that the emperor was their lord, though that was all that was required of them, but they maintained their own opinion in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that all but rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the spectators was the courage of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome as to call the emperor lord. So much does the strength of courage prevail over the weakness of the body.

§ 2. Now Lupus at this time administered Alexandria, and quickly sent the emperor word of this commotion. And he suspecting the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together to a head again, and join others with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish the Jewish temple which was in the region called the region of Onias. It was in Egypt, and owed both its building and name to the following cause. Onias, the son of Simon, one of the high priests at Jerusalem, fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he

<sup>1</sup> On the left bank of the Nile, near *Luxor*.

made war against the Jews, and went to Alexandria. And as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, Onias assured him, if he would comply with his proposal, that he would make all the Jews his allies. And when the king agreed to do all that he was able, Onias desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and that he might worship God according to the customs of his own country; for he said the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and would have greater good-will to him, and if he granted them security for their religion, many of them would come over to him.

§ 3. And Ptolemy listened to what he said, and gave him a region a hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis.<sup>1</sup> It was the district called the district of Heliopolis,<sup>2</sup> where Onias built a fortress, and a temple not like that at Jerusalem, but resembling a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits, and constructed the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and adorned it similarly with gifts, except as regards the candlestick. For he did not make a candlestick, but had one golden lamp made, which illuminated the place with its light, and which he hung by a chain of gold. And the whole temple enclosure was surrounded with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large district for a revenue in money, not only that the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, but also that God might have abundance of what was necessary for his worship. However, Onias did not do all this from sound judgment, but because he was at variance with the Jews at Jerusalem, cherishing malice because of his exile, and he thought that by building this temple he should draw away the multitude from them to it. There had also been 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.<sup>3</sup> Such is the history of the building of this temple.

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 9, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish War, i. 1, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xix. 18-23.—W.

§ 4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, went to this temple, and carried out of it some of the votive offerings, and closed it. And as Lupus died a little afterwards, Paulinus, who succeeded him as governor, left none of the votive offerings there (for he threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out), nor did he permit those who were desirous of worship even to come near the sacred enclosure, but shut the gates, and made it entirely inaccessible, so that there remained no longer any trace of any divine worship having been in that place. Now 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.*

## § 1.

AND now the madness of the Sicarii spread, like a disease, as far as the cities in the neighbourhood of Cyrene.<sup>1</sup> For one Jonathan, a very vile person, and by trade a weaver, escaped there, and prevailed upon no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him, and led them into the desert, promising them that he would shew them signs and apparitions. As for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavish tricks from 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. And he despatched both horse and foot, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men: and most were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought before Catullus. As for Jonathan, the leader of the plot, he fled away for the time, but upon a great and very diligent search all over the country for him, he was captured also. And when he was brought before Catullus, he devised a

<sup>1</sup> The chief town of the Libyan Pentapolis. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.

way whereby he not only escaped punishment himself, but also gave Catullus a handle for doing much mischief. For he falsely accused the richest of the Jews, and said that they had suggested to him his plot.

§ 2. Now Catullus readily listened to his calumnies, and exaggerated the matter greatly in a very theatrical way, that he also might be supposed to have had success in a Jewish war. But what was still harder, he not only gave too easy belief to his stories, but he also taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bade this Jonathan, at any rate, to name one Alexander, a Jew (with whom he had formerly had a quarrel and open hostility), and also got him to name his wife Berenice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain first, and after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, in number no less than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to the emperor's revenues.

§ 3. Moreover, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of his villainy, he extended his false accusations further, and persuaded Jonathan, and some others who were taken with him, to bring an accusation of desire for innovation against Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria and at Rome. One of those who were insidiously accused was Josephus, the writer of this history. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hope. For though he went himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no further inquiry made as to the lies that were forged under his government, or by him, Vespasian suspected the matter, and made an inquiry into the truth. And when he found out that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them at the instigation of Titus, and brought the punishment he deserved upon Jonathan; for he was first tortured, and then burnt alive.

§ 4. As to Catullus, the emperors<sup>1</sup> were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severer condemnation than.

<sup>1</sup> Vespasian and Titus.

But not long afterwards he fell into a complicated and incurable disease, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the disease in his mind was heavier still. For he was terribly disturbed by fears, and continually cried out that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him; and was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torture and fire were brought to him. And his disease grew worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and so he died. Thus he became as great an instance of divine providence as ever was, and demonstration that God punishes wicked men.

§ 5. And here I shall put an end to my history, which I formerly promised to deliver with all accuracy to such as should wish to know in what manner this war between the Romans and the Jews was managed. As to its style, I must leave that to the determination of my readers; but as for the agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth has been the only thing I have aimed at through its entire composition.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,  
ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS  
AGAINST APION.

BOOK I.

§ 1.

I SUPPOSE that by my history of the Antiquities of the Jews, most excellent Épaphroditus, I have made it quite clear to those that peruse it that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct existence of its own originally, as also how we came to inhabit the country wherein we now live. These Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, and written by me in the Greek tongue. However, as I observe a considerable number of people give ear to the reproaches that are uttered against us by some who bear ill-will to us, and disbelieve what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, and take as a proof that our nation is of a late date the fact that they are not thought worthy of any mention by the most famous Greek historians, I have thought it right to write somewhat briefly about these matters, to convict those that so reproach us of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and also to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth about our antiquity. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed by the Greeks to be most trustworthy as regards all antiquarian

lore. I shall also show that those who have written reproachfully and falsely about us are refuted by themselves. I shall also endeavour to give the reasons why not many Greeks have mentioned our nation in their histories; I shall, however, bring those to light who have not passed over our history, for the sake of those that either do not know or pretend not to know them.

§ 2. First then I cannot but greatly wonder at those who think that we must attend to none but Greeks as to the most ancient facts, and learn the truth from them only, and that we are not to believe ourselves or other men. For I am convinced that the very reverse is the case, if we will not follow vain opinions, but extract the truth from the facts themselves. For you will find that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago, nay, one may say, is of yesterday and the day before only; I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the recording of their laws; and as for their care about compiling histories, it is very nearly the last thing they set about. Indeed they admit themselves that it is the Egyptians the Chaldæans and the Phœnicians (for I will not now include ourselves among those) that have preserved the memory of the most ancient and lasting tradition. For all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the climate and atmosphere, and they have also taken especial care to have nothing forgotten of what was done among them, but their history was esteemed sacred, and ever written in the public records by men of the greatest wisdom. Whereas ten thousand destructions have afflicted the country which the Greeks inhabit, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that, ever beginning a new way of living, they supposed each of them that their mode of life originated with themselves. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the use of letters. For those who would trace their knowledge of letters to the greatest antiquity, boast that they learned them from the Phœnicians and from Cadmus. But nobody is able to produce any writing preserved from that time, either in the temples or in any other public monuments; and indeed the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war so many years after-



wards is in great doubt, and it is a question whether the Greeks used letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that they were ignorant of the present way of using letters. Certainly there is not any writing among them, which the Greeks agree to be genuine, ancients than Homer's poems. And he plainly was later than the siege of Troy: and they say that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and that they were afterwards collected together, and that that is the reason why such a number of variations are found in them. As for those who set about writing histories among them, such I mean as Cadmus of Miletus,<sup>1</sup> and Acusilaus of Argos,<sup>2</sup> and any others that may be mentioned after him, they lived but a short time before the Persian expedition into Greece. Moreover, as to those who first philosophized as to things celestial and divine among the Greeks, as Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew from the Egyptians and Chaldæans, and wrote but little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks, and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

§ 3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, as if they were the only people acquainted with antiquity, the only people that have handed down the truth about those early times in an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on good foundation when they set about writing, but rather jotted down their own conjectures as to facts? Accordingly they frequently confute one another in their own books, and do not hesitate to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things. But I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should teach the Greeks what they know better than me already, what great discrepancy there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus as to their genealogies,

<sup>1</sup> Miletus stood opposite the mouth of the Mæander; the ground has now been completely changed by the deposits of the Mæander, and the ruins of Miletus are at a distance from the sea.

<sup>2</sup> In the Peloponnesus.

in how many cases Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, or how Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in most of his history; or how Timæus in like manner contradicts Ephorus, and the succeeding writers Timæus, and all writers Herodotus. Nor could Timæus agree with Antiochus and Philistus and Callias about Sicilian history, any more than do the several writers of the Atthidæ follow one another as to Athenian affairs, nor do the historians that wrote on Argolic history coincide about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, when in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions done in it, there are such great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused by some as often writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the most accurate history of the affairs of his own times.

§ 4. As for the causes of such great discrepancy, many others may perhaps appear probable to those who wish to investigate the matter, but I attach the greatest importance to two which I shall mention. And first I shall mention what seems to me the principal cause, namely, the fact that from the beginning the Greeks were careless about public records of what was done on each occasion, and this would naturally pave the way for error, and give those that wished to write on old subjects opportunity for lying. For not only were records neglected by the other Greeks, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be Autochthons, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant, but they say that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records, yet Draco lived only a little before the tyrant Pisistratus. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, why need I mention them, since it was still later before they learned their letters, and that with difficulty also?

§ 5. There must, therefore, naturally arise great differences among writers, when no records existed, which might at once inform those who desired to learn, and refute those that would tell lies. However, we must assign a second cause, besides the former one, for these discrepancies.

Those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it is very easy always to make such a profession, but they tried to display their fine powers of writing, and in whatever manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves. Some betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some endeavoured to please cities or kings by writing in their commendation; others fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. However, such do what is of all things the most contrary to true history. For it is the characteristic of true history, that all both speak and write the same about the same things, whereas these men, by writing differently about the same things, thought they would be supposed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We must indeed yield to the Greek writers as to language and style of composition, but not as regards the truth of ancient history, and least of all as to the national customs of various countries.

§ 6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity, that the priests were intrusted with that function, and philosophized about it, among the Egyptians and Babylonians, and the Chaldæans also among the Babylonians, and that the Phœnicians, who especially mixed with the Greeks, made use of letters both for the common affairs of life, and for handing down the history of public transactions, I think I may omit any proof of this, because all men allow it to be so. But I shall endeavour briefly to show that our forefathers took the same care about writing their records (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of), and that they committed that office to their high priests and prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy, and that, if it be not too bold for me to say so, our history will be so written hereafter.

§ 7. For our forefathers not only appointed for that purpose from the beginning the best of men and those that attended upon the divine worship, but also made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed

and pure. For he who is partaker of the priesthood must marry a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money or other honours, and he is to carefully take his wife's genealogy from the ancient records, and procure many witnesses to it.<sup>1</sup> And this is our practice not only in Judæa itself, but wherever any body of men of our nation live, and an exact account of our priests' marriages is kept even in Egypt and Babylon, and any other place in the rest of the world wherever any of our priests are scattered. For they send to Jerusalem the names and pedigree of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and state who are the witnesses. And if any war breaks out, as has frequently happened before now, as when Antiochus Epiphanes invaded our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also, and especially in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine into the state of the women that remain. For they do not receive those that have been captives, suspecting that they have frequently had sexual intercourse with strangers. But what is the strongest proof of our accuracy in this matter is that we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records for two thousand years. And whatever priest violates any of these rules is prohibited to stand at the altar, or to participate in any other of our holy rites. And this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any discrepancy in what is written, as only prophets have written the original and earliest accounts of things, as they learned them of God himself by inspiration, as they have also written clearly what happened in their own times.

§ 8. For we have not ten thousand books among us, disagreeing with and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all time, and are justly believed to be divine. And five of them are by Moses, and contain his laws and the traditions of the origin

<sup>1</sup> Of this accuracy of the Jews before and in our Saviour's time, in carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus' *Life*, § 1.—W.

of mankind *and the subsequent history of the Jews* till his death. This time was little short of three thousand years. And as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote down what happened in their times in thirteen books; and the remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. Our history has also been written in detail from Artaxerxes to our own times, but is not esteemed equally authoritative as the before-mentioned books, because there was not then an exact succession of prophets. And how much we credit these books of ours is evident by our action. For though so many ages have already passed, no one has ventured either to add any thing to them, or to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them. But it is innate in all Jews, immediately from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to abide by them, and, if necessary, gladly to die for them. For many Jewish captives have frequently been seen ere now to endure racks and deaths of all kinds in the theatres, not to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them. Whereas who among the Greeks would undergo the least harm on their account, even if all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed? For they take them to be narratives concocted according to the inclinations of those that write them. And they justly hold this view of their more ancient writers, as they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about affairs at which they were not present, without caring to get information about them from those who knew the circumstances. Indeed about this late war of ours some persons have written histories and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done, but only putting a few things together from false hearsay, and very impudently and shamelessly calling these writings by the name of history.

§ 9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of the whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, having been myself present at all its transactions. For I acted as general of those who are called among us

Galilæans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then arrested by the Romans, and became a captive, and Vespasian and Titus had me kept in custody, and forced me to attend upon them continually. At first I was in bonds, but was freed from them afterwards, and sent to accompany Titus when he went from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem. And during that time there was nothing done that escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully, and I alone took cognizance of the news that deserters brought. Afterwards I had leisure at Rome, and when all my materials were prepared for the work, I employed some *collaborateurs* to be quite *au fait* in the Greek idioms, and so composed my history of those transactions. And so confident was I of the truth of what I related, that I appealed first of all to those that had the supreme command in that war, namely, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented my books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had taken part in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek learning, among whom were Julius Archelaus, the most august Herod, and the most admirable king Agrippa himself. And all these men bore testimony to me that I had paid the strictest regard to truth, and they were not men who would have disguised their real thoughts or been silent, if I, either out of ignorance or to curry favour, had given false colours to actions, or omitted any thing.

§ 10. Some paltry persons have indeed attempted to calumniate my history, and taken it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the training of young men by a strange accusation and calumny, since it ought to be generally known that every one who undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them accurately himself first, either from having been concerned in them himself, or from having been informed of them by such as were acquainted with them; both which branches of knowledge I may very properly claim in the composition of both my works. For, as I said, I translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books, which I could easily do, since I was a priest by race, and had studied the philosophy contained

in those writings: and as for the History of the War which I wrote, I had been myself an actor in many of its transactions, and an eye-witness of most, nor was I unacquainted with any thing whatever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then should those be esteemed, who undertake to contradict me as to the truth of those affairs! for although they say they have perused the military notes of both Vespasian and Titus, they could not be acquainted with the state of things with us Jews who fought against them.

§ 11. I have been obliged to make this digression as I wished to expose the recklessness of those who undertake to write histories: and I think I have sufficiently shown that the transmitting down the history of ancient times has been better done by those nations which are called barbarians than by the Greeks themselves. I now wish first to say a few things to those who endeavour to prove that our polity is of late date, because, as they say, the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners, and shall also prove that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do so very unjustly.

§ 12. As for ourselves, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor delight in commerce, nor in such intercourse with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and as we have a fruitful country to dwell in, we take pains in cultivating it; but our principal care of all is to educate our children well, and to observe the laws, and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to keep that religion that has been handed down to us. Since, then, besides what I have already said, we had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no opportunity offered us in ancient times for such intercourse with the Greeks, as they had with the Egyptians owing to their exports and imports, as also with the Phœnicians, who lived by the sea-side, and were moved by the love of lucre to trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery, nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, turn to wars, although our country contained many myriads of men of courage. Now the Phœnicians themselves became

known to the Greeks from the first by their commerce and navigation, and by them the Egyptians became known to the Greeks also, as did also all those people from whom the Phœnicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Greeks. The Medes also and the Persians afterwards, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them, especially the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent.<sup>1</sup> The Thracians were also known to the Greeks because of the nearness of their country, and the Scythians owing to those who sailed to Pontus;<sup>2</sup> for generally speaking all the maritime nations, dwelling near either the eastern or western seas, became most known to those who were desirous to write history; but such as had their habitation further from the sea were for the most part unknown. This appears to have been the case in Europe also, since the city of Rome, that has for a long time been possessed of so much power, and performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries, and it was only late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. And those who are reckoned the most exact historians, as Ephorus for one, were so ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the west of the earth,<sup>3</sup> to be only one city; and they also ventured to describe as customs of theirs things which they had never either done or said. And the reason why these writers did not know the truth was that they had no intercourse with those nations, and the reason why they wrote what was false was that they wished to seem to know things which others did not know. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was not known to many, and gave them no opportunity to mention it in their writings, as it was so remote from the sea, and had its own peculiar mode of life?

§ 13. Suppose that we thought good to apply this argument to the Greeks, that their nation is not ancient, be-

<sup>1</sup> Europe is meant.

<sup>2</sup> On the south shore of the *Black Sea*.

<sup>3</sup> The ancients did not know of America, so thought Spain the end of the world in the west. Compare Horace, Odes, i. 36. 4.



cause nothing is said of them in our records: would they not laugh at us altogether, and probably give the same reasons for our silence of them that I have now adduced for their silence of us, and produce the neighbouring nations as witnesses to their antiquity? Now I shall endeavour to do this very thing. For I shall bring the Egyptians and Phœnicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false. For all the Egyptians in general, and of the Phœnicians the Tyrians, are known to have borne the greatest ill-will to us. However, I cannot say the same of the Chaldæans, since our original ancestors were Chaldæans, and they mention us Jews in their records because of the relationship between us. Now, when I shall have made my case good as far as concerns these, I shall show that some of the Greek historians have mentioned us Jews also, that those who slander us may no longer have this pretext for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

§ 14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do; but Manetho was a man who was by race an Egyptian, but had made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, translating it, as he himself says, out of their sacred records: he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false account of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner. I shall set down his very words, as if I were producing the very man himself as a witness. "There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus, in whose reign it came to pass, I know not why, that God was displeased with us, and there came unexpectedly men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, who had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and easily subdued it by force without a battle. And when they had got our rulers under their power, they afterwards savagely burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants in a most hostile manner, for they slew some, and led the children and wives of others into slavery. At length they

made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis. And he lived at Memphis,<sup>1</sup> and made both Upper and Lower Egypt pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were most suitable for them. And he made the eastern parts especially strong, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would covet their kingdom, and invade them. And as he found in the district of Sais<sup>2</sup> a city very fit for his purpose (which lay east of the arm of the Nile near Bubastis,<sup>3</sup> and with regard to a certain theological notion was called Auaris), he rebuilt it, and made it very strong by the walls he built round it, and by a numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. There Salatis went every summer, partly to gather in his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to train his armed men and so to awe foreigners. When he had reigned nineteen years he died. After him reigned another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years. After him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months. After him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janias fifty years and one month. After all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were always warring with the Egyptians, and were very desirous to pluck up Egypt by the roots. Their whole nation was called Hycsos, that is shepherd-kings; for Hyc according to the sacred dialect denotes a king, as does Sos a shepherd and shepherds in the ordinary dialect, and of these is compounded Hycsos. But some say that these people were Arabians." Now, in another copy it is said, that Hyc does not denote kings, but on the contrary captive shepherds; for Hyc again in the Egyptian tongue, and Hac with the aspirate, expressly denotes captives. And this seems to me the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [Then Manetho goes on,] "These people, whom we have before named kings, the sons of those who were called shepherds, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years. After this the kings of Thebais

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 9. § 4.<sup>2</sup> *Sa el-Hagar.*<sup>3</sup> *Tell Basta, near Zagazig.*

and of the rest of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and a terrible and long war burst out between them." Manetho says further, "Under a king, whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued, and driven out of other parts of Egypt, and shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres. This place was called Auaris." Manetho says further, "The shepherds built a large and strong wall round all this place, to keep all their possessions and spoil in security. But Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, made an attempt to take them by storm and by siege, sitting before their walls with four hundred and eighty thousand men, and upon his despairing of taking the place by siege, he made an agreement with them, that they should all evacuate Egypt, and depart unharmed wherever they would. Upon these conditions they went away with their whole families and effects, being no fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and journeyed through the wilderness from Egypt to Syria. And as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who were then masters of Asia, they built a city in the country now called Judæa, large enough to contain so many myriads of men, and called it Jerusalem." And Manetho says, in another book of his Egyptian history, that this nation called shepherds were also described as captives in their sacred books. And this account of his is correct. For feeding of sheep was the employment of our earliest ancestors, and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called shepherds. Nor was it again without reason that they were called captives by the Egyptians, since our ancestor Joseph told the king of Egypt that he was himself a captive, and afterwards sent for his brothers to Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact investigation into them elsewhere.

§ 15. And now I produce the Egyptians as witnesses of the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore set down again what Manetho writes as to the order of the times. He speaks as follows. "When this nation of shepherds had gone from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterwards twenty-five years and four months, and then died,

and after him his son Chebron took the kingdom and reigned thirteen years. After him reigned Amenophis twenty years and seven months. Then his sister Amessis reigned twenty-one years and nine months. After her reigned Mephres twelve years and nine months. After him reigned Mephramuthosis twenty-five years and ten months. After him reigned Thmosis nine years and eight months. After him reigned Amenophis thirty years and ten months. After him reigned Orus thirty-six years and five months. Next reigned his daughter Acenchres twelve years and one month. Next reigned her brother Rathotis nine years. Next reigned Acencheres twelve years and five months. Next reigned another Acencheres twelve years and three months. After him reigned Armais four years and one month. After him reigned Ramesses one year and four months. After him reigned Armesses Miammou sixty-six years and two months. After him Amenophis reigned nineteen years and six months. After him reigned Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of cavalry and a navy. He appointed his brother Armais to be his viceroy in Egypt, and also gave him all the authority of a king, except that he ordered him not to wear a diadem, nor be injurious to the queen and mother of his children, nor to meddle with the other concubines of the king. And he himself made an expedition against Cyprus and Phœnicie,<sup>1</sup> and another against the Assyrians and Medes, and subdued them all, some by his arms, and some without fighting by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great success he had, he went on still more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay towards the east. But after some time Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things without fear which his brother had forbidden him to do, for he forced the queen, and meddled freely with the rest of the concubines, and at the persuasion of his friends wore a diadem, and rose up against his brother. Then he who was set over the priests of Egypt wrote a letter to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had risen up against him. So he returned to Pelusium<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phœnicia.

<sup>2</sup> *Tineh*. Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called Egypt after his name. For Manetho says that Sethosis was called *Ægyptus*, and that his brother Armais was called Danaus."

§ 16. This is Manetho's account. And it is evident from the number of years stated by him, if they are added together, that these so-called shepherds, our ancestors, migrated from Egypt, and inhabited Judæa, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus went to Argos. And yet the Argives look upon him as most ancient. Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to us from the Egyptian records; first that we came out of another country into Egypt, and next that our migration from it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years. But as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of uncertain authority, I shall refute them hereafter in detail, and shall prove that they are no better than incredible falsehoods.

§ 17. I shall now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those written by the Phœnicians concerning our nation, and shall produce my proofs out of them. There are records then among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and they are public writings kept with great exactness, and are accounts of things worth recording done among themselves, as also of their transactions with other nations. Among these it is recorded, that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, a hundred and forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage, and the building of our temple is recorded in their archives. For Hiram, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, who had inherited that friendship from his father.<sup>1</sup> So he was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon's, and made him a present of a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and also cut down the most excellent timber of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent

<sup>1</sup> I read *διαδεγμένον*, for the word would only be true of Solomon, not of Hiram.

it to him for the roof. And Solomon not only made him many other presents by way of return, but also gave him a country in Galilee that was called Chabulon.<sup>1</sup> But what mainly cemented the friendship between them was the passion both had for wisdom; for they sent problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled, and in these Solomon was superior to Hiram, as he was wiser in all other respects. And many of the letters that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, to show that this account is not made up by me I shall produce as a witness Dius, a man who is believed to have written the Phœnician history in an accurate manner. This Dius then writes as follows in his history of the Phœnicians. "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hiram became king, and raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged its area, and also joined the temple of Olympian Zeus, which stood before on an island by itself, to the city, by connecting them with a causeway, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had its timber cut down for the building of temples. They also say that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram to guess, and desired he would send others back for him to guess, and he who could not guess them was to pay money to him that did. And as Hiram agreed to the proposal, but was not able to guess the riddles, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money as a penalty. They also relate that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, guessed the riddles, and propounded others which Solomon could not, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hiram." This is the witness which Dius bears to what I have before said.

§ 18. And now I shall add the Ephesian Menander as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings, and took much pains to gather their history from the national records. Now, when he was writing about the kings that had reigned at Tyre, when he came to Hiram, he speaks as follows. "Upon the death of

<sup>1</sup> Probably the district round *Kābāl*, Chabolo in Galilee.

Abibalus, his son Hiram succeeded to the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He levelled what is called the Broad Place, and erected the golden pillar in Zeus' temple, and also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus. namely cedar wood for the roofs of temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones, and consecrated temples to Hercules and Astarte. He first built Hercules' temple in the month Peritius, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityi, who would not pay him tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home again. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon,<sup>1</sup> who mastered the problems which Solomon the king of Jerusalem set." Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is calculated as follows. "Upon the death of Hiram, Beleazarus his son succeeded to the kingdom, who lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years, and was succeeded by his son Abdastratus, who lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine. Four sons of his nurse plotted against him, and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years. After them came Astartus, the son of Delæastartus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve. After him came his brother Aserymus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine. He was slain by his brother Pheles, who took the kingdom, and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years. He was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years. He was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six. He was succeeded by Matgenus his son, who lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine. Pygmalion succeeded him, who lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven. In the seventh year of his reign, his sister *Dido* fled away from him, and built the city of Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hiram to the building of Carthage amounts to one hundred and fifty-five years and eight months. Since, then, the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hiram, there

<sup>1</sup> Probably himself also called Abdemon. See § 17, and Antiq. viii. 5, § 3.

were one hundred and forty-three years and eight months from the building of the temple to the building of Carthage. What need is there then for bringing any more testimonies out of the Phœnician histories? For the truth is seen to be strongly confirmed. And of course our ancestors came into the country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had got possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. These points I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

§ 19. I will now relate what is written about us in the Chaldæan histories, which have great agreement with our books in various respects. Berossus bears me out in what I say: he was by race a Chaldæan, and well known by the learned on account of his publication of the Chaldæan notions of astronomy and philosophy for the use of the Greeks. This Berossus, then, following the most ancient records, has given us a history of the flood, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, very similar to that of Moses; and of the ark wherein Noah, the founder of our race, was preserved, when it was carried to the summit of the Armenian mountains. He then gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabopalassar, who was king of Babylon and of the Chaldæans, and in relating the acts of this king he describes, "How he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him, and how he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire, and removed our people entirely from their own country, and transferred them to Babylon. So it happened that Jerusalem was desolate for seventy years until Cyrus king of Persia." He then says that "this Babylonian conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phœnice, and Arabia, and excelled in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldæa." A little lower down Berossus adds what follows in his history of ancient times; I shall set down the very words of Berossus, which are as follows. "When Nabopalassar, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the satrap whom he had set over Egypt, and over the regions of



Cœle-Syria and Phœnice, had revolted from him, being unable to bear any longer the fatigues of a campaign, he committed certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, and sent him against the rebel. And Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country at once to his dominion. And it so fell out that his father Nabopolassar fell ill at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. And when Nabuchodonosor heard, not long afterwards, that his father was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the rest of the district in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phœnicians, and Syrians, and from the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct the heavy-armed troops and the baggage to Babylonia, while he himself pushed over the desert with but a few to Babylon. And when he arrived there he found that public affairs had been managed by the Chaldæans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him, so he was now entire master of all his father's dominions, and ordered the captives when they arrived there to be assigned colonies in the most convenient places in Babylonia. As for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, in a liberal manner, out of the spoils he had taken in war, and rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and to prevent any who should afterwards besiege it from having it in their power to divert the river and so enter it, he built three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. And when he had thus fortified the city with walls in an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in close by it, and exceeding it in its height and its great splendour. It would perhaps take too much time to describe it, however, prodigiously large and magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a hanging paradise, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous

country, to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

§ 20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the fore-mentioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldaic history, wherein he complains of the Greek historians for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was founded by Semiramis the queen of Assyria, and for falsely stating that those wonderful things there were her workmanship. And indeed in these affairs the Chaldaic history cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says in the archives of the Phœnicians, concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he<sup>1</sup> conquered Syria and all Phœnicie. As to these things Philostratus agrees with the others in his history, when he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also in the fourth book of his Indian history, wherein he tries to prove that the fore-mentioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength and in the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia<sup>2</sup> also. Now, as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was burnt by the Babylonian army, and began to be rebuilt again when Cyrus got the kingdom of Asia, shall now be proved clearly from what Berosus adds further, for he says as follows in his third book. "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the fore-mentioned wall, fell ill, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years. And his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He reigned in a lawless and high-handed manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned two years. After he was slain, Neriglissoor, who had plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; and his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a lad, and kept it nine months, but because he seemed in most respects an ill-disposed lad, he was beaten to death by his friends. After his death the conspirators assembled together, and

<sup>1</sup> Reading *ερείνος*.

<sup>2</sup> South of the Caucasus, between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a Babylonian who had taken part in the insurrection against Laborosoarchod. It was in his reign that the walls of the city of Babylon near the river were handsomely built of burnt brick and bitumen. But in the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army, and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, marched into Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joined battle with him, and was beaten, and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city of Borsippus.<sup>1</sup> Thereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave orders that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome and hard to him to take. He then marched away to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not wait for a siege, but delivered himself first into his hands, he was kindly treated by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania<sup>2</sup> to dwell in, but sent him out of Babylonia. And Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died."

§ 21. This account states the truth as in our books. For it is written in them that Nabuchodonosor in the eighteenth year of his reign destroyed our temple, and that it remained in that state for fifty years; but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid again, and it was finished in the second year of the reign of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phœnicians; for we must not omit to give abundance of proofs. The following is the computation of the chronology. "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the days of Ithobalus their king. After him reigned Baal ten years. After him were judges appointed, who judged the people, as Ecnibalus, the son of Baslachus, two months, Chelbes, the son of Abdæus, ten months, Abbar, the high priest, three months, Mytgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years. After them Balatorus reigned one year; after whose death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years. After

<sup>1</sup> Borsippa, *Birs Nimrud*, on the Tigris.

<sup>2</sup> On the northern side of the Persian Gulf; it included parts of *Laristan*, *Kirman* and *Moghistan*.

his death they sent for his brother Hiram, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole time is fifty-four years and three months; for Nabuchodonosor began to besiege Tyre in the seventh year of his reign, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hiram. And so the records of the Chaldæans and Tyrians agree with our writings about the temple, and the testimonies here produced are an admitted and indisputable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said will be sufficient for such as are not very contentious.

§ 22. But now it is proper to satisfy the desire of those who disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks worthy of credit, and to produce many of those very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to quote such as, when occasion demanded, have made mention of us in their writings. Pythagoras then of Samos,<sup>1</sup> who lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed superior to all philosophers in wisdom and piety towards God, plainly not only knew of our doctrines, but was to a very great degree an admirer of them. There is not indeed extant any admitted writing of his, but many have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very painstaking in all sorts of history. Now Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks as follows. "Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his intimate friends, whose name was Calliphon, a native of Crotona,<sup>2</sup> affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down, as also not to drink such waters as caused thirst again, and to abstain from all railing." After which he adds the following words. "This he did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he transferred a great many of the ideas of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of

<sup>1</sup> The island. Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Cotrone*, in Southern Italy.

old to several of the Greek cities, indeed it was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is shown by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws. For he says that the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths; among which he enumerates several others, and particularly that called Corban; which oath can only be found among the Jews, and signifies, as one may say, when translated from the Hebrew, A gift of God. Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup> unacquainted with our nation, but clearly mentions us in the following passage in his second book,<sup>2</sup> speaking about the Colchians.<sup>3</sup> His words are as follows. "The only people circumcised originally were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians. For the Phœnicians, and those Syrians that are in Palestine, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. As for those Syrians who live near the rivers Thermodon<sup>4</sup> and Parthenius,<sup>5</sup> and their neighbours the Macrones, they say they learned it recently from the Colchians. And these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have acted in the same way as the Egyptians. As for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them learnt the practice from the other." Thus Herodotus says that the Syrians that are in Palestine practise circumcision; but there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised except the Jews; and so Herodotus must have known and spoken of them. Chærilus also, a still older writer, and a poet, mentions of our nation that it shared in the expedition of Xerxes king of the Persians against Greece. For in his enumeration of all the nations that did so, he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when he says, "Behind there passed over a people, wonderful to look at, who spoke the Phœnician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt among the mountains of Solyma near a broad lake: their heads were rough and shaven all round, and on the top of them they wore the smoke-dried hides of horses' heads." Now I think it is evident to everybody that Chærilus means

<sup>1</sup> *Bûdrûm*, on the south-west coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, ii. 104.

<sup>3</sup> On the east and south-east shores of the Black Sea.

<sup>4</sup> *Thermeh*, one of the rivers of Pontus, east of *Samsûn*.

<sup>5</sup> A river of Paphlagonia, now the *Bartan Su*.

us, because the mountains of Solyma<sup>1</sup> are in our country, which we inhabit, as is also the lake called Asphaltitis, which is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and so Chœrilus makes mention of us. And that not only the commonest Greeks, but those that are held in the greatest admiration for their philosophy, both knew and admired the Jews, when they fell in with any of them, is easy to show. For Clearchus, who was a pupil of Aristotle, and inferior to none of the Peripatetics, says in his first book concerning sleep, that Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew, and sets down Aristotle's own account, which is as follows. "It would be too long to recite a great part of what this Jew said, but it may not be amiss to quote what includes in it both wonder and philosophy. Know clearly, said he, Hyperochides, I shall seem to thee to relate things like dreams. Then Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason all of us desire to hear what you are going to say. Then, replied Aristotle, according to the rule of the rhetoricians, let us first give an account of the man's nation, that so we may not disobey our masters in our narrative. Then said Hyperochides, Say whatever you please. This man then [answered Aristotle] was by race a Jew, and came from Cœle-Syria;<sup>2</sup> these Jews are descendants of the Indian philosophers. For philosophers are called by the Indians Calani, and by the Syrians Judæi, getting that name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judæa. And the name of their city is a very strange one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, being hospitably treated by a great many, and coming down from the interior of the country to the parts near the sea, was a Greek not only in his language, but in his soul also. And when we ourselves dwelt in Asia at that time, he came to the same places where we were and conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and tested their wisdom. And as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus, and Aristotle spoke also of the

<sup>1</sup> The mountains of Judæa are apparently intended.

<sup>2</sup> The valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

great and wonderful self-denial of this Jew in his diet and chaste way of living. And those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus' book itself: for I avoid quoting any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this, and made mention of us, by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But Hecatæus of Abdera,<sup>1</sup> who was both a philosopher and very competent in active life, and was a contemporary of king Alexander in his youth, and was afterwards associated with Ptolemy the son of Lagus, did not write about the Jewish affairs cursorily only, but composed an entire book about the Jews themselves, from which book I intend to extract briefly a few things of which I have been treating. And first I shall show the time when this Hecatæus lived; for he mentions the fight between Ptolemy and Demetrius near Gaza,<sup>2</sup> which was fought the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the one hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had mentioned that Olympiad, he says, "In this Olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle at Gaza Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was called Poliorcetes." Now it is agreed by everybody that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad. It is therefore evident that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again Hecatæus speaks as follows. "Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after the battle at Gaza; and many men, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, wished to go with him to Egypt, and to share his fortunes; one of whom (Hecatæus says) was Hezekiah, the high priest of the Jews, a man of about sixty-six years of age, held in great esteem among his own people, and a very sensible man, and a very good speaker, and very skilful in the management of affairs, if any one ever was; and yet, he says, all the priests of the Jews, who took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, were in number about fifteen hundred." Hecatæus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, "As he received this honour, and became

<sup>1</sup> A town on the south coast of Thrace.

<sup>2</sup> *Ghuzzeh*. Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

intimate with us, he took some of those that were with him, and read to them all the difference between their habits and ours, as he had our habitation and polity down in writing." Hecataeus shows again what regard we pay to our laws, and that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, because we think it right to act so. "And so (he adds) although the Jews are in bad reputation among their neighbours, and among all strangers that visit them, and have been often treated very badly by the kings and satraps of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting as they think right, but in their forlorn condition most bravely bear the torments inflicted upon them, and the most terrible kinds of death, on this account, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Hecataeus also affords not a few proofs of this obstinacy of theirs in regard to their laws. For he says, "When Alexander was once at Babylon, and purposed to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and so commanded all his soldiers alike to bring earth there, the Jews and they only would not comply with that command, but underwent many stripes and suffered great punishments, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds further, "That when the Macedonians went into their country, and constructed temples and altars, the Jews demolished them all, and either paid the penalty to the satraps, or sometimes obtained forgiveness. He adds further, "That these men deserve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the populousness of our nation, and says, "That the Persians formerly carried away many myriads of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few myriads were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phœnice, because of an insurrection that arose in Syria." The same Hecataeus has recorded in his history the extent of the country which we inhabit, as well as its beauty; for he says, "The land which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arouræ,<sup>1</sup> and is generally of most

<sup>1</sup> This number of arouræ, or Egyptian acres, as contained in the country of Judæa, will be about one-third of the entire number of arouræ in the whole land of Judæa, supposing it 160 miles long, and seventy miles broad; which estimation, for the fruitful parts of it, as perhaps here in Hecataeus, is not therefore very wide from the truth.



excellent and fruitful soil ; for such are the dimensions of Judæa." Moreover, that we have inhabited from the most ancient times the most beautiful and large city of Jerusalem, as also about our population, and about the construction of the temple, he speaks as follows. "There are many strongholds and villages in the country of Judæa ; and one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by about a hundred and twenty thousand men ; they call it Jerusalem. There is about the middle of the city an enclosure of stone, in length five hundred feet, and in breadth a hundred cubits, with two gates. And in this enclosure is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but merely composed of unwrought stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and in height ten cubits. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein is an altar and candlestick both of gold, two talents in weight. Upon these is a light that is never extinguished either by night or day. And there is no image or votive offering therein at all, nor is there any thing planted there at all, as grove or any thing else of the kind. The priests stay in the temple both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover he attests that we Jews served in the army under king Alexander, and afterwards under his successors. I will add further what he says happened in the case of a man who was a Jew, when he was himself on the same expedition. His words are as follows. "As I was myself going to the Red Sea, we were accompanied by a man whose name was Mosollamus, who was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us ; he was a person of great courage, and of a strong body,

The fifty furlongs in compass for the city of Jerusalem presently are not very wide from the truth also, as Josephus himself, *Jewish War*, v. 4, § 3, makes its wall thirty-three furlongs, besides the suburbs and gardens ; nay, he says, v. 12, § 2, that Titus' wall about it, at some small distance, after the gardens and suburbs were destroyed, was not less than thirty-nine furlongs. Nor perhaps were its constant inhabitants, in the days of Hecateus, many more than these 120,000, because room was always to be left for vastly greater numbers which came up at the three great festivals ; to say nothing of the probable increase in their number between the days of Hecateus and Josephus, which was at least 300 years.—W.

and allowed by all to be the most skilful archer either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as many were passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing a bird for the purpose of augury, and required them all to stand still, inquired why they halted. Thereupon the augur showed him the bird from which he was taking his augury, and told him, if the bird stayed where it was, they ought all to stand still, but if it got up and flew on they must go forward, but if it flew back, they must retire again. Mosollamus made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit it, and killed it. And as the augur and some others were very angry, and uttered imprecations against him, he answered them as follows. "Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, seeing that it could not foresee how to save itself; for had it been able to foreknow the future, it would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid that Mosollamus the Jew would shoot at it, and kill it." But of Hecataeus' testimonies I have said enough: for such as desire to know more of them can easily peruse his book. However, I shall not shrink from naming Agatharchides, who has mentioned us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be, in narrating about Stratonice, how she went out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, though Seleucus would not marry her as she expected, and how, while he was raising an army at Babylon, she stirred up an insurrection at Antioch; and how, upon the king's return and capture of Antioch, she fled to Selencia,<sup>1</sup> and though it was in her power to sail away immediately, listened to a dream that forbade her to do so, and so was taken and put to death. When Agatharchides had related this story, and jested at Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a similar example of what was reported about us, and writes as follows. "There are a people called Jews, who dwell in the strongest of all cities, which its inhabitants call Jerusalem, who are accustomed to rest every seventh day,<sup>2</sup> at which times they do

<sup>1</sup> Selencia, the port of Antioch, near the mouth of the Orontes.

<sup>2</sup> A glorious testimony this of the observation of the Sabbath by the

not carry arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor attend to any of the affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their temple, and pray till the evening. Now when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, these men observed this mad custom of theirs instead of guarding the city, and so their country had to submit to a bitter lord, and their law was openly proved to have a foolish practice. This event taught all other men but the Jews to disregard dreams, and traditional fancies of their law, when in the uncertainty of human reason they were at a loss what to do." Now this behaviour of ours seems ridiculous to Agatharchides, but it will appear great and worthy of many encomiums, to such as consider it without prejudice, that any people should constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religion towards God, to the preservation of themselves and their country.

§ 23. Next, I think I can prove that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons. For Hieronymus, who wrote the history of [Alexander's] successors, lived at the same time as Hecatæus, and was a friend of king Antigonus, and was governor of Syria. But Hecatæus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus nowhere mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near the places where we live. So different are the views of men; while the one thought we deserved careful attention, some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. However, these records of the Egyptians and Chaldæans and Phœnicians, and so many of the Greek writers in addition to them, are certainly sufficient to prove our antiquity. Moreover, besides those I have mentioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, and Euhemerus, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps several others (for I have not perused all books), have made no mere incidental mention of us. It is true that most of those I have men-

tioned have made mistakes about the true history of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; but all of them in common have borne testimony to our antiquity, the subject which I am now treating. And Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, and Eupolemus, have not greatly deviated from absolute correctness. Their mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to follow our writings with entire accuracy.

§ 24. One main point still remains of those I at first proposed to speak about, and that is to show that the calumnies and reproaches, which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against themselves. For that this has happened to many other authors, because of their ill-will to some people, I think is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care. For some writers have endeavoured to tarnish the lustre of nations and most glorious cities, and to cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus Theopompus railed against Athens, and Polycrates against Lacedæmon, as he that wrote the Tripoliticus (who is not Theopompus, as is supposed by some) did against Thebes.<sup>1</sup> Timæus also in his histories has greatly railed against those states I have mentioned and against others also. And they act so chiefly when they have to deal with people of the greatest reputation, some out of envy and malignity, and others supposing that by their novel style of writing they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves. And indeed they do by no means fail of this hope among foolish people, but men of sober judgment censure their great malignity.

§ 25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; and some others, wishing to please them, attempted to pervert the truth, who would neither own that our forefathers went into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor would give the true account of our departure from thence. And indeed the Egyptians had many reasons to hate and envy us, first because our ances-

<sup>1</sup> Thebes in Bœotia.

tors<sup>1</sup> ruled over their country, and when they removed from Egypt to their own country again, lived there in prosperity; and next the difference between our religion and theirs excited great animosity in them, as our mode of divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as the nature of God exceeds that of brute beasts. For it is the common custom of their country to esteem animals as gods, although they differ individually in the worship they pay to them, being men entirely stupid and foolish, accustomed from the beginning to have erroneous ideas about the gods. For they could not induce themselves to imitate the dignity of our theology, but when they saw us approved of by many, they were moved with envy. For some of them proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness, that they did not scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

§ 26. I will now turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I quoted a little before as a witness to our antiquity, I mean Manetho. Now he, having undertaken to interpret the Egyptian history out of the sacred writings, first stated that our ancestors had come into Egypt, many myriads in number, and subdued its inhabitants, and then himself confessed that they went out of that country some time afterwards and settled in the country which is now called Judæa, and founded Jerusalem and built the temple. Now thus far he followed the ancient records, but afterwards he permitted himself, that he might say he had recorded<sup>2</sup> the legends and stories current about the Jews, to introduce incredible narrations, wishing to mix up with us the multitude of the Egyptians, who were lepers, and were condemned for other distempers, as he says, to flee from Egypt. For he mentions king Amenophis, a fictitious name, and so he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, though he had accurately done so as to the other kings he mentions,

<sup>1</sup> The Phœnician shepherds, whom Josephus mistook for the Israelites. See § 16.—W.

<sup>2</sup> I read *φάναι γράψαι*.

and ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, having pretty well forgotten what he had before related, that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem was five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tethmosis was king when they departed. Now the reigns of the kings afterwards, according to Manetho, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, to the two brothers Sethos and Hermæus, of whom the one Sethos was also called Ægyptus, and the other Hermæus was called Danaus. He also says that Sethos expelled Hermæus from Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, and that his eldest son Rampses reigned after him sixty-six years. When Manetho had therefore acknowledged that our forefathers had gone out of Egypt so many years before, he then introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says that he desired to see the gods, as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had done, and that he communicated his desire to his namesake Amenophis, the son of Paapis, who seemed to partake of a divine nature both as to wisdom and the knowledge of the future. Manetho adds that this namesake of his told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and other impure people; and that the king was pleased with this answer, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies in Egypt (the number of whom was eighty thousand), whom he sent to the quarries which were on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. He says also that there were some of the learned priests among them afflicted with the leprosy. Now this Amenophis, the wise man and seer, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if violence should appear to have been offered these afflicted persons; and he also added that certain people would come to the assistance of these impure persons, and would be masters of Egypt for thirteen years. However, he durst not tell the king of these things, but he left a writing behind him about all these matters, and then slew himself. And the king was disconsolate. After which Manetho writes as follows verbatim. "After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king being asked that he

would set apart the city of Auaris,<sup>1</sup> which was then left empty of shepherds, for their habitation and protection, granted what was asked. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Typhon's city. And when these men had got into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed as their leader one of the priests of Heliopolis,<sup>2</sup> whose name was Osarsiph, and they took oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. And he first drew up the following laws for them, that they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor keep their hands off any of those sacred animals which the Egyptians held in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all, and that they should associate with none but those that belonged to their confederacy. After having made such laws as these and very many more, mostly contrary to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave orders that the many hands they had should build walls round their city, and make themselves ready for a war against king Amenophis. He next, in co-operation with the other priests and polluted persons, sent messengers to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem; and informed them of the state of his own affairs, and of those others who had been treated in an ignominious manner, and begged that they would join him with one accord in an expedition against Egypt. He also promised that he would first restore them to their ancestral city of Auaris, and provide plentiful maintenance for their multitudes, and that he would fight for them when necessary, and would easily bring the district under their dominion. And they were all very glad at this message, and set out with zeal all together, being in number two hundred thousand men, and soon reached Auaris. And Amenophis, the king of Egypt, on being informed of their approach, was in great concern, remembering what Amenophis, the son of Paapis, had foretold him. And first he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and had the sacred animals that were chiefly worshipped in their temples brought to himself, and particularly charged the priests that they should

<sup>1</sup> Now *Haouâr*.

<sup>2</sup> *Matarîyeh*, N.N.E. of Cairo.

hide the images of the gods with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos (who was also called Ramesses after his father Rampses), who was only five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, who were three hundred thousand of the most warlike, and met the enemy, but did not join battle with them, but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, returned back and went to Memphis,<sup>1</sup> where he took Apis and the other sacred animals that he had had sent for, and at once marched into Ethiopia with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians. For the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, so he received him, and took care of all the multitudes that were with him, for the district supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted them sufficient cities and villages for the fated thirteen years of exile from the king's dominions. Moreover, he stationed his Ethiopian army as a guard for king Amenophis and his men on the borders of Egypt. Such was the state of things in Ethiopia. But the people of Jerusalem, when they invaded Egypt with the polluted Egyptians, treated the people in such a barbarous manner, that their conquest seemed the worst of evils to those who beheld at the time their impious deeds. For they not only set cities and villages on fire, and were not satisfied with being guilty of sacrilege and destroying the wooden images of the gods, but also used them continually in roasting the sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the sacrificers and slayers of those animals, and then ejected them from the country naked. It is also reported, that the priest, who founded their polity and laws, was a native of Heliopolis, and that his name was Osarsiph, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis, but that, when he had gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses."

§ 27. This and much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity, do the Egyptians relate about the Jews. And Manetho says again that Amenophis returned from Ethiopia after this with a great army, as did his son

<sup>1</sup> Jewish War, i. 9, § 4.



Rampses with an army also, and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the borders of Syria. These and similar accounts are written by Manetho. But I shall prove that he writes foolishly and tells evident lies, after I have first made a remark which will bear on what I am going to say about him. This Manetho has conceded and admitted that our nation was not originally Egyptian, but had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. And I shall endeavour to prove from Manetho's own account that those Egyptians, who were thus diseased in their bodies, were not associated with us afterwards, and that Moses, the leader of the people, was not one of them, but lived many generations earlier.

§ 28. Now as to the first statement in his romance, Manetho supposes what is ridiculous. He says that "king Amenophis desired to see the gods." What gods, pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordered to be worshipped, as the ox, and the goat, and the crocodiles, and the dog-faced baboons, he saw them already; but how could he see the heavenly gods? And why had he this desire? Because, by Zeus, another king before him had already seen them! He had therefore learned from him what sort of gods they were, and how he had seen them, so that he did not stand in need of any new artifice. Furthermore, Manetho tells us that this prophet, by whom the king thought to compass his design, was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that his desire was impossible? for the event did not come off. And what grounds had he to suppose that the gods could not be seen because of people's maims in their bodies or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked acts. And as to eighty thousand persons, who were either lepers or otherwise afflicted, how is it possible they could have been gathered together in one day? Nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? For his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled from Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers than intended to purge the country. Manetho says also that

the prophet slew himself, foreseeing the anger of the gods, and the events which would come to pass in Egypt afterwards, and that he left his prediction for the king in writing. But how came it to pass that the prophet did not foreknow his own death at first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king at once when he desired to see the gods? how was that fear of evils that were not to happen in his lifetime reasonable? nay, what worse thing could he have suffered, which made him in such a haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all. Although the king had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did he not even then eject these maimed people out of his country, though it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "he then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly been inhabited by the shepherds, and was called Auaris. And when they had gone there *en masse* (he continnes), they chose one who had formerly been a priest, and native of Heliopolis, to be their leader, and he ordered them neither to worship the Egyptian gods, nor to keep their hands off those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but to kill and eat them all, and to associate with nobody but those who belonged to their confederacy; and he bound the multitude by oaths that they would verily abide by his laws; and when he had fortified Auaris, he made war against the king." Manetho also adds that "this priest sent to Jerusalem, to invite the people there to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Auaris; for it had belonged to the forefathers of those who would come from Jerusalem; for they might make it their *point d'appui*, and get possession of all Egypt." He says also that "they came with an army of two hundred thousand men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away at once into Ethioopia, and committed Apis and some other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of them." He says next that "the people of Jerusalem came and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and in short abstained from no

sort of wickedness or barbarity. As for the priest who settled their polity and their laws, he was (he says) a native of Heliopolis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osiris the god of Heliopolis, but he changed his name, and called himself Moses." He then says that "in the thirteenth year afterwards Amenophis, according to the fated time of the duration of his exile, set out from Ethiopia with a great army, and fought a battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and overcame them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the borders of Syria."

§ 29. Here again Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his false account. For even if the lepers and the multitude with them were before angry with the king, and with those who had treated them so badly, according to the prediction of the prophet, yet when they had come out of the quarries, and had received from the king a city and district, they would certainly have grown milder towards him. But if they did hate him, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians, because of the great quantity of kinsfolk they must have had, as they were so numerous. Moreover, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have dared to fight against their gods, nor would they have made laws quite contrary to those of their own country in which they had been themselves bred up. But we ought to feel beholden to Manetho, in that he does not make those that came from Jerusalem the ringleaders in this lawlessness, but says that it was the Egyptians themselves, and that it was their priests who mainly contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths. But how absurd it is to suppose that none of these people's own relations or friends could be prevailed upon to revolt, or to undergo the hazards of war with them, and that they sent to Jerusalem for these polluted people, and got auxiliaries from thence! What friendship, pray, or what relations had there formerly been between them? Why, on the contrary, these people were enemies, and differed from them in most of their customs. And he says that they complied immediately, upon their promising them that they should occupy Egypt, as if they did not

themselves very well know the state of the country out of which they had been driven by force. Now had these men been in want or misery, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprize, but as they dwelt in a rich city, and had a large territory, and one better than Egypt itself, how was it at all likely that for the sake of those who had of old been their enemies, and for those who were maimed in their bodies, whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not of course foresee that the king would run away from them. Nay, Manetho says himself, that "Amenophis' son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium."<sup>1</sup> Now those that came could not be ignorant of all this; and how could they possibly conjecture that the king would repent and flee? He then says that those who made this invasion from Jerusalem, when they got Egypt into their possession, perpetrated many dreadful actions. And he reproaches them about these things, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might justly accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the native Egyptians had done the same things themselves before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do! "However, Amenophis (he adds) some time afterwards came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatever, and as if those that had just conquered it by war, though they knew that Amenophis was alive, neither fortified the passes from Ethiopia into it, although they had great opportunity for doing so, nor got their other forces ready for their defence. "But (he says) he followed them over the sand of the desert, slaying them all the way, as far as Syria." Now it is plainly no easy thing for an army to cross the desert even without fighting.

§ 30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mixed with us. For it is probable that many of the lepers and diseased people died in the quarries, since they had been

<sup>1</sup> *1 Mch.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

there a long time and had been badly treated, and that many died in the battles that happened afterwards, and more still in the last battle and flight.

§ 31. It now remains that I contradict Manetho as to Moses. The Egyptians think him a wonderful and divine person, and wish to claim him for themselves, though with unplausible abuse they say that he was one of the priests of Heliopolis who was ejected with others because of his leprosy. Yet it is proved by the records that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and brought our fathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. And that he was not personally afflicted with any such calamity, is evident from his own laws. For he has forbidden lepers either to continue in a city, or to dwell in a village, and has commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and regards such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, as unclean. Moreover, if any one be healed of the disease and recover his normal condition again, he has appointed certain purifications, and washings in baths of spring water, and the shaving off all the hair, and enjoins that they shall offer several sacrifices of various kinds, and then only be admitted into the holy city. Now, had he suffered from the same calamity, so far from legislating thus, he would have taken care of such persons, and treated them in a kind manner, as being in the same evil plight with himself. Nor did he make such laws only for lepers, but also he did not permit such as were maimed in the smallest part of their body to officiate as priests: and if any priest should have such a calamity fall upon him afterwards, he ordered him to be deprived of his position. How then is it likely that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and hurt? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho's at all probable about the change of his name. He says that he was formerly called Osarsiph. But this is a name no way agreeable to the other. For his true name was Moüses,<sup>1</sup> and signifies a person preserved out of

<sup>1</sup> Note this is always the Greek form of Moses in Josephus and the Greek Testament and elsewhere. I have kept generally the more familiar Moses.

the water, for the Egyptians call water Moü. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho did not much wander from the truth while he followed the ancient records, but that, when he turned to unauthorized stories of uncertain authors, he either concocted them himself without any plausibility, or else gave credit to some men who spoke so out of ill-will to us.

§ 32. And now I have done with Manetho, and will inquire into what Chæremon says. For he also, professing to write Egyptian history, sets down the same name for his king as Manetho did, namely Amenophis, and also calls his son Ramesses, and then goes on as follows: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him because her temple had been demolished in the war. And Phritiphantes the sacred scribe told him, if he would purge Egypt of the men who had pollutions upon them, that he would be no longer troubled with such scares. Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those who were thus diseased, and expelled them from the country. And their leaders Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe: and their names were Egyptian originally, that of Moses was Tisithen, and that of Joseph Peteseeph. And these two went to Pelusium, and fell in there with three hundred and eighty thousand who had been left there by Amenophis, as he was unwilling to transfer them to Egypt. And these two made a league of friendship with them, and led them on an expedition against Egypt. And Amenophis could not stand against their attack, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife behind him, who was with child, and lay concealed in certain caverns, and there she brought forth a son, whose name was Messenes,<sup>1</sup> who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews, who were about two hundred thousand, into Syria, and then restored his father Amenophis from Ethiopia."

§ 33. This is the account Chæremon gives us. Now I take it as obvious at once that what I have already said has plainly proved the falseness of both Manetho's and his accounts. For had there been any real truth at bottom, it

<sup>1</sup> Probably we should read here Ramesses, as in § 33.

is impossible there would have been such great discrepancy between them. But those who concoct lies do not write what agrees with others, but invent what pleases themselves. Thus Manetho says that the king's desire of seeing the gods was the cause of the ejection of the polluted people; but Chæremon has made it a dream of his sent him by Isis. Manetho again says that the person who suggested this purgation of Egypt to the king was Amenophis, but Chæremon says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the people that were expelled, they agree admirably, Manetho reckoning them as eighty thousand, and Chæremon as two hundred and fifty thousand! Moreover, Manetho describes these polluted persons as first sent to work in the quarries, and says that after that the city Auaris was given them for their habitation, and that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; but Chæremon says that on their departure from Egypt they fell in with three hundred and eighty thousand men near Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and that they invaded Egypt with them again, and that Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But what is most rich, Chæremon does not inform us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came, whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country; nor indeed has he given any reason why the king would not take them into Egypt, though he concocted a dream from Isis about the lepers. Chæremon also describes Joseph as expelled at the same time as Moses, though he died four generations before Moses, which four generations make about a hundred and seventy years. Moreover, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, was a young man by Manetho's account, and assisted his father in war, and left the country at the same time as him, and fled with him into Ethiopia; whereas Chæremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave after his father was dead, and then to have overcome the Jews in battle, and driven them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the recklessness of the man! For he neither told us before who these three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand perished,

whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses! And, what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn from him who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that name, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand lepers, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand in the neighbourhood of Pelusium. But perhaps it would be silly in me to make any lengthier refutation of such writers as sufficiently refute themselves; for had they been only refuted by others, it would have been more tolerable!

§ 34. I shall now add to these writers Lysimachus, who has taken the same line of falsehood as those before-mentioned, but has gone far beyond them in the incredibility of his fictions: which plainly shows that he concocted them out of virulent hatred to our nation. His words are as follows. "The people of the Jews being lepers and scabby, and having other diseases, in the days of Bocchoris king of Egypt, fled to the temples, and got their food there by begging; and as the numbers were very great that were afflicted with disease, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Thereupon Bocchoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of Zeus Ammon about this scarcity; and the god's answer was that he must purge his temples of impure and impious men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby people and lepers, he must drown them, the sun being indignant at these men being suffered to live, and purge his temples, and then the land would bring forth its fruits. When Bocchoris had received these oracles, he called for the priests and attendants at the altars, and ordered them to gather together the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers to carry away to the desert, but to take the lepers and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them down into the sea. Thereupon the lepers and scabby people were drowned, and the others were gathered together and sent into desert places, to be exposed to destruction. And these last assembled together, and took counsel what they should do, and determined, as the night was coming on, that they would kindle fires and light lamps and keep watch, and that they would fast the next night, and so propitiate the gods to deliver them. And on the



next day one Moses advised them to venture upon a journey, and go along one road till they should come to inhabited places, and charged them to have no kindness for any man, and to give good counsel to none, but always to advise people for the worst, and to overturn all the temples and altars of the gods they should meet with. And as the rest commended what he said, they did what was resolved on, and journeyed over the desert, and after suffering a good many hardships came to an inhabited country, and there they ill-treated the men, and plundered and burnt their temples, and went into the land which is now called Judæa, and there built a city and dwelt therein; and their city was called Hierosyla from this spoiling of the temples; but afterwards being successful, in process of time they changed its name, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city Hierosolyma,<sup>1</sup> and themselves Hierosolymi."

§ 35. Now this man did not invent the same name for his king as Manetho and Chæremon, but concocted a newer name, and omitting the dream and the Egyptian prophet, sent his king to Zeus Ammon to get oracles about the lepers and scabby people. For he says that a multitude of Jews gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes the name of Jews to all these lepers, or to those Jews only that were subject to such diseases; for he says the people of the Jews. What people do you mean? foreigners or natives? Why do you call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? And if they were foreigners, why do you not tell us where they came from? And how is it that, after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there could still be so great a multitude remaining? Or how did they pass over the desert, and get possession of the land which we now dwell in, and found a city, and build that temple which has been famous among all mankind? Lysimachus ought also not only to have given our legislator's name, but also to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he sprung from, and to have stated why he undertook to make such laws for them concerning the gods, and why he ordered them to act so

<sup>1</sup> Jerusalem.

harshly to people on their march. For if they were by birth Egyptians, they would not so easily have changed the customs of their country: and if they were foreigners, they had certainly some laws which had been observed by them from long custom. If indeed they had sworn never to bear good-will to those who had ejected them, they would have had a plausible reason for so acting, but to resolve to wage an implacable war against all men, if they acted as badly as he says they did, while they needed the assistance of all men, shows not their folly, but the great folly of him who tells such lies, who has also the assurance to say, that a name implying spoiling<sup>1</sup> of temples was given to their city, and that this name was afterwards changed; obviously because the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in subsequent times, while those who founded the city thought they did honour to it by giving it that name. Now this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not observe that spoiling of temples is not expressed by the same word among the Jews as it is among the Greeks! But why should one say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book has reached such large dimensions, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to complete my design.

## BOOK II.

### § 1.

IN the former book, my most honoured Epaphroditus, I have shown our antiquity, and confirmed the truth by the writings of the Phœnicians and Chaldæans and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Greek writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Chæremon and some others.

<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning of Hierosyla in Greek, not in Hebrew. See § 34.—W.

I shall now therefore<sup>1</sup> begin a refutation of the remaining authors who have written anything against us, although I confess I have had a doubt about Apion the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not. For some of his writings contain much the same accusations which others have laid against us, and some things that he has added are very frigid, and most of what he says is very scurrilous, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, shows great ignorance, and what he has put together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one during his whole life a mountebank. Yet since most men are so foolish that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in abuse, but are vexed at praise, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an indictment against us, as if in open court. For I also have observed that it is usual for most men to be much delighted when a man, who first began to reproach another, is himself proved to be guilty of vices. However, it is not easy to peruse his argument, nor to know clearly what he means; yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to relate such things as resemble what I have examined already as to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt, and secondly he accuses the Jews who dwell in Alexandria. And thirdly he mixes with these things accusations as to the sacred purifications and other rites used in the temple.

§ 2. Now although I cannot but think that I have already proved, and that much more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, and were not expelled from thence either on account of bodily disease or any other calamities of that sort, yet I will briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject. For in the third book of his *Ægyptiaca* he speaks as

<sup>1</sup> The former part of this second book is written against the calumnies of Apion, and then more briefly against the calumnies of Apollonius Molo. After that Josephus leaves off any more particular reply to those adversaries of the Jews, and gives us a large and excellent description and vindication of the polity which was ordained for the Jewish nation by Moses, their great legislator.—W.

follows. "I have heard from old Egyptians that Moses was a native of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air at all the city walls, and turned all the city so as to face east, which is the situation of Heliopolis. He also set up pillars instead of gnomons,<sup>1</sup> under which was represented a figure in relief like a concave sundial, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon it, that it might go round the same course as the sun itself goes round in the ether." Such is the wonderful account of this grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of but few words to prove it, for it is manifest from the facts. For when Moses erected the first tabernacle to God, he neither himself ordered any such kind of figure in relief to be made for it, nor did he order those that came after him to make such a one. And when Solomon afterwards built his temple in Jerusalem, he abstained from all such curiosities as Apion has here invented. He says further that he had heard from old men, that Moses was a native of Heliopolis, doubtless because, being a younger man himself, he believed that those owing to their greater age were acquainted with and had conversed with Moses! Now Apion, critic as he was, could not confidently tell us the poet Homer's birth-place, any more than he could the birth-place of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively speaking but a little while ago; yet he thus easily determines the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, relying on the old men's tale, showing what a liar he was. And then as to the date when he says Moses brought the lepers and the blind and lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate critic agrees with those who have written before him! For Manetho says that the Jews departed out of Egypt in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos, and Lysimachus says it was in the days of king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand and seven hundred years ago, and

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the first dial that had been made in Egypt, and was a little before the time that Ahaz made his dial in Judæa, about 755, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, as we shall see presently. See 2 Kings xx. 11; Isa. xxxviii. 8.—W.

Molo and some others have fixed the time as they pleased ; but this Apion, the most trustworthy of all, has exactly fixed it to have been in the seventh Olympiad, and in the first year of that Olympiad, the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phœnicians. He no doubt added this building of Carthage, thinking it would be a very clear proof of his accuracy : but he was not aware that he thereby drew refutation on himself. For if we may credit the Phœnician records as to their colony, they record that Hiram their king was more than a hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage, concerning whom I have formerly produced proofs out of those Phœnician records, that this Hiram was a friend of Solomon, when he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and that he gave him great assistance in building it. But Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews went out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, Apion has contrived to have the very same number as Lysimachus, for he says they were a hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible cause for the name of Sabbath ; for he says that “when the Jews had travelled six days’ journey, they had buboes, and so they rested on the seventh day, having got safely into the country which is now called Judæa, and they called that day Sabbath, preserving the language of the Egyptians, because that malady of buboes was called Sabbatosis by the Egyptians.” Would not anyone now laugh at this fellow’s trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus ? For it is clear that all these hundred and ten thousand men had these buboes. And yet, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of diseases, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone a single day’s journey : and if they were able to travel over a large desert, and besides that to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they could not all of them have had buboes after the sixth day. For no such disease comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel, and when many ten thousands are in a camp together, they constantly march a fixed distance every day. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing would happen

by chance: this idea is the most absurd of all. However, the admirable Apion had before told us, that they reached Judæa in six days, and again, "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called Sinai, and was concealed there forty days, and when he came down from thence, he gave laws to the Jews." And yet how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was no water, and at the same time to travel over all the country between Egypt and Judæa in six days? And as for the grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it is either a proof of his great impudence or gross ignorance. For the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from one another: for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work, whereas it is the word Sabbo, as he affirms, that denotes among the Egyptians the malady of bubo.

§ 3. Such is the novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' departure from Egypt, he being more inventive than the others. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, in affirming them to be of Egyptian origin, when he lies also about himself? For although he was born at Oasis<sup>1</sup> in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, superior to all the Egyptians, and forswears his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, admits the depravity of his race. Naturally therefore he calls those Egyptians whom he hates and wishes to abuse. For had he not deemed Egyptians very poor specimens of humanity, he would not have denied his real origin, for we know that those who brag of their own native countries, value themselves upon the name they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they either make it because they value themselves upon it, or else they would draw us in to share in their own ill repute. But the excellent Apion seems to wish to bestow this reproach against us on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege they gave him of fellow-citizenship with them, and knowing the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to the Jews who dwell among them,

<sup>1</sup> The 'Great Oasis,' *el-Khargeh*, west of Abydos.

he proposed to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also, and in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

§ 4. But let us now see what those dreadful and shocking crimes are, which Apion charges upon the Jews dwelling at Alexandria. "They came (says he) out of Syria, and settled near a harbourless sea, and dwelt near the dashing of the waves." Now, if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real native country [Egypt], but what he states to be his own country, Alexandria. For all agree that the part of that city which is near the sea is the best of all to dwell in. Now, if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without being ejected, this is a proof of their valour. But Alexander himself gave them that part of the city for their habitation, and they obtained equal privileges with the Macedonians. I do not know what Apion would have said, had they dwelt at Necropolis,<sup>1</sup> and not been stationed near the royal palace, and if their nation had had the name of Macedonians given them to this very day. Now had he read the letters of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings of Egypt, or seen the pillar still standing at Alexandria, and containing the privileges which the great Cæsar bestowed upon the Jews; had he, I say, known of these things, and yet had the impudence to write the opposite to them, he was a bad man: and if he knew nothing of these things, he was an ignorant man. And when he appears to wonder how Jews could be called Alexandrians, this is another similar instance of his ignorance. For all such as are invited to any colony, although they differ ever so much from one another in their nationality, take their names from those who invite them. But what need is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch<sup>2</sup> are called Antiochians, because Seleucus the founder of that city gave them the rights of citizenship? In like manner do the Jews at Ephesus, and in the rest of

<sup>1</sup> That is, *city of the dead*, a name given to a suburb on the west side of Alexandria, v. Strab. 795, 799.

<sup>2</sup> Antioch on the Orontes in Syria.

Ionia, have the same name as the citizens that were natives there, by the grant of the successors of Alexander. And the liberality of the Romans has granted leave not only to men, but also to great and entire nations, to take the name of Romans. For instance, those anciently called Iberes<sup>1</sup> and Tyrrheni<sup>2</sup> and Sabini<sup>3</sup> are now called Romans. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of citizenship, let him cease to call himself an Alexandrian. For how can he be an Alexandrian, who was born, as I said before, in the very heart of Egypt, if citizenship by grant, as he himself has alleged in our case, be denied? And yet the Romans, who are now the masters of the world, have forbidden the Egyptians alone to have the privileges of any citizenship. But he is so generous as to wish to obtain himself a privilege he is forbidden to make use of, yet endeavours by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it. For Alexander did not settle some of our nation in Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for a city on whose founding he had bestowed so much pains, but it was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all men of virtue and fidelity. For, as Hecatæus says concerning us, Alexander honoured our nation to such a degree, that, for the good behaviour and fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free of tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria. For he put the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, believing they would hold them faithfully and valiantly for him, and when he wished to have a firm hold on the government of Cyrene<sup>4</sup> and the other cities of Libya, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. As for his successor Ptolemy, who was surnamed Philadelphus, he not only set all those of our nation free who were captives under him, but also frequently gave them money, and what was most important, he had a great desire to

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Iberians of the south of France, in the Roman Province, are intended here, and not those of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> The people of Etruria.

<sup>3</sup> The Sabines.

<sup>4</sup> *Grenneh*, the chief town of the Libyan Pentapolis.



know our laws, and to read the books of our sacred scriptures. So he sent and desired that men might be sent him to interpret our law to him, and that he might have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus and Andreas and Aristeeas should take care of the matter (Demetrius being the most learned person of his age, and the others being intrusted with the guard of his body); nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our laws and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised, and not held in high admiration, the men that used them.

§ 5. Now this Apion was almost unacquainted with all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors; who were very well affected towards us. For the third Ptolemy, who was called Euergetes, when he had got possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings for victory to the Egyptian gods, but went to Jerusalem, and offered many sacrifices to God according to our laws, and dedicated to him such gifts as were worthy of such a victory. And as for Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, and Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, were the generals of their whole army; whose names are laughed at by Apion, when, instead of abusing them, he ought to have admired their actions, and returned them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be. For when the Alexandrians were warring against queen Cleopatra, and were in danger of perishing miserably, these Jews negotiated terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of civil war. "But afterwards (says Apion) Onias led a small army against the city, when Thermus the Roman ambassador was present there." And, I venture to say, acting rightly and very justly. For Ptolemy, who was surnamed Physcon, came from Cyrene upon the death of his brother Philometor, and would have ejected Cleopatra, as well as her sons, out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly; and that was why Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's behalf, nor would he desert the trust the royal family had placed on him in their distress. And God bore remarkable witness to his righteous behaviour. For when

Ptolemy Physcon had the presumption to fight against Onias' army, and had arrested all the Jews that were in the city with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and bound to his elephants, that they might be trodden to death by them, and had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his plans. For these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physcon's friends, and slew a great number of them. And after this Ptolemy saw a terrible apparition, which prohibited his hurting those men: and his favourite concubine, whom some call Ithaca, and others Irene, making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness, he complied with her request, and repented of what he had either already done, or was about to do. In consequence of this it is well known that the Jews settled at Alexandria do with good reason celebrate this day, because they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However Apion, the calumniator of all men, has the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physcon, when he ought to have commended them for the same. He also mentions Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, and as it were abuses us, because she was ungracious to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, seeing that she indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations, and also her husbands who loved her, and indeed in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; and also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had doue her no harm; and also had her brother slain by treachery, and robbed the gods of her country and the sepulchres of her progenitors.<sup>1</sup> And though she had received her kingdom from the first Cæsar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son<sup>2</sup> and successor: nay, she corrupted Antony with her love tricks, and caused him to be an enemy to his country, and made him unfaithful to his friends, stripping some of their royal rank, and forcing others in her madness to act wickedly. But why need I enlarge upon this any

<sup>1</sup> Compare Antiq. xv. 4, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sister's son, and adopted son, namely, Augustus.—W.

further, when she left Antony in his sea-fight, though he was her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign his position with the army as commander in chief, and to follow her? And when last of all Augustus had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her affairs still, if she could kill the Jews with her own hand; to such a degree of cruelty and perfidiousness did she arrive! And do you think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not in time of famine distribute wheat amongst us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the greatest Cæsar to bear witness to the assistance we brought him and the fidelity we showed him against the Egyptians; we appeal also to the senate and its decrees, and the letters of Augustus Cæsar, wherein our merits are acknowledged. Apion ought to have inspected these letters, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate, and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, and is no accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Jews living at Alexandria is well known; for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. And they were desirous to keep the most important trust that the Ptolemies had formerly committed to their care, I mean the entire charge of the river, by no means thinking themselves unworthy of this charge.

§ 6. But besides this, Apion objects, "If the Jews are citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods as the Alexandrians do?" To which I answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you also have implacable wars with one another about religion? At this rate we must not call you all Egyptians, nor indeed in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, since the nature

of all men seems to be one and the same. Now, if there are such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own, persevered in the observance of those laws? But Apion further charges us with being the authors of sedition: which accusation, if it be a true one against the Jews settled in Alexandria, why is it not brought against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind? Moreover, any one will soon discover, that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is. For while Greeks and Macedonians were in possession of that city, they raised no sedition against us, but permitted us to observe our ancient worship. But when the number of the Egyptians came to be considerable because of the confusions of the times, these seditions were always breaking out, though our people continued uncorrupted. They themselves, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, having by no means the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Greeks, but truly indulging all of them the evil manners of Egyptians, and exercising their ancient hatred against us. For what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the difference between us and them. For as most of them do not easily obtain the privileges of citizens, they call<sup>1</sup> those foreigners who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all. For it does not appear that any of the Ptolemies formerly bestowed the privileges of citizenship upon Egyptians, nor do any of the Roman emperors now; whereas Alexander introduced us into the city, and the Ptolemies augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would defame us, because we do not put up images of our emperors, as if these emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and moderation of the Romans, since they do not compel those who are subject to them to transgress the laws of their own countries, but receive the honours due to them as it is pious and lawful for those who offer

<sup>1</sup> I read *vocant* for *vocantes*. The latter reading got in the text no doubt from the *eos* following.

them to pay them. For they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Moreover, the Greeks and some other nations think it a right thing to make images. Nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents and wives and children, they dance for joy, and some have pictures of persons who are no way related to them : some even have the pictures of slaves whom they are fond of. What wonder is it, then, if such appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But our legislator forbade us to make images, not telling us as it were beforehand that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as it were despising a thing that was useful neither to God nor man ; and he forbade them, as I shall show hereafter, to make images of any part of the animal creation, and much less of God himself, who is inanimate. However, our legislator has nowhere forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they are of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God, and with such honours we willingly show our respect to our emperors and to the people of Rome. We also offer continual sacrifices for them : and not only do we offer these every day at the common expense of all the Jews, but also, although we offer no other such sacrifices at the common expense, even for our own children, we do this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whatever. Let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion, as to what he says with relation to Alexandria.

§ 7. However, I wonder at those who furnished this man with his materials, I mean Posidonius and Appollonius Molo ; since they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship ; but they do not think themselves guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and make up absurd blasphemies about our temple : though it is a most shameful thing for freemen to tell lies on any occasion, and much more so about a temple famous all over the world, and awful for its sanctity. For Apion has the impudence to declare that the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place, and worshipped it, and made it worthy of so great religion, and he affirms that it was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found the

ass's head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of money. To this I first answer that, had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible animal than \*\*\*<sup>1</sup> and goats, and other creatures, which among them are gods. In the next place, how came Apion not to know that this is no other than a palpable lie, and proved by facts to be utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, to which we are always consistent. And although various misfortunes have befallen our city, as have also befallen the cities of others, and although Antiochus called God,<sup>2</sup> and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Cæsar, have conquered us in war, and got possession of our temple, yet they found no such thing there, nor indeed anything but what was agreeable to the strictest piety, though what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. As for Antiochus, he had no just cause for spoiling our temple, but only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and moreover attacked us when we were his associates and friends, nor did he find any thing there worthy of derision. This is attested by many worthy writers, as Polybius of Megalapolis, Strabo of Capadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the annalist, and Apollodorus;<sup>3</sup> who all say that it was out of Antiochus' want of money, that he broke his league with the Jews, and spoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he himself rather had an ass's heart and a dog's impudence, for the dog is wont to be worshipped among the Egyptians,<sup>4</sup> and he had no other external reason

<sup>1</sup> Furonibus in the Latin, but what animal it denotes does not now appear.—W. Furonibus means ferrets or weasels according to J. G. Müller. But qu. *serpentibus*, or *canibus*!

<sup>2</sup> See Antiq. xii. 3. § 2.

<sup>3</sup> It is a great pity that these six Pagan authors, here mentioned to have described the famous profanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus, should be all lost; I mean so much of their writings as contained that description; for it is plain Josephus perused them all, and that they were therefore extant in his time.—W.

<sup>4</sup> Müller refers to Plutarch, *Isis*, § 72, Juvenal, xv. 8, and Ælian, H. A. xi. 27.

for this lie he tells. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as the Egyptians do to crocodiles and asps, since they esteem such as are carried off by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are with us as with other wise men, viz., creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, they receive a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in other work and in things necessary in husbandry. But either Apion was most unskilful in the composition of falsehoods, or at least, when he began, he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he has no success in the reproaches he casts upon us.

§ 8. But he adds another fable from the Greeks, full of detraction of us; as to which, it will be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about divine worship, ought not to be ignorant that it is less impure to pass through temples, than to concoct wicked calumnies about priests. But such men as he are more zealous to defend a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just and true about us and our temple. For wishing to gratify Antiochus, and to conceal the perfidiousness and sacrilege, with regard to our nation, which he was guilty of when he wanted money, they endeavour to detract from us even in regard to the future, and have told lies. Apion becomes indeed the spokesman of others, and says, "That Antiochus found in our temple a couch and a man lying upon it, with a small table placed before him full of dainties of earth and sea and air, and that he was amazed at the sight. And this man immediately prostrated himself before the king upon his coming in, hoping he would afford him all possible assistance, and fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released. And when the king bade him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs and tears gave him the following account of the distress he was in. He said that he was a Greek, and that, as he was travelling over the province to get his living, he was on a

sudden seized upon by foreigners, and brought to the temple, and shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but was being fattened up by these various provisions thus set before him. And truly at first such unexpected comforts excited in him joy, but after a while suspicion, and after that astonishment; and at last he inquired of the servants who attended upon him, and was informed by them that he was thus fed in order to fulfil a law of the Jews which they must not tell him, and that they did the same at a certain time every year. For they would get hold of some Greek foreigner, and fat him up thus every year, and then lead him to a certain wood and kill him, and offer up his body as a sacrifice with their accustomed rites, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon thus sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and they would then throw what remained of the miserable wretch into a certain pit." Apion adds further, "that the man said he was to be killed in a few day now, and he implored Antiochus to respect the Greek gods, and to disappoint the snares the Jews laid for his blood, and to deliver him from the miseries with which he was surrounded." Now a tale of this kind is not only most full of all tragedy, but also abounds in cruel impudence. It does not however clear Antiochus of sacrilege, as those who wrote it to please him imagined. For he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still impious for his wicked desires, and just as much without regard to God, whatever he was bade to do by this superfluous lie, for lie it is, as is most easy to see from the circumstance itself. For the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Greeks only, but quite as much or even more the Egyptians and many other people also. For from what part of the world do not men sometimes come and sojourn among us, that we should conspire only against the Greeks, and endeavour to shed only their blood! Or how is it possible that all the Jews should assemble together at these sacrifices, and that the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion alleges? Or why did not the king carry this man, whoever he was, and whatever his name was



(which is not set down in Apion's book), with great pomp back into his own country? For, had he done so, he might have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against the hatred of the Jews. But I leave this matter: for the proper way of confuting fools, is not to use words, but to appeal to facts. All then who have seen the construction of our temple, know well enough its nature, and that the purity of it was never to be profaned. For it had four courts round about it, each one of which was by our law separated from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, none but menstruous women being prohibited to enter it; into the second court went all the Jews, as also their wives when they were free from any uncleanness; into the third went in the Jewish men when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments: but none went into the most sacred place but the high priests, clothed in their peculiar robes. Now there is such care exercised in our religion, that the priests can only go into the temple at certain hours. For in the morning, at the opening of the temple, those that are to officiate enter and receive the victims: and again at noon, till the temple is shut. Furthermore it is not lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house, nor is there any thing placed therein, but the altar (of incense), the table (of show-bread), the censer, and the candlestick, all which things are written in the law. For there is nothing more there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of, nor is there any feasting within the temple. What I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of our whole nation, and the method of their operations. For although there are four courses of priests, and each of these courses have more than five thousand men in them, yet they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed to the performance of the sacrifices, and assemble together in the temple at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and all the vessels by tale, from their predecessors, without any food or drink being carried into the temple. Nay, we are not allowed to offer such

things at the altar, except what is prepared for the sacrifices.

§ 9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined none of these things, while he uttered incredible words about them? But it is a great shame for a critic not to be able to write true history. And if he knew the purity of our temple, he has entirely omitted to mention it; while he has concocted a story about the seizing of a Greek, about unspeakable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place, where the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, to delude those who will not examine into the truth. By such unspeakable calumnies as are above related, they have tried to detract from us.

§ 10. Nay, this miracle of piety derides us further, and adds the following idle tale to his former one. For he says that Antiochus related that, "while the Jews had once a long war with the Idumæans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumæans, who had worshipped Apollo there. This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, went to the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of the people of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them. Then Zabidus made a certain wooden instrument, and put it round him, and set three rows of lamps thereon, and walked in such a manner that he appeared to those that stood a great way off a kind of star walking upon the earth. And the Jews were terribly frightened at so surprising a sight, and stood very quiet at some distance; and Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off the golden head of an ass, (so facetiously does he write,) and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste." We might say then that Apion loads the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies. For he writes of places that do not exist, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation. For Idumæa borders upon our country, and is near Gaza, and there is

no such city as Dora in it; there is, indeed, a city called Dora<sup>1</sup> in Phœnice, near Mount Carmel, but that is four days' journey from Idumæa. And why, again, does this man accuse us, as not having gods in common with other nations, if our forefathers so easily believed that Apollo would come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him? For certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must at this rate have never seen a lamp! It seems also that when Zabidus took his journey over the country, where there were so many myriads of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards. I omit all the rest; but the doors of the holy house were seventy cubits high, and twenty cubits broad, and they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold, and there were no fewer than twenty men required to shut them every day, nor was it lawful ever to leave them open. But it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he carried off the ass's head! But whether he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and returned it to the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and give Apion a second tale, is uncertain.

§ 11. Apion also lies as to an oath of ours, that we swear by God, the maker of the heaven and earth and sea, to bear no good-will to any foreigner, and especially to none of the Greeks. But he ought to have said falsely at once, that we swear to bear no good-will to any foreigner, and especially to none of the Egyptians. For so his story about the oath would have tallied with the rest of his former fictions, if indeed our forefathers were driven away by their kinsmen the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness, but on account of their calamities. As to the Greeks, we are rather remote from them in place than different from them in institutions, so that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it has so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws, and some have continued in their observance, though others

<sup>1</sup> *Tantârah.*

had not courage enough to persevere, and seceded from them again. Nor did anybody ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard of it, indeed he concocted it himself.

§ 12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great understanding in what I am going to speak of next. He says it is a plain proof that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not independent, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another, and because our city has suffered from several calamities, while their city was from of old an independent city, and not accustomed to be in subjection to the Romans. And yet it would be wiser in any one to abstain from such boasting. For everybody but himself would think, that Apion says what he has said against himself. For few nations have had the good fortune to continue many generations in independence, and the mutations in human affairs have put these also in subjection to others; and most nations have often had to obey others. But the Egyptians pretend that they alone had this extraordinary privilege, to serve none of the monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, because the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by changing themselves into the forms of wild beasts; whereas in point of fact these very Egyptians<sup>1</sup> appear to have never in all past time had one day of freedom, not even with their own lords. I will not reproach them with relating how the Persians used them, not once only, but many times, laying their cities waste, and demolishing their temples, and cutting the throats of those animals whom they esteemed gods; for it is not right to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who has no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians or of the Lacedæmonians, the latter of whom are affirmed by all men to have been the most

<sup>1</sup> This notorious disgrace belonging peculiarly to the people of Egypt, ever since the times of the old prophets of the Jews noted, both § 4, already, and here, may be confirmed by the testimony of Isodorus, an Egyptian of Pelusium, epist. lib. i. cap. 489. And this is a remarkable completion of the ancient prediction of God, by Ezekiel, xxix. 14, 15, "That the Egyptians should be a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms," and that it "should not exalt itself any more above the nations."—W.

courageous, and the former the most religious, of the Greeks. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, as one of them whose name was Crœsus, nor what calamities he met with in his life: I say nothing of the Acropolis of Athens, of the temples at Ephesus and Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, and nobody cast reproaches on those who were the sufferers, but only on those who were the actors therein. But now we have met with a new accuser of our nation in Apion, who quite forgets the miseries of his own people the Egyptians. Sesostris, the legendary king of Egypt, has blinded him. However, we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations: we will not speak of them. But Apion is ignorant of what everybody knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we enjoyed liberty, and moreover, had the dominion of the cities round about us, for about a hundred and twenty years, till Pompey the Great. And when all nations were conquered by the Romans, who are kings everywhere, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their allies and friends because of their fidelity.

§ 13. But, says Apion, "We Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, as inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and then he adds himself to them, which is the richest thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it has such a citizen as him. For he had to bear witness to himself. For he appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, corrupt both in his life and conversation, so that one may with reason pity Alexandria, if it is proud of such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant that many are as deserving of commendation as any people.

§ 14. As to the other things which he sets down in his accusation, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. For he accuses us of

sacrificing animals, and of abstaining from eating swine's flesh, and laughs at us for practising circumcision. Now as for the slaughter of tame animals, it is common to us and to all other men, and Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for a Greek or Macedonian would have had no objection to such a thing; for those people vow to sacrifice whole Hecatombs to the gods, and make use of the victims for feasting; and the world is not thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion feared it would be. However, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world would certainly have been bereft of human beings, but filled full of the wildest beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. Now if any one should ask Apion, which of all the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise and most pious, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so. For they say that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods and the pursuit of wisdom. And their priests are all circumcised, and abstain from eating swine's flesh. Nor do any of the other Egyptians assist them in sacrificing to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he devised reproaching us, whereas he really accuses them, seeing that they not only adopt those habits which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to practise circumcision, as Herodotus says.<sup>1</sup> And I think Apion was justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer on his person, which, as he received no benefit from that circumcision, rotted away, and he died in great torments. For well-intentioned people ought to observe carefully their own laws concerning religion, and not to abuse the laws of other nations, whereas this Apion did not observe his own laws, and told lies about ours. Such was the end of Apion's life, and let this be our last reference to him.

§ 15. Now as Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others, partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will,

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, ii. 104.

have written treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are neither fair nor true, calumniating Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and asserting that our laws teach us wickedness and not virtue, I intend to state briefly, to the best of my ability, the whole constitution of our polity and its details. For I think it will then be plain that the laws we have are most excellently adapted for the advancement of piety, and for the interests of society, and for general philanthropy, as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude, and for contempt of death. And I beg of those who shall peruse this work of mine, to read it without ill-will. For it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I esteem it the most just defence for us, against the many and lying accusations that have been made against us, to cite those laws, according to which we lead our lives; especially as Apollonius does not, like Apion, lay a continuous accusation against us, but accuses us only by fits and starts, and here and there throughout his treatise. Sometimes he reproaches us as atheists and misanthropes, and sometimes twits us with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness and recklessness. He also says that we are the stupidest of all barbarians, and that this is why we are the only people who have contributed no invention to life. All this I think I shall have sufficiently disproved, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws. And should I be compelled to mention the laws of other nations that are contrary to ours, they who have thought good to depreciate our laws in comparison with their own must thank themselves for this. Nor will there, I think, be any opportunity left them to say, either that we have not these laws, the chief of which I shall present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observance of them.

§ 16. To begin then a little back, I would say this first, that those who were lovers of order and common laws, and who first introduced them, when men were living without law and order, may well have this testimony, that they were better than other men in mildness and natural virtue. And certainly such persons endeavour to have every

thing they introduce believed to be very ancient, that they may not be thought to imitate others, but may rather seem themselves to have suggested a regular way of living to others. Since, then, this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in seeing what is best, and in persuading those who are to use the laws he ordains to have a good opinion of them, and the excellency of a people is seen in their abiding by the laws, and making no changes in them either in prosperity or adversity. Now I say that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators who are anywhere recorded. For Lycurgus and Solon, and Zaleucus the legislator of the Locrians, and all those legislators who are admired by the Greeks, seem to be of yesterday if compared with our legislator, indeed the very name of law was not so much as known in old times among the Greeks. Homer bears me out in this, for he never uses the word law in all his poems;<sup>1</sup> for indeed there was in his time no such thing, but the multitude was governed by undefined opinions and by the orders of their kings. They continued also a long time after Homer in the use of these unwritten customs, although they frequently changed them to suit a particular emergency. But our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest (as even those who speak against us upon all occasions admit), exhibited himself to the people as their best guide and counsellor, and included in his legislation the whole conduct of life, and persuaded them to receive it, and brought it to pass that those who were acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

§ 17. Now let us consider his first and greatest work. When it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt, and to return to their own country, he took the many myriads of the people, and safely rescued them out of many difficulties. For it was necessary for them to travel over a waterless and sandy desert, and to overcome their enemies, and during their battles to preserve their children and wives and spoil; on all which occasions he showed himself a most excellent general, and a most sagacious counsellor, and one that took the truest care of them all. He

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod is the first who uses the word νόμος.



also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him, and while he made them always obedient to what he enjoined, he never used his authority for his own private advantage. And at the time when eminent men do most gain great power for themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the people to live very lawlessly, our legislator, on the contrary, though he had such great authority, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to show his great good-will to the people; for so he thought he might best show his own virtue, and might secure the most lasting prosperity to those who had made him their leader. As therefore his intentions were so good, and he had performed such wonderful exploits, we justly looked upon ourselves as having a divine leader and counsellor. And when he had first persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to impress that notion above all things upon the multitude: for those who believe that God surveys their lives cannot bear the thought of sin. Such then was the character of our legislator, who was no impostor, or deceiver, as his revilers say unjustly, but such a one as they boast Minos to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him. For some of them maintained that they had their laws from God, and Minos referred the oracular origin of his laws to Apollo and his oracle at Delphi, whether they thought they were really so derived, or that they could so more easily persuade the people to obey them. And as to who made the best laws, and who had the justest ideas as to faith in God, it is easy to determine this by comparing the laws themselves together, for it is time that we come to that point. Now there are innumerable differences in detail in the customs and laws that obtain among all mankind; for some legislators have permitted their governments to be monarchies, others oligarchies, and others democracies. But our legislator had no regard to any of these things, but ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, ascribing the sovereignty and authority to God, and persuading all the people to look to him as the author of all good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each individual privately, and of all that they

themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest straits. He informed them also that it was impossible to escape God's observation, either in any of their outward actions, or in any of their inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God as unbegotten, and immutable through all eternity, surpassing all mortal conception in beauty, and though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now say that the wisest of the Greeks were taught these notions of God by principles that Moses supplied them with; but they have borne emphatic witness that these notions are good and agreeable to the nature and majesty of God. For Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic Philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all other philosophers, seem to have had the same notions about the nature of God. But these men durst not disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prepossessed by other opinions, while our legislator, who made his actions square with his laws, not only prevailed upon his contemporaries to agree to his notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it could never be removed. And the reason why our lawgiver in his legislation far exceeded all other legislators in utility to all, is that he did not make religion a part of virtue, but had the insight to make the various virtues parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and self-control, and the mutual harmony in all things of the members of the community with one another. For all our actions and studies and words have a connection with piety towards God; for he has left none of these things indefinite or undetermined. For there are two ways of arriving at any discipline or moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by exercises in practice. Now all other lawgivers separated these two ways in their codes, and choosing the one of those methods which best pleased them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedæmonians and the Cretans teach by exercises in practice, and not by words; while the Athenians and almost all the other Greeks made laws about what was to be done or left undone, but neglected exercising people thereto in practice.

§ 18. But our legislator very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together: for he neither left these

exercises in practice to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without exercises in practice; but beginning immediately with the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and caprice of the persons themselves; but made fixed rules and laws what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of, as also what intercourse they should have with others; what diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed; that, by living under those laws as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin either from wilfulness or ignorance. For he did not suffer the pretext of ignorance to be valid, but showed the law to be the best and most necessary of instructions, for he bade the people leave off all their other employments, and assemble together to hear the law, and to be perfectly instructed in it, not once or twice or often, but every week; a thing which all other legislators seem to have neglected.

§ 19. Indeed most of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them, but when they have sinned, then they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Even those who are in the highest and most important offices confess they are not acquainted with their laws, and are obliged to take such persons as profess to have skill in those laws for their assessors in the administration of public affairs. But if any body do but ask any one of our people about our laws, he could more easily tell them all than he could tell his own name. For because of our having learned them as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, we have them as it were engraven on our souls. And our transgressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment by entreaty for pardon.

§ 20. And it is this very thing that principally creates such wonderful oneness of mind amongst us all. For our having one and the same opinion about God, and our having no difference from one another in our course of life and manners, brings about among us the most excellent accord in manners that is anywhere among mankind. For among us alone

will no one hear any discourses about God that contradict one another, which are yet frequent among other nations (and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is personally disposed, but some of the philosophers also have been bold enough to indulge in such speculations, some of them having attempted to take away all the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind), nor will any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but the works of all among us are common, and we have one doctrine about God, which chimes in with our law, and affirms that he surveys all things. And as to the conduct of our lives, that we consider that all things ought to have piety for their end, any body may hear from our women and servants.

§ 21. Hence indeed has arisen the accusation which some bring against us, that we have produced no men that have been inventors of new deeds or words. For all other nations think it a fine thing to stick to nothing that has been handed down from their forefathers, and testify to the clever wisdom of men who are bold enough to ignore their traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue neither to act nor think contrary to our original laws. Now this is a reasonable proof that our legislation is admirable; for laws which are not thus well made are proved upon trial to want amendment.

§ 22. And as we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same. For what is there in it that any body would change, or what could one invent better, or what could one borrow from other people's laws more excellent? Would any have the entire frame-work of our polity altered? And what could be a better or more righteous constitution than ours, which makes us esteem God the governor of the universe, and commits to the priests generally the administration of the principal affairs, and again intrusts the rule over the other priests to the high priest who is supreme over everything? Nor did our legislator, at their first appointment, advance these priests to that dignity for their riches, or for any other fortuitous advantages, but he intrusted the management of divine

worship mainly to those who exceeded others in powers of persuasion and in self-control. These men had the strict care of the law, and had the rest of the people's conduct committed to them: for the priests were ordained to be overseers of everything, and to be judges in doubtful cases, and to be the punishers of those who were condemned to suffer punishment.

§ 23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a sort of religious solemnity? For what foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, and call them mysteries and initiations, are not able to observe even for a few days, we observe with much pleasure and unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simple and well known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God is almighty and perfect and happy, self-sufficing and sufficient for all other beings, the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatever; but as to his form and size he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image of him, and all arts are inartistic to express the notion of him. We cannot see any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to conjecture about him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and moon, the waters, the generations of animals, and the growth of fruits. God did not make these things with hands nor with labour, nor did he need the assistance of any to co-operate with him: but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made and became good immediately. All men ought to follow and worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy.

§ 24. There is also but one temple for one God (for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement<sup>1</sup>), common to

<sup>1</sup> Müller compares Aristotle, *Ethics*, ix. 3, 3; viii. 1, 6.

all men, because God is common to all men. His priests are continually about his worship, over whom he that is head of the family presides. His business is to offer sacrifices to God with his fellow-priests, to see that the laws are observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those who are convicted of wrong-doing. And he that does not submit to him is subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do not do so to surfeit ourselves or to be drunk (for such excesses are against the will of God, and the sacrifices would then be an excuse for riot and luxury), but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate<sup>1</sup> than others. And at the sacrifices themselves, we ought first to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that for our own (for we are made for fellowship with one another), and he who prefers the common good to his own private good is especially acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made to God, not so much that he would give us what is good, (for he has already given that of his own accord, and distributed it alike to all,) as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it keep it. The law has also appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after any nocturnal pollution, and after connection with our wives, and after several other things which it would be too long now to set down. Such is our rationale concerning God and his worship, and the law is also the same.

§ 25. What, again, are our laws about marriages? The law recognizes no connection of the sexes but the natural connection between a man and his wife, and that only for the procreation of children; and it abhors sodomy, and death is the punishment for that crime. The law commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to dowry, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her by deceit and guile, but to demand her in marriage of him who has power to dispose of her, and is fit<sup>2</sup> to give her away because of his nearness of kin. For the legislator says that a

<sup>1</sup> Reading *σωφρονώμεν* with Bekker and Müller.

<sup>2</sup> I read *ἐπιτηδείου*.

woman is inferior to her husband in all things. Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not that he should ill-treat her, but that she may acknowledge her position to be a subordinate one, for God has given the authority to the husband. A husband is to lie only with his wife, and to seduce another man's wife is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment, as it is also his who forces a virgin betrothed to another man. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy the foetus in any other way,<sup>1</sup> for she will be an infanticide who thus destroys life and diminishes the human race. If any one, therefore, commits adultery or seduction, he cannot be clean. Why, even after the regular connection of man and wife, the law enjoins that they shall both wash themselves. For there is a defilement contracted thereby both of soul and body, as if they had travelled into another country. For the soul suffers from its union with the body,<sup>2</sup> and is only freed therefrom again by death. On this account the law requires purification in all such cases.

§ 26. Moreover the law does not permit us to feast at the births of our children, and so make excuses for drinking to excess, but it ordains that the very beginning of life should be sober. It also commands us to bring our children up in learning, and to make them conversant with the laws, and acquainted with the acts of their forefathers, that they may imitate them, and being nourished up in them may neither transgress them, nor have any excuse for ignorance of them.

§ 27. Our law also provides for the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expense at their funerals, and without the erection of any handsome monuments for them, and orders that the nearest relations should perform their obsequies. It also ordains that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also orders that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to be as far as pos-

<sup>1</sup> I follow Müller's reading here.

<sup>2</sup> I read *σώματι*.

sible from thinking himself pure, if he has been guilty of murder.

§ 28. The law also ordains, that parents should be honoured next after God himself, and orders the son who does not requite them for the benefits he has received from them, but comes short on any occasion, to be handed over to justice and stoned. It also says that young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, for that is not friendship which will not trust them in all things. It also forbids the revelation of their secrets, if subsequent enmity arise between them. If any judge take bribes, his punishment is death. He that neglects one that begs for aid, when he is able to relieve him, is liable to be called to account. What one has not intrusted to another, cannot be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not receive interest. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bonds of society with one another.

§ 29. It will also be worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers. For it will then appear that he made the best provision he possibly could, that we should neither infringe our own polity, nor show a grudging spirit to those who would cultivate a friendship with us. Thus our legislator receives in a friendly manner all those who wish to come and live under our laws, esteeming relationship to lie not only in race but also in similarity of life and manners. But he does not allow those who come to us only to sojourn for a time to be admitted into communion with us.

§ 30. There are, however, various things which our legislator ordered us as obligatory on us to impart to all men; as to give fire, water, and food, to such as require them, and to show them the way, and not to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those accounted<sup>1</sup> our enemies with moderation. For he does not allow us to set their country on fire, nor does he permit us to cut down their fruit trees; he also forbids us to strip those that have

<sup>1</sup> Reading *κρίθεντας* with Bekker.



been slain in war. He has also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be ill-treated, and especially the captive women. Indeed, he has taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he has not neglected the care of brute beasts, permitting no other than the regular use of them, and forbidding any other. And if any of them flee to our houses as suppliants, we are forbidden to slay them. Nor may we kill the dams with their young ones; and we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those animals that labour for mankind. Thus has our lawgiver contrived to teach us merciful conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein: while at the same time he has ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished without excuse.

§ 31. Now most offences with us are capital, as if any one is guilty of adultery, if any forces a virgin, if any one is so impudent as to attempt to commit sodomy with a male, or if the person solicited submits to be so used. The law is also equally inexorable for slaves. And if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale to cheat another, or if any one steal what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited, all these have punishments allotted them, and that not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as to misbehaviour to parents, or impiety to God, for the very intention the offender is put to death immediately. For those, on the other hand, who act according to the laws the reward is not silver nor gold, nor again a crown of wild olive or parsley, nor any such public mark of commendation; but each one, having his own conscience bearing him witness, believes (on the word of the legislator, confirmed by the sure testimony of God) that to those that observe these laws, even though they should be obliged to die willingly for them, God has granted that they shall come into being again, and after their vicissitudes have a better life than they had before. I should hesitate to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all from their actions, that many of our people have frequently bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

§ 32. Indeed, had our nation not happened to be known to all men, and had our voluntary submission to our laws not been open and manifest, but somebody read these laws to the Greeks, either pretending to have written them himself, or asserting that he had met with men outside the limits of the known world who had such sublime notions of God, and had continued many a century in the steady observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire our nation because of the frequent changes they had themselves been subject to. For those who have attempted to write something of the same kind as a polity and code of laws, are accused of composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task. I will say nothing here of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this kind in their writings. But Plato, who is admired by the Greeks as remarkable for his lofty life and force of language, and who in powers of persuasion excelled all other philosophers, continues to be little better than laughed at and publicly ridiculed as on the stage by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs: although he who shall diligently peruse his writings, will find them mild and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. And Plato himself confesses that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words tricked out with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus most of all legislators, and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the observance of his laws for a very long time. So let it be admitted a proof of virtue to obey the laws. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedæmonians, compare the duration of their polity with the more than two thousand years that our polity has lasted, and let them further consider that, though the Lacedæmonians seemed to observe their laws strictly, while they enjoyed their liberty, yet, when they underwent a change of fortune, they almost forgot all those laws; while we, though we have had ten thousand reverses, owing to the frequent changes of rulers in Asia, have never abandoned our laws in the most pressing distresses we have been in, nor neglected them either from sloth or

luxury; yet, if any one will consider the matter, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been far greater than what seem to have been borne by the fortitude of the Lacedæmonians. For they neither cultivated their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all labour, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men to minister to them in all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by them; enduring all toils and hardships merely for this one<sup>1</sup> noble and humane end, that they might be able to conquer all those against whom they made war! I need not add that they did not *always* succeed in this; for not only a few individuals, but multitudes of them have frequently *en masse* neglected the precepts of their law, and surrendered with their arms to their enemies.

§ 33. Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many, nay, of more than one or two, that have abandoned our laws, or feared death, I do not mean that easiest of deaths which happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily tortures, and seems to be the hardest death of all. Indeed I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not from their hatred to us when they had got us in their power, but rather from their desire to see a wonderful sight, namely, that there are men in the world, who believe the only evil is being compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their laws! Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are. For other men do not easily submit to what seem the easiest of our practices, I mean such things as working with our hands, and simple diet, and being contented to eat and drink and lie with our wives by rule, as also in respect to luxury, and again in the constant observance of our days of rest. For those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to rules about their mode of living; whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these cases makes us readier to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

<sup>1</sup> Reading ἐφ' ἑρ. Of course the sentence is ironical.

§ 34. Yet the Lysimachuses and the Molos, and some other such writers, reprobate sophists, and deceivers of young men, abuse us as the vilest of mankind. Now I had no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations. For the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, and not to bring accusations against the laws of others; and indeed our legislator has expressly forbidden us to jeer or rail at those that are esteemed gods by other people,<sup>1</sup> out of respect to the very name of God. But as our antagonists think to run us down by a comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence, especially as what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but has been already said by many of the highest reputation. For who among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom has not greatly censured not only the most famous poets, but also the most esteemed legislators, for spreading originally among the masses such notions concerning the gods as that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they themselves have a mind to declare, and that they are begotten by one another, and that in all kinds of ways imaginable. They also classify them in their places and ways of living, as one would classify various kinds of animals, placing some under the earth,<sup>2</sup> and some in the sea,<sup>3</sup> and they represent the ancientest of them all as bound in Tartarus;<sup>4</sup> whereas in the case of those gods to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in name is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and despot;<sup>5</sup> so that his wife, and brother, and daughter (which daughter<sup>6</sup> he brought forth from his own head), made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father.<sup>7</sup>

§ 35. Justly do the wisest men think such notions as these deserving of severe rebukes, and also laugh at the idea that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beard-

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Antiq.* iv. 8, § 10.—W.

<sup>2</sup> As Pluto and Persephone.

<sup>3</sup> As Poseidon, Amphitrite, the Nereids, and Proteus.

<sup>4</sup> As Cronos and the Titans.

<sup>5</sup> Zeus is referred to.

<sup>6</sup> Athene.

<sup>7</sup> Cronos.

less and striplings, and others of them to be old and bearded,<sup>1</sup> and that some are set to trades, as one god is a smith,<sup>2</sup> and one goddess a weaver,<sup>3</sup> and that another god is a warrior and fights with men,<sup>4</sup> and that others of them are harpers,<sup>5</sup> or delight in archery;<sup>6</sup> and also that mutual strife arises among them, and that they quarrel about mankind, till they not only lay hands upon one another, but are also wounded by men and lament and wail.<sup>7</sup> But what is grossest of all are those unbridled lusts and amours ascribed to almost all of them. Indeed, how can it be other than most absurd to ascribe all this to gods and goddesses? Then the most noble and chief of all the gods, and himself also their father,<sup>8</sup> neglects those goddesses<sup>9</sup> whom he has seduced and got with child, and suffers them to be put in prison or exposed to the sea.<sup>10</sup> He is also so mastered by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding tears. These are fine things indeed, as are the rest that follow! Adultery truly was so shamelessly looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them confessed they envied those who were taken in the very act! And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them and their king could not in the violence of his lust wait for connection with his wife till they could get into their bedchamber?<sup>11</sup> And some of the gods are fabled to have been servants to men, sometimes as builders for pay,<sup>12</sup> and sometimes as shepherds,<sup>13</sup> while others, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass.<sup>14</sup> Now what sensible person would not be provoked at such stories, to rebuke those that made them up, and to condemn the great silliness of those that believe them? Nay, others have personified as gods terror and fear, and

<sup>1</sup> Müller compares "Jovem semper barbatus, Apollinem semper imberbem. Cic. Nat. Deor. i. 30, 83. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 249."

<sup>2</sup> Hephaestus.

<sup>3</sup> Athene.

<sup>4</sup> Ares.

<sup>5</sup> As Apollo.

<sup>6</sup> As Apollo and Artemis.

<sup>7</sup> As Aphrodite. See Hom. Iliad, v. 335-380.

<sup>8</sup> Zeus, who is frequently called the father of gods and men, as Homer, Iliad, i. 544.

<sup>9</sup> As Leto, Semele, Io, Danaë.

<sup>10</sup> As Danaë.

<sup>11</sup> An allusion to Homer, Iliad, xiv. 292-353.

<sup>12</sup> As Poseidon and Apollo.

<sup>13</sup> As Apollo.

<sup>14</sup> As Cronos and the Titans.

even madness and fraud, and other of the vilest passions. And they have persuaded cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of these gods. Thus they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others averters of evil. And these last they endeavour to move, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, expecting to receive some great mischief from them, unless they bribe them as it were by such offerings.

§ 36. What then is the cause of such irregularity and scandal as to the Deity? I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge their legislators had from the first of the true nature of God, and because they did not explain to the people even so much as they themselves comprehended of it, nor did they frame the rest of their polity in accordance with it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and not only gave leave to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, subject to all sorts of passions, but also allowed the orators to enroll by plebiscite such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also and statuaries of Greece enjoyed great power in this respect, as each of them could devise the similitude of a god, the one forming it out of clay, and the other by painting a picture; but the most admired sculptors used ivory and gold as the constant materials for their new statues. Moreover, the gods, who first flourished in the honours done them, are now grown old, and certain other new gods are introduced and worshipped. As for the temples, some of them are desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure of individual men; whereas they ought on the contrary to have preserved their opinion about God and the honour due to him without change.<sup>1</sup>

§ 37. Now Apollonius Molo belonged to the category of foolish and vain men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those who were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they ignorant of the frigid pretensions of allegories. And so they justly despised them, and agreed with us in true and becoming notions of God. From this standpoint Plato would not admit into his republic any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer him-

<sup>1</sup> I have followed Müller's text in the latter part of this section.

self with panegyric, after placing a garland on his head and pouring ointment upon him, that he should not destroy right notions about God with his fables. Plato also especially imitated our legislator in that he enjoined his citizens to pay to nothing more attention than to this, that every one of them should learn their laws accurately; as also that they should not have foreigners mixing with their own people at random, but that the republic should be pure, and consist only of such as obeyed the laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he accused us of not admitting such as have their own preconceptions about God, and having no fellowship with those who choose to observe a different way of living to ourselves. For this method is not peculiar to us, but common to all men, not to Greeks only, but also to such as are of the greatest reputation among the Greeks. Why, the Lacedæmonians continually expelled foreigners, and would not suffer their own citizens to travel abroad, suspecting that both these things would tend to the detriment of their own laws. And perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedæmonians, for they gave no one the privilege of citizenship or indeed leave to live among them; whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate the ways of others, yet willingly admit those that desire to share ours. And I think I may reckon this a proof both of our humanity and magnanimity also.

§ 38. But I shall say no more about the Lacedæmonians. And as to the Athenians, who glory in having made their city common to all men, Apollonius did not know what their behaviour was either, for they punished without mercy those who did but speak one word about the gods contrary to their laws. For on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was because he swore by novel oaths, and affirmed either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a demon<sup>1</sup> used to intimate to him [what he should or should not do,] that he was condemned to die by drinking hemlock;

<sup>1</sup> Or "genius." See Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, i. 1, § 2. See also Plutarch's Essay, *De genio Socratis*.

and his accuser<sup>1</sup> also complained that he corrupted the young men, because he induced them to despise the policy and laws of their city. Such was the punishment of Socrates, though a citizen of Athens. And Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ<sup>2</sup> was within a few votes of being condemned to death, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought a god, was a red-hot mass of fire. They also made public proclamation, that they would give a talent to any one who would kill Diagoras of Melos,<sup>3</sup> because he was said to have laughed at their mysteries. Protagoras also, who was thought to have written something about the gods that was not admitted by the Athenians, would have been arrested and put to death, if he had not fled quickly. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, seeing that they did not even spare women. For indeed they slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody of initiating people into the worship of strange gods, for it was forbidden to do so by one of their laws, and capital punishment was decreed to such as introduced a strange god. But it is manifest that those who made such a law did not believe the gods of other nations to be really gods, else they would not have grudged themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. Such was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! The Scythians also take a pleasure in killing men, and differ little from brute beasts, yet they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed; and they put to death Anacharsis,<sup>4</sup> a person greatly admired for his wisdom by the Greeks, because on his return home to them he appeared full of Greek customs. One may also find many to have been punished among the Persians on the very same account. But it is plain that Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and admired them, doubtless because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage and similar opinions about the gods! This similarity of opinion in religious matters was exhibited in their burning temples; and their courage in coming and almost entirely

<sup>1</sup> Meletus.

<sup>2</sup> *Kelisman*, on the south side of the bay of Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> The island of *Milo*, one of the Cyclades.

<sup>4</sup> See Herodotus, iv. 76, 77.



enslaving the Greeks. And Apollonius imitated all the Persian institutions, forcing other men's wives, and castrating their sons. Now with us it is a capital crime, if any one thus ill-treats even a brute beast: and neither the fear of our conquerors, nor the desire of imitating what other nations hold in esteem, has been able to draw us away from our own laws. Nor have we exercised our courage in undertaking wars to increase our wealth, but only to continue in the observance of our laws: for though we bear other losses with patience, yet when any persons would compel us to violate our laws, we then choose to go to war, even against tremendous odds, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And why indeed should we desire to imitate the laws of other nations, when we see that they are not even observed by their own legislators? For why should not the Lacedæmonians condemn that polity which suffers them not to associate with others, as also their contempt of matrimony? And why should not the people of Elis<sup>1</sup> and the Thebans abolish that unnatural and unrestrained lust of sodomy so common among them?<sup>2</sup> For they do not admit their objection to what they of old thought to be very excellent and very convenient to do, unless they entirely avoid all such practices in their actions, nay, they corrupt their laws, which had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these sodomitical practices to the gods themselves,<sup>3</sup> and represented in the same way that the gods married their own sisters,<sup>4</sup> contriving this apology for their own strange and unnatural lusts.<sup>5</sup>

§ 39. I omit now to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of compounding for them most legislators of old gave evil-doers, as for adulteries fines in money, and for seducing virgins to marry them, as also how many loopholes they supply to deny the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them. For amongst most nations it is quite a studied art, how men may transgress their laws; but it is

<sup>1</sup> On the west coast of Peloponnesus.

<sup>2</sup> See Cicero, *Rep.* iv. 4; Plutarch, *On Education*, § xv.; Xenophon's *Symposium*, viii. 33, 34.

<sup>3</sup> As in the famous case of Ganymede.

<sup>4</sup> As Zeus and Hera. Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. 432.

<sup>5</sup> Surely we must read *αἰροῖς*, not *αἰραῖς*.

not so amongst us. For though we should be deprived of our wealth and cities and any other advantages we have, our law continues immortal: nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so afraid of a harsh despot, as not to fear the law more than him. If, then, this is the disposition we are in with regard to our laws because of the excellency of them, let our enemies make this concession that our laws are most admirable; but if they still imagine, though we so firmly adhere to them, that they are bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they not deserve to undergo, who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem superior to ours? And since length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a witness of the excellence of our legislator, and of the account delivered to us by him concerning God. For since immense time has intervened, if any one will but compare his period with the period of other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the most ancient of all.

§ 40. I have already fully shown our laws, and they have always inspired imitation and still more admiration in all other men.<sup>1</sup> For the earliest Greek philosophers, though to all appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet in their actions and philosophical notions followed our legislator, instructing men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communications with one another. Moreover, multitudes have had a great inclination now for a long time to follow our religious observances; nor is there any city of the Greeks, nor any barbarian city, nor any nation, where our custom of resting on the seventh day has not reached, and by whom our fasts, and burning of lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to food, are not observed. They also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are exposed to on account of our laws. And what is most wonderful, our law has no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but only gains ground on its own merits; and as God himself pervades all the world, so

<sup>1</sup> I suggest *ἀνθρώποις μίμησιν ἀεί, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ζῆλον ἐμπεποιήκασι.*  
Itaque verti.

has our law passed through all the world also. If any one will but reflect on his own country and family, he will not discredit what I say. It is therefore but just either to condemn all mankind of voluntary depravity, for their desire to follow laws foreign to them and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us. For we are not guilty of any grudging behaviour to them in honouring our own legislator, and in believing what he has prophetically taught us about God. For even if we were unable ourselves to understand the excellence of all our laws, yet would the number of those who desire to imitate them induce us to plume ourselves greatly upon them.

§ 41. But I have given an accurate account of our laws and polity in my work on the Antiquities; and have only mentioned them so far now as was necessary to my present purpose, neither proposing to myself to blame the laws of other nations, nor to make an encomium upon our own, but only to confute those who have written unjustly about us, and in shameless antagonism to the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently done what I proposed in writing these two books.<sup>1</sup> For whereas our accusers have said that our nation are a people of very late origin, I have proved that they are exceedingly ancient; for I have produced as witnesses many ancient writers, who have mentioned us in their books, while they affirmed no writer had done so. Moreover, they said that our ancestors were Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt. They also told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of disease in our bodies, whereas it has appeared on the contrary that we returned to our own country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. They reproached our legislator again as a very paltry fellow: whereas God in old time bore witness to his virtuous conduct, and since Him time itself has been found to have borne witness to the same.

§ 42. As to our laws themselves, more words are unnecessary. For they can be seen for themselves, and evi-

<sup>1</sup> Namely, against Apion.

dently do not teach impiety, but the truest piety in the world, not calling men to misanthropy, but encouraging people to share what they have with one another freely; being enemies to injustice, and eager for righteousness, and anxious to banish idleness and expensive living, and teaching men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings; and forbidding men to make war from a desire of greed, and making men bold in defending the laws; and inexorable in punishing malefactors; and admitting no sophistry of words, but ever establishing themselves by actions, which we ever adduce as surer proofs than what is written only. And so I make bold to say, that we are become the teachers of other men in the greatest number of things, and those the most excellent. For what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than obedience to the laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord, and neither to be divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity, but to despise death when we are in war, and to apply ourselves in peace to trade and agriculture, while we are persuaded that God surveys and directs every thing everywhere. If these precepts had either been written before by others, or more exactly observed, we should have owed them thanks as their disciples, but if it is plain that we have made more use of them than any other men, and if we have proved that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions and Molos, and all others who delight in lies and abuse, stand confuted. And let this and the previous book<sup>1</sup> be dedicated to you, Epaphroditus, who are so great a lover of truth, and for your sake to those who like you wish to know about our nation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Against Apion.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity of stating that I have found the edition of Josephus "Against Apion" of J. G. Müller, Basel, 1877, very useful indeed. Had he but extended his labours to all Josephus! His Notes are most thorough and complete.

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