

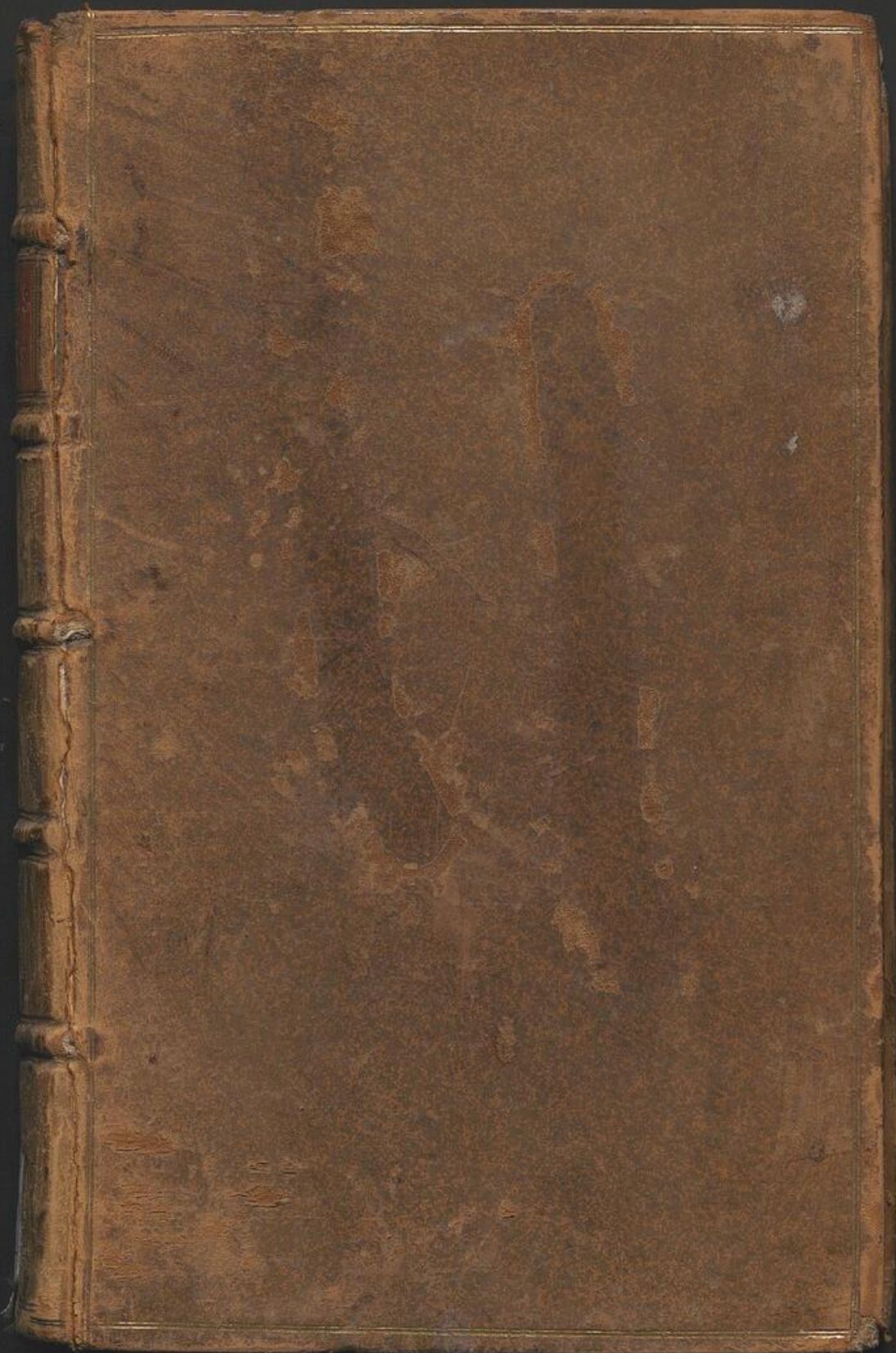
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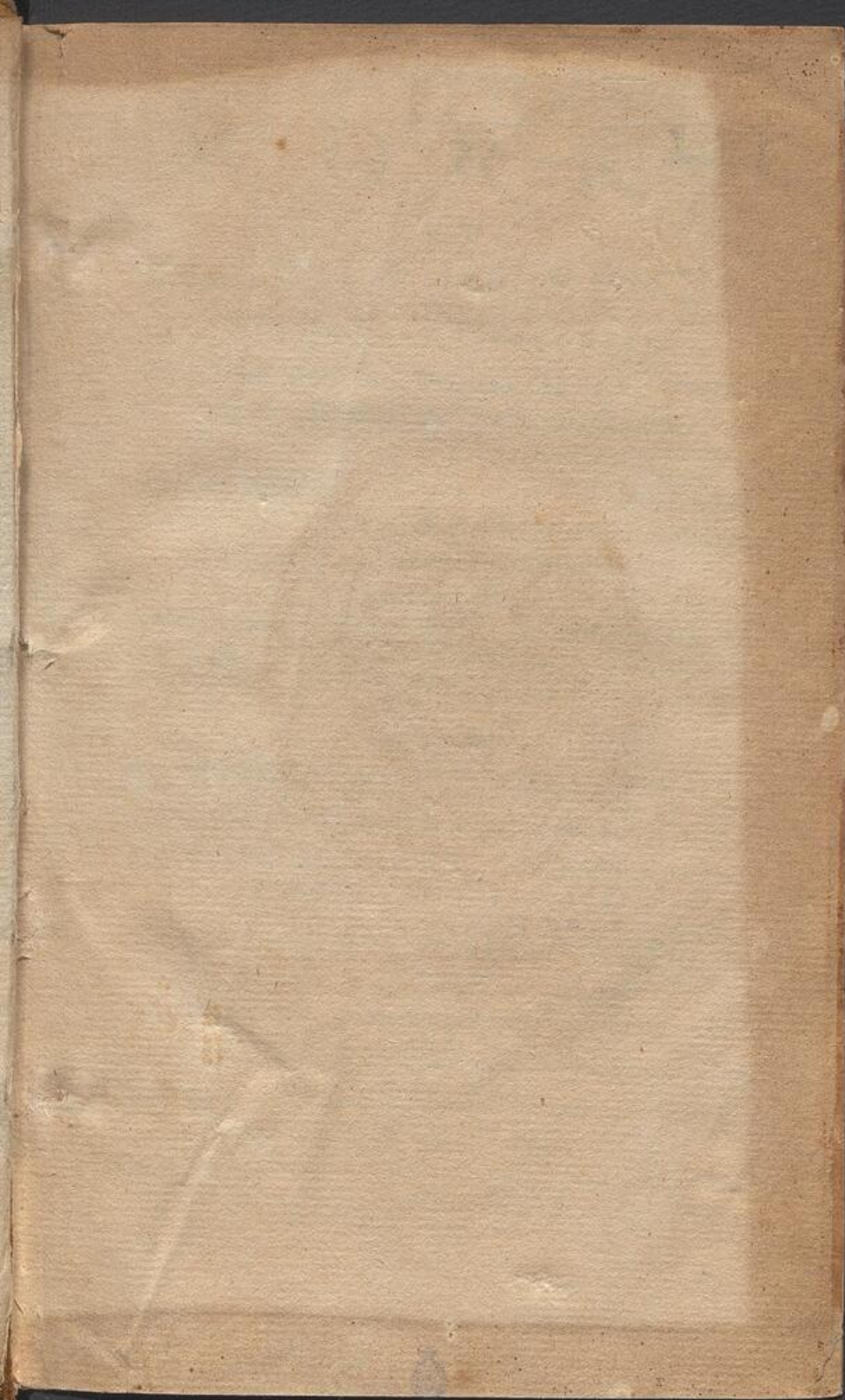
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18-VI-55



JOHN HUNTER, ESQ<sup>R</sup>  
*His Britannick Majesty's Consul,*  
for SEVILLE and SAN LUCAR.



XIX - 9.5.

THE GENUINE *Hunter*  
W O R K ' S  
O F  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,  
The JEWISH HISTORIAN.

Translated from the Original GREEK, according to HAVERCAMP's accurate Edition.

WITH  
NOTES of the learned RELAND, CELLARIUS, Dean ALDRICH, and Dr. BERNARD; none of which are in any other Translation.

Illustrated with  
New PLANS and DESCRIPTIONS of the Tabernacle of MOSES, the Temples of SOLOMON, HEROD, and EZEKIEL; and with correct Maps of JUDEA and JERUSALEM.

Together with  
Large NOTES and OBSERVATIONS, CONTENTS, parallel Texts of SCRIPTURE, and compleat INDEXES: Also the true CHRONOLOGY of the several Histories, adjusted in the Margin.  
And an exact ACCOUNT of the Jewish COINS, WEIGHTS, and MEASURES.

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By WILLIAM WHISTON, M. A.

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A NEW EDITION Corrected

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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THE GENUINE

# W O R K S

## FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

The Jewish War  
The Jewish Antiquities

Translated by  
William Mitchell

London  
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W. Mitchell

W. Mitchell

W. Mitchell

W. Mitchell



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
ANTIQUITIES

OF THE  
J E W S.



BOOK XIX.

Containing the interval of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years.

[From the departure of the JEWS out of BABYLON,  
to FADUS the Roman procurator.]

CHAP. I.

*How Caius was slain by Cherea\*.*

§ 1. **N**OW † Caius did not demonstrate his madness  
in offering injuries only to the Jews at Je- An. 40.  
rusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neigh- † Called  
bourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the Caligula by  
earth and the sea, as far as was in subjection to the Ro- the Ro-  
mans.

\* N. B. In this and the three next chapters we have a larger and more distinct account of the slaughter of Caius, and the succession of Claudius, than we have of any such antient facts elsewhere. Some of the occasions of which probably were, Josephus's bitter hatred against tyranny; and the pleasure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a barbarous tyrant as was this Caius Caligula; as also the deliverance his own nation had by that slaughter, of which he speaks, § 2. together with the great intimacy he had with Agrippa junior; whose father was deeply concerned in the advancement of Claudius, upon the death of Caius. From which Agrippa jun. Josephus might be fully informed of this history.



An. 40.

mans; which he filled with more mischiefs than any former history relates. But Rome itself felt its most dismal effects; while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and haled its other citizens, but especially the senate and nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors. He also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was stiled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators; because out of them the senators were themselves chosen. These he treated after an ignominious manner, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plundered, which was one of his incitements to cruelty. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours to be paid him by his subjects, than are due to mankind. He frequented that temple of Jupiter which they stile the capitol, which is with them the most holy of all their temples; and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter: and other pranks he did like a mad man. As when he laid \* a bridge from the city Dicearchia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum another city upon the sea side, from one promontory to another; of the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea; because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it, in a small ship: and thought withal, that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth. So he inclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it; and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples; and gave order that all the engravings, sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues, and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him: saying, that "The best things ought to be set  
" nowhere but in the best place; and that the city of

\* This bridge over an arm of the sea, from Puteoli to Misenum, made by this Caius Caligula, is, in general, mentioned by Dio, LIX. Its length is given us by Suetonius, in Caius, of 3600 paces; which is about the same length with these 30 furlongs in Josephus.

“Rome was that best place.” He adorned his own house, and his gardens, also the houses he lay at when he travelled all over Italy, with the curiosities brought from those temples: whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called because he was honoured at the Olympian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end; because the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down; of which he wrote to Caius, as his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him. This Caius would have severely resented; but providence saved Memmius, whose death was decreed, by ridding the world of that monster.

2. Nay Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said, that the child was common to him, and to Jupiter: and determined that she had two fathers; but which of those fathers were the greatest, he left undetermined. And yet mankind bore him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes, whatsoever they pleased. All such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion: insomuch that \* Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself; and Caius was not ashamed to be present to hear the trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off; although this did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world which he governed, with false accusations, and miseries; and had occasioned the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who indeed in great measure ruled them;

\* Caius's encouragement of a slave to accuse his uncle Claudius, who was the slave's master, is particularly hinted at by Suetonius in Claud. chap. IX.

An. 41.

there were many secret plots laid against him. Some in anger; and to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, to take him off, before they should fall into the like great miseries. While his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare. And this most happily for our nation in particular; which had almost utterly perished, if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess, I have a mind to give a full account of this matter; particularly because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions; and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

3. Now there were three several conspiracies on foot to take off Caius; all conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to assassinate Caius, either by them, or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune [of the pretorian band.] Minucianus Annius was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. The occasions of these mens hatred and conspiracy against Caius, were these. Regulus had indignation and abhorrence against all injustice. His mind was naturally angry, bold and free, which made him not conceal his counsels. So he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others who seemed to him persons of activity and vigour. Minucianus entred into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus, his particular friend, and one of the best character of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain; as also because he was afraid of himself. And for Cherea, he came in because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius; and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward: as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him.

These

These men proposed this attempt to all the rest that were concerned; who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might be brought about by their mutual assistance, and they thus prevent their own murder. That perhaps they should gain their point; and that it would be an happy thing if they should, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons, as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design, for the delivery of the city, and of the government, even at the hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all; both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence with less danger, because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him.

4. Now at this time came on the horse-races [Circensian games.] The view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome. For they come with great alacrity into the hippodrome [Circus] at such times; and petition their emperors in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of: who usually did not think fit to deny their requests. Accordingly they most importunately desired that Caius would now abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them: but he would not \* hear their petition; and when their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamours; and, without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius's commands; which those who were commanded, executed. The number of those who were slain on this occasion, was very great. Now the people saw, that instant, destruction was the consequence of petitioning, and therefore left off clamouring; but it made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. At several times, he thought to fall upon Caius, even as he was feasting: yet did he restrain himself by some considerations. Not that he had any

\* This rigour in exacting tribute and taxes of all, with the utmost barbarity, is also noted by Suetenius.

An. 47. 

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doubt on him about killing him; but as watching for a proper season, that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

5. Tho' Cherea had been in the army a long time, he was not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had set him to require the tributes, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Cesar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burthens had been doubled; and had rather indulged his own mild disposition, than performed Caius's command. Nay indeed he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes. Caius upbraided him with his sloth and womanishness, in being so long about collecting them. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects; but when he gave him the watch-word of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him \* feminine words, and those of a nature very reproachful: and these watch-words he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now although he had sometimes put on womens clothes, and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behaviour to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watch-word from him, he was incensed; but more so at the delivery of it to others, being laughed at by those who received it: insomuch that his fellow tribunes made him the subject of their drollery. For they would foretel that he would bring them some of his usual watch-words, when he was about to take the watch-word from Cesar; and would thereby make him ridiculous. On which accounts he took courage, and assumed certain partners; now having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. There was one Pompeius, a senator, who had gone through almost all posts in the government; but otherwise an Epicurean; and for that rea-

\* These feminine or obscene watch-words, given Cherea by Caius, are mentioned by Dio; and also by Suetonius, in Caius.

son loved to lead an unactive life. Timidius, an enemy of his, had informed Caius, that he had used indecent reproaches against him; and had made use of Quintilia for a witness to them. A woman she was much beloved by many that frequented the theatre; and particularly by Pompeidius, on account of her great beauty. Now she thought it an horrible thing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Timidius however wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him; and commanded Cherea, without any delay, to torture Quintilia; as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, because he thought he would do it the more barbarously, to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid upon him. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures; for that she would bear them with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius; and that in such a state as was sad to behold. And Caius, being somewhat affected with the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably disordered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompeidius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money, to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for what she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such unsufferable torments.

6. This matter sorely grieved Cherea; as having been the instrument of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself. On which account, he said to Clement and to Papinius, of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a tribune; To be sure, my friends, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor. Of those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains: and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he hath himself pitied them.

An. 47.

them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to conduct his armies? Clement held his peace; but shewed the shame he was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes, and his blushing countenance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words; lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea took courage, and spake to him, without fear of the dangers that were before him; and discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the government then laboured: and said, "We may indeed pretend in words that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed: but in the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement, and this Papius, and before us thou thyself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. 'Tis not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but 'tis done by our own consent. For whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens, and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief, and his executioners, instead of his soldiers; and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, nor for the Roman government; but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds: and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others. And this we do, till some body becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us, because he hath a kindness for us, but rather because he hath a suspicion of us: as also because, when abundance more have been killed, (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath; since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure) we shall also ourselves be exposed to his cruelty. Whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all; and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

7. Here.

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions; but " Bid him hold his tongue: for that in case his words should be spread abroad, which ought to be concealed, the plot would be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment: that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance. That as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. However, although, perhaps, I could suggest what may be safer than what thou Cherea hast contrived and said, yet how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under a concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus; who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty; and, on that account, very uneasy at the present management of public affairs: he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined; and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them; and looking upon delays to be next to desisting from the enterprise.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself equally with Cherea the same design, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate it; so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea that no delay might be made. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions as themselves; and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus. For Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under. For Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general:



An. 47.

neral: who tho' they were uneasy at the posture of affairs, yet avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of danger; altho' they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius, and on that account were not averſe to a mutual kindneſs one towards another.

9. When Minucianus and Cherea had met together, and ſaluted one another; (as they had been uſed in former converſations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the nobleſt of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men eſpecially when he made ſpeeches to them) Minucianus began firſt, and aſked Cherea, what was the watch-word he had received for that day from Caius? For the affront which was offered Cherea, in giving the watch-words, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay, ſo long as to reply to that queſtion, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have ſuch confidence as to diſcourſe with him. " But do thou, ſaid  
 " he, give me the watch-word of Liberty: and I return  
 " thee my thanks that thou haſt ſo greatly encouraged me  
 " to exert myſelf after an extraordinary manner. I do not  
 " ſtand in need of many words to encourage me, ſince both  
 " thou and I are of the ſame mind, and partakers of the  
 " ſame reſolutions, and this before we had confer'd together. I have indeed but one ſword girt on, but this  
 " one will ſerve us both. Come on, therefore, let us ſet  
 " about the work. Do thou go firſt, if thou haſt a mind,  
 " and bid me follow thee: or elſe I will go firſt, and  
 " thou ſhalt aſſiſt me, and we will aſſiſt one another, and  
 " truſt one another. Nor is there a neceſſity for even one  
 " ſword, to ſuch as have a mind diſpoſed to ſuch works,  
 " and which commands ſucceſs. I am zealous about this  
 " action, nor am I ſollicitous what I may myſelf under-  
 " go: for I am not at leiſure to conſider the dangers that  
 " may come upon myſelf; ſo deeply am I troubled at the  
 " ſlavery our once free country is now under, and at the  
 " contempt caſt upon our excellent laws, and at the de-  
 " ſtruction which hangs over all men, by the means of  
 " Caius. I wiſh that I may be judged by thee, and that  
 " thou

“thou mayst esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing there is herein no difference between us.”

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt; so he let him go with his good wishes. And some affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them. For as Cherea entred into the court, the report runs that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him; which bid him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that providence afforded: and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught; but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation. Whether \* some body that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement; or whether it were God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many; they were all in their armour. Some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order; and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it. For there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius; and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it, that he might not be behind hand in these virtuous designs; but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. Besides these, Callistus became of their party; he was a freed-man of Caius, and the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him; such a power, as was in a manner equal to that of the tyrant himself, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired. For he took bribes most plenteously, and committed injuries without bounds;

\* Just such a voice as this is related to be, came, and from an unknown original also, to the famous Polycarp, as he was going to martyrdom; bidding him Play the man: as the church of Smyrna assures us, in their account of his martyrdom.

An. 41. and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger; and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them. On which account, he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferr'd his courtship to him; out of this hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him; since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend, that he had been persuaded to make away Claudius by poisoning him; but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me that Callistus only counterfeited this, to ingratiate himself with Claudius. For if Caius had been, in earnest, resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuses. Nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off: nor, if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediate punishment. While Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by divine providence; and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved.

II. However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day, by the sloth of many therein concerned. As to Cherea himself, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it; and indeed frequent opportunities offered themselves. As when Caius went up to the capitol, to sacrifice for his daughter; or when he stood in his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong; because the top of palace, that looks toward the market-place, was very high: and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time. For he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every

every thing carefully and decently; and was free from all suspicion, that he should be then assaulted by any body. Cherea thought, that tho' the gods should afford them no assistance to enable him to take away his life; yet had he strength himself sufficient to dispatch Caius, even without a sword. Thus was Cherea angry at his fellow conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by: and they were themselves sensible, that he had just cause to be angry at them, as his eagerness was for their advantage: yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience, lest, upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder; and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy, and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success; while he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them. That it would therefore be the best to set about the work when the shews were exhibited in the palace. These shews were acted in honour of that \* Cesar, who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself. Galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians became spectators, together with their children, and their wives; and Cesar himself was to be a spectator; and they reckoned among those many ten thousands, who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favourable opportunity to make their attempt upon him, as he came in: because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any assistance.

12. Cherea consented to this delay. And when the shews were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a further delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their resolution. And as three days of the regular time for these shews were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them; "So much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us; as delaying to go

\* Here Josephus supposes, that it was Augustus, and not Julius Cesar, who first changed the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. For these shews were in honour of Augustus.

An. 41. " thro' such a virtuous design as we are engaged in: but  
 " more fatal will this delay prove, if we be discovered,  
 " and the design be frustrated. For Caius will then be-  
 " come more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Don't we  
 " see how long we deprive all our friends of their liber-  
 " ty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them?  
 " while we ought to have procured them security for the  
 " future; and, by laying a foundation for the happiness of  
 " others, gain to ourselves admiration and honour for all  
 " time to come." Now while the conspirators had no-  
 " thing tolerable to say, by way of vindication, and yet did  
 " not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent  
 " and astonished, he said farther, " O my brave comrades,  
 " why do we make such delays? do not you see that this  
 " is the last day of these shews, and that Caius is about  
 " to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria,  
 " in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour  
 " to let a man go out of your hands, who is a reproach  
 " to mankind; and to permit him to go after a pompous  
 " manner, triumphing both at land and sea? Shall not we  
 " be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some  
 " Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insuffer-  
 " able to free men, to kill him? As for myself, I will no  
 " longer bear your slow proceedings; but will expose my-  
 " self to the dangers of the enterprize this very day, and  
 " bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequences of  
 " the attempt. Nor, let them be ever so great, will I  
 " put them off any longer. For to a wise and courageous  
 " man what can be more miserable than that, while I am  
 " alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of  
 " of the honour of so virtuous an action?"

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set  
 about the work; and inspired courage into the rest to go on  
 with it immediately. So he was at the palace in the morn-  
 ing, with his equestrian sword girt on him: for it was the  
 custom that the tribunes should ask for the watch-word  
 with their swords on. And this was the day when  
 it was Cherea's turn to receive the watch-word. And  
 the multitude were already come to the palace, to be  
 soon enough for seeing the shews, in great crowds, tu-  
 multuously crushing one another; while Caius was de-  
 lighted

lighted with this eagerness of the multitude. For which reason there was no order observed in the seating men; nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order: but they sat at random, men and women together; and the free men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Cesar, in whose honour indeed these shews were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Afrenas, a senator, was filled with blood; which made Caius laugh. Although this was an evident omen to Afrenas; for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related, that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good-natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice, Caius betook himself to see the shews; and sat down for that purpose, with the chief of his friends about him. Now the parts of the theatre were fastened together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following. It had two doors: the one door led to the open air; the other was for going into, or going out of the cloisters; that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed. But out of one gallery there went 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 were set down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes, were set down also; and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Cesar; one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the pretorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, "Whether he heard any thing of news, or not?" but took care that no body should hear what he said. And when Cluvius replied, that "He had heard no news;" "Know then, said Vatinius, that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be play'd this day." But Cluvius replied, "O brave comrade, hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achaians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that

An. 47. that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them. And here he perceived two prodigies that happened. An actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified: and the pantomime brought in a play called Cinyras; wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed; both about him that was crucified, and also about Cinyras. It is also \* confessed, that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was king of Macedonia, slew him, as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shews, because it was the last day; or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner; and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up; because he saw Cherea was already gone out; and made haste, to confirm him in his resolution. But Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and said to him, "O brave man, whither art thou going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Cesar, as it seemed, he sat down again. But his fear prevailed over him: and in a little time he got up again; and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner; and then to come in again: as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

14. So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them; and they were obliged

\* Whether Josephus be here mistaken in saying, "It is confessed that this was the same day [of the year] whereon Pausanias slew Philip of Macedon," i. e. January 24th, or about any circumstances of that drama, which was acted before them both at the times of their slaughter, as abp. Usher supposes at A. M. 3668, 'tis at present hard to say. Because Josephus might have then complete evidence about what we are now uncertain of. However, part of these circumstances are in Suetonius, in Caius.

to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them. But they had an indignation that what they were about should be put off any longer; for it was already about the \* ninth hour of the day: and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, altho' he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present. And altho' he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expence of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was arisen; whereby a tumult was made. Hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius was angry at them; but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius's slaughter. Now Claudius his uncle was gone out before, and Marcus Vinicius his sister's husband, as also Valerius of Asia; whom tho' they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do. Then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius. And because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before, Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, to go to the place for bathing; as also to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence partly to sing hymns in those mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the Pyrrhic way upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked for the watch-word. Upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it: yet was not this stroke mortal. And altho' there be those that say, it was so contrived on purpose by Cherea, that Caius should not be killed at one

\* Suetonius says, Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day: Josephus, about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.



A. D. 47. blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds; yet does this story appear to me incredible. Because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself with his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself, and to his confederates, from the dangers they were in: because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost. Therefore Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and not leave it in uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at, or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him. But every body may guess as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment was he; nor did he call out for any of his friends: whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered; but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward, and fled. When Cornelius Sabinus, who was already prepared in mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee; where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords: and cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again. But all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea. For altho' many concurred 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 man that boldly spake of it to the rest. He got the dispersed conspirators together, he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and, by suggesting

getting good advice, shewed himself far superior to the rest: he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose: and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do; and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter: he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself. Inasmuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice, bravery, and labours of the hands of Cherea. A. D. 41.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way: partly on account of the astonishment they were under; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people; and especially too when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody enquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow, wherein the work was done; which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day. Whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed. (Which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors; and those parts bare the the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of its parts.) So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and were for the present out of danger; that is, so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first who perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard; and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate; which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, not being used to consider much about what they do. They are of robust bodies, and fall upon their enemies as

A D. 41. soon as ever they are attacked by them; and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When therefore these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received. Caius being beloved by them, because of the money he gave them. So they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes; not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator; but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Cesar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon; and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already; and which foretold that his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them; who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could shew many generals of armies among his ancestors: but they pay'd no regard to his dignity. Yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life. At last he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by the multitude of wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator; and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to shew his hatred to Caius; whom he was charmed to see lie dead with his own eyes. For Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself; and not satisfied with that, sent out his soldiers and slew him. But as the house was now all in a tumult; when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made; while they barbarously slew those that were guilty, and those that were not guilty, without distinction. And thus were these [three] persons slain.

16. But when the rumour that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished, and could not believe it. Even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were those also who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling any such thing should come to Caius; nor could believe it, though it were never so true, because they thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him; and had abused the best of the citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, to gain honours and advantages to themselves. But for the women, and the youth, they had been inveigled with snaws, and the fightings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh meat among them; which things in pretence were designed for the pleasing of the multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and despise their masters; and they could have recourse to his assistance, when they had unjustly affronted 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 riches and liberty, as the reward of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the \* eighth part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them; either because they knew of it beforehand, or because they wished it might be true: yet they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. These last acted out of fear, that if the report proved

\* The rewards proposed by the Roman laws to informers, was sometimes an eighth part of the criminals goods, as here; and sometimes a fourth part; as Spanheim assures us.

A. D. 41. false they should be punished, for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous. And if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against, and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but under the physicians hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted: for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny; or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill will to him. Nay it was said by some, (and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad) that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds, but was gotten away into the market-place, and, bloody as he was, was making an harangue to the people. These were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did not they leave their seats; for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest. For they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out; but according to the supposals of the accusers, and of the judges.

17. But now a multitude of Germans having surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn, all the spectators looked for nothing but death; and at every one's coming in, a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately, neither having courage enough to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theatre rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers; pleading that they were entirely ignorant

ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances; and that if there were already any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it. They therefore begg'd that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons; while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity, with shedding of tears, and beating their faces; and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives could dictate to them. This brake the fury of the soldiers; and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators. Which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even those savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar. At which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings. Nay indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in; seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was, that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius, could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death; because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing with him.

18. There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice; who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else: his fear, and his wife's contrivance to gain his safety, taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure. So he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friends in the world. This man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius; and by this means put an end to that state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also

A. D. 41. went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation plainly saved those that were collected 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 they had still for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune, at the expence of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies: now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to shew their kindness to him, when he who should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries; that is, in case the authority of the supreme governour should revert to them. And thus at length a stop was put, tho' not without difficulty, to that rage which possessed the Germans, on account of Caius's death.

19. But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spake to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation; and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him; and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right; and commended the virtue of those that contrived, and had courage enough to execute it: and said, that "Tyrants  
 "do indeed please themselves, and look big for a while,  
 "upon having the power to act unjustly; but do not  
 "however go happily out of the world, because they are  
 "hated by the virtuous. That Caius, together with all  
 "this unhappiness, was become a conspirator against  
 "himself; before these other men who attacked him did  
 "so: and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the  
 "wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest  
 "friends to treat him as an enemy. Insomuch that al-  
 "tho'

“ tho’ in common discourse these conspirators were those  
 “ that slew Caius; yet that, in reality, he lies now dead  
 “ as perishing by his own self.”

A. D. 41.

20. Now by this time the people in the theatre were arisen from their seats; and those that were within made a very great disturbance. The cause of which was this, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Alcyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if it were to cure those that were wounded: and under that pretence sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary; but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now the senate, during this interval, had met, and the people also assembled together in the accustomed forum; and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously; but the senate in appearance only. For there was present Valerius of Asia; one that had been consul. This man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that had murdered the emperor. He was then earnestly asked by them all, “ Who it was that had done “ it?” and replied, “ \* I wish I had been the man.” The † consuls also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius; and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home; and gave the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under; and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet, as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them. For there was reason to fear, lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens, or plunder the temples. And now the whole senators were assembled, especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who at this time appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them.

\* These are almost the very words of Dio, on this occasion.

† These consuls are named in the War of the Jews, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus; as Spanheim notes here. The speech of the former of them is set down in the next chapter, 32.



## C H A P. II.

*How the senators determined to restore the democracy; but the soldiers were for preserving the monarchy. Concerning the slaughter of Caius's wife, and daughter. A character of Caius.*

§ 1. **W**HEN the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house. For the soldiers had a meeting together; and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs; and that, if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage: and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in that advancement. That it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to chuse Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius; and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled in the senate; both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired; and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations; which they executed immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneus Sentius Saturninus, altho' he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government; unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent; stood up in the senate; and, without being dismayed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such an one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, as follows:

2. " Altho' it be a thing incredible, O Romans, because  
 " of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event  
 " hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty.  
 " How long indeed this will last, is uncertain; and lies at  
 " the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is. Yet such  
 " it

“ it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy A. D. 41.  
“ for the present; altho’ we may soon be deprived of it.  
“ For one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in  
“ virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable  
“ only to ourselves, in our own country, now free; and  
“ governed by such laws as this country once flourished  
“ under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former  
“ time of liberty; as being born after it was gone: but I  
“ am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of  
“ our present freedom. I also esteem those that were born  
“ and brought up in ancient freedom happy men; and  
“ that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the  
“ gods themselves who have given us a taste of it in this  
“ age. And I heartily wish that this quiet enjoyment of  
“ it, which we have at present, might continue to all  
“ ages. However, this single day may suffice for our  
“ youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem  
“ an age to our old men if they might die during its hap-  
“ py duration. It may also be for the instruction of the  
“ younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from  
“ whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for  
“ ourselves, our business is, during this space of time, to  
“ live virtuously; than which nothing can be more to  
“ our advantage, as that alone can preserve our liberty.  
“ For as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the  
“ relation of others: but as to our later state, during my  
“ lifetime, I have known it by experience, and learned  
“ what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon this com-  
“ monwealth; discouraging all virtue, and depriving  
“ persons of magnanimity of their liberty; and proving  
“ the teachers of flattery, and slavish fear; because it  
“ leaves the public administration not to be governed by  
“ wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern.  
“ For since Julius Cesar took it into his head to dissolve  
“ our democracy, and by overbearing the regular system  
“ of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration,  
“ and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to  
“ his own inclinations; there is no kind of misery but  
“ what hath tended to the subversion of this city. While  
“ all those that have succeeded him, have striven one with  
“ another,

A. D. 41. " another, to overthrow the ancient laws of their country,  
 " and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of gene-  
 " rous principles. They thought it tended to their safety  
 " to have vicious men to converse withal; and not only  
 " to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for  
 " their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction.  
 " Of all which emperors, who have been many in num-  
 " ber, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships, dur-  
 " ing the times of their government; this Caius, who  
 " hath been slain to-day, hath brought more terrible ca-  
 " lamities upon us than did all the rest; not only by ex-  
 " ercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow citizens,  
 " but also upon his kindred, and friends; and alike upon  
 " all others; and by inflicting still greater miseries upon  
 " upon them, as punishments, which they never deserv-  
 " ed; he being equally furious against men, and against  
 " the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their  
 " pleasure, by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they  
 " bring both upon mens estates and their wives; but  
 " they look upon that to be their principal advantage,  
 " when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of  
 " their enemies. While all lovers of liberty are the ene-  
 " mies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure  
 " what miseries they bring on them, gain their friendship.  
 " For as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs  
 " they have brought on these men, and how magnani-  
 " mously they have born their hard fortunes, they can-  
 " not but be sensible what evils they have done: and  
 " thence only depend on security from what they are  
 " suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them  
 " quite out of the world. Since then we are now gotten  
 " clear of such great misfortunes, and are only account-  
 " able to one another; which form of government affords  
 " us the best assurance of our present concord, and pro-  
 " mises us the best security from evil designs, and will be  
 " most for our own glory in settling the city in good or-  
 " der; you ought, every one of you in particular, to  
 " make provision for his own, and in general for the pu-  
 " blic utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their  
 " dissent to such things as have been proposed; and this  
 " without

“ without any hazard of danger to come upon them: A. D. 41.  
 “ because they have now no lord set over them, who,  
 “ without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the  
 “ city; and had an uncontrollable power to take off those  
 “ that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing  
 “ so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late,  
 “ as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting  
 “ the emperor’s will. While men had an over great in-  
 “ clination to the sweetness of peace; and had learned to  
 “ live like slaves: and as many of us, as either heard of  
 “ intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from  
 “ us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the  
 “ dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with  
 “ the utmost infamy. We ought then, in the first place,  
 “ to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that  
 “ have taken off the tyrant; especially to Cherea Cassius.  
 “ For this one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath,  
 “ by his counsel, and by his actions, been the procurer  
 “ of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we  
 “ have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing  
 “ tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand ha-  
 “ zarded himself for our liberty: but ought to decree him  
 “ proper honours; and thereby freely declare, that he  
 “ from the beginning acted with our approbation. And  
 “ certainly ’tis a very excellent thing, and what becomes  
 “ freemen, to requite their benefactors; as this man hath  
 “ been a benefactor to us all, tho’ not at all like Cassius  
 “ and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Cesar.] For those  
 “ men laid the foundations of sedition, and civil wars in  
 “ our city: but this man, together with his slaughter of  
 “ the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad mi-  
 “ series which arose from the tyranny \*.”

3. This was the purport of Sentius’s oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now

\* In this oration of Sentius Saturninus, we may see the great value virtuous men put upon public liberty; and the sad misery they underwent, while they were tyrannized over by such emperors as Caius. See Josephus’s own short but pithy reflection, at the end of the chapter; “ So difficult, says he, “ it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to a wife man, who have “ the absolute power to do what they please, without controul.”

A. D. 41. one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraved upon it; and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watch-word. Who gave him this word, Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration, to themselves, and almost incredible. For it was an \* hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watch-word returned to the consuls. For, before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But when Cherea had received that watch-word, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side; which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and courage, as having recovered their former democracy. And Cherea was in very great esteem with them.

4. And now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive; and that all his family did not perish with him; since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city, and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill them. They proposed this office to Lupus as to a kinsman of Clement's, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow citizens; and that he might appear to have been an associate with those that were first in their designs. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, to use such severity to a woman; because Caius did more indulge his own ill-nature, than use her

\* Hence we learn, that, in the opinion of Saturninus, the sovereign authority of the consuls and senate had been taken away just 100 years before the death of Caius, A. D. 41. or on the 60th year before the Christian æra; when the first triumvirate began, under Cesar, Pompey and Crassus.

advice in all that he did : 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, she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious ; and had tied him down to love her : insomuch that she having rendred him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die, and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about ; as desirous to be no way blameable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So when he was come into the palace, he found \* Cefonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body ; which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead ; and all over herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds ; and bewailing the great affliction she was under : her daughter lying by her also. And nothing else was heard in these her circumstances, but her complaint of Caius ; as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand. Which words of hers were taken in a different sense, even at that time ; and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of 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 his barbarous cruelty to the citizens ; and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately put them all to death, whether they were guilty or not ; that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger ; and that this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do ; but he was too slow and tender in the matter. This was what Cefonia said : and what the opinions of men were

\* Suetonius confirms what Josephus here says, that C. fonia, Caius's wife, as well as her daughter, were slain at this time : as does also Dio in Xiphiline.

A. D. 41. about it. But when she saw Lupus approach, she shewed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to come nearer, with lamentation and tears. And as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to excute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came; and stretched out her naked throat very chearfully to him, bewailing her case, like one that utterly despaired of her life; and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus; as did the daughter after her: and Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four \* years, within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill-natured; and had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny: greatly affected by every terrible accident; and on that account, of a very cruel disposition, where he durst shew it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence; and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine, or agreeable to the laws; but was a slave to the commendations of the populace. And whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful and punished, that he esteemed most honourable. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, tho' persons of the highest character. And if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions; and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life, his enemy: and whatsoever he commanded, he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations. Whence it was that

\* Authors do not exactly agree in the length of the reign of Caius. Dio, giving him 3 years, 9 months, 28 days, and Suetonius, 3 years, 10 months, 8 days, with whom agrees Clement of Alexandria. I agree with these; and suppose that Josephus agreed with them also. For altho' his present copies give him here two months less; yet does he elsewhere esteem his reign 3 years, 10 months, and supposes him slain Jan. 24. Chap. 1. § 13. before.

he had criminal conversation with his own \* sister. From which occasion chiefly it was also that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens: that sort of incest not having been known of a long time. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, no body can name any; but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt. A work without dispute very great in itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it. The cause of which was this, that he employed his studies about uselefs matters; and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. He was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with the Roman language. He was also able off-hand, and readily, to give answers of considerable length and accuracy, to compositions made by others. He was more skilful in persuading others to very great things than any one else: and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking. For as he was the † grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was; this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation: and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence; induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman, and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning, did not countervail the mischief he

\* Spanheim here observes from Suetonius, that the name of Caius's 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. He remarks also, that Suetonius omits the mention of the haven for ships, which our author esteems the only public work, for the good of the present and future ages, which Caius left behind him, though in an imperfect condition.

† This Caius was the son of that excellent person Germanicus, and the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor.



A. D. 41. brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority. So difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to a wise man, who have the power to do what they please, without controul. At first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them; while he imitated their zealous application to the learning, and to the glorious actions of the best men. But when he became insolent towards them, they began to hate him. From which hatred came that plot, which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

### CHAP. III.

*How Claudius was seized upon, and brought out of his house, and brought to the camp: and how the senate sent an embassy to him.*

§ I. **N**OW Claudius, as I said above, went out of that way along which Caius was gone. And as the household was in a mighty disorder, upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself. And was found to have hidden himself in a certain \* narrow place; tho' he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth. While he was a private man, he behaved with moderation, and was contented with his fortune; applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks; keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers madness; and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons; the band called pretorian, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered; because he justly deserved such his fortune: but they were rather considering their own cir-

\* This first place Claudius came to was inhabited, and called Hermeum: as Spanheim informs us, from Suetonius, in Claud. Chap. X.

cumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves. Especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public. All these things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety; particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas, and his partners, carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was, because it was dark; though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design; he came nearer to him; and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was. So he said to his followers, "This is a \* Germanicus; come on, let us chuse him for our Emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him; putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off, sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of ob- taining the empire: which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up, and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot: such was his dread, and his joy at what was told him.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards. And when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sad counte-

\* How Claudius, another son of Drusus, which Drusus was the father of Germanicus, could be here himself called Germanicus, Suetonius informs us, when he assures us, that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of Germanicus was bestowed on Drusus, and his posterity also.

A. D. 41. nance; as supposing that he was carried to execution, for the mischiefs that had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs, and one that had incurred no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius. And some of them thought it reasonable that the consuls should take cognizance of these matters. And as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away; and Claudius could hardly get on, his body was then so weak. Those who carried his sedan, upon an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away, and saved themselves, as despairing of their lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace, (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome) and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiers came about him, as glad to see Claudius's 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 vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate; and what great errors they had been guilty of, when the senate had the government formerly. They also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking: as also what dangers they should be in if the government should come to a single person, and such an one as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as gained by their good-will to him; and remember the favours they had done him, and recompence them accordingly.

3. These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another, which they communicated to all such as came in. Now those that inquired about this matter, willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the rest. So they carried Claudius into the camp, crouding and encompassing him about, as his guard; one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. The populace indeed, and senators, disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity; and were  
zealous

to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them. On the contrary, the people, who were envious of their dignity, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon by the soldiery, and thought, that if he were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him, "That he ought to do nothing by violence, to gain the government; that he, who was a single person, and one of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number; that he ought to let the law take place, in the disposal of all that related to the public order; and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city; and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius: and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself wilfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner. That if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him that a free people could bestow: and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject. But that if he would learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on: that a great part of the army was got together for them, well armed, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of: that hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune; and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness; who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country."

A. D. 41.

4. The ambassadors, \* Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, spoke thus to Claudius; and falling down upon their knees, begged of him, that he would by no means throw the city into wars and misfortunes. But when they saw what a multitude of soldiers guarded Claudius; and that the forces that were with the consuls were in comparison of them perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that "If he did de-  
" fire the government, he should accept of it, as given  
" by the senate: that he would prosper better, and be  
" happier, if he came to it, not by injustice, but by the  
" good-will of those that would bestow it upon him."

## C H A P. IV.

*What things king Agrippa did for Claudius: and how Claudius, when he had taken the government, commanded the murderers of Caius to be slain.*

§ 1. **N**OW Claudius, tho' he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation. But not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright. So he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldness of the soldiers; and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a glorious opportunity slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honoured by him. For he embraced Caius's body after he was dead; and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could; and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was still alive: but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign the

\* These names of the two ambassadors sent to Claudius by the senate, are wanting both in Suetonius and Dio, though this embassy be mentioned by them both. The names Josephus might easily have from Agrippa jun. his great friend.

government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep it, and then retired home. Upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately had knowledge of his wife, and had dismissed her, and came to them. He asked of the senators, what Claudius did? who told him the present state of affairs; and then entreated his opinion about the settlement of the public. He 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 what was most agreeable to them. For that those who grasp at government will stand in need of weapons, and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation, and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied, that "They would bring in arms in abundance, and money; and that, as to an army, a part of it was already collected together, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty:" Agrippa made answer, "O senators! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to. Yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation. Take notice then that the army which will fight for Claudius, hath been long exercised in warlike affairs: but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men; and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable. We must then fight against those that are skilful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to 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 among others; and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in; and gave him instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly Claudius said to the ambassadors, that "He did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an emperor over them, because they had been harrassed by

A. D. 47. " the barbarity of those that had formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equitable government under him, and moderate times: while he should only be their ruler in name; but the authority should be equally common to them all. And since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him." The ambassadors, upon their hearing this answer, were dismissed. But Claudius harangued the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fidelity to him. Upon which he gave the guards every man \* five thousand drachmæ, and a proportional sum to their captains; and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

3. And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the conqueror, while it was still night. But some of the senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this summons; while others of them went out of the city to their own farms, foreseeing the turn that publick affairs would take, and despairing of liberty: nay, these supposed it much better for them to be slaves without danger, and to live a lazy and unactive life, than, by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, an hundred were gotten together. And as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the soldiers that were on their side, " Desiring that the senate would chuse them an Emperor; and not bring the government into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers." Thus they fully declared themselves to be for giving the government to one; but gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be Emperor. And now the affairs

\* This number of drachmæ to be distributed to each private soldier, 5000, equal to 20000 sesterces, or 1611. sterling, seems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, Chap. X. who makes them in all but 15 sesterces, or 2s. 4d. Yet might Josephus have this number from Agrippa junior; though I doubt the thousands, or at least the hundreds, have been added by the transcribers; of which we have had several examples already in Josephus.

of the senate were much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that derived to them by their marriages; of these was Marcus Minucianus, one illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married \* Julia, the sister of Caius. Although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it. That Minucianus also, who was one of Caius's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things. And a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these nobles to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran unto the camp; insomuch that of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. Who, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were ready to begin, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak; because they were all zealous to be under a monarchy. And they demanded of the senate one for their ruler; impatient of any longer delays. But the senate hesitated, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern; and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain his anger; and promised that if they desired an Emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watch-word from Eutyclus. Now this Eutyclus was charioteer of the

\* Suetonius calls this Julia, Livilla; as Josephus still calls Livia, the daughter of Augustus, Julia.



A. D. 42. green band faction, stiled Præfina, and a great friend of Caius; who used to harrass the soldiery with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labours; which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language; and told them, "He would bring them the head of Claudius: and that it was an amazing thing, that, after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool." Yet were they not moved with his words, but drew their swords, took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them; and the very consuls, like private persons, were under consternation and sorrow; not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them. So they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius Emperor, and see slavery returning upon them. He also abused Cherea, for loving life too well, while he, who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. Cherea said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; but he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates [in the senate;] but in the camp every body was crowding to pay their court to Claudius. And the other consul, Quintus Pomponius, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty. Whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him: and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them; who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner. Nay some of them received blows,

blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius. A. D. 41. Aponius went away wounded; and they were all in danger. However, King Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace; and was carried thither himself, through the city; while the soldiery conducted him; to the great vexation of the multitude. Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the front of them, in an open manner; although Pollio, whom Claudius a little before had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in publick. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said, that the work he had done was a glorious one; but they accused him that did it out of perfidiousness; and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to execution; and Lupus, and many other Romans, with him. It is reported, that Cherea bare this calamity courageously; not only by the firmness of his own behaviour, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears. For when Lupus laid his garment aside, and complained of the \* cold, he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus [to a wolf.] And as a great many spectators went with them, to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to? or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner? and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. Then was he happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good for-

\* This piercing cold, here complained of by Lupus, agrees well to the time of the year when Claudius began his reign. It being for certain about the months of November, December, or January; and most probably a few days before the Roman Parentalia.

A. D. 47.            tune in going out of the world; since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly, [as he ought to have done.]

6. A few days after this, as the parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts; and put portions into the fire, in honour of Cherea, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not to continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army; yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt.\*

#### C H A P. 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.*

§ I. **N**OW when Claudius had killed all those soldiers whom he suspected, immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom

\* It is very remarkable, that the murderers of the vilest tyrants, who yet highly deserved to die, when those murderers were under oaths, or other the like obligations of fidelity to them, were usually revenged; and the murderers cut off themselves after a remarkable manner; and this sometimes, as in the present case, by those very persons who were not sorry for such murders, but got Kingdoms by them. The examples are very numerous, both in sacred and profane histories; and seem generally indications of divine vengeance on such murderers. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that such murderers of tyrants do it usually on such ill principles, in such a cruel manner, and as ready to involve the innocent with the guilty, which was the case here, as justly deserved the divine vengeance upon them. Which seems to have been the case of Jehu also, when, besides the house of Ahab, for whose slaughter he had a commission from God, without any such commission, and without any justice or commiseration, he killed Ahab's great men and acquaintance, and priests, and forty-two of the kindred of Ahaziah, 2 Kings x. See Hof. i. 4. I do not mean here to condemn Ehud, or Judith, or the like executioners of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their Theocracy. Who, as they appear still to have had no selfish designs, nor intentions to slay the innocent, so had they still a divine commission, or a divine impulse, which was their commission, for what they did.

to Agrippa, which Caius had given him; and com-<sup>A. D. 41.</sup>mended the King highly. He also made an addition to it, of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is Judea and Samaria, as due to his family. But for \* Abila of Lysanias, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, out of his own territories. He also made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome. He also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of; but gave him a certain part of Cilicia, and Commagena. He also set Alexander Lysimachus the governor at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia; but had been imprisoned by Caius: whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod; and begged for him, of Claudius, the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. About this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria. For when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under his reign, and reduced to very great distresses by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately flew to arms. Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt to quiet that 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 Cesar, Augustus, Germanicus, High Priest, and Tribune of the people, ordains thus. Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians; and have obtained from their Kings equal privileges with them,

\* Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he informs us, chap. iii. 7. that Lysanias was some time before tetrarch of Abilene, whose capital was Abila. As he is farther confirmed by Ptolemy, the great geographer, which Spanheim here observes, when he calls that city Abila of Lysanias. I suppose this principality to have belonged to the land of Gansan originally, and to have been the burying place of Abel.

A. D. 42.

“ as is evident by the publick records that are in their  
 “ possession, and the edicts themselves : and that after  
 “ Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Au-  
 “ gustus, their rights and privileges have been preserv-  
 “ ed by those presidents who have at divers times been  
 “ sent thither ; and that no dispute had been raised  
 “ about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila  
 “ was governor of Alexandria : and that when the  
 “ Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohi-  
 “ bit the making such ethnarchs, as willing that all  
 “ such men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to  
 “ continue in the observation of their own customs,  
 “ and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of  
 “ their own country religion ; but that, in the time of  
 “ Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the  
 “ Jews that were among them : which Caius, out of his  
 “ great madness and want of understanding, reduced  
 “ the nation of the Jews very low, because they would  
 “ not transgress the religious worship of their country,  
 “ and call him a god. I will therefore that the nation  
 “ of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and pri-  
 “ vileges, on account of the madness of Caius ; but  
 “ that those rights and privileges which they formerly  
 “ enjoyed, be preserved to them. And I charge both  
 “ parties to take very great care that no troubles may  
 “ arise after the promulgation of this edict.”

3. Such were the contents of this edict on behalf of  
 the Jews, that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict  
 that was dispatched into the other parts of the habitable  
 earth was this. “ Tiberius Claudius Cesar, Augustus,  
 “ Germanicus, High Priest, Tribune of the people,  
 “ chosen Consul the second time, ordains thus. Upon  
 “ the petition of King Agrippa, and King Herod, who  
 “ are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the  
 “ same rights and privileges should be preserved to the  
 “ Jews which are in all the Roman Empire, which I  
 “ have granted to those at Alexandria, I very willingly  
 “ comply therewith : and this grant I make not only  
 “ for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those  
 “ Jews, for whom I have been petitioned, worthy of  
 “ such

" such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friend-  
 " ship to the Romans. I think it also very just that  
 " no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and  
 " privileges, since they were preserved to them under  
 " the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to per-  
 " mit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to  
 " keep their ancient customs, without being hindered.  
 " And I do now charge them also to use this my kind-  
 " nefs to them with moderation; and not to shew a  
 " contempt of the superstitious observances of other  
 " nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I  
 " will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables  
 " by the magistrates of the cities, and colonies, and  
 " municipal places, both those within Italy, and those  
 " without it, both kings and governors, by the means  
 " of their ambassadors; and to have them exposed to  
 " the publick for full thirty days, in \* such a place,  
 " whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

A. D. 42.

## C H A P. VI.

*What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he  
 was returned back into Judea. And what it was that  
 Petronius wrote to the inhabitants of Doris, in behalf  
 of the Jews.*

§ 1. **N**OW Claudius Cesar by these decrees of his  
 which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the  
 habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of  
 the Jews. So he soon dismissed Agrippa to take his  
 Kingdom, now advanced to a more illustrious dignity  
 than before; and sent letters to the presidents and pro-  
 curators of the provinces, that they should treat him  
 very kindly. Accordingly, he returned in haste, as was  
 likely he would. He also came to Jerusalem, and omit-  
 ted † nothing which the law required. On which account

he

\* This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr. Hud-  
 son observes, 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." Whence it may plainly be read from the ground.

† Josephus shews that he had a much greater opinion of King Agrippa I.  
 than Simon the learned Rabbi, or the people of Cesarea and Sebaste had;

and

A: D. 42. he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius; of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound; he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over\* the treasury; that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen. For this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that King Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious King than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those who fall may regain their former dignity.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the High Priesthood; and bestowed that honour on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras; whose daughter King Herod had married, as I have related above. Simon therefore had the [High] Priesthood, with his brethren, and with his father; in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, which were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians: as we have related in a former book.

3. When the King had settled the High Priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shewed him. For he released them from the tax upon houses, thinking it a right thing to requite the tender affection of those that

and indeed than his double dealing between the senate and Claudius, his slaughter of James the brother of John, his imprisonment of Peter, or his vain-glorious behaviour before he died, will justify or allow. Josephus's character was probably taken from his son Agrippa jun.

\* This treasury chamber seems to have been the very same in which our Saviour taught; and where the people offered their charity money for the repairs or other uses of the temple.

loved

loved him. He also made Silas general of his forces; A. D. 42.  
 as a man who had partaken with him in many of his  
 troubles. But after a very little while the young men  
 of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and  
 being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of  
 Cesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it  
 there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked  
 Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the  
 laws of his country. So he came without delay to Pub-  
 lius Petronius, who was then president 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 laws that regulate the  
 actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the  
 people of Doris, in an angry strain; " Publius Petro-  
 " nius, the president, under Tiberius Claudius Cesar,  
 " 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 Clau-  
 " dius Cesar, Augustus, Germanicus, was published,  
 " for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their  
 " country, not to obey the same; but have acted in en-  
 " tire opposition thereto; as forbidding the Jews to as-  
 " semble together in their synagogue, by removing Ce-  
 " sar's statue, and setting it up there; and thereby have  
 " offended not only the Jews, but the Emperor him-  
 " self; whose statue is more commodiously placed in  
 " his own temple, than in a foreign one; while it is  
 " but a part of natural justice, that every one should  
 " have the power over the places belonging peculiarly  
 " to themselves, according to the determination of Ce-  
 " sar. To say nothing of my own determination;  
 " which it would be ridiculous to mention after the  
 " Emperor's edict; which gives the Jews leave to make  
 " use of their own customs; as also gives order that  
 " they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the  
 " Greeks themselves. I therefore ordain, that Procu-  
 " lus Vitellius the centurion bring those men to me,  
 " who, contrary to Augustus's edict, have been so in-  
 " solent, as to do this thing; at which those of prin-  
 " cipal



A. D. 42. “ ciproal reputation among them have an indignation al-  
 “ so; and alledge for themselves that it was not done  
 “ with their consent, but by the violence of the multi-  
 “ tude; that they may give an account of what hath  
 “ been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates  
 “ among them, unless they have a mind to have this  
 “ wicked action esteemed to be done with their consent,  
 “ to inform the centurion of those that were guilty of  
 “ it; and take care that no handle be hence taken for  
 “ raising a sedition among them, which those seem to  
 “ me to hunt after who encourage such doings. While  
 “ both I myself, and King Agrippa, for whom I have  
 “ the highest honour, have nothing more under our  
 “ care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no  
 “ occasion giving them of getting together, under the  
 “ pretence of avenging themselves, and become tumultu-  
 “ tuous. And that it may be the more publickly  
 “ known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole  
 “ matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath  
 “ lately caused to be published at Alexandria; and  
 “ which, although they may be well known to all, yet  
 “ did King Agrippa, for whom I have the highest ho-  
 “ nour, read them at that time before my tribunal,  
 “ and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived  
 “ of those rights which Augustus hath 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 every one be allowed to follow  
 “ their own religious customs.”

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter; that  
 such a breach of the law might be corrected; and that  
 no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the  
 Jews. And now King Agrippa took the [High] Priest-  
 hood away from Simon Cantheras, and restored it to  
 Jonathan, the son of Ananus; and owned that he was  
 more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this  
 was not a thing acceptable to Jonathan, so he refused it;  
 and said, “ O King, I rejoice in the honour thou hast  
 “ for me; and take it kindly that thou wouldest give  
 “ me such a dignity, of thy own inclinations; although  
 “ God

“ God hath 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 then put them on  
 “ after a more holy manner, than I should now re-  
 “ ceive them again. But if thou desirest that a per-  
 “ son more worthy than myself should have this ho-  
 “ nourable employment, give me leave to name thee  
 “ such an one. I have a brother, that is pure from all  
 “ sin against God, and of all offences against thyself.  
 “ I recommend him to thee, as one that is fit for this  
 “ dignity.” So the King was pleased with these words  
 of his, and passed by Jonathan; and, according to his  
 brother's desire, bestowed the High Priesthood upon  
 Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded  
 Petronius as President of Syria.

A. D. 42.

## C H A P. VII.

*Concerning Silas; and on what account it was that King  
 Agrippa was angry at him. How Agrippa began to  
 encompass Jerusalem with a wall. And what benefits he  
 bestowed on the inhabitants of Berytus.*

§. I. **N**OW Silas, the general of the King's horse,  
 because he had been faithful to him under  
 all his misfortunes, and had oftentimes undergone the  
 most hazardous pains for him, was full of assurance, and  
 thought he might expect a sort of equality with the  
 King, on account of the firmness of the friendship he  
 had shewed to him. Accordingly he would no where  
 let the King sit as his superior, and took the like liberty  
 in speaking to him upon all occasions. Till he became  
 troublesome to the King, when they were merry toge-  
 ther, extolling himself beyond measure, and always put-  
 ting the King in mind of the severity of fortune he had  
 undergone; that he might, by way of ostentation, de-  
 monstrate what zeal he had shewed in his service. The  
 repetition seemed to reproach the King; insomuch that  
 he took this ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at

A. D. 42. his hands. For the commemoration of times when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them. And he is a very silly man who is perpetually relating to a person what kindneses he had done him. At last therefore Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion, than good consideration; and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings, when he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry, which he could not conceal from those that came for him; but said to them, "What honour is this the King invites me to? which I conclude will soon be over. For the King hath not let me keep those original marks of the good-will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech? which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before; and shall relate how many misfortunes I have delivered him from; how many labours I have undergone for him, by which I procured him deliverance and respect: as a reward for which, I have born the hardships of bonds, and a dark prison. I shall never forget this usage. 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 the clamour he made, and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the King. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

2. For the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city, he, at the expence of the publick, built them

them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude. And he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letters informed Claudius Cesar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed, not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now this King was by nature very liberal, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations; by which he made himself very illustrious, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was severe in his punishments; and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived that he was more friendly to the Greeks, than to the Jews. For he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money; with building them baths and theatres; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and porticos in others; 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 equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful 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. However, there was a certain man of the Jewish nation, at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was Simon. This man got together an assembly, while the King was absent at Cesarea; and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily; and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him, that Simon had made such a speech to the people. So the King sent for him, and, as he was then sit-

A. D. 42. ing in the theatre, bid him sit down by him; and said to him with a low and gentle voice, what is there done in this place that is contrary to the law? But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the King was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined; as esteeming mildness a better quality in a King than anger; and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

5. Now as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus. For he erected a theatre for them, superior to many other of that sort, both in sumptuousness and elegance; as also an amphitheatre, built at vast expences; and besides these, he built them baths and porticos; and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both elegant and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication; exhibited shews, and brought thither the best musicians of all sorts. He also shewed his magnificence upon the theatre, in his great number of gladiators, to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men; and allotted all the malefactors he had, for this exercise. That both the malefactors might receive their punishment; and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

#### C H A P. VIII.

*What other acts were done by Agrippa until his death: and after what manner he died.*

§ 1. **W**HEN Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other Kings. Accordingly there came to him \* Antiochus, King of Commagena; Sampfigeramus,

\* Of these five Kings, Antiochus, King of Commagena, is mentioned by Josephus in his War of the Jews, II. 18. 9. Sampfigeramus, King of Emesa, by

mus, King of Emefa; and Cotys, who was King of the lesser Armenia; and Polemo, who was King of Pontus; as also Herod his brother, who was King of Chalcis. All these he treated with royal entertainments, after an obliging manner; and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the Kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these Kings stay'd with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither. So the King, to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus. For he took with him, in his chariot, those other Kings, as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these Kings one with another; and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domesticks to every one of them; and enjoined them to go their ways home, without farther delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa: who, after that, became his enemy. And now he took the High Priesthood away from Matthias; and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, High Priest in his stead.

2. When Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea; which was formerly called Strato's tower. And there he exhibited shews, in honour of Cesar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival a great multitude of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province, was assembled. On the second day of which shews, he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful; and came into the theatre early in the morning. At which

by him in his Antiquities, XVIII. 5. 4. and by Strabo, XVI. Polemo King of Pontus, by Tacitus, as also by Eutropius, who says, "He granted Pontus to the Romans: and thence it became a province under them." Herod of Chalcis, by Josephus, just before. But Cotys King of Armenia is, I think, no where else named.

A. D. 43. time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the first reflection of the suns rays upon it, shone out after a surprizing manner; so as to spread an horror over those that looked intently upon him. And presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another; (though not for his good) that "He was a god." And they added, "Be thou merciful to us. For although we have hitherto revered thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the King did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he \* saw an 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 to him: and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain soon arose in his belly; he therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life: while provi-

\* We have a great objection made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had, on purpose, falsified this account of Josephus; so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the Acts of the Apostles. Because the present copies of his citation of it, Hist. Eccles. II. 10. omit the words *βυβωνά ἐπι σχοῦνι τινί*. i. e. an owl--- on a certain rope; which Josephus's present copies retain; and only have the explicatory word, *ἄγγελος*, or Angel. As if he meant that Angel of the Lord which St. Luke mentions as smiting Herod: Acts xii. 23. and not that owl which Josephus called an Angel, or Messenger; formerly of good, but now of bad news, to Agrippa. This accusation is a strange one in the case of the great Eusebius: who is known to have so accurately and faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records; and particularly not a few out of Josephus; without any suspicion of prevarication. Now not to alludge how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's and Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present in this clause; which we have no distinct evidence of: the following words, preserved still in Eusebius, will not admit of any such exposition. This [bird,] says Eusebius, Agrippa presently perceived to be the cause of ill fortune; as it was once of good fortune to him. Which can only belong to that bird the owl: which as it had formerly foreboded his happy deliverance from imprisonment, so was it then foretold to prove afterward the unhappy forerunner of his death, in five days time. If the improper word *αἰτία*, or cause, be changed for Josephus's proper word *ἄγγελος*, Angel, or Messenger; and the foregoing words *βυβωνά ἐπι σχοῦνι τινί* be inserted, Eusebius's text will truly represent that in Josephus. Had this imperfection been in some Heathen author, in good esteem with our modern critics, they would have readily corrected these, as barely errors in the copies. But being in an ancient Christian writer, not so well relished by many of those critics, nothing will serve, but the ill grounded supposal of wilful corruption and prevarication.

" dence

“ dence thus reproves the lying words you just now said A. D. 44.  
 “ to me. And I who was by you called immortal,  
 “ am immediately to be hurried away by death. But  
 “ I am bound to accept of what providence allots, as  
 “ it pleases God. For we have by no means lived ill :  
 “ but in a splendid and happy manner.” When he said  
 this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was  
 carried into the palace : and the rumor went abroad  
 every where that he would certainly die in a little time.  
 But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their  
 wives and children ; after the law of their country ;  
 and besought God for the King’s recovery. All places  
 were full of mourning and lamentation. Now the King  
 rested in an high chamber : and as he saw them below  
 lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself for-  
 bear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out  
 by the pain in his belly, for five days, he departed this  
 life, in the fifty fourth year of his age, and in the seventh  
 year of his reign. For he reigned four years under  
 Caius Cesar : three of them were over Philip’s tetrar-  
 chy only ; and on the fourth he had that of Herod’s  
 added to it. And he reigned besides these, three years  
 under the reign of Claudius Cesar, when he reigned over  
 the forementioned countries ; and had Judea added to  
 them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues  
 he received were very great ; no less than \* twelve mil-  
 lions of drachmæ. Yet did he borrow great sums from  
 others : for he was so very liberal, that his expences  
 exceeded his incomes.\*

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted  
 with Agrippa’s death, Herod, the King of Chalcis,

\* This sum of 12,000,000 of drachmæ, which is equal to 3000,000 shekels, i. e. at 2s. 10d. a shekel, equal to 425,000 l. 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 was not so tyrannical as Herod had been to the Jews. A large sum ! but not sufficient for his extravagant expences.

\* Reland takes notice here, properly, that Josephus omits the reconciliation of this Herod Agrippa, to the Tyrians and Sidonians, by the means of Blastus the King’s chamberlain, mentioned, Acts xii. Nor is there any history in the world so complete, as to omit nothing that other historians take notice of, unless the one be taken out of the other, and accommodated to it,



A. D. 44. and Helcias, the master of his horse, and the King's friend, sent Aristo, one of the King's most faithful servants, and slew Silas; who had been their enemy; as if it had been done by the King's own command.

## C H A P. IX.

*What things were done after the death of Agrippa: and how Claudius, on account of the youth and unskilfulness of Agrippa junior, sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of that entire Kingdom.*

§ 1. **T**HUS did King Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, in the seventeenth year of his age; and three daughters. One of which, Bernice, was married to Herod, his father's brother; and was sixteen years old. The other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins. The former was ten years old; and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were thus espoused by their father. Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Helcias: and Drusilla to the King of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was dead, the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste forgot the kindneses he had bestowed on them; and acted the parts of the bitterest enemies. For they cast such reproaches upon the deceased, as are not fit to be spoken of. And so many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his palace, and hastily seizing on the \* statues of this King's daughters; carried them into the brothel houses; and when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power: and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also laid themselves down in publick places, and celebrated general feastings, with garlands

\* Photius, who made an extract out of this section, says they were not the statues or images, but the ladies themselves, which were thus basely abused by the soldiers.

on their heads, and with ointments, and libations to Charon; and drinking to one another, for joy that the King was expired. Nay they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance; but of his grandfather Herod also: who had himself rebuilt their cities; and had raised them havens, and temples, at vast expences.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome; and brought up with Claudius Cesar. And when Cesar was informed that Agrippa was dead; and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cesarea had abused him; he was sorry for the first, and was displeas'd at the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore dispos'd to send Agrippa junior away presently, to succeed his father in the Kingdom; and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But those freed-men and friends of his who had the greatest authority with him, dissuad'd him from it, and said, that "It was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a Kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man; who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration. While the weight of a Kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man." Cesar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire Kingdom; and paid that respect to the deceased, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his Kingdom. But he determin'd in the first place to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste, for those abuses they had offer'd to him that was deceased, and their madness toward his daughters that were still alive: and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Pontus; that they might do their military duty there; and that he should chuse an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed. For by sending ambassadors to

Claud-

A. D. 44. Claudius, they mollified him; and got leave to abide in Judea still. And these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times; and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus. Whence it was that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province; as we shall relate hereafter.

The End of the Nineteenth B O O K.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
ANTIQUITIES  
OF THE  
J E W S.

---

B O O K XX.

Containing the Interval of 22 Years.

[From FADUS the procurator, to FLORUS.]

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C H A P. I.

*A sedition of the Philadelphians against the Jews: And also concerning the vestments of the High Priest.*

§ I. **U**PON the death of King Agrippa, which we <sup>A. D. 44.</sup> have related in the foregoing Book, Claudius Cesar sent Cassius Longinus, as successor to Marcus; out of regard to the memory of King Agrippa; who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders at a village called Mia, that was filled with inhabitants of a warlike temper.  
For

A. D. 44. For the Jews of Perea had taken up arms, without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. This procedure provoked Fadus very much, that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had injured them; but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound; and afterward had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal: and banished the other two, Amram, and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the archrobber, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain; after he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed from that time Judea was cleared of robberies, by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the High Priests, and the principal citizens of Jerusalem; at the commands of the Emperor; and admonished them, that they should lay up the long garment, and the sacred vestment which it is customary for no body but the High Priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia: that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he said; but desired Fadus however, and Longinus, (which last was come to Jerusalem; and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid] injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel) that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Cesar; to petition him that they may have the holy vestments under their own power: and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors; provided they would give them their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behaviour.] And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were forthwith dispatched. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came; for he

he dwelt with Claudius Cefar, as we faid before; he befought Cefar to grant the Jews their request about the holy veftments, and to fend a message to Fadus accordingly.

A. D. 45.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambaffadors, and told them, that "He granted their request:" and bid them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour; which had been beftowed on them upon his entreaty. And, befides thefe answers of his, he fent the following letter by them. "Claudius Cefar, Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time; and defigned consul the fourth time; and imperator the tenth time; the father of his country: to the magistrates, fenate, and people, and whole nation of the Jews, fendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambaffadors to me by Agrippa, my friend; whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a perfon of very great piety; who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earneft and obliging manner, that they may have the holy veftments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power: I grant their request; as that excellent perfon Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before. And I have complied with your defire; in the first place out of regard to that piety which I profefs; and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country. And this I do alfo because I fhall hereby highly gratify King Herod, and Agrippa junior; whose facred regards to me, and earneft good-will to you, I am well acquainted with; and with whom I have the greateft friendship; and whom I highly esteem, and look on as perfons of the beft character. Now I have written about thefe affairs to Cufpius Fadus my procurator. The names of thofe that brought me your letter are, Cornelius, the fon of Cero; Trypho, the fon of Theudio; Dorotheus, the fon of Nathaniel; and John, the fon of John. This letter

" ter

A. D. 45. “ter is dated before the fourth of the kalends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls.”

3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the High Priests; and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued \* among all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly Herod removed the last High Priest, called Cantheras; and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camus.

## CHAP. II.

*How Helena, the Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, embraced the Jewish religion. And how Helena supplied the poor with corn, when there was a great famine at Jerusalem.*

§ I. ABOUT this time it was that † Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, on the occasion following. Monobazus, the King of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the

\* 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, jun. was made King of Chalcis in his room, belonged to him: and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed:

† Concerning Monobazus and Helena, and their son Izates, and the contents of this and the two next chapters, see Moses Chorenensis, pag. 132----141. Orosius confirms what I have elsewhere determined, that Helena, Queen of Adiabene was not converted to the Jewish, but to the Christian Religion; and thence sent supplies to the Christians in Judea, during the famine under Claudius Cesar. The Talmud also has a full account of this Helena and Monobazus, and of their great favours to the Jews, as Hudson and Reland observe.

infant that was therein; which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have an happy end. This voice put him into disorder: so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife. And when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also; as he had other sons by other wives besides; yet did he openly place all his affections on Izates: which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father, bore to him; who were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now although their father was very sensible of their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging them out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates, with many presents, to Abennerig, the King of Charax-Spasin, out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by their hatred: and he committed his son's preservation to him. Abennerig gladly received the young man; and had a great affection for him; and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samacha. He also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to see his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner; and bestowed on him the country called Carræ. It is a soil that bears Amomum in great plenty. There are also in it the remains of that ark wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge; and where they are \* still shewn to such as are desirous to see them. Accordingly Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, Queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governours of the kingdom; and for those that had the armies committed to

\* It is here very remarkable, that the remains of Noah's ark were believed to be still in being, in the days of Josephus.



A. D. 45. their command; and made the following speech to them:  
 " I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband  
 " was desirous Izates should succeed him in the govern-  
 " ment; and thought him worthy so to do. However,  
 " I wait your determination. For happy is he who re-  
 " ceives a Kingdom, not from a single person only,  
 " but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the Queen, as their custom was; and then said, that " They confirmed the King's determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates's father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes. But that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates: because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over, which might arise from their hatred and envy to him." Helena replied to this, that " She returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself and to Izates; but desired that they would, however, defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates's brethren, till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it." So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, for their own security. They also gave her counsel to set up some one, whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governour of the Kingdom in the mean time. Queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be King, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call Sampser; and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the Kingdom till his brother arrived; who came suddenly, upon his hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned the government to him.

3. Now during the time that Izates abode at Charax<sup>A. D. 45.</sup> Spafini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the King, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion. This man, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene. It also happened that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew, and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the Kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeas'd. And as he thought it an instance of impiety, either to slay or to imprison them, but still thought it an hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offer'd them, he sent some of them, and their children, for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Cesar; and the others to Artabanus, the King of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleas'd with the Jewish customs, he made haste to embrace them entirely. And as he suppos'd that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he was circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavour'd to hinder him from doing it, and said to him, that "this thing would bring him into danger; and that as he was a King, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign, and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew." This it was that she said to him; and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he related what she had said to Ananias, he confirm'd what his mother had said; and threaten'd to leave him unless he complied with them; and retiring said, that "He was afraid lest such an ac-

A. D. 45. " tion being once become publick to all, he should  
 " himself be in danger of punishment, for having been  
 " the occasion of it, and having been the King's in-  
 " structor in actions that were of ill reputation; and  
 " he said, that he might worship God without being  
 " circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the  
 " Jewish law entirely: which worship of God was of  
 " a superior nature to circumcision. He added, that  
 " God would forgive him, though he did not perform  
 " the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity,  
 " and for fear of his subjects." So the King at that time  
 complied with the persuasions of Ananias. But after-  
 wards, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing  
 this thing, a certain other Jew, that came out of Ga-  
 lilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed  
 very skilful in the learning of his country, persuaded  
 him to do the thing. For as he entered into his palace  
 to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses,  
 he said to him, " Thou dost not consider, O King,  
 " that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those  
 " laws; and art injurious to God himself, [by omitting  
 " to be circumcised.] For thou oughtest not only to  
 " read them, but chiefly to practise what they enjoin  
 " thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised?  
 " But if thou hast not yet read the law about circumci-  
 " sion, and dost not know how great impiety thou art  
 " guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the  
 King had heard what he said, 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 tutor, and  
 informed them of what he had done. They were pre-  
 sently stricken with astonishment and fear, and that to  
 a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discover-  
 ed and censured, and the King hazard the loss of his  
 Kingdom; while his subjects would not bear to be go-  
 verned by a man who was so zealous in another reli-  
 gion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard,  
 because they would be supposed the occasion of his so  
 doing.

doing. But \* God himself hindered what they feared from taking effect, for he preserved both Izates and his sons, when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible; and demonstrated thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

5. As to Helena, the King's mother, when she saw that the affairs of Izates's Kingdom were in peace, and that her son was an happy man, and admired among all, even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city 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 desired her son to give her leave to go thither. Upon which he gave his consent, and made great preparation for her dismissal, and gave her a great deal of money; and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem: for whereas a famine did oppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal; Queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria, with money to buy a great quantity of corn; and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it; and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this Queen and King

\* Josephus is very full and express in these three chapters, 3, 4, and 5. in observing how carefully divine providence preserved this Izates, King of Adiabene, and his sons, while he did what he thought was his bounden duty, notwithstanding the strongest political motives to the contrary.

A. D. 45. conferred upon our city Jerusalem, shall be \* farther related hereafter.

### CHAP. III.

*How Artabanus, the King of Parthia, out of fear of the secret contrivances of his subjects against him, went to Izates; and was by him reinstated in his government. As also how Bardanes, his son, denounced war against Izates.*

§ I. **B**UT now Artabanus, King of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them, but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means; and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought about a thousand of his kindred and servants with him; and met him upon the road, whom he well knew, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and worshipped him, according to the custom, he then said to him; "O King, do not thou overlook me thy servant; nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee. For as I am reduced to a low estate, by the change of fortune, and of a King am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have

\* This farther account of the benefactions of Izates and Helena to the Jerusalem Jews, which Josephus here promises, is, I think, no where performed by him in his present works. But of this terrible famine itself in Judea, take Dr. Hudson's note: "This is that famine foretold by Agabus, Act. xi. 28. which happened when Claudius was consul the fourth time: [A. D. 47.] and not that other which happened when Claudius was consul the second time, and Cassina was his colleague, [A. D. 42.] as Scaliger says upon Eusebius, pag. 174. Now when Josephus had said a little afterward, chap. 5. § 2. that Tiberius Alexander succeeded Cuspius Fadus as procurator, he immediately subjoins, that Under these procurators there happened a great famine in Judea." Whence it is plain, that this famine continued for many years, on account of its duration under those two procurators. Now Fadus was not sent into Judea till after the death of King Agrippa, i. e. towards the latter end of the IVth year of Claudius [the end of A. D. 44. or beginning of 45.] So that this famine foretold by Agabus happened in the 5th, 6th, and 7th years of Claudius, [A. D. 45, 46, 47.] Of this famine also, and Queen Helena's supplies, and her monument, see Moses Chorenensis, pag. 144, 145. Where it is observed in the Notes, that Pausanias mentions that her monument also.

“ regard therefore unto the uncertainty of fortune, and  
 “ esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of  
 “ thy self also: for if I be neglected, and my subjects  
 “ go off unpunished, many other subjects will become  
 “ the more insolent towards other Kings also.” This  
 speech Artabanus made with tears in his eyes, and with  
 a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izates heard  
 Artabanus’s name, and saw him stand as a supplicant  
 before him, he leapt down from his horse immediately,  
 and said to him, “ Take courage, O King; nor be  
 “ disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incur-  
 “ able. For the change of thy sad condition shall be  
 “ sudden. Thou shalt find me to be more thy friend  
 “ and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee.  
 “ For I will either re-establish thee in the Kingdom of  
 “ Parthia, or lose my own.”

A. D. 45.

2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his  
 horse, and followed him on foot, in honour of a King  
 whom he owned as greater than himself. Which when  
 Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy, and sware by his  
 present fortune and honour, that he would get down  
 from his horse, 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 palace, he shewed him all sorts of  
 respect when they sat together, and gave him the upper  
 place at festivals, regarding not his present fortune, but  
 his former dignity; upon this consideration, that the  
 changes of fortune are common to all men. He also  
 wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Ar-  
 tabanus again; and gave them his right hand, and his  
 faith, that he should forget what was past and done;  
 and that he would undertake for this as a mediator be-  
 tween them. Now the Parthians did not themselves  
 refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not  
 now in their power so to do, because they had commit-  
 ted the government to another person, who had accepted  
 of it, and whose name was Cinnamus; and that they  
 were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account.  
 When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote

A. D. 45. to Artabanus himself; for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also; and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus trusted him, and returned home: when Cinnamus met him, and worshipped him, and saluted him as King; and took the diadem off his own head, and put it upon the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of greatest esteem among them. For he gave him leave to wear his \* Tiara upright; and to sleep upon a golden bed; which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off the large and fruitful country of Nisibis from the king of Armenia; and bestowed it upon him. Here the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygdonia.

4. But in no long time Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans, but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done. And having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning; as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already; was the more backward to a compliance, and restrained Bardanes; telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans; hoping to terrify him, and hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at his behaviour, and denounced war immedi-

\* 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.

ately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by his hostilities, because God cut off all his hopes therein. For the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes's intentions, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother \* Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him; and \* Vologases his brother succeeded him. Who committed two of his provinces to two of his brothers, by the same father; that of the Medes, to the elder, Pacorus; and Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

## C H A P. IV.

*How Izates was betrayed by his own subjects, and fought against by the Arabians: and how Izates, by the providence of God, was delivered out of their hands.*

§ 1. **N**OW when the king's brother Monobazus, and his other kindred saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men; they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews. But that act of theirs was discovered by Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeas'd, but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians; and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; and engag'd, that, on the first onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship. Then they oblig'd themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other; and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires; and brought a great army into the field, and march'd against Izates. In the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a pannic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do; and turning their backs upon their enemies, ran

\* These names Gotarzes and Vologases, as kings of Parthia, are confirm'd by Tacitus, and coins, as Dr. Hudson informs us;



A. D. 45. away. Yet was not Izates dismayed, but retired into his camp, and made enquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut most of them off; and renewing the fight on the next day, slew the greatest part 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; and following on the siege vigorously, he took it. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene. Yet did he not take Abia alive, because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandes of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet; but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, of a Parthian family. For they said, "That they hated their own king, for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs." When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates: and as he had no just pretence, he sent to him, and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind, as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him, out of cowardice. Yet because he knew, that tho' the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet; he resolved to commit himself to God his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life. And as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he entrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress; and laid up his corn in his citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order, as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. When the king of Parthia was come, with a great army of footmen and horsemen,

horsemen, sooner than was expected, (for he marched in great haste) and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media, Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him, "how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates, to Bactria; and enumerated that king's subjects. He also threatened him, that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords: and said, that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands." When the messenger had delivered his message, Izates replied, that "He knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also, that God was much more powerful than all men." And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make \* supplication to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and put ashes upon his head, in testimony of his confusion; and fasted, together with his wives and children. When he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governour, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord, and principal 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; while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes. Whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night, Vologases received letters; the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahæ and Sacæ, despising him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste; so that he [was forced to] retire back, without doing any thing.

\* This mourning, fasting, and praying, used by Izates, with prostration of his body, and ashes upon his head, are plain signs that he was become either a Jew, or an Ebionite Christian, who indeed differed not much from proper Jews. However, his supplications were heard; and he was providentially delivered from that imminent danger he was in.

Thus

A. D. 45. Thus Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

3. It was not long ere 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. However, he gave order that his brother Monabazus should succeed in the government: thereby requiting him, because while he was himself absent, after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena his mother heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness; as was but natural upon her loss of such a most dutiful son. Yet was it a comfort to her, that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went to him in haste to Adiabene, but did not long outlive her son Izates. Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates his brother, to Jerusalem; and gave order that they should be buried at the \* pyramids, which their mother had erected. They were three in number; and distant no more than three furlongs from the city Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning Theudas; and the sons of Judas the Galilean. As also what calamity fell upon the Jews on the day of the passover.*

§ 1. **N**OW it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was † Theudas, persuaded a great part of the

\* These pyramids or pillars, erected by Helena, Queen of Adiabene, near Jerusalem, three in number, are mentioned by Eusebius, in his Eccles. Hist. II. 12. for which Dr. Hudson refers us to Valesius's notes upon that place. They are also mentioned by Pausanias. Reland guesses that now called Absalom's Pillar may be one of them.

† This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about A. D. 45, or 46. could not be that Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing, under Cyrenius; or about A. D. 7. Who that earlier Theudas was, see the Note on XVII. 10. 5.

people to take their effects with them, and 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. Many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit him to make any advantage of his wild attempt; but sent a troop of horsemen out against them. Who falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befel the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander, as successor to Fadus. He was the son of Alexander, the alabarch of Alexandria; which Alexander was illustrious among all his contemporaries, both for his family, and wealth. He was also more eminent for his piety than his son Alexander; for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which Queen Helena bought corn in Egypt, at a great expence, and distributed it to those that were in want; as I have related already. Besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain: I mean of that Judas, who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews; as we have shewed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon; whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. Now, Herod King of Chalcis removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the High Priesthood; and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor. And now Cumanus came a successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa, the great King, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cesar. He left behind him three sons; Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus; both whom he had by Bernice, his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa junior.

A. D. 46.

3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. I shall explain the occasion whence it was derived. When that feast, which is called the passover was at hand; at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread; and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts; Cumanus was afraid lest some attempt of innovation should then be made by them. So he ordered that one regiment should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts, if perchance any such should begin. And this was no more than what the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude. Which put those that saw him into a furious rage; and made them cry out, that this impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself. Nay some of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him. Which when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked. Yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditious attempts; and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not induce them to be quiet; for they still went on in their reproaches to him; he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia; which was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple. But when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted, and ran away hastily. But as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in those narrow passages. Nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So, instead of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices; and betook themselves to lamentation and weep-

ing.

ing. So great an affliction did the impudent obsceneness of a single soldier bring upon them \*.

A. D. 50.

4. Before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befel them also. For some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were travelling along the publick road, about an hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephanus, a servant of Cesar, as he was journeying, of all that he had with him. Which things when Cumanus heard of, 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. Now as this devastation was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses, that lay in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces, with reproachful language and much scurrility. Which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, in great numbers, and came down to Cesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been affronted. For that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be beheaded; and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

## C H A P. VI.

*How there happened a quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans; and how Claudius put an end to their differences.*

§ 1. **N**OW there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews, on the occasion following. It was the custom of the Galileans, when they

\* This, and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, in Josephus, illustrate that 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.

came

A. D. 52. came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journeys \* through the country of the Samaritans. And at this time there lay in the road they took, a village that was called Ginea, situate in the limits of Samaria, and the great plain; where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that were killed. But he was induced by the Samaritans with money, to do nothing in the matter. Upon which the Galileans were much displeas'd; and persuad'd the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty; saying, that "Slavery was in itself a bitter thing; but that when it was joined with direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable." And when their principal men endeavour'd to pacify them, and promis'd 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 Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains. With him they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action, he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of foot, and armed the Samaritans, and march'd out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a greater number of them alive. Whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem, both in regard of the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of; as soon as they saw to what an height things were gone, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads; and by all possible means besought the seditions, to set before their eyes, † the utter subversion of their country; the

\* This constant passage of the Galileans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judea and Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the gospels to the same purpose, as Dr. Hudson justly observes. See also Josephus in his own Life, §. 52. where that journey is determin'd to three days.

† Our Saviour had foretold, that the Jews rejection of his Gospel would bring upon them, among other miseries, these three; which themselves here shew they expected would be the consequences of their present tumults and seditions:

the conflagration of their temple; and the slavery of themselves, their wives and children, which would be the consequences of what they were doing; that they would alter their minds, cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These persuasions of theirs prevailed, and the people dispersed themselves; and the robbers went away again to their places of strength. And after this time all Judea was over-run with robberies.

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, that "They were not so much displeas'd at what they had suffer'd, as they were at the contempt thereby shew'd the Romans; while if they had receiv'd any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done; and not presently to make such devastation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors. On which account they came to him in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted." This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirm'd that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult: that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts; and pass'd over the murder of those that were slain in silence. Which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promis'd that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria. Where, upon hearing the cause, he suppos'd that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But when he was inform'd that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he order'd those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he went to a certain village call'd Lydda, which was not less than a city in

ditions: the utter subversion of their country; the conflagration of their temple; and the slavery of themselves, their wives and children.



A. D. 52. largeness; and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time, before his tribunal: and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and four other innovators with him, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death. But still he sent away Ananias the High Priest, and Ananus the commander [of the temple,] in bonds to Rome; to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Cesar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans, and of the Jews; as also Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune; to go to Italy, to the Emperor; that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, being apprehensive that the multitude of the Jews would attempt some innovations. The city he found in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

3. Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the Emperor, whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had one with another. Cesar's freedmen, and his friends, were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus, and the Samaritans. And they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set; and had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the Emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear the cause, as was agreeable to his justice; and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government. Whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders, he gave order that those who came up to him should be slain; and that Cumanus should be banished. He also ordered that Celer, the tribune, should be carried back to Jerusalem; and should be drawn through the city, in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.



## C H A P. VII.

*Felix is made Procurator of Judea. As also concerning Agrippa junior, and his sisters.*

§ 1. **S**O Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallans, to take care of the affairs of Judea. And when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip, and Batanea; and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila. Which last had been the tetrarchy of Lyfianias. But he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And when Agrippa had received these countries, as the gift of Cesar, 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, had refused to marry her; because after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish religion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias; to whom she had been betrothed formerly by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whose name was Bernice.

2. The marriage of Drusilla with Azizus was in no long time afterward dissolved, upon the following occasion. While Felix was procurator of Judea, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed all other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was \* Simon, one of his friends, a  
 G 2 Jew,

\* This Simon, a friend of Felix; a Jew, born in Cyprus; though he pretended to be a magician, and seems to have been wicked enough, could hardly be that famous Simon, the magician, in the Acts of the Apostles, as some are ready to suppose. Simon mentioned in the Acts, was not properly a Jew, but a Samaritan; of the town of Gittæ, in the country of Samaria; as the Apostolical Constitutions, VI. 7. the Recognitions of Clement, II. 6. and Justin Martyr, himself born in the country of Samaria, Apology I. 34. Inform us. He was also the author, not of any ancient Jewish, but of the first Gentile heresies; as the aforementioned authors assure us. So I suppose him a different person from the other. I mean this only upon the hypothesis, that Josephus was not misinformed, as to his being a Cypriot Jew. For otherwise the time, the name, the profession, and the wickedness of them both, would strongly incline

A. D. 53. Jew, by birth a Cypriot; and one who pretended to be a magician; and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry him; and promised that if she would not refuse him, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Bernice'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 when he had had a son by her, he named him Agrippa. But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the \* conflagration of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Cesar, shall be related hereafter.

|| King of  
Chalcis.

† Agrippa  
junior.

3. Bernice lived a widow a long while after the death of || Herod; who was both her husband, and her uncle: but when the report went that she had criminal conversation with her † brother, she being very rich persuaded Polemo, who was King of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her; as supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her to be false. Yet did not this matrimony endure long. But Bernice left Polemo; and, as was said, with impure intentions. So he forsook the Jewish religion. And at the same time Mariamne put away Archelaus, and was married to

cline one to believe them the very same. As to that Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa junior, as Josephus informs us here; and a Jewess, as St. Luke informs us, Act. xxiv. whom this Simon, mentioned by Josephus, persuaded to leave her former husband, Azizus, King of Emesa, a proselyte of Justice; and to marry Felix, the heathen procurator of Judea; Tacitus supposes her to be an heathen; and the grand-daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra; contrary both to St. Luke, and Josephus. Now Tacitus lived somewhat too remote both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those Jewish writers, in a matter concerning the Jews in Judea, in their own days; and concerning a sister of Agrippa junior, with which Agrippa Josephus was himself so well acquainted. 'Tis probable that Tacitus may say true, when he informs us, that this Felix, (who had in all three wives, or Queens, as Suetonius assures us) did once marry such a grandchild of Antonius and Cleopatra. And finding the name of one of them to have been Drusilla, he mistook her for that other wife, whose name he did not know.

\* This eruption of Vesuvius was one of the greatest we have in any history. See Bianchini's curious and important observations on this Vesuvius, and its seven several great eruptions, with their remains vitrified, and still existing, in so many different strata under ground: till the diggers came to the antediluvian waters, with their proportionable interstices: implying the deluge to have been above 2500 years before the Christian era; according to our exactest chronology.

Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian A. D. 54. Jews, both for his family, and his wealth. And indeed he was then their Alabarch. So she named her son, which she had by him, Agrippinus. But of all these particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly.

## C H A P. VIII.

*After what manner, upon the death of Claudius, Nero succeeded in the government: as also what barbarous things he did. Concerning the robbers, murderers, and impostors that arose, while Felix and Festus were procurators of Judea.*

§ 1. **N**OW Claudius Cesar died when he had reigned \* thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days. And a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cesar. Her husband was Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome. After whose death, and her own long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a son, Domitius, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy: by whom he had had his children Britannicus, and Octavia. Their eldest sister was Antonia; whom he had by Pelina, his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Cesar gave him afterward, upon his adopting him for his son.

2: But now Agrippina was afraid, lest when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government; which she desired to make sure off beforehand for her own son: upon which the report went, that she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly she sent Burrhus, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes;

\* This duration of the reign of Claudius, agrees with Dio; as Dr. Hudson remarks. As also that Nero's name, which was at first L. Domitius, Ænobarbus; after Claudius had adopted him, was Nero, Claudius, Cesar, Drusus, Germanicus.

A. D. 54. and such also of the freedmen as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him Emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death, not long afterward. Making her this requital, not only for being her son, but for bringing it so about by her contrivances that he obtained the Roman Empire. He also slew Octavia, his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under this pretence, that they plotted against him.

3. But I omit any farther discourse about these affairs. For there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero. Some of which have departed from the truth of facts, out of favour; as having received benefits from him. While others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-will which they bare him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero; since they have not, in their writings, preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time; even when the actors 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 take delight. But as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking: but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy; and not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. In the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, King of Emesa, \* Soemus his brother succeeded in his Kingdom; and Aristobulus, the son of

\* This Soemus is elsewhere mentioned, by Josephus, in his own Life, 11. as also by Dio Cassius, and Tacitus.

Herod, King of Chalcis, was entrusted by Nero with the government of the lesser Armenia. Cesar also bestowed upon Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, † Tiberias, and Taricheæ; and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea; with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now the affairs of the Jews grew worse and worse continually, for the country was again filled with robberies, and impostors who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch and put to death many of both every day; he also circumvented Elezaar, the son of Dineus, who had gotten together a company of robbers. For he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him. But when he came, he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill-will to Jonathan the High Priest; 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 he had desired Cesar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him: for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, and to kill him, 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 after the following manner. Certain of the robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God; while they had daggers under their garments; and thus mingling among the multitude, they \* slew Jonathan. And

G 4

as

† This agrees with Josephus's frequent accounts elsewhere in his own life, that Tiberias, and Taricheæ, and Gamala, were under this Agrippa junior, till Justus, the son of Pistus, seized upon them for the Jews upon the breaking out of the war.

\* This treacherous and barbarous murder of the good High Priest, Jonathan, by the contrivance of this wicked procurator, Felix was the immediate occasion of the ensuing murders by the Sicarii or ruffians: and one great cause of the following horrid cruelties and miseries of the Jewish nation: as Josephus here supposes. Whose excellent reflection on the gross wickedness

A. D. 54. as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the greatest security at the festivals after this time: and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men in money; not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself, where they had the boldness to murder men without thinking of

of that nation, as the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is well worthy the attention of every Jewish and of every Christian reader. And since we are soon coming to the catalogue of the Jewish High Priests, it may not be amiss, with Reland, to insert this Jonathan among them, and to transcribe his particular catalogue of the last 28 High Priests, taken out of Josephus, and begin with Ananelus, who was made by Herod the Great.

1. Ananelus.
2. Aristobulus.
3. Jesus, the son of Fabus.
4. Simon, the son of Boethus.
5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
6. Joazar, the son of Boethus.
7. Eleazar, the son of Boethus.
8. Jesus, the son of Sic.
9. [Annas, or] Ananus, the son of Seth.
10. Ismael, the son of Fabus.
11. Eleazar, the son of Ananus.
12. Simon, the son of Camithus.
13. Josephus Caiaphas, the son-in-law to Ananus.
14. Jonathan, the son of Ananus.
15. Theophilus, his brother, and son of Ananus.
16. Simon, the son of Boethus.
17. Matthias, the brother of Jonathan, and son of Ananus.
18. Aljoneus.
19. Josephus, the son of Camydus.
20. Ananias, the son of Nebedeus.
21. Jonathas.
22. Ismael, the son of Fabi.
23. Joseph Cabi, the son of Simon.
24. Ananus, the son of Ananus.
25. Jesus, the son of Damneus.
26. Jesus, the son of Gamaliel.
27. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
28. Phannias, the son of Samuel.

But the reader must observe, that where Josephus does not set down the duration of any High Priest's office, or government, neither have I presumed to set it down: as not pretending to know more than he did in such matters. And when Dean Prideaux ventures to set those years down, as he does all along, from such a comparative late and weak authority as the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, I rather wonder at his boldness, than dare venture to follow his example. As for Ananus, and Joseph Caiaphas, here mentioned about the middle of this catalogue, they are no other than those Annas, and Caiaphas, so often mentioned in the four Gospels: and that Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, was that High Priest before whom St. Paul pleaded his own cause.

the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems A. D. 55. to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these mens wickedness, rejected our city; and no longer esteemed the temple sufficiently pure for him to inhabit: but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it; and carried our wives and children into slavery; desirous to make us wifer by our calamities.

6. These works that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these \* impostors and deceivers perswaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderiness; and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishments of their folly. For Felix brought them back; and then punished them. Moreover there came out of Egypt, about this time, to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet; and advised the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called; which lay over against the city, at the distance of five furlongs. He said farther, that he would shew them from hence how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down: and promised them that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to arm and march against them from Jerusalem; and attacked the Egyptian, and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them; and took two hundred alive. The Egyptian escaped; but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans; and said, they ought not to obey them: and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

\* Of these Jewish impostors and false prophets, with many other circumstances, and miseries of the Jews, till their utter destruction, foretold by our Saviour, see Lit. Accompl. of Proph. pag. 58 -- 75.



A. D. 54.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cesarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens. For the Jews claimed the pre-eminence; because Herod their King was the builder of Cesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alledged about Herod. But they said, that Cesarea was formerly called Strato's tower; and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes: and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens, depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, in hopes to provoke them. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly that the greatest part of Roman soldiers that were there were either of Cesarea, or Sebaste; they also, for some time, used reproachful language to the Jews. And thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides; though still the Jews were the conquerers. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist. And when they refused to comply, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive: and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves: and desired of Felix, that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future; and afford them room for repentance for what they had done. And Felix was prevailed upon.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the High Priesthood to Ishmael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose

## Chap. 8. OF THE JEWS.

arose a sedition between the \* High Priests, and the principal men of Jerusalem: each of which got them a company of the boldest sort of men, that loved innovations, and became leaders to them. And when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another; and by throwing stones after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence † and boldness that had seized on the High Priests, that they had the hardness to send their servants into the threshing floors, to take away those tythes that were due to the Priests. Inasmuch that it so fell out, that the poorer sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious 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 Cesarea went up to Rome, to accuse Felix. And he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallans, who was at that time had in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cesarea persuaded Burrus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to disanul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the Emperor, that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that beset our nation. For when the Jews of Cesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous.

\* Josephus frequently uses the word High Priests in the plural number, as we find it once in the New Testament also, Luk. iii. 2.

† The wickedness here was very peculiar and extraordinary; that the High Priests should so oppress their brethren, the priests, as to starve the poorest of them to death. Such fatal crimes are covetousness and tyranny in the clergy, as well as in the laity, in all ages!

A. D. 59. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian Acinacæ, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman Sicæ, [or sickles] as they were called. 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, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before; and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both 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 were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness: and destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining room in the palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. This palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus, and was situate upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city; and was most grateful to the king. There he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple. Which thing when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeas'd. For it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others; especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building, which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which did not only intercept the prospect of the dining room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple; where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings, both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeas'd. And Festus ordered them to pull down the wall 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 should be demolished. And when Festus had given them leave, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero; as also Ismael 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. This was granted them in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife; who was a religious woman, and had requested these favours of Nero: and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the High Priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly High Priest.

## C H A P. IX.

*Concerning Albinus, under whose procuratorship James was slain. As also what edifices were built by Agrippa.*

§ 1. **A**ND now Cesar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the High Priesthood; and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. The report goes, that this eldest Ananus proved a most fortunate man. For he had five sons, who had all performed the office of an High Priest to God, and who had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly; which had never happened to any other of our High Priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the High Priesthood, was a bold man, and very

\* We have here one eminent example of Nero's mildness and goodness in his government towards the Jews, during the first five years of his reign, so famous in antiquity. We have perhaps another in Josephus's own life, § 3. and a third, though of a very different nature here, in § 9. just before. However, both the generous acts of kindness were obtained of Nero by his queen Poppea; who was a religious lady, and perhaps privately a Jewish profelyte; and so were not owing entirely to Nero's own goodness.

A. D. 61.

insolent. He was also of the sect of the \* Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed. When therefore Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority.] Festus was dead; and Albinus was but upon 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, [or, some of his companions.] And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned. The most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa,] desiring him to send to Ananus, that he should act so no more; for that what he had already done was not to be justified †. Nay some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria; and informed him, that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananias; and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done. On which account king Agrippa took the High Priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months; and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, High Priest.

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace; by destroying many of the Sicarii. The High Priest || Ananias increased in glory

\* It hence evidently appears, that Sadducees might be High Priests in the days of Josephus; and that these Sadducees were usually very severe and inexorable judges; while the Pharisees were much milder and more merciful: as appears by Reland's instances in his note on this place, and on Josephus's life; and those taken from the New Testament; from Josephus himself; and from the Rabbins. Nor do we meet with any Sadducees later than this High Priest in all Josephus.

† This sanhedrim condemned our Saviour, but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator. Nor could therefore Ananias and his sanhedrim do more here; since they never had Albinus's approbation for the putting this James to death.

|| This Ananias was not the son of Nebedeus, as I take it, but he who was called Annas or Ananus the elder, the 9th in the catalogue, and who had been  
 esteem'd

glory every day, to a great degree; and had obtained the A. D. 61. favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner: for he was a great hoarder up of money. He therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the High Priest [Jesus,] by making them presents. He had also servants who were very wicked; who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing floors, and took away the tythes that belonged to the priests by violence; and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tythes to them. The other High Priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one's being able to prohibit them. So that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tythes, died for want of food.

3. But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was at hand; and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was Eleazar, who was the son of Ananus [Ananias] the High Priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them. After which they sent to Ananias, and said, that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party. So Ananias was plainly forced to persuade Albinus. This was the beginning of greater calamities: for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias's servants; and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great disturbance to the whole country.

esteemed High Priest for a long time; and, besides Caiaphas his son-in-law, had five of his own sons High Priests after him, (which were those of numbers 11, 14, 16, 17, 24. in the foregoing catalogue) they were these: 1st was the 11th in the catalogue, Eleazar; and the 2d was the 14th, Jonathan; and the 3d was the 16th, Theophilus; and the 4th was the 17th, Matthias; and the 5th was the 24th, Ananus. Nor ought we to pass slightly over what Josephus here says of this Annas or Ananias, that he was High Priest a long time before his children were so. He was the son of Seth, and is set down first for High Priest in the foregoing catalogue, under number 9. He was made by Quirinius, and continued till Ismael the 10th in number, for about 23 years. Which long duration of his High Priesthood, joined to the successions of his son-in-law, and five children of his own, made him a sort of perpetual High Priest.

A. D. 62.

4. About this time king Agrippa built Cefarea Philippi larger than it was before; and in honour of Nero, named it Neronias. And when he had built a theatre at Berytus, with vast expences, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year; and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmæ.] He also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation; and with original images made by antient hands. Nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects, because he took those things away that belonged to them, to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damneus, in the High Priesthood, which the king had taken from the other. On which account a sedition arose between the High Priests, with regard to one another. For they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people; and frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing of stones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the rest, by his riches, which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. Costobarus also, and Saulus, did themselves get together a multitude of wicked wretches: they were of the royal family, and so obtained favour among them. But still they were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that time it principally came to pass, that our city was greatly disordered; and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

5. But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem. So he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be the most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death. But as to those who had been put into prison, on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them. By which means, the prisons were indeed emptied; but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now

6. Now as many of the \* Levites, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests. For they said that this would be a work worthy the times of his government; that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire. For the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the 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 a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country; which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now it was that the † temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand; and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple; and while they were unwilling to keep by them the treasures that were there repositied, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen, they resolved to expend those treasures upon them. For if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately. So they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situate in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length] and were built of square and very white stones: the length of each of

\* This insolent petition of some of the Levites, to wear the sacerdotal garments, when they sung hymns to God in the temple, was very probably owing to the great depression and contempt the haughty High Priests had now brought their brethren the priests into.

† Of this finishing, not of the holy house, but of the courts about it, called a general the Temple, see the Note on XVII. 10. 2.



A. D. 63. which stones was twenty cubits, and their 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 Cesar, considering that 'tis easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again; and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money; denied the petitioners their request about that matter. But he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the High Priesthood; and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews war with the Romans took its beginning.

## C H A P. X.

*An enumeration of the High Priests.*

§ 1. **A**ND now I think it agreeable to this history to give an account of our High Priests, how they began, and who those are which are capable of that dignity; and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place history informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated to God as an High Priest; and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them to all their posterity. Whence it is the 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, of whom we have spoken already as of the first of them, until Phanas, who was made High Priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty three. Of whom thirteen

\* Of these cloisters of Solomon, see the description of the temples. They seem, by Josephus's words, to have been built from the bottom of the valley.

officiated

officiated as High Priests in the wilderness; from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God. For at the first they held the High Priesthood till the end of their life; although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendents of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession one after another. Their 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 their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After these 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 that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josadek the High Priest captive. The times of these High Priests was four hundred sixty six years, six months, and ten days; while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of the seventy years captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple. At which time Jesus, the son of Josadek took the High Priesthood over the captives, when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government, for four hundred and fourteen years. And then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lyfias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also named Menelaus, of the High Priesthood, and slew him at Berea; and driving away the son [of Onias the third,] put Jacimus into the place of the High Priest. One that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of that family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was

A. D. 63. dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometor, and of Cleopatra his wife; and persuaded them to make him the High Priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, in imitation of that at Jerusalem. But as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the High Priesthood three years, he died; and there was no one that succeeded him; but the city continued seven years without an High Priest. But then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathian to be their High Priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related somewhere, Simon his brother took the High Priesthood; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him; after he had held the High Priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man; leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus: whose brother, Alexander, was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the Priesthood, together with the royal authority, being the first that put on his head a diadem, for one year. And when Alexander had been both King and High Priest twenty seven years, he departed this life; and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be High Priest. So she gave the High Priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the High Priesthood. For after her death, his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality: and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of High Priest to God. But when he had reigned three years, and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only

only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the High Priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation; but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over 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, Sosius and Herod besieged him, and took him. When Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint High Priests out of the family of Asamoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests; excepting that he once gave that dignity to Aristobulus. For when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good-will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather.] Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death; and that by contriving how to have him suffocated, as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter. But after this man, he never entrusted the High Priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the High Priests: as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly the number of the High Priests, from the days of Herod, until the day when Titus took the temple, and the city, and burnt them, were in all twenty eight. The time also that belonged to them was an hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son; although after their death, the government became an aristocracy,

A. D. 64. and the High Priests were entrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our High Priests.

### CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Florus the procurator, who necessitated the Jews to take up arms against the Romans. The conclusion.*

§ 1. **N**OW Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus, by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city Clazomenæ, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, (by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government;) who was no way different from him in wickedness. Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor: so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to shew his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation; as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment. He was not to be moved by pity, nor was his avarice to be satiated: he had no more regard to great than to small acquisitions; but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their robberies. So that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries. But the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away; hoping to dwell more easily any where else in the world among foreigners, [than in their own country.] What need I say any more upon this head? since it was Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans; while we thought it bet-

ter to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. A. D. 64.  
Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish War.

2. I shall now therefore make an end here of my Antiquities. After the conclusion of which events, I began to write that account of the war. And these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero: what hath 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, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us. I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those High Priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years. I have also carried down the succession of our Kings, and related their actions and political administration, without [considerable] errors: as also the power of our monarchs, according to what is written in our sacred books. For this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am bold say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed, that no other person, whether he were a Jew, or a foreigner, had he never so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews. I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and 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 lan-

A. D. 93.

guages 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 of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning. On which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours, with great patience, to obtain this learning; there have yet hardly been two or three that have succeeded, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

And now it will not be, perhaps, an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life; while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true. With which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities; which are contained in twenty books, and sixty thousand verses. And, if \* God permit me, I will

\* What Josephus here declares his intention to do, if God permitted, namely, to give the publick again an abridgment of the Jewish war, and to add what befel them farther to that very day, the 13th of Domitian, or A. D. 93. is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any. Nor do we ever hear of it elsewhere, whether he performed what he now intended or not. Some of the reasons of this design of his might possibly be his observation of the many errors he had been guilty of in the two first of those VII Books of the War, which were written when he was comparatively young, and less acquainted with the Jewish antiquities than he now was; and in which abridgment we might have hoped to find those many passages which himself, as well as those several passages which others refer to, as written by him, but which are not extant in his present works. However, since many of his own references to what he had written elsewhere, as well as most of his own errors, belong to such early times as could not well come into this abridgment of the Jewish war; and since none of those that quote things not now extant in his works, including himself, as well as others, ever cite any such abridgment; I am inclined to suppose that he never did publish any such work at all: I mean as distinct from his own life, written by himself, for an appendix to these antiquities; and this at least above seven years after these antiquities were finished; as I shall prove in my note upon Justus of Tiberias's fragment, to be set down after his life presently. Nor indeed does it appear to me, that Josephus ever published that other work here mentioned, as intended by him for the publick also; I mean the three or four books concerning God and his essence, and concerning the Jewish laws, why, according to them, some things were permitted the Jews, and others prohibited. Which last seems to be the same work which Josephus had also promised, if God permitted, at the conclusion of his preface

will briefly run over this war again, with what befel us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Cesar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence; and about our laws, why, according to them, some things are permitted us, and others are prohibited.

to these Antiquities. Nor do I suppose that he ever published any of them. The death of all his friends at court, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with to the crown, I mean Nerva and Trajan; together with his removal from Rome to Judea, with what followed it, might easily interrupt his intentions, and prevent his publication of those works.

END of the ANTIQUITIES.

THE



OF THE

The first part of the book is devoted to a description of the various species of the genus, and to a discussion of their habits and distribution. The second part is devoted to a description of the various species of the genus, and to a discussion of their habits and distribution.

The third part of the book is devoted to a description of the various species of the genus, and to a discussion of their habits and distribution. The fourth part is devoted to a description of the various species of the genus, and to a discussion of their habits and distribution.

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O F

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

§ I. **T**H E family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests. And as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so with us to be of the sacerdotal dignity is an indication of the splendor of a family. Now I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the † twenty-four courses. And as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also. Nay farther, by my mother I am

\* N. B. That Josephus wrote, or at least finished this account of his own life, as an Appendix to his Antiquities, after the third year of Trajan, A. D. 100, and at least seven years after he finished those Antiquities, see the note after Justus of Tiberias's fragment, to be produced after this life of Josephus.

† We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the second Book against Apion, (for the Greek is there lost;) which says, there were then only four tribes or courses of the priests, instead of twenty-four. Nor is this testimony to be disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here: because even the account there given better agrees to twenty-four than to four courses; while he says that each of those courses contained above 5000 men, which multiplied by only 4, will make not many more than 20000 priests: whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by 24, seems much the most probable, they being about the tenth of the whole people, even after the captivity. Nor will this common reading or notion of but four courses of priests agree with Josephus's own farther assertion elsewhere, Antiq. VII. that David's partition of the priests into 24 courses had continued to that day.

of

of the royal blood. For the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the High Priesthood, and the dignity of a King, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Pfullus; he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the High Priest, who first of all the High Priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Pfullus had nine sons; one of which was Matthias, called Ephias: he married the daughter of Jonathan the High Priest. Which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was High Priest, and was the brother of Simon the High Priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus; and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus. His son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra. His son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; as was I born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Cesar. I have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born on the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian; as was Justus born on the seventh, and Agrippa on the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family, as I have found it described\* in the publick records; and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me, [as of a lower original.]

2. My father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had an higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias; for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding. When I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning. On which account the High

\* An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, especially as to the priests. See Contr. Ap. l. 7.

Priests and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, 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 Essens; as we have frequently told you. For I thought that by this means I might chuse the best, if I were once acquainted with them all. So I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and \* went through them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only, but when I was informed that one whose name was Banus lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord; and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with \* him three years. So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees; which is of kin to the sect of the Stoicks, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was Procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, very excellent persons; whom, on a small and trifling occasion, he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome, to plead their cause before Cesar. These

\* 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 Essens; and yet says presently, in all our copies, that he stay'd besides with one particular ascetick, called Banus, and this still before he was nineteen: there is little room left for his trial of the three other sects. I suppose therefore that, for *with him*, the old reading might be *with them*; which is a very small emendation, and takes away the difficulty before us. Nor is Dr. Hudson's conjecture 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 of Jesus Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.

I was desirous to procure deliverance for; and that especially, because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God, even under their afflictions; but supported themselves with \* figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome; though it were through a great number of hazards by sea. For as our ship sunk in the Adriatick sea, we that were in it, being about † six hundred in number, swam for our lives all the night. When upon the first appearance of day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence prevented the rest, and were taken up. And when I had thus escaped, and was come to Dicearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturus, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppea, Cesar's wife; and took care, as soon as possible, to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun; and that there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavoured to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight; and told them that they were inferior to the Romans, not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, to bring on the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortations, because I foresaw, that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us.

\* We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at least those that were priests, were sometimes asceticks also, and like Daniel, and his companions in Babylon, ate no flesh; but figs and nuts, &c. only. This was like the austere diet of the Christian asceticks in passion week.

† It hath been thought the number of Paul and his companions on shipboard, Act. xxvii. 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.

But I could not persuade them, for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred, and their suspicions; as if I were of our enemies party; and should run into the danger of being seized by them, and slain. Since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel. So I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death; when I abode among the High Priests, and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms; while we ourselves knew not what we should do; and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them; but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away; still hoping that Gessius [Florus] would not be long ere he came with great forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

6. But upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace, which Gessius [with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation. For those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministred; which was this. Those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them; when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them. For they did neither attempt any innovation, or revolt from the Romans; nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and most highly criminal of all. For when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen;

|| r3000,  
ubi prius.

men; which it is \* unlawful for us to do. And when, by their assistance, they had joined battle with those who attacked them, and had beaten them; after that victory they forgot the assurances they had given their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them all; in number many || ten thousands. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the Books of the Jewish war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews war with the Romans was not voluntary; but that, for the main, they were driven by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem; seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty; and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies; which also came to be the case afterward; and being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet; they sent me, and two others of the Priests, who were men of excellent characters, Joazar and Judas, to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms; and to teach them this lesson, that it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had, [than to be kept there.] For that it had been resolved, that our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity; but still so, that they should wait to see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee; and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country; by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans; and be-

\* The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren, from that law of Moses, Levit. xix. 16. *Thou shalt not stand against the blood 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.

cause they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the President of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in; and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them; and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius, to Dora, which is a city of Phenicia, as often as they pleased. Though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, on the occasion following :

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity. Of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compfus the son of Compfus, (for as to Compfus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the \* great King [Agrippa] he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions.) All these persons, before named, gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans, and to the King. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution. Otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. The second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction; although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of innovation; supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, that " The city Tiberias had ever been a city of  
" Galilee; and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch,  
" who had built it, it had obtained the principal place;  
" and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should  
" be subordinate to the city Tiberias: that they had  
" not lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the fa-  
" ther; but had retained it until Felix was procurator

\* 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.



“ of Judea. But he told them, that now they had  
 “ been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero  
 “ to Agrippa junior. And that upon Sepphoris’s sub-  
 “ mission of itself to the Romans, that was become the  
 “ capital city of Galilee; and that the royal treasury  
 “ and the archives were now removed from them.”  
 When he had spoken these things, and a great many  
 more against King Agrippa, to provoke the people to a  
 revolt, he added, that “ This was the time for them to  
 “ take arms, and join with the Galileans, as their con-  
 “ federates; (whom they might command, and who  
 “ would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred  
 “ they bare to the people of Sepphoris, because they  
 “ preserved their fidelity to the Romans;) and to ga-  
 “ ther a great number of forces to punish them.” And  
 as he said this, he exhorted the multitude [to go to  
 war.] For his abilities lay in making harangues to the  
 people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as  
 opposed him, though they advised what was more to  
 their advantage; and this by his craftiness, and his fal-  
 lacies. For he was not unskilful in the learning of the  
 Greeks. And in dependence on that skill it was, that  
 he undertook to write an history of these affairs; aim-  
 ing by this way of haranguing to disguise the truth.  
 But as to this man, and how ill were his character and  
 conduct of life; and how he and his brother were, in  
 great measure, the authors of our destruction; I shall  
 give the reader an account in the progress of my nar-  
 ration. So when Justus had, by his persuasion, pre-  
 vailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms; nay,  
 and had forced a great many so to do against their wills;  
 he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Ga-  
 dara and Hippos on fire; which villages were situate on  
 the borders of Tiberias, and of the region of Scythopolis.

10. This was the state Tiberias was now in. As for  
 Gischala, its affairs were thus. When John, the son of  
 Levi, saw some of the citizens much elevated upon  
 their revolt from the Romans, he laboured to restrain  
 them; and entreated them that they would keep their  
 allegiance. But he could not gain his purpose; altho’  
 he

he did his endeavours to the utmost. For the neighbouring people of Gadara, and Gabara, and Sogana; with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gifchala; and took Gifchala by force, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned, and rebuilt Gifchala after a manner better than before; and fortified it with walls, for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans, for the reason following. Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under King Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him. But certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth; having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered. And when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging; but one that was situate at the borders of the citadel of Gamala; he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered his intention, for his own advantage. For had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote letters to Agrippa and Bernice; and gave them to one of his freed-men, to carry them to Varus, who at this time was Procurator of the Kingdom; which the King and his sister had entrusted him withal, while they were gone to Berytus, with an 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 usefess to the King and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said,  
I 2 that

that he spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freedman of Philip's did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay; and sent a second messenger, with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also when he came of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cesarea, and had great expectations. For they said, that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans, for the crimes which the Jews had committed; and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their Kings. For Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family; as being a descendent of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus. For which reason it was, that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived also that the King should not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape, and inform the King what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take arms, and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea, of the best character, 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 be-  
 " lieving that report, he hath sent us to persuade you  
 " to lay down your arms; and that this compliance  
 " will be a sign that he did well not to give credit to  
 " those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men, to make a defence for them, as to the accusation laid against them. When the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation, they persuaded them to send the seventy  
 men

men also. Who not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these \* seventy went down to Cesarea, with the twelve \* ambassadors. Where Varus met them, with the King's forces, and slew them, together with the [twelve] ambassadors; and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming. Upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala; leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things; and many ten thousands of cattle. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala, when the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the King. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the 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 now, when the King was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesarea, being many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day; he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it; which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

12. As soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things; I wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there; and that if my fellow legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But my fellow legates having gotten great riches, from those tythes, which as priests were their dues, and were gi-

\* The famous Jewish numbers of 12 and 70 are here remarkable.

ven to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long that we might first settle the publick affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sepphoris; and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberias; and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me. When they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them, that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem, as a legate, together with these other priests, to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there; and which had the figures of living creatures in it; although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures: and I desired, that they would give us leave so to do immediately. For a good while Capellus, and the principal men belonging to the city, would not permit us; but they were at length induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned, as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, without our approbation. After we had discoursed Capellus, and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias; and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked; and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver. And I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the King. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus,

## The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

lus, the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them; with this charge, that they should part with it to no body but myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gischala, to John, as desirous to know his intentions. And soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality. For he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Cesar, and lay in the villages of upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavoured at, and what he had in his mind, I said, I would not permit him so to do. For that I thought either to keep it for the Romans; or for myself, now I was entrusted with their publick affairs by the people of Jerusalem. But when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow legates. They had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them to decree, that all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him. While I, who has but one, was out-voted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John practise another cunning contrivance. For he said, that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the King's deputy there, had sent to desire him, that since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them: lest they should be forced to make use of oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain. For he knew that two sextaries were sold with them of Cesarea for one drachma; but that at Gischala fourscore sextaries were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order, that all the oil which was there should be carried away; as having my permission. Which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude; since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow legates to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money, as pay; and told them, it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them; and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against their neighbours that lay round about them. For my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages, for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed; and set them to judge causes: and with their approbation gave my sentences. While I endeavoured not to mistake what justice required; and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age: in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious; although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires; especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tythes which were due to me as a Priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them; and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem. Although when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once; and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares

snare for me; I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people forenamed: as the progress of this discourse will shew. And on this account I suppose it was that \* God, who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of my enemies, and afterward preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me; and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot baths at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Accordingly I did not hinder him; as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his. And I wrote to those, to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias, by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him; and should procure him what necessaries soever he should stand in need of. At this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named Cana.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from me, and adhere to him. Many of them gladly received that invitation of his; as ever by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions. But they were chiefly Justus, and his father Pistus that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them. For a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governour of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of the inclina-

\* Our Josephus shews both here and every where, that he was a most religious person; and one that had a deep sense of God and his providence upon his mind; and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations in times of danger to God's blessing him, and taking care of him; and this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity to the Jews his brethren,



tions of the people of Tiberias; and advised me to make haste thither: that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night; having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know, that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me: and John came with them, and saluted me; but in a most disturbed manner; as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he, in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias; and standing on a certain elevated place, entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt: for that such a change in their behaviour would be to their reproach; and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domesticks bidding me come down: that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there. For John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him, out of those thousand that he had with him, and had sent them with orders to kill me; having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domesticks. Those that were sent came as they were ordered; and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and, with one of my guards, whose name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake. Where I seized a ship and got into it, and  
 escaped

escaped my enemies unexpectedly ; and came to Tarchæa.

19. As soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them. For they said, they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans ; and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias ; and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them ; that they might act in concert with their commander, what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly the Galileans came armed to me in great numbers from all parts, and besought me to assault Tiberias, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground ; and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them ; thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them. For I thought that this contention ought not to proceed farther than words. Nay I told them, that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do ; while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. By saying this, I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

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

21. But now another great number of the Galileans assembled with their weapons ; as knowing the man,  
how

how wicked and perjured he was; and desired me to lead them against him: and promised me, that they would utterly bestroy both him, and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readines 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 Galileans, I came to Sepphoris.

22. But the inhabitants of this city, having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them; and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me; that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a great deal of money if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight us. 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; he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not his knavery succeed well at last. For as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place; and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans, that were armed; as also some of those of Tiberias. And when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but to Jesus, when he came, with the principal of his men; and

and to exclude the rest. And in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use blows [in order to repel them.] Those that had received this charge did as they were bidden: and Jesus was admitted, with a few others. And when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him that if he refused he was a dead man; he, seeing armed men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied. His followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that "I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was ignorant by whom he was sent for. That, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And thus, upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

23. At this time it was that two great men who were under the jurisdiction of the King [Agrippa,] came to me, out of the region of Trachonitis, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also. And when the Jews would \*force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them, "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained: 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 when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were

\* Josephus's opinion here is well worth remarking, that every one is to be permitted to worship God according to his own conscience, and is not to be compelled in matters of religion. As one may here observe, on the contrary, that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all those who married Jews to be circumcised, and become Jews, and were ready to destroy all that would not submit to do so.

come to us whatsoever they wanted, according to their usual way of living, in great plenty.

24. Now King Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equiculus Modius. But the forces were not enow to encompass the citadel, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged it. But when Ebutius, the decurion, who was entrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situate in the confines of Galilee, distant from him sixty furlongs, he took an hundred horsemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibeia along with him, as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it. But Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, greatly depending on his horsemen. But we would not come down; for when I was satisfied of the advantage his horse would have in the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time: but when he saw that his horse were usefess to him in that place, he retired back to the city of Gibeia, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thousand armed men. And when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Gibeia, where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that they should guard the passess with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us, until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there. It belonged to Bernice the Queen; and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages in Besara. So I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle. But when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified

rified at our readines and courage, I altered my rout, and marched towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him. Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis entrusted to his care by the enemy. And when I had hindered him from doing any farther mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with those that were under me, as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in; he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias, and of Sepphoris, (and for those of Gabara, he supposed they would be of the same mind also with the others) which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from me, and to be of his party; and told them, that he would command them better than I did. The people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, did not comply with his proposal. Those of Tiberias did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends. While the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John, at the instigation of Simon, one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. 'Tis true these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore to me. Yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me. And indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following.

26. There were some bold young men of the village Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the

King's

King's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain, with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed as a guard to them, out of a country that was subject to the King and Queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on the sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Taricheæ, with four mules loading of garments and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small; and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is \* prohibited us, by our laws, even to spoil our enemies. So I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done. They therefore went among the villages, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people that I was going to betray their country to the Romans; and that I used deceitful language to them, when I said that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city Jerusalem: although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions. For when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi; persons that were among the chief friends of the King; and com-

\* How Josephus could say here that the Jewish laws forbid them to spoil even their enemies, while yet, a little before his time, our Saviour had mentioned it as then a current maxim with them, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy*, Matt. v. 43. is worth our inquiry. I take it, that Josephus having been now for many years an Ebionite Christian, had learned this interpretation of the law of Moses from Christ, whom he owned for the true Messiah, as it follows in the succeeding verses. Which though he might not read in St. Matthew's Gospel, yet might he have read much the same exposition in their own Ebionite or Nazarene Gospel itself. Of which improvements made by Josephus, after he was become a Christian, we have already had several examples in this his life, and shall have many more before its conclusion, as well as we have them in all his later writings.

manded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him. And I threatened, that I would order them to be put to death, if they discovered my command to any other person.

27. Now when all Galilee was filled with this rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans; and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment; the inhabitants of Taricheæ did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently to the Hippodrome, there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already; who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man who was so wicked as to betray them, to due punishment. Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on, was ruler in Tiberias; a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow citizens, if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard however 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 hath acted thus insolently to deserved punishment."

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately; while I was wholly insensible of all till this disturbance happened, and by reason of the pains I had been taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was entrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stay'd with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, awaked me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely, and like a general, before my enemies came

|| There were three more with him. War II. 21. 3.



in, and forced me [to kill myself,] or killed me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me. But I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to the Hippodrome, wherein I thought none of my adversaries would meet me. So I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat to the earth, and bedewed the ground with my tears. Then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions before the armed men should return from my house. I granted them, that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I entreated them, to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder; and that they might then kill me if they pleased. And upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me. But when the multitude bid them hold their hands, they complied; and expected that as soon as I should own to them that I kept the money for the King, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should be then allowed to kill me.

29. When therefore silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them: "O my countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die: for as I know that this city of yours [Taricheæ] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune, whatever it be; I had a mind to build walls about it out of this money, for which you are so angry with me." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers cried out, that "They gave me thanks, and desired me to be of good courage." Although the Galileans, and the people of Tiberias, continued in their wrath against me; in-  
much

much that there arose a tumult among them: while some threatned to kill me, and some bid be not to regard them. But when I promised them, that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes; and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men.

30. However, those robbers, and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, to set it on fire. When their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness. So I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send some of their men in to receive the money [from the spoils:] for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me. And when they had sent in one of the boldest men of them all, I had him whipped severely; and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off and hung about his neck. And in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were in no small consternation, afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they stay'd there. For they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves. So they ran away immediately; while I, by the use of this stratagem, escaped their second treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said, that those great men that belonged to the King ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety. They spake reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were \* wiz-

\* Here we may observe the vulgar Jewish notion of witchcraft; but that our Josephus was too wise to give any countenance to it.

zards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those that fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted. I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers if they could overcome their enemies by wizzards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while; but they returned again afterward, as irritated by some ill people against the great men. Nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Taricheæ, to kill them. Which when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and no body else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos. I also paid them the value of their horses; nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befel them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me, to go again into an enemy's country. Yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length; and King Agrippa forgave them their offences. This was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the King, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come over to him. This was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised them

them to do: for they had heard that the walls of Taricheæ were already built. I agreed to their proposal. And when I had made preparation for the entire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work. But on the third day, when I was gone to Taricheæ, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the King. Upon which they shouted, and lift up their voices in commendations of the King, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were; and that they had resolved to revolt from me. Upon hearing which news, I was very much alarmed, for I had already sent away my armed men from Taricheæ to their own homes, because the next day was our sabbath; for I would not have the people of Taricheæ be disturbed [on that day] by a multitudes of soldiers. And, indeed, whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do. To send to recal my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over: and had those forces been with me I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbid us, even though our necessity should be very great: and if I should permit the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose; and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a great while: for I thought with myself, that the forces that came from the King would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered therefore how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem. So I immediately placed those my friends of Taricheæ, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out; I also called to me the heads of families, and

bid every one of them to seize upon a \* ship, to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the King, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, supposing that the ships were full of men on board. They then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations. For they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been against me.] So they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board. But I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle, as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them, that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me. And when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Taricheæ, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. By this stratagem I gradually got all the senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with an equal number of the principal men among the populace. But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought them-

\* In this section, as well as § 18 and 33, those small vessels that sailed on the sea of Galilee, are called by Josephus *Ναε*, and *Παζα*, and *ταξον*, i. e. plainly ships. So that we need not wonder at our Evangelists who still call them ships. Nor ought we to render them boats, as some do. Their number was in all 230, as we learn from our author elsewhere.

elves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition; his name was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own 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 out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias; so I called to 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 refuseth so to be, thou undergo a worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So, in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his left. And this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheæ, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus, and his father Pistus, I made them to sup with me. And during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not say so [publickly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander, for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands before I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip; and with-

al, how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband [with death.] When I had said this to them during supper time, I, in the morning, ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed, and sent away.

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 was put out of his government by king Agrippa; and that Modius Equiculus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him; he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the King and Queen. Now when Modius had received these letters, he was exceeding glad, and sent the letters to the King and Queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false: (for it had been given out that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans; and that this Philip had been their commander in that war;) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him, and when he was come, saluted him very obligingly; and shewed him to the Roman commanders, and told them, that this was the man of whom the report had gone about, as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him to take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea. He also gave it him in charge, to take all possible care, that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a she physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and take up arms; and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. Some they forced into the service; and those that would  
not

not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they flew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise the walls of their city. Nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis did also revolt from the King, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia, and Soganni, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover I, in like manner, walled several villages of upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the lower Galilee, the cities Taricheæ, Tiberias, Sepphoris; and the villages, the cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecho, and Sigo, and Japha, and \* mount Tabor. I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterward.

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

\* Part of these fortifications on mount Tabor may be those still remaining; and which were seen lately by Mr. Maundrel.

† This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the Rabbins in the Mishna, in Juchasin, and in Porta Mosis. He might be also that Gamaliel II. whose grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned, Act v. 34. and at whose feet St. Paul was brought up.



they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John: but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the High Priests Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others, of the same seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great; and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself: he said, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also and his friends desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and assault the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon. But Ananus, the High Priest, demonstrated to them, that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the High Priests, and of the rulers of the people bore witness, that I had acted like an excellent general. And that it was the work of ill men, to accuse one against whom they have nothing to say.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many. For that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, [Simon] and charged him, that they should send presents to Ananus, and his friends; for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at. For Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan, \* and Ananias, by sect Pharisees; while the third, Jozar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the High Priests. These

\* This Jonathan is also taken notice of as the same that is mentioned by the Rabbins in Porta Mosis.

had it given them in charge, that when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them what was the reason of their love to me? And if they said, that it was because I was born at Jerusalem; that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place. And if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law; they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country. But if, besides these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest; they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

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

41. Now as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jesus the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it;) I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as out of envy to give order that I should be slain: my father earnestly

neftly preffed me alfo in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to fee his fon before he died. I informed my friends of thefe things; that in three days time I fhould leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all very forry; and defired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be deftroyed; for fo they thought they fhould be, if I were deprived of of the command over them. But as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own fafety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the confequence of my departure, that they fhould then be at the mercy of the robbers, fent meffengers over all Galilee, to inform them of my refolution to leave them. Whereupon, as foon as they heard of it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account. For while I ftay'd with them, they fupposed that they fhould fuffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Afochis.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I faw that very night; for when I had betaken myfelf to my bed, difturbed at the news that had been written to me, it feemed to me, that a certain perfon flood by me, and \* faid, " O Jofephus! leave off to afflict thy foul, and put away  
 " all fear. For what now grieves thee, will render thee  
 " very confiderable, and in all refpects moft happy: for  
 " thou fhalt get over not only thefe difficulties, but many  
 " others, with great fuccefs. However, be not caft down,  
 " but remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had feen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and the children, faw me, they threw themfelves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, befought me not to leave them expofed to their enemies, nor to go away, and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply with their entreaties, they

\* This I take to be the firft of Jofephus's remarkable or divine dreams, which were predictive of the great things that afterward came to pafs.

compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them. They also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved to compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude. So I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand of them should come to me armed, with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes. When those five thousand were come, I took them, with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of \* Chabolo, situate in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together; pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of foot, and one troop of horse, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus, to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp, at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces, as if we would fight; but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance. For when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he was afraid. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan, and his fellow legates, came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus the High Priest. And Jonathan cast about how he might catch me by treachery. For he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: "Jonathan, and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We

\* If the reading of Chabolo be admitted; for so all the MSS. have it, whatever conjectures there are to the contrary; I see no sufficient reason why this may not be supposed to be the chief town or village of the land of Chabul, given Hiram by Solomon, but refused by him, and called thence the land of Chabul, or *not desirable*, 1 Kings ix. 13. It was certainly not very remote from this place; or in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

## The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

“ are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have  
 “ heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares  
 “ for thee; to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be  
 “ subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to  
 “ consult with thee about our common concerns; and  
 “ what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to  
 “ come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with  
 “ thee; for this village will not contain a great number  
 “ of soldiers.” Thus it was that they wrote, as expect-  
 ing one of these two things; either that I should come  
 without armed men, and then they should have me un-  
 der their power; or if I came with a great number, they  
 should judge me to be a publick enemy. Now it was  
 an horseman who brought the letter, a man at other  
 times bold, and one that had served in the army under  
 the King. It was the second hour of the night that he  
 came: when I was feasting with my friends, and the  
 principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my ser-  
 vant’s telling me that a certain horseman of the Jewish  
 nation was come, was called in at my command, but  
 did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a let-  
 ter, and said, “ This letter is sent thee by those that  
 “ are come from Jerusalem. Do thou write an answer  
 “ to it quickly; for I am obliged to return to them  
 “ very soon.” My guests could not but wonder at the  
 boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down,  
 and sup with us. But when he refused, I held the let-  
 ter in my hands, as I received it, and fell a talking with  
 my guests about other matters. A few hours afterwards  
 I got up, and when I had dismissed the rest to go to  
 their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to  
 stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready.  
 I also opened the letter so, that no body could perceive  
 it. And understanding thereby presently the purport  
 of the writing, I sealed it up again; and appeared as  
 if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands.  
 I ordered twenty drachmæ should be given the soldier  
 for the charges of his journey. And when he took the  
 money, and said that he thanked me for it, I perceived  
 that he loved money, and was to be caught chiefly by  
 that

that means; then I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money; and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secrets he was entrusted with, but discovered them, without my putting questions to him; viz. that a treacherous design was contrived against me; and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer; "Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice; especially because I can now resign the care of publick affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country. Which is what I have desired to do a great while. And I confess I ought not only to come to you, as far as Xaloth, but farther; and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now; since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare ye well."

45. When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans, of the best characters; and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard; lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent, and those that were with Jonathan. So these men went [to Jonathan.] But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter; the contents whereof were as follows: "Jonathan, and those with him, to Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us, to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what  
" thou

## The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

“ thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of Gifchala.]” When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants. There the multitude of men, with their wives and children met them, and exclaimed loudly against them, and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked; although they durst not shew their anger openly. So they made them no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamours met them from all the people, who said, “ No body should persuade them to have any other commander, besides “ Josephus.” So Jonathan and his partners went away from them, without success; and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed; but neither praised, nor reproached me. And when they were gone down from Sepphoris, to Afochis, the people of that place made a clamour against them, as those of Japha had done. Whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer; but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour, with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them, with three thousand armed men. But, as I understood by their letter, that they had resolved to fight me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata; as desirous to be near them; the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them: “ If you are very desirous that I should come to “ you, you know there are two hundred and forty “ ties and villages in Galilee, I will come to any of “ them, which you please, excepting Gabara, and Gif- “ chala; the one of which is John’s native city, and “ the other in confederacy and friendship with him.”

46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they wrote me no more answers, but called a council of their friends; and, taking John into their consultation, considered by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee. For that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that was at variance with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me, as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city Jerusalem; that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me would desert me, out of fear. When John had given them this counsel; what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night; by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them; but now deserted them, and came over to me, and told me what they were about. So I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred armed men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me; especially such as were caught with letters about them. I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee; to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jerusalem; and gave him a charge, to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds, upon the place, but to send me the letters.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, to take their arms, and bring three days provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also divided those that were about me into four parts; and ordained those that were most faithful to me, to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions,



and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now on the fifth day following, when I was in Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me. Many others of the multitude also out of the village ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and begun to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them [for their affection to me,] I also advised them to \* fight with no body, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with the sustenance they had brought with them. For I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass that, on the very same day, those who were sent by John with letters fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads. So the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were; but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a word of these matters to any body.

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, a large castle, not unlike a citadel. So they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the doors but one; and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. They had given orders to the armed men, that when I came, they should let no body besides me come in; supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power. But they were deceived in their expectation. For I perceived what snares they had laid for me. As

\* Josephus's directions to his soldiers here, are much the same that John the Baptist gave, Luk. iii. 14. *Do violence to no man; neither accuse any falsely: and be content with your wages.* Whence Dr. Hudson confirms his conjecture, that Josephus, in some things, was, even now, a follower of John the Baptist: which is no way improbable.

soon as therefore I was got off my journey, I took up my lodging over against them, and pretended to be asleep; which Jonathan and his party believing, made haste to go down into the plain; to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise. For, upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately; declaring their good opinion of me as their governor. And they made a clamour against Jonathan, and his partners, for coming to them, when they had suffered no harm, and would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again. For that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I went myself down presently, without fear, to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude; and a cry in my commendation by them; who confessed their thanks was owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives; lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on my account. So they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off, for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered therefore the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations; and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their [former] letter, and after what manner they had written to me; and declared they were sent by the common consent of the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John; and how they desired me to come to them. And as I spake thus, I publickly shewed that letter they had written, till they could not deny what they had

done; the letter itself convicting them. I then said,  
 “ O Jonathan, and you that are sent with him as his  
 “ colleagues; if I were to be judged as to my beha-  
 “ viour, compared with that of John, and had brought  
 “ no more than \* two or three witnesses, good men and  
 “ true, 'tis plain you had been forced, upon the exa-  
 “ mination of their characters beforehand, to discharge  
 “ the accusations. That therefore you may be inform-  
 “ ed 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 decency, and after a virtuous manner among  
 “ them. And I farther conjure you, O Galileans, to  
 “ hide no part of the truth; but to speak before these  
 “ men, as before judges, whether I have in any thing  
 “ acted otherwise than well.”

50. While I was thus speaking, the voices of all the people joined and called me their benefactor and saviour; and attested to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter. And they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan, and his colleagues; and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant, than a governor, against them. With many other things, which were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed the multitude, how I came by these letters; and that those who carried them

\* We here learn the practice of the Jews, in the days of Josephus, to inquire into the characters of witnesses, before they were admitted; and that their number ought to be three, or two at the least: exactly as in the law of Moses, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, II. 37.

† This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans, by Josephus; and the testimony they gave him of integrity in his conduct, as their governor; is very like that appeal and testimony in the case of the Prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 1-5, and perhaps was done by Josephus in imitation of him.

delivered them up voluntarily. For I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set; lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

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 this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, that "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go; although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence. Yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men. For I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the publick welfare. But the multitude were too angry to be dissuaded; and went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me, to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara. This stratagem I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin a civil war amongst them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make an halt; and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled: I also gave order that an hundred principal men, who were already in years, should get themselves ready to go to the city Jerusalem, and make a complaint before the people of such as raised seditions in the country. I said to them, that "In case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart." When I had suggested these instructions to them, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled. I

also sent five hundred armed men with them, [as a guard.] I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country : for Samaria was already under the Romans ; and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through that country. For in that road you may, in three days time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee ; and set guards in the roads, that it might not easily be known by any one that these men were gone, and went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John back to Gischala ; but went themselves to the city Tiberias ; expecting it would submit itself to them. And this was founded on a letter which Jesus the governor had written them ; promising that, if they came, the multitude would receive them, and chose to be under their government. They went with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this ; and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly I complied with his advice immediately ; and came thither, but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion. Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias ; and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me. But when they 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 an happy man, in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee ; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me. For they said, that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow-citizens ; and they said farther, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them, rather than John's ; and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they staid that they might deliver up John into my power. And when they said this, they took their oaths of it ; and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they de-  
fired

fired me to lodge somewhere else; because the next day was the sabbath; and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day.]

54. So I suspected nothing, and went to Taricheæ; yet did I withal leave some to make enquiry in the city, how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me. I also set many persons all the way that led from Taricheæ to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day therefore they all came into the \* Proseucha. It was a large edifice, capable of receiving a great number of people. Thither Jonathan went in; and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out; and said openly, "O fellow citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom:" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came in, and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly: at which hour, our law requires us to go to dinner on sabbath days. So Jonathan, and his colleagues, put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning: accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I came from Taricheæ, and found the multitude already assembled in the Proseucha; but on what account they were gotten together, those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly,

\* It is worth noting here, that there was now a great Proseucha or place of prayer in the city Tiberias itself; though such Proseuche used to be out of cities, as the synagogues were within them. It also deserves our remark, that the Jews in the days of Josephus, used to dine at the sixth hour, or noon; and that in obedience to their notions of the law of Moses also.

they were in disorder. After which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which report Jonathan, and his colleagues, cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy, with a design to remove me out of the city, while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

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 careful of their security. I therefore went, but when I was at the place, finding not the least footsteps of any enemy, I returned as fast as ever I could; and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one that had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters, written to them from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come instantly to their assistance: that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day. And when the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they spake truth, and made a clamour against me, and said, I ought not sit still, but go to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said, (for I understood the meaning of Jonathan, and his colleagues) that I was ready to comply with what they proposed, and, without delay, to march to the war which they spake of. Yet did I advise them, at the same time, that since these letters declared, that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men, not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them. For, said I,

'tis not possible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude: so they compelled them to go forth to the war. Thus their designs were put into very much disorder, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their undertakings.

56. There was one, whose name was Ananias, wicked, and very mischievous: he \* proposed that a religious fast should be appointed the next day for all the people, who should come at the same hour to the same place, without any weapons; to make it manifest before God, that, while they obtained his assistance, they thought all those weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon therefore as we were gone home, Jonathan, and his colleagues, wrote to John, to come to them in the morning, with as many soldiers as he possibly could; for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all that they desired to do. When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous, and most faithful, to 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 breast-plate, and girded on my sword, so that it might be, as far as was possible, concealed; and came into the Proseucha.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me; for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt

\* One may here observe, that this lay Pharisee, Ananias, took upon him to appoint a fast at Tiberias, and was obeyed: though indeed it was not out of religion, but knavish policy.



down; [and] of that coined silver, and in whose possession they now were? This he said, to drive away time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that they might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, what is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan, and his colleagues, said, that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men; I understood that a tumult was going to arise; which being desirous to provoke, I said, "But if I have  
 " not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the  
 " public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will  
 " repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

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 shewing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change in the people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay, for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult. And as the people were crying out, that they would not leave me alone, there came one, and told Jesus, and his friends, privately, that John and his armed men were at hand. Whereupon Jonathan, and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance; (for had not this been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John) said, "O you people  
 " of Tiberias, leave off this inquiry about the twenty  
 " pieces of gold. Josephus hath not deserved to die for  
 " them; but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, to gain the dominion over  
 " them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon, and endeavoured to kill me. But as soon

as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

59. But as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. I was afraid of him, and turning aside, escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship; and embarked in it, and sailed over to Taricheæ. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them, after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. The Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry a while, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring from thence; for I told them, that it was best for them to act according to their determination: whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time also John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

60. Now in a few days those ambassadors whom we had sent back again, and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had used their endeavours that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters,

ters, I came to the village Arbela; where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem, at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues: and how much they hated them: and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country; as also what related to the order they had in writing, for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion.]

61. When they had received that letter, which greatly disturbed them, they sent for John, and the senators of Tiberias, with the principal men of the Gabarens; proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said, that it was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their trust; and that otherwise I would certainly fall upon them, which they pretended falsely I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem;] that I did not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the multitude are very mutable. This suggestion of John appearing the wisest advice, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to Jerusalem; and the other two should be left behind at Tiberias. They also took along with them an hundred soldiers for guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost

utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they about midnight fell among the guards I had set: who both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days, and pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias; and advised them to lay their arms aside, and dismiss their men home. But supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified, but contrived another stratagem. For I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men; divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lye still, as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand unto another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, (as did the others,) only four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and gave order, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately, while I myself lay with my soldiers in the view of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me so grossly, that they made a decent bier for me, and, standing about it, mourned over me in the way of sport. And I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour, upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

63. And now, being desirous to catch Simon and Joazar by a wile; I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, with many of their friends to guard them. For I said, I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Simon was deluded by his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar, suspecting snares were laid for him, stay'd behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him for his guard,

guard, I met him, and saluted him, with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me. But a little while afterward, I walked along with him, as though I would say something to him by himself; and when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and commanding my armed men to come down, I made an assault upon Tiberias. Now as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer; for my armed men were already fled away; I saw the posture of my affairs, and encouraging those that were with me, I pursued those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by the lake; and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberias thought that their city was taken by force; and threw down their arms for fear, and implored, with their wives and children, that I would spare their city. I was persuaded, and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they pursued them: while I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened; and promised that I would send him safe to Jerusalem; and withal, would give him provisions for his journey.

64. But on the next day, I brought ten thousand armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them, and sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done; and said they

they would amend what they had done amifs with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly I enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us. And when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it? And when he replied that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him punished with stripes; and threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered. And when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written an history concerning these affairs; as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and either out of ill-will, or goodwill, to some persons, relate falsehoods; these men do like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When therefore Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me; nay, could not speak truth even about his own country. Whence it is, that being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defence, and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. Let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such an one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men; not out of favour to them, but out of an author's own moderation. "How then comes it to pass, O Justus, "thou most sagacious of writers, (that I may address "myself to him, as if he were here present;) for so thou  
"boashest,

"boatest, that I and the Galileans have been the au-  
 "thors of that sedition which thy country engaged in,  
 "both against the Romans, and against the King?  
 "[Agrippa junior.] For before I was appointed go-  
 "vernor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem,  
 "both thou and all the people of Tiberias had not on-  
 "ly taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis  
 "of Syria. Thou hadst ordered their villages to be  
 "burnt, and a domestick servant of thine fell in the  
 "battle. Nor is it I only who say this, but so it is  
 "written in the commentaries of Vespasian the Empe-  
 "ror. As also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came  
 "clamouring to Vespasian at Ptolemais; and desired  
 "that thou, who wast the author [of that war,] might-  
 "est be brought to punishment. And thou hadst cer-  
 "tainly been punished at the command of Vespasian,  
 "had not King Agrippa, who had power given him  
 "to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of  
 "his sister Bernice, changed the punishment from death  
 "into a long imprisonment. Thy political admini-  
 "stration of affairs afterward do also clearly discover  
 "both thy other behaviour in life, and that thou wast  
 "the occasion of thy country's revolt from the Ro-  
 "mans: plain signs of which I will produce presently.  
 "I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of  
 "the people of Tiberias, on thy account; and to de-  
 "monstrate to those that light upon this history, that  
 "you bear no good will either to the Romans or to  
 "the King. To be sure the greatest cities of Galilee,  
 "O Justus, were Sepphoris, and thy country Tiberias.  
 "But Sepphoris, situate in the very midst of Galilee,  
 "and having many villages about it, and able, with  
 "ease, to have been bold and troublesome to the Ro-  
 "mans, if they had so pleased, yet did resolve to con-  
 "tinue faithful to their masters, and at the same time  
 "excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all  
 "their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war.  
 "And that they might be out of danger from me,  
 "they, by a wile, got leave of me to fortify their ci-  
 "ty with walls. They also, of their own accord, ad-  
 "mitted

"mitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them  
 "by Cestius Gallus, who was then president of Syria;  
 "and so had me in contempt, though I was then very  
 "powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me. And at  
 "the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusa-  
 "lem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which  
 "belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under  
 "the enemies power, they sent no assistance thither, not  
 "being willing to have it thought they would bear arms  
 "against the Romans. But as for thy country, O  
 "Justus, situate upon the lake of Gennesareth, and  
 "distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara  
 "sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the  
 "King's jurisdiction, an hundred and twenty; when  
 "there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have  
 "preserved its fidelity [to the Romans] if it had so  
 "pleased them to do: for the city and its people  
 "had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayest, I was  
 "then the author [of their revolt.] And pray, O  
 "Justus, who was that author afterwards? For thou  
 "knowest that I was in the power of the Romans be-  
 "fore Jerusalem was besieged, before which Jotapata was  
 "taken by force, as well as many other fortresses, and  
 "a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was  
 "therefore then a proper time, when you was certainly  
 "freed from any fear on my account, to throw away  
 "your weapons, and to shew to the King, and the Ro-  
 "mans, that it was not of choice, but necessity, that  
 "you commenced the war against them. But you  
 "stay'd till Vespasian came himself as far as your  
 "walls with his whole army; and then you did, indeed,  
 "lay aside your weapons out of fear; and your city  
 "had for certain been taken by force, unless Vespasian  
 "had complied with the King's supplication for you,  
 "and had excused your madness. It was not I, there-  
 "fore, who was the author of this, but your own in-  
 "clinations to war. Do not you remember how often  
 "I got you under my power, and yet put none of you  
 "to death? Nay, you once fell into a tumult one  
 "against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-

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“ 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 ; while I was besieged by the  
 “ Romans in Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not  
 “ reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias,  
 “ during the siege of Jerusalem, some of which were  
 “ slain, and the rest caught and carried captives ? But  
 “ thou wilt pretend, that thou didst not engage in the  
 “ war, since thou didst flee to the King. Yes, indeed,  
 “ thou didst flee to him ; but I answer, it was out of  
 “ fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it is I who  
 “ am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it  
 “ that King Agrippa, who procured thee thy life, when  
 “ thou wast condemned to die by Vespasian, and who  
 “ bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice after-  
 “ wards put thee into bonds, and as often obliged thee  
 “ to run away from thy country ? and when he had  
 “ once ordered thee to be put to death, granted thee a  
 “ pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice. And when,  
 “ after so many of thy wicked pranks, he had made  
 “ thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epif-  
 “ tles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall  
 “ not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal a-  
 “ gainst thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence,  
 “ in saying that thou hast better related these affairs  
 “ [of the war] than have all the others that have writ-  
 “ ten about them ; whilst thou didst not know what  
 “ was done in Galilee, for thou wast then at Berytus  
 “ with the King ; nor didst thou know how much the  
 “ Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what  
 “ miseries they brought upon us ; nor couldst thou  
 “ learn, by inquiry, what I did during that siege my-  
 “ self : for all those that might afford such information  
 “ were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou  
 “ wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against  
 “ the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should  
 “ that be ? for neither wast thou concerned in that war,  
 “ nor hast thou read the Commentaries of Cesar, of  
 “ which we have evident proof, because thou hast con-  
 “ tradicted those Commentaries of Cesar in thy histo-  
 “ ry.

ry. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou  
“ hast written that history better than all the rest, why  
“ didst thou not publish thy history while the Emperors  
“ Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well  
“ as King Agrippa and his family, who were men very  
“ well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were alive?  
“ for thou hast had it written these twenty years; and  
“ then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy ac-  
“ curacy. But now when these men are no longer with  
“ us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted,  
“ thou ventur’st to publish it. I was not in like man-  
“ ner afraid of my own writing, I offered my books  
“ to the Emperors themselves, when the facts were al-  
“ most under mens eyes: for I was conscious to myself  
“ that I had observed the truth; and as I expected to  
“ have their attestation to them, so was I not deceived.  
“ Moreover, I immediately presented my history to  
“ many other persons, some of whom were concerned  
“ in the war, as was King Agrippa and some of his  
“ kindred. Now the Emperor Titus was so desirous  
“ that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken  
“ from these books alone, that he subscribed his own  
“ hand to them, and ordered that they should be pub-  
“ lished. And King Agrippa wrote me sixty-two let-  
“ ters, and attested to the truth of what I had deliver-  
“ ed; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and  
“ thou mayest thereby know their contents.” “ King  
“ Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greet-  
“ ing. I have read over thy book with great pleasure,  
“ and it appears to me that thou hast done it much  
“ more accurately, and with greater care than have the  
“ other writers. Send me the rest of these books.  
“ Farewell, my dear friend.” “ King Agrippa to Jo-  
“ sephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. It seems  
“ by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of  
“ no instruction, in order to our information from the  
“ beginning. However, when thou comest to me, I will  
“ inform thee of a great many things which thou dost  
“ not know.” So when this history was perfected,  
Agrippa, neither by way of flattery, which was not  
agreeable

agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind, wrote thus by way of attestation to what was true; as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning \* Justus, by way of digression.

66. When I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and assembled my friends as a sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do with John. It appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I should arm them, and march against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was not I pleased with their determination, purposing rather to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all that were under John: which, when they had done, and I 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 most advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, unless they threw down their arms, that I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to publick sale. 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 stay'd with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre. And when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country in great fear of me.

67. About this time the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would

\* 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 critick, Photius, who read that history. It shall be here set down presently, after this Life of Josephus, as it is in Havercamp's edition:

either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. Accordingly Gallus promised them to come; but did not send word when he would come. When I had learned so much, I took the foldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon Sepphoris, which I took by force. The Galileans seized this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for shewing their hatred to them and their city. They therefore attacked them with fury, and set their houses on fire, finding them without inhabitants; for the men, out of fear, had escaped to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled, and commanded them to leave off; and put them in mind, that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen. But since they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do, for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortations, I bid my friends who were most faithful, and about me, to give out reports as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the city with a great army, that I might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. At length this stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing it, they were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering, and ran away, more especially because they saw me, their general, do the same also: for that I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved.

68. Nay indeed Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also, upon the following occasion. The chief men of the senate wrote to the King, and 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 bed-chamber, whose name was Crispus, by birth a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew

that this man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to me. But as soon as the multitude heard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms, and coming from all quarters the next day to the city Asochis, where I then lodged, they made heavy clamours, 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 like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiberias had written to the King, and invited him to come to them. His letters to them, in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long while musing with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty; but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger; and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." This pacified the multitude, and they went their ways. And I gave orders that he who brought the King's letters should be put into bonds: but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to go out of the Kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the King. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skilful management.

70. About this time Justus, the son of Pistus, without my knowledge, ran away to the King. The occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people

ple of Tiberias resolved to submit to the King, and not revolt from the Romans. While Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms; being desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias.] Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for, because the Galileans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, on account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war. Thence it was that they would not endure that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been entrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity. So he went to the King, as supposing that he should dwell better and more safely with him.

71. Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprizing a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city; or else to send forces sufficient to repress their enemies incursions. At last they prevailed with Gallus to send them a considerable army of horse and foot; which came in the night time; and which they admitted into the city. But when the neighbouring country was harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisime, where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris. And when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I by night made an assault upon its walls with my forces. And when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman foot and two horse, 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, where we behaved gallantly

gallantly for a long time, we were beaten. For the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid and fled. There fell in that battle one of those that had been entrusted to guard my body, his name was Justus; who at this time had the same post with the King. At the same time also there came forces, both horse and foot, from the King; with Sylla their commander, who was the captain of his guard. This Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala; that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain, whose name was Jeremiah; he raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan; and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the bank, I provoked those that belonged to the King to come to battle; and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs, until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field. This was done accordingly. For Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was ready to pursue them. When our soldiers, that lay in ambush, attacked them in rear, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the King's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hindrance. For the horse upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground; and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village, named † Cepharnome. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so they did not go on with their pursuit, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physici-

† Or, Capernaum, so often mentioned in the New Testament.

ans; and while I was under their hand, I continued feverish that day; and, as they directed, I was at night removed to Taricheæ.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what had happened to me, they took courage: and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush, beyond Jordan; and when it was day provoked us to fight. And as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and made us run away, with the loss of six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last. For when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheæ, to Julius, they were afraid and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre; and King Agrippa with him. But the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the King; and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said, that Philip the general of his army had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he rebuked the Tyrians, for abusing a man who was both a King, and a friend to the Romans. But he exhorted the King to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. When Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero. For he found him very near death, on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; so he returned to the King. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire. So Vespasian delivered him to the King, to be put to death by those under the King's jurisdiction. Yet did the King [only] put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian; as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent them, with Placidus their commander. He also went  
up



## The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

up with them, as I also followed them; till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village Taricheæ, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and I was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed; with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem; these I have accurately related in the Books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related there.

75. When the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much care, by the means of the great respect that Vespasian shewed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a \* virgin; who was from among the captives of that country. Yet did she not live with me long; but was divorced, upon my being freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I married another wife at Alexandria; and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem; and was frequently in danger of being put to death. While both the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, to have me punished: and the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery; and made continual clamours to the Emperors, and desired that they would bring me to punishment, as a traitor. But Titus Cesar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers vehement solicitations against me. Moreover, when the city Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Cesar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would out of the ruins of my country. But when my coun-

\* Here Josephus, a priest, honestly confesses, that he did that at the command of Vespasian, which he had before told us was not lawful for a priest to do by the law of Moses; I mean the taking a captive woman to wife. But he seems to have been quickly sensible that his compliance with the command of an Emperor would not excuse him; for he soon put her away; as Reland justly observes here.

try was destroyed, I thought nothing else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities: so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty. I had also the \* Holy Books by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by permission of Titus; where there were a great multitude of captive women and children; I got all those that I remembered among my own friends and acquaintance, to be set free, in number about one hundred and ninety, without their paying any price of redemption; and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Cesar, with Cerealius, and a thousand horsemen, to a village called Thecoa, to know whether it was a place fit for a camp; as I came back, I saw many captives crucified: and remembering three of them, as my former acquaintance, I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them. So he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them in order to their recovery. Yet two of them died under the physicians hands, while the third recovered.

76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me in no profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterward to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him; and paid me great respect. And when we were come to Rome, I was highly honoured by Vespasian. For he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the Empire; bestowed on me the privilege of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension; and continued

\* Of this most remarkable clause, and its most important consequences, see *Essay on the Old Testament*, pag. 193. and the *IId* of my six *Dissertations*, 8vo. 1734.

## The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

equally to respect me to the end of his life. Which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger. For a certain Jew whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin. But when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent to the Emperor, he told him, that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian; who condemned him to die: according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judea. About which time I divorced my wife also; not pleased with her behaviour, though not till she had been the mother of three children, two of which are dead, and one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, a Jew by birth; a woman of eminent parents, the most illustrious in all the country; and whose character was beyond that of most other women: as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons; the elder's name was Justus, and the next Simonides, who was also named Agrippa. These were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. When Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me: for he punished those Jews that were my accusers; and gave command that a servant of mine, who was an eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea tax-free; which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it. Nay Domitia, the wife of Cesar, continued to do me kindnesses. This is the account of the actions of my whole life; let others judge of my character

ter by them as they please : but to thee, \* O Epaphroditus, thou most excellent of men, do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities ; and so, for the present, I here conclude the whole.

END of the LIFE of JOSEPHUS.

\* Of this Epaphroditus, see the Note on the Preface to the Antiquities and that which follows presently.

JUSTUS

JUSTUS of TIBERIAS'S  
 CHRONOLOGY  
 OF THE  
 KINGS of JUDAH:

Out of PHOTIUS'S BIBLIOTHECA, Cod. XXXIII.

" I HAVE read, says Photius, the chronology of  
 " Justus of Tiberias: whose title is this, [The  
 " Chronology of] the Kings of Judah, which suc-  
 " ceeded one another. This [Justus] was born at 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

\* These seven rulers of the family of Herod were, I suppose,

1. Herod the Great.
2. Archelaus, King, or Ethnarch of Judea.
3. Herod, King of Chalcis.
4. Herod Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee.
5. Philip, Tetrarch of Iturea, and Trachonitis.
6. Agrippa sen. King of Judea.
7. Agrippa jun. King, not properly in general of Judea; but once of the adjoining country of Chalcis; and afterward of Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, and Batanea, with some particular cities of Galilee, and having power over the temple of Jerusalem.

Of this Justus also, and of his writings, see Valesius's Note upon Eusebius's Hist. Eccles. III. 10. and Vossius de Historicis Græcis.

N. B. By this direct and undeniable testimony of Justus of Tiberias, who was long acquainted with this Agrippa jun. and ended his history with his death, in the 3d year of Trajan, or A. D. 100. and, by Josephus's account of his own Life, § 65. which was written, or at least finished after that year, as his words to Justus fully imply, "Why didst thou not publish thy history while "Vespasian and Titus and Agrippa, with his family, were alive?" we certainly learn that Agrippa was now dead, as well as Vespasian, and Titus. And that this 3d year of Trajan ought not to be corrected to the 3d year of Vespasian; as Bp. Pearson and Mr. Dodwell would have it; appears most evidently by the many coins of this Agrippa, joined with the heads of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and by one in particular with the head of Vespasian, and the express designation of the XXIXth year of Agrippa upon it: which reaches till near the end of Vespasian's reign; and is a demonstration against any such groundless emendation.

“ last King of the Jews : who received the government  
 “ under Claudius ; had it augmented under Nero ; and  
 “ still more so 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. His father’s name was Piftus : he was  
 “ a man, as he is described by Josephus, of a most  
 “ profligate character ; a slave both to money, and to  
 “ pleasures. In publick affairs he was opposite to Jo-  
 “ sephus ; and ’tis related that he laid many plots  
 “ against him ; but that Josephus, tho’ he had this his  
 “ enemy frequently under his power, only reproached  
 “ 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 Ro-  
 “ mans war with the Jews, and the taking of Jeru-  
 “ salem.”

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
JEWISH WAR:  
OR, HIS  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Destruction of JERUSALEM.

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BOOK I.

[From the taking of Jerusalem by ANTIOCHUS  
EPIPHANES; to the death of HEROD the  
Great : containing the Interval of 167 Years.]

P R E F A C E.

§ I. \* **W**HEREAS the war which the Jews made  
with the Romans hath been the great-  
est of all those, not only that have been  
in our times, but in a manner of those that ever were  
heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought  
against

\* I have observed more than once, that this history of the Jewish war  
was Josephus's first work, and published about A. D. 75. when he was but  
thirty eight years of age; and that when he wrote it he was not tho-  
roughly acquainted with several circumstances of history from the days of  
Antiochus Epiphanes, with which it begins, till near his own times, con-  
tained in the first and former part of the second book, and so committed many  
involuntary errors therein. That he published his Antiquities eighteen years  
after-



against cities, or nations against nations: and some men, who were not concerned in the affairs themselves, have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay; which they have written down after a sophistical manner: and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things; either out of a humour of flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomiums, but no where accurate facts; I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the \* upper barbarians: I Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth an 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, [am the author of this work.]

2. At the time when this great concussion happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews also who were for innovations then, arose when the times were disturbed: they were men of a flourishing condition for strength and riches. Inasmuch that the affairs of the east were then exceeding tumultuous; while some hoped for gain, and others were

afterward, in the 13th year of Domitian, A. D. 93. when he was much more completely acquainted with those antienter times; and after he had perused those most authentic histories, the first Book of Maccabees, and the Chronicles of the Priesthood of John Hyrcanus, &c. That accordingly he then reviewed those parts of this work, and gave the public a more faithful and accurate account of the facts therein related, and honestly corrected the errors he had before run into. The principal of these errors I have already noted, and corrected from the Antiquities, in my dissertation upon his Chronology. The reader is not therefore to expect here either such a series of chronology all along in the margin, as I have given in the Antiquities; or many observations and corrections in these Notes; but must consult those sections of that dissertation, and the notes upon the parallel places of the Antiquities.

\* Who these upper barbarians, remote from the sea, were, Josephus himself will inform us, § 2. viz. the Parthians and Babylonians, and remotest Arabians: [or the Jews among them] besides the Jews beyond Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, or Assyrians. Whence we also learn, that these Parthians, Babylonians, the remotest Arabians, [or at least the Jews among them:] as also the Jews beyond Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, or Assyrians, understood Josephus's Hebrew, or rather Chaldaick books of the Jewish war, before they were put into the Greek language.

afraid

afraid of loss in such troubles. The Jews hoped that all of their nation beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection, together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighbourhood of the Romans, were in motion; and the Celtæ were not quiet: but all was in disorder, after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power: and the soldiery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it therefore an absurd thing, to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it, but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions; while the Parthians, and Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war began, what miseries it brought, and after what manner it ended.

3. 'Tis true, these writers have the confidence to call their accounts Histories; wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to relate nothing that is found. For they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews; as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great, who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war; the multitude of the Roman forces, who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders; whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

4. However, I will not go into the other extreme, out of opposition to those men who extol the Romans, nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high. But I will prosecute the actions of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe; and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country. For that it was a seditious temper of our own that destroyed it; and that

they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple: Titus Cesar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness; who, during the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the seditious; and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants, or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country; let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules for writing history. Because our city Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government; and yet at last fell into the forest of calamities again. Accordingly it appears to me, that the \* misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to those of the Jews, are not so considerable as they were. While the authors of them were not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part; and the lamentations to the writer only.

5. However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Greeks; who when such great actions have been done in their own times, which, upon the comparison, quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs; and pass bitter censures upon the labours of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they intended to do. While these also write new histories about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the antient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done. Although these be as far inferior to them in abilities, as

\* That these calamities of the Jews, who were our Saviour's murderers, were to be the greatest that had ever been since the beginning of the world, our Saviour had directly foretold, Matt. xxiv. Mar. xiii. Luc. xxi. and that they proved to be such accordingly, Josephus is here a most authentic witness.

they are different in their notions. For of old every one took upon them to write what happened in his own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value; and where it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be known by the readers to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and condemnation. Now he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest; not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other mens works; but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own. Accordingly I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about this history,] though I be a foreigner; and to dedicate this work as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians. But for some of our own principal men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed presently, for gain and law suits; but 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 weaker people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us; how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

6. To write concerning the antiquities of the Jews; who they were [originally] and how they revolted from the Egyptians; what country they travelled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward; and how they were removed out of them: I think this not to be a fit opportunity; and on other accounts also superfluous, because many Jews before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly, as have some of the Greeks done also pretty exactly; and have translated our histories into their own tongue. But then, where the writers of these affairs, and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history. As to what

concerns that war which happened in my own time, I will go over it very largely, with all the diligence I am able. But for what preceded mine own age, that I shall run over briefly.

7. [For example, I shall relate,] how Antiochus, who was named Epiphanes, took Jerufalem by force, and held it three years and three months; and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Afamoneus. After that, how their posterity quarreled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romans, and Pompey: how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sotius upon them: as also how our people made a sedition after Herod's death, while Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quintilius Varus was in that country: and how the war brake out in the twelfth year of Nero; with what happened relating to Cestius: and what places the Jews assaulted in an hostile manner in the first sallies of the war.

8. As also, [I shall relate] how they built walls about the neighbouring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius's defeat, was in fear of the event; and thereupon made Vespasian general in this war: and how this Vespasian, with the elder of his sons, made an expedition into the country of Judea: what was the number of the Roman army that he made use off; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galilee: and how he took some of its cities entirely by force; and others of them by treaty, and on terms. When I am come so far, I shall describe the good order of the Romans in war, the discipline of their legions: the amplitude of both the Galilees; with its nature, and the limits of Judea. Besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country; the lakes and fountains that are in them: and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken: and all this with accuracy, as I saw the things done, or suffered in them. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

9. After this, [I shall relate] how, when the Jews affairs were become very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was called back to take the government upon him: what signs happened to him, relating to his gaining the empire; and what mutations of government then happened at Rome; and how he was unwillingly made emperor by the soldiers; and how, upon his departure to Egypt, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Jews became very tumultuous: as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and fell into dissensions amongst themselves.

10. Moreover, [I shall relate] how Titus marched out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how and where, and how many forces he got together; in what state the city was by the means of the seditions at his coming; what attacks he made, and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that encompassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple, and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar; and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and \* seven purifications of purity; and the sacred ministrations of the priests; with the garments of the Priests, and of the High Priests; and of the nature of the most holy place of the temple: without concealing any thing, or adding any thing to the known truth of things.

11. After this I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romans in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall distinguish also the sufferings of the people, and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sedition; and how far by the famine; and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to

\* These 7, or rather 5, degrees of purity or purification, are enumerated hereafter, V. 5. 6. The Rabbins make 10 degrees of them: as Reland informs us.

mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives: as also how the temple was burnt, against the consent of Cesar; and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the temple were snatched out of the fire: the destruction also of the entire city; with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking the tyrants captives; and the multitude of those that were made slaves; and into what different misfortunes they were every one distributed. Moreover, what the Romans did to the remains of the war; and how they demolished the strong holds that were in the country; and how Titus went over the whole country, and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

12. I have comprehended all these things in seven books; and have left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war; and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth; but not for those that please themselves [with fictitious relations.] And I will begin my account of these things, with what I call my first chapter.

### C H A P. I.

*How the city Jerusalem was taken, and the temple pillaged [by Antiochus Epiphanes.] As also concerning the actions of the Maccabees, Matthias, and Judas; and concerning the death of Judas.*

§ 1. **A**T the same time that Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy, about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition began among the men of power in Judea, about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias one of the High Priests, got the better; and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city. These fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king, being thereto disposed beforehand, complied, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force; and slew a great

great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy; and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation, for three years, and six months. But Onias, the High Priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the nomus of Heliopolis: where he built a little city, resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was \* like its temple; concerning which, we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied, either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swines flesh upon the altar. Against which they all opposed themselves; and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, 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 to avenge themselves.

3. Accordingly Matthias, the son of Asamoneus, one of the priests who lived at a village called Modin, armed himself with his own family, which had five of his sons in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy,] fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals. He beat and drove them out of Judea. By this

\* I see little difference in the several accounts in Josephus about this Egyptian temple Onion: of which large complaints are made by his commentators. Onias, it seems, hoped to have made it very like that at Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions. And so he appears to have really done, as far as he was able, and thought proper. Of this temple, see Antiq. XIII. and of the War, VII.



his success, he became the prince of his own people, by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

4. Now Judas supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans; and drove Epiphanes, with great slaughter, out of the country, when he had made a second expedition. 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 drove the soldiers into the lower city, which part of the city was called the citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices. And when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the Kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. So this Antiochus assembled fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and fourscore elephants; and marched through Judea into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethfura, a small city. But at a place called Bethzacharias, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother, Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemy's troops, got up to the elephant; yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the King, by reason of his being so high. But still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death: having attempted great things, and shewed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; and had he proved to be Antiochus,

ochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke, than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action. Nay this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Judas] how the entire battle would end. 'Tis true that the Jews fought bravely for a long time, but the King's forces being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and stayed there but a few days, for he wanted provisions. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off to take their winter quarters in Syria.

6. After the King was departed, Judas was not idle. For as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals, at a village called Adasa. And being too hard for his enemies, and killing a great number, he was at last himself slain. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain also,

## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the successors of Judas, who were Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.*

§ 1. **W**HEN Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection with relation to his own people, and corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security. For the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and besides that, endeavoured to take off his friends; and caught Jonathan, by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemais, to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and

and put him in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews. But when he was afterwards driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simon managed the publick affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia, cities in his neighbourhood. He also vanquished the garrison and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes. Yet could not he make the King ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho. For it was not long e'er Antiochus sent Cendebeus, his general, with an army to lay waste Judea, and subdue Simon. Yet he, though he were now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army with him, and fell upon him from another quarter. He also laid a great many men in ambush, in many places of the mountains; and was superior in all his attacks upon them. And when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made High Priest; and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after one hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Seleucus.]

3. This Simon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy; who put his wife and two sons into prison; and sent some persons to kill John, who was also \* called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made haste to get to the city, having a very great confidence in the people, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and

\* Why this John, the son of Simon, the High Priest and Governor of the Jews, was called Hyrcanus, Josephus nowhere informs us. Nor is he called other than John at the end of the first book of the Maccabees. However, Sixtus Senensis, when he gives us an epitome of the Greek version of the book here abridged by Josephus, or of the Chronicles of this John Hyrcanus then extant, assures us that he was called Hyrcanus from his conquest of one of that name.

of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate, but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted Hyrcanus. So he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were above Jericho, which was called Dagon. When Hyrcanus had received the High Priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations.] For when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods, in every body's sight; and threatened that unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong. At which sight Hyrcanus's concern was too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries she suffered to spare the wretch, since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy, than to live never so long; provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this; when he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he renewed his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on; for the Jews rest every seventh year, as they do on every seventh day. On this year therefore Ptolemy was freed from being besieged; and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotylas, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.

5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus.

Hyrchanus. But Hyrchanus opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all Kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money; and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. He was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries.

6. However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and gave Hyrchanus an opportunity of being revenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, thinking, what proved to be the case, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighbourhood; as also Sechem and Gerizzim: and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Chutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem. He also took a great many other cities of Idumea, with Adoreon, and Mariffa.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the King, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine prevailed, and they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, to come to their assistance. He got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus. And indeed he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall: and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

8. But then these successes of John, and of his sons, made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together, and  
would

would not be at rest till they brake out into open war. In which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and managed the government after a most extraordinary manner, for thirty-three entire years together. He died leaving five sons. He was certainly a very happy man; and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He had three of the most desirable things in the world, the government of his nation, the High Priesthood, and the gift of Prophecy; for the Deity conversed with him; and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward; infomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the government. It will highly deserve our narration, to describe their catastrophe; and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

## C H A P. III.

*How Aristobulus was the first that put a diadem about his head; and after he had put his mother and brother to death, died himself, when he had reigned no more than a year.*

§ 1. **A**FTER the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a Kingdom; and was the first that put a diadem about his head, four hundred seventy and one years and three months, after our people came down into this country, when they were set free from the Babylonian slavery. Of his brethren he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and made him his equal. The rest, he bound and put in prison. He also cast his mother into bonds, for her contesting the government with him. For John had left her to be the governess of the publick affairs: and proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.

2. But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the Kingdom. For he slew him by the means

means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first indeed Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of the relators. However, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened in those days that Aristobulus was sick, and that at the conclusion of the feast Antigonus came up to it with his armed men about him, when he was adorned in the finest manner possible, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now at this very time these ill men came to the King, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, which was too great for a private person; and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him: for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to take the Kingdom himself.

3. Now Aristobulus by degrees and unwillingly gave credit to these accusations. Accordingly he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents, by placing the guards of his body in a certain dark subterranean passage. For he lay sick in a place called formerly the citadel, though afterwards its name was changed to Antonia: and he gave orders that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armour, they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand, that he should come unarmed. But upon this occasion the Queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin. For she persuaded those that were sent, to conceal the King's message, but to tell Antigonus how his brother had heard he had got a very fine suit of armour, made with fine martial ornaments in Galilee; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his  
armour;

armour; because, said he, in a little time thou art going away from me.

4. As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temper of his brother not allowing him to suspect any harm from him, he came along with his armour on, to shew it his brother. But when he was going along that dark passage, which was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards; and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection; and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

5. And truly any one would be surprized at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essens, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, they being not a few who attended upon him as his scholars: "O strange! said he, it is good for me  
" to die now, since truth is dead before me; and some-  
" what that I have foretold hath proved false. For this  
" Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died  
" this day; and the place where he ought to be slain,  
" according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower;  
" which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from  
" this place; and yet four hours of this day are over  
" already; which point of time renders the prediction  
" impossible to be fulfilled." And when the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But in a little time news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the sea side. This ambiguity caused the prophet's disorder.

6. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, which gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. His soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And as one of those servants that attended him carried



out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain: and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place. And as the King heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it? And while no body durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter. At length, when he had threatened, and forced them to speak out, they told him. Whereupon he burst out into tears, and groaned, and said, "So I perceive  
 " I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as  
 " to the great crimes I have committed: but the ven-  
 " geance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hasti-  
 " ly. O thou most impudent body, how long wilt  
 " thou retain a soul that ought to die on account of that  
 " punishment it ought to suffer 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 ghosts no longer be disappointed by a  
 " few parcels of my bowels offered to them." As soon as he had said these words, he died, having reigned a year.

#### C H A P. IV.

*What actions were done by Alexander Janneus, who reigned twenty-seven years.*

§ I. **A**ND now the King's wife loosed the King's brethren, and made Alexander King; who was both elder, and appeared more moderate in his temper than the rest. When he came to the government, he slew the one of his brethren, as affecting to govern; but had the other of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with publick affairs.

2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, who had taken

taken the city Asochis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it; as also he did Amathus, which was the strongest of all the fortresses that were about Jordan; and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Whereupon Theodorus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself, as well as the King's baggage, and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned his force towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia and Gaza, with Anthedon, which was afterwards called Agrippias by King Herod.

3. But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival. At those feasts seditions are generally begun; and he had not been able to escape the plot laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Pisidians and Cilicians assisted him. The Syrians he never admitted among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia. And when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadites and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Amathus. And as Theodorus was surprized at his great success, he took the fortress and demolished it.

4. However, when he fought with Obodas, King of the Arabians, who had laid an ambush for him near Golan, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels. And when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to rise against him, on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them; and in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer

than fifty thousand in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but consume his own Kingdom; till at length he left off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a composition with his subjects. But this irregularity of conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them why they so hated him? and what he should do to appease them? they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them: and as he readily complied with their request, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined those their auxiliaries about Shechem.

5. Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horse, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favoured him, to the number of ten thousand. While the adverse party 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. While Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him; and Alexander hoped to prevail on the Jews that were with Demetrius to desert. But since neither the Jews would be appeased, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to a close engagement; in which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries performed the greatest exploits. Yet did the consequence of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them. For neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them, continue firm to him, though he were conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition; when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs, but supposing that Alexander was already become a match for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run in to him, he abandoned the country.

6. How-

6. However, the rest of the [Jewish] multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with him, when the [foreign] auxiliaries were gone; but waged a perpetual war with Alexander; until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Bemefelis; which when he had demolished, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage proceeded to a degree of impiety. For when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw, as he was drinking, and lying with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprize seized on the people, that eight thousand of his opposers fled, the very next night, out of Judea; nor returned till after Alexander's death. So at last, with great difficulty, he procured quiet to his Kingdom.

7. Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the \* last of the race of the Seleucidæ. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians. So he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa. He also erected an high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus; for he burnt the towers, filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander, for endeavouring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians. Whose King retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy; and then on the sudden made his horse turn back, in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus's army, while they were in disorder. A terrible battle ensued; Antiochus's troops, so long as he was alive, fought it out; although a

\* Josephus here calls this Antiochus the last of the Seleucidæ; although there remained still a shadow of another King of that family, Antiochus Asiaticus, or Commagenus, who reigned, or rather lay hid, till Pompey quite turned him out: as Dean Aldrich here notes, from Appian and Justin.

mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians; but when he fell, for he was in the front, in the utmost danger, in rallying his troops, they all gave ground; and the greatest part of his army was destroyed, either in the action, or in the flight. The rest, who fled to the village of Cana, were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

8. About this time the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, invited Aretas [to take the government;] and made him King of Celefyria. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle; but afterward retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions. And when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the valley of Antiochus, besides which he took the strong fortress of Gamala; and stripped Demetrius, who was governor, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge; and then returned to Judea; after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation; because of the good success he had had. So when he was at rest from war, he fell into a quartan ague: and supposed that by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of his distemper. But by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died therefore in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.



## C H A P. V.

*Alexandra reigns nine years: during which time the Pharisees were the real rulers of the nation.*

§ 1. **A**lexander left the Kingdom to Alexandra his wife, expecting that the Jews would now very readily submit to her; because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with; had opposed his violation of their laws; and had thereby got the good-will of the people. Nor was he mistaken, for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety. For she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country; and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hircanus, the elder, High Priest, on account of his age, and of his unactive temper. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her, as a private person; by reason of the warmth of his temper.

2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of Jews, that appear more religious than others; and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree; as herself a woman of great piety toward God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little; and became themselves the real administrators of the publick affairs; they banished and reduced whom they pleased: they \* bound and loosed [men] at their pleasure. And to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority; while the expences and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs; and increased the army the one half; and procured a great body of foreign troops; till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but ter-

\* Here we have the oldest and most authentick Jewish exposition of binding and loosing, for punishing or absolving men; not for declaring actions lawful or unlawful, as some more modern Jews and Christians vainly pretend.

rible also to foreign potentates. While she governed other people, the Pharisees governed her.

3. Accordingly they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander; accusing him as having assisted the King with his advice, for crucifying the eight hundred men [before-mentioned.] They also prevailed with Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated her against them. She was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and they slew whom they pleased themselves, but the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus; who persuaded his mother to spare the men, on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent. So they were suffered to go unpunished; and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretence that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it without any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, King of Armenia; who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged \* Cleopatra; by agreements and presents to go away. Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestick tumults, which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia.

4. In the mean time Alexandra fell sick; and Aristobulus, her younger son, took hold of this opportunity, with his domesticks, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends, on account of the warmth of their youth; and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them to assemble a number of mercenary soldiers;

\* Strabo, XVI. pag. 1740. relates, that this Selene Cleopatra was besieged by Tigranes; not in Ptolemais, as here; but after she had left Syria, in Seleucia, a citadel in Mesopotamia; and adds, that when he had kept her a while in prison, he put her to death. Dean Aldrich supposes here that Strabo contradicts Josephus; which does not appear to me. For although Josephus says both here, and in the Antiquities, XIII. 16. 4. that Tigranes besieged her now in Ptolemais; and that he took the city the Antiquities inform us; yet does he no where intimate that he now took the Queen herself. So that both the narrations of Strabo and Josephus may be true.

and made himself King. And besides this, upon Hyrcanus's complaint to his mother, she compaffionated his case; and put Aristobulus's wife and fons under restraint in Antonia; which was a fortrefs that adjoined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have already faid, of old called the citadel; but afterward got the name of Antonia, when Antony was lord [of the east:] juft as the other cities Sebaste, and Agrippias, had their names changed; and these given them, from Sebastus\*, and Agrippa. But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus, for his disinheriting his brother, after she had reigned nine years. \* Augustus.

## C H A P. VI.

*When Hyrcanus, who was Alexander's heir, receded from his claim of the crown, Aristobulus is made King; and afterward the same Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, is brought back by Aretas. At last Pompey is made the arbitrator of the dispute between the brothers.*

§ 1. **N**OW Hyrcanus was heir to the Kingdom: and to him did his mother commit it before she died. But Aristobulus was superior to him in power, and magnanimity. And when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the Kingdom, near Jericho, the greatest part deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus. But Hyrcanus, with those of his party who staid with him, fled to Antonia; and got into his power the hostages that might be for his preservation. (Which were Aristobulus's wife with her children.) So they came to an agreement before things were brought 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. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced in a very kind manner; while the people stood round about them. They also changed their houses; while Aristobulus went to the royal palace; and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.



2. Now those other people which were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid, upon his unexpected obtaining the government; and especially this concerned \* Antipater, whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by birth an Idumean, one of the principal of that nation, on account of his ancestors, and riches, and other authority to him belonging. He also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Aretas, the King of Arabia; and to lay claim to the Kingdom. As also he persuaded Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to bring him back to Judea. 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 afford his assistance to such as are injured. Alledging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to do what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the city; and continuing his flight with great swiftness, he escaped to the place called Petra; which is the royal seat of the King of Arabia; where he put Hyrcanus into Aretas's hand; and by discoursing much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army, that might restore him to his Kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand foot and horse; against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance; but was deserted in his first onset, and driven to Jerusalem. He also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come, and seasonably interposed, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria, from Armenia, by Pompey the Great; when he fought against Tigranes. So Scaurus came to Damascus; which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius; and caused them to leave the place. And upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

\* That this Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, was an Idumean, as Josephus affirms here, see the Note on Antiq. XIV. 15. 2.

3. As soon therefore as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance. But Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause. Which sum, when Scaurus had received, he sent an herald to Hyrcanus, and the Arabians; and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans, and of Pompey, unless they would raise the siege. Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia; as did Scaurus return to Damascus. Nor was Aristobulus satisfied with escaping [out of his brother's hands;] but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them, at a place called Papyron, and slew above six thousand; and, together with them, Antipater's brother Phalion.

4. When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries. And because Pompey \* had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance. And, † without any bribes, made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas; and besought him to hate the violent behaviour of Aristobulus; and to bestow the kingdom on him to whom it justly belonged; both on account of his good character, and on account of his superiority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself in this case; nor relied on the bribes that Scaurus had received. He was also there himself, adorned after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner; and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

\* Here Dean Aldrich refers us to the many writers of the affairs of Pompey, concerning this his expedition into Syria.

† It is somewhat probable, as Havercamp supposes, and partly Spanheim also, that the Latin copy is here the truest; that Pompey did take the many presents offered him by Hyrcanus, as he would have done the others, from Aristobulus, § 6. Although his remarkable abstinence from the 2000 talents that were in the Jewish temple, when he took it a little afterward, will hardly permit us to desert the Greek copies; all which agree that he did not take them.

5. At this behaviour, Pompey had great indignation. Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercession to Pompey. So he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by Pella, and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea, where you enter into the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the mediterranean parts, he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandrium, a strong hold, fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situate upon an high mountain: he sent to him, and commanded him to surrender. Now his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle, since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the people were in great fear; and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible. So he complied with their advice, and came down to Pompey: and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again [to plead his cause,] he came down, and spake about the justness of it, and then went away, without any hindrance from Pompey. So he was between hope and fear: and when he came down, it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely; and when he went up to the citadel, it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own hand-writing. He did what he was ordered to do, indignant at what was done; and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.

6. But Pompey did not give him time to make any preparations [for a siege,] but followed him at his heels. He was also obliged to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates; of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country  
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of Judea, which bears a vast number of \* palm-trees : besides the balsam tree; whose sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hasted away the next morning to Jerusalem. But Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him, by way of supplication. He also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself, and the city, into his disposal; and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

## C H A P. VII.

*How Pompey had the city Jerusalem delivered up to him; but took the temple [by force.] How he went into the Holy of Holies: as also what were his other exploits in Judea.*

§ 1. **A**T this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody; and when he came near to the city, began to consider where he might make his attack. He saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them; and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall. Insomuch, that if the city were taken, that temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

2. Now as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city. Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty; while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey. The dread people were in, occasioned these last to be very numerous; when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers

\* Of the famous palm-trees and balsam about Jericho and Engaddi, see the Notes in Havercamp's edition, both here, and II. 9. 1. They are somewhat too long to be transcribed in this place.

were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together; and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost. But as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into that palace, with an army; who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation. He then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favour their attacks; having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

3. But Pompey himself filled up the ditch, that was on the north side of the temple, and the entire valley: the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was an hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth; especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from their superior situation. Nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavours, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days; on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work, on a religious account; and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days. For the Jews only acted defensively on sabbath days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down. And the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away. But the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance; and were indeed extraordinary, both for largeness, and magnificence.

4. Now here it was that, upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire, not only at the other instances of the Jews fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides. For as if the city were in  
full

full peace, their daily sacrifices, and purifications, and every branch of their religious worship was still performed to God, with the utmost exactness. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the worship appointed by their law. It was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could, even with great difficulty, overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the wall, was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sylla; after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius; and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own, who encompassed the Jews on all sides, and slew them: some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple; and others, as they, for a while, fought in their own defence.

5. And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance, go on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink offerings, and burning their incense, as preferring their worship to God before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of the adverse faction; and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices. Nay some were so distracted, among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but the Romans lost very few; but a greater number was wounded.

6. There was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers. For \* Pompey, and those that were about him, went into the temple itself; whither it was not lawful for any to enter, but the High Priest; and saw what was repositied therein; the candlestick,

\* Thus, says Tacitus, Cn. Pompeius first of all subdued the Jews, and went into their temple, by right of conquest. Hist. V. 9. Nor did he touch any of its riches; as has been observed on the parallel place of the Antiquities, XIV. 4. 4. out of Cicero himself.

with

with its lamps; and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers; all made entirely of gold; as also a great quantity of spices heaped together; with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did he not touch that money, nor any thing else that was there reposed. But commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it; and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus High Priest; as one that not only in other respects had shewed great alacrity on his side, during the siege; but as he had been the means of hindring the multitude, that was in the country, from fighting for Aristobulus; which they were otherwise very ready to have done. By which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Among the captives, Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle. So those that were the most guilty he punished with beheading; but rewarded Faustus, and those with him, that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents; and laid a tribute upon the country, and upon Jerusalem itself.

7. He also took away from the nation all those cities that they had formerly seized on, and that belonged to Cœsaryia; and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there; and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt \* Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freedmen. He also made other cities free from their dominion, that lay in the midst of the country; such, I mean, as they had not demolished before that time. Hippos, and Scythopolis: as also Pella and Samaria, and Marissa; and, besides these, Ashdod and Jamnia, and Arethusa: and in like manner dealt he with the maritim cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora; and that which was antiently called Strato's Tower; but was afterwards rebuilt, with most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to Cæsarea, by king Herod.

\* The coin of this Gadara still extant, with its date from this Æra, is a certain evidence of this its rebuilding by Pompey, as Spanheim here assures us.

All which he restored to their own citizens; and put them under the province of Syria. Which province, together with Judea, and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scarus, as their governor; and gave him two legions to support him. While he made all the haste he could himself to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome. Having Aristobulus, and his children along with him, as his captives. They were two daughters, and two sons. The one of which sons, Alexander, ran away, as he was going; but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who ran away from Pompey, makes an expedition against Hyrcanus, but being overcome by Gabinius, he delivers up the fortresses to him. After this 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. **I**N the mean time Scarus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Pella. Though even there he was under great hardship; for his army was afflicted with famine. To supply which want, Hyrcanus afforded him assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater. Whom also Scarus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia\* complied with the proposal; and gave him three hundred talents. Upon which Scarus drew his army out of Arabia.

\* Take the like attestation to the truth of this submission of Aretas, king of Arabia, to Scarus the Roman general, in the words of Dean Aldrich: "Hence, says he, is derived that old and famous Denarius, belonging to the Emilian family, [represented in Havercamp's edition] wherein Aretas appears in a posture of supplication; and taking hold of a camel's bridle with his left hand, and with his right hand presenting a branch of the frankincense tree: with this inscription; M. SCAURUS EX S. C. and beneath, REX ARETAS."



2. Alexander, that son of Aristobulus who ran away from Pompey, in some time got a considerable band of man together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea; and was likely to overturn him quickly; and indeed he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent as successor to Scarus into Syria, shewed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander. Who as he was afraid that he would attack him, so he got together an army of ten thousand armed foot, and fifteen hundred horse. He also built walls about proper places; Alexandrium, and Hyrcanium, and Macherus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

3. However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius; and followed himself with his whole army. But for the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the commands of Malichus and Pitholaus, these joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander. To which body came Gabinius, with his main army, soon afterward. And as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight; and lost six thousand men in the battle: three thousand of which were slain, and three thousand taken alive: with the remainder, he fled to Alexandrium.

4. When Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, because he found a great many there encamped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offences, to induce them to come over to him, before it came to a fight. But when they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut up a great number in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized himself in this battle: who, as he always shewed great courage, so did he never shew it so much as now. But Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those  
that

that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunctions, the following cities were restored; Scythopolis, and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Jamnia, and Raphia, and Marissa, and Adoreus, and Gamala, and Ashdod, and many others. While a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

5. When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandrium, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in; and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Macherus: as he put Alexandrium into his hands afterwards. All which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war. She was now there, to mollify Gabinius, out of her concern for her husband, and her other children that were captives at Rome. After this Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be by an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions: assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara, that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was allotted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. The people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government; and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, and such as had born an affection to him of old. And when he had taken Alexandrium, he attempted to build a wall about it. But as soon as \* Gabinius had sent an army against him, under Sisenna, and Antoni.

\* This history is confirmed by Dio-Cassius, XXXIX. pag. 117. excepting his mistake, as though Gabinius were now in Judea, before he went down into Egypt; and as if he subdued Aristobulus by his own labours. Which it hence appears he did not by himself, but by his three lieutenants only, Sisenna, Antonius, and Servilius.

us, and Servilius, he retreated to Macherus. The unprofitable multitude he dismissed; and only marched on with those that were armed, to the number of eight thousand. Among whom was Pitholaus, who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men. So the Romans followed him: and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus's party, for a long while, fought courageously; but at length they were overborn by the Romans. Five thousand were killed, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill; but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus brake thro' the Roman army, and marched together to Macherus. And when the king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war should but cease a while. Accordingly he fortified that strong hold, tho' it were done after a poor manner: but the Romans falling upon him, he bravely resisted for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome. From Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. The senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to Judea; because Gabinius informed them by letters, that he had promised Aristobulus's mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

7. But now, as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy; whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt; making use of Hyrcanus, and Antipater, to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition: for Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries. He also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the defiles at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius's absence, the other part of Syria was in motion; and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, brought the Jews to a revolt again. Accordingly he got together a very great army, and began to kill all the Romans that were in the country: hereupon Gabinius was afraid; (for he was obliged to come back already out of Egypt,  
by

by these tumults) and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight. Accordingly Gabinius went out to fight, when the Jews met him; and as the battle was fought near mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain; the rest dispersed, and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it. Thence he marched, and fought, and beat the Nabateans. Mithridates and Orfanes, who fled out of Parthia, he sent away privately; but gave it out among the soldiers, that they had run away.

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 of Jerusalem, to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents, which Pompey had not touched. But when he had passed over Euphrates, he perished, and his army with him. Concerning which affairs, this is not a proper time to speak [ntore largely.]

9. But now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians; who were marching to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province. And when he had taken possession of the same, he made an hasty march into Judea: and upon his taking Taricheæ, carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pitholaus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus; and it was Antipater who advised him so to do. This Antipater married a wife, of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was Cypros; and had four sons born to him by her. Phasaelus, and Herod, who was afterward king; and besides these, Joseph, and Pheroras. And he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now as he made himself friends among the men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and by the hospitable manner that he treated them; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation: insomuch that when he made war with Aristobulus, he entrusted his children with him. So when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms,

and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, to prevent the Parthians from repassing it. Concerning which matter \* we shall speak elsewhere.

## C H A P. IX.

*Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey's friends: as is his son Alexander by Scipio. Antipater cultivates a friendship with Cesar, after Pompey's death; he also performs great actions in that war, wherein he assisted Mithridates.*

§ 1. **U**PON the flight of Pompey, and of the senate, beyond the Ionian Sea, Cesar got Rome and the Empire under his power; and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him; and sent him in haste unto Syria; as hoping, that, by his means, he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity; and the hopes of Cesar. For he was taken off by poison, given him by those of Pompey's party; and for a long while he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground,] preserved in honey: until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, to be buried in the royal sepulchres.

2. His son Alexander also was beheaded by Scipio, at Antioch, by the command of Pompey; upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the mischiefs he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was then ruler of Chalcis under Libanus, took his brethren to him, by sending his son Philippio for them to Ascalon. Who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's

\* Dr. Hudson supposes, that the words *we shall speak*, are to be blotted out; because in the parallel place of the Antiquities, XIV. 7. 3. the words are, "as others have declared." But I cannot agree to his emendation; since there are many more places in his present works, where Josephus refers to things as related in his writings, and yet not now extant. Possibly for *we shall speak*, he wrote, *we have spoken*, as in other cases. See the Note on Antiq. XII. 5. 2. But I chuse rather to follow the copies, than such uncertain conjectures.

wife;

wife ; and brought them to his father. And falling in love with the younger daughter, he married her ; and was afterward slain by his father on her account. For Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her ; whose name was Alexandra. On account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

3. After Pompey was dead, Antipater changed side ; and cultivated a friendship with Cesar. And since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the passes about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Ascalon ; he persuaded the Arabians among whom he had lived, to assist him ; and came himself to him at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to assist him ; as also the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy. By which means the cities of that country came readily into this war. Inſomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium. And when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city. In the attack of which place Antipater principally signalized himself. For he brake down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

4. Thus was Pelusium taken. But still as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Onias, stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army. On which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them ; but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians, at a place called the Jews Camp. Nay, when he was in danger in the battle, with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him ; for he had beaten those that opposed him, as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mi-

thridates; and slew a great many of them, and pursued the remainder so far, that he took their camp: while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men; as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly; and became an unrepachable witness to Cesar of the great actions of Antipater.

5. Whereupon Cesar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprizes for him; by giving him great commendations, and hopes of reward. In all which enterprizes he readily exposed himself to many dangers; and became a most courageous warrior; and had wounds almost all over his body, as demonstrations of his valour. When Cesar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes; and rendred him an object of admiration, by the honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On his account it was also that he confirmed Hyrcanus in the High Priesthood.

#### C H A P. X.

*Cesar makes Antipater procurator of Judea; as does Antipater appoint Phasaelus to be governor of Jerusalem, and Herod governor of Galilee. Who in some time was called to answer for himself [before the Sanhedrim.] Where he is acquitted. Sextus Cesar is treacherously killed by Bassus; and is succeeded by Marcus.*

§ 1. **A**BOUT this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Cesar; and became, in a surprizing manner, the occasion of Antipater's farther advancement. For whereas he ought to have lamented before Cesar, that his father appeared to have been poisoned, on account of his quarrels with Pompey; and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy: instead of these he accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, of having driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country;

of

of having acted in a great many instances unjustly, and extravagantly, with regard to their nation; and that as to the assistance they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done out of good-will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels; and to gain pardon for their friendship to his [enemy] Pompey.

2. Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and shewed the multitude of the wounds he had; and said, that "As to his good will to Cesar, he had no occasion to say a word; because his body cried aloud, tho' he said nothing. That he wonder'd at Antigonus's boldness; while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive; and had it by inheritance from his father to be fond of innovations, and seditions; that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavour to gain some advantage to himself; when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live. That the reason of his desire of governing publick affairs, was not so much because he was in want of it; but because, if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews; and use what he should gain from the Romans, to the disservice of those that gave it him."

3. When Cesar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the High Priesthood; and gave leave to Antipater to chuse what authority he pleased. But he left the determination to him that bestowed the dignity upon him: so he was constituted Procurator of all Judea; and obtained leave moreover to \*rebuild those walls of his country that had been demolished. These honorary grants Cesar sent orders to have engraved in the capitol; that they might stand there, as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

\* What is here noted by Hudson and Spanheim, that this grant of leave to rebuild the walls of the cities of Judea was made by Julius Cesar, not as here to Antipater, but to Hyrcanus, Antiq. XIV. 8. 5. has hardly an appearance of a contradiction. Antipater being now perhaps considered only as Hyrcanus's deputy, and minister. Although he afterwards made a cypher of Hyrcanus; and, under great decency of behaviour to him, took the real authority to himself.



4. As soon as Antipater had conducted Cesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. The first thing he did, was to rebuild that wall of his own country, [Jerusalem] which Pompey had overthrown: and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein. Where he partly threatned, and partly advis'd every one; and told them, that "in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably; and enjoy what they possessed, with universal peace and quietness. But in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes, by raising new troubles, to get themselves gain, they should then find him to be their lord, instead of their procurator; and Hyrcanus to be a tyrant, instead of a king; and both the Romans and Cesar to be their enemies, instead of rulers. For that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had made their governor." And at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself; because he saw that Hyrcanus was unactive, and not fit to manage the affairs of the Kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem, and of the parts about it: he also sent his next son, Herod, who was † very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

† Or 25  
years of  
age.

5. Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his spirit to work upon. As therefore he perceived that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, over-ran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the villages, and in the cities; as having procured their quietness, and having preserved what they possessed to them. On which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Cesar, a kinsman of the great Cesar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly he procured the good-will of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, by his

his own management of the city affairs; and did not abuse his power. Whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a King, and an absolute lord. Yet did not he abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6. However, he found it impossible to escape envy in his prosperity. For the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already, privately; tho' he said nothing of it to any body. But what he principally was grieved at, was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before another, and informed him of the reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself, who inflamed his envy at him: those I mean who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men, or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the publick affairs to the management of Antipater, and of his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a King, without any of its authority. And they asked him, how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up Kings against his own interest? For that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer; but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority: that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter; in contradiction to the law of the Jews. Who therefore, in case he be not a King, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country; which do not permit any one to be killed, till he hath been condemned in judgment.

7. Now Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed with these discourse, and at length could bear no longer, but summoned Herod to take his trial. Accordingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, and he had first placed garrisons there, he came to Jerusalem, attended with a sufficient  
body

body of foldiers, fo many indeed that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government, nor yet fo few as to expofe him to the infults of thofe that envied him. However, Sextus Cefar was in fear for the young man, left he fhould be circumvented by his enemies, and be brought to punifhment. So he fent fome to denounce exprefly to Hyrcanus, that he fhould acquit Herod of the capital charge againft him: who acquitted him accordingly; as being otherwife inclined alfo fo to do, for he loved Herod.

8. But Herod, fupposing that he had efaped punifhment without the confent of the King, retired to Sextus to Damafcus, and got every thing ready not to obey him if he fhould fummion him again. Whereupon thofe that were evil-difpofed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him. And as the King believed what they faid, he knew not what to do, fince he faw his antagonift was ftronger than he was himfelf. And now, fince Herod was made general of Celeftyria and Samaria, by Sextus Cefar, he was formidable, not only from the good-will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himfelf had, infomuch that Hyrcanus fell into the utmoft degree of terror, and expected he would prefently march againft him with his army.

9. Nor was he miftaken in the conjecture he made. For Herod got his army together, out of the anger he bare him for his threatening him with the accusation in a publick court, and led it to Jerufalem, to deprive Hyrcanus of the Kingdom. And this he had foon done, unlefs his father and brother had gone out together, and broken the force of his fury, by exhorting him to carry his revenge no farther than to threatening and affrighting, but to fpare the King, under whom he had been advanced to fuch a degree of power; and that he ought not to be fo much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor fo long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance. And if we ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of fucces in war,

war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than an army can be of advantage. That therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success, in a case where he is to fight against his King, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any otherwise than as he had hearkened to evil counsellors; and this no farther than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod prevailed upon, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough shewn his power to the nation.

10. In the mean time there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia; and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous \* slaughter of Sextus Cesar by Cecilius Bassus; which he perpetrated out of his good-will to Pompey. He also took the authority over his forces. But as the rest of Cesar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, to punish him for his murder of Cesar: Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of that Cesar who was still alive; both of whom were their friends. And as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came out of Italy as successor to Sextus.

## C H A P. XI.

*Herod is made procurator of all Syria. Malichus is afraid of him, and takes Antipater off by poison. Whereupon the tribunes of the soldiers are prevailed with to kill him.*

§ 1. **T**HERE was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans, upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Cesar, by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for † three years and

\* Many writers of the Roman history give an account of this murder of Sextus Cesar, and of the war of Apamia upon that occasion. They are cited in Dean Aldrich's note.

† In the Antiquities, XIV. the duration of the reign of Julius Cesar is three years six months; but here three years seven months; beginning rightly, says Dean Aldrich, from his second dictatorship. 'Tis probable the real duration might be three years and between six and seven months.

seven months. Upon this murder there were very mighty agitations; and the great men were vastly at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of advancing themselves. Accordingly Cassius came into Syria, to receive the forces that were at Apamia; where he procured a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him. So he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

2. He gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents. Whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, to be done immediately; and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also. Which necessity forced him to comply with. Now Herod, in the first place, bringing his share out of Galilee, which was an hundred talents, was in the highest favour with Cassius. And when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves. So he made slaves of Gophna and Emmaus, and two others of less note. Nay he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute. But Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities; and got into \*Cassius's favour by bringing in an hundred talents immediately.

3. However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him; making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle

\* It appears evidently by Josephus's accounts, both here and in his Antiquities, XIV. that this Cassius, one of Cesar's murderers, was a bitter oppressor, and exactor of tribute in Judea. These 700 talents amount to about 300,000 l. sterling; and are about half the yearly revenues of King Herod afterwards. See the note on Antiq. XVII. 11. 4. It also appears that Galilee then paid no more than a hundred talents, or the seventh part of the entire sum to be levied in all the country.

to his wicked practices. But Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man, that he went beyond Jordan to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs. But when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by by his impudence, for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelius, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod, who was entrusted with the weapons of war, by a great many excuses and oaths; and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to their father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus on account of his attempts for innovation.

4. Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the || younger Cesar, and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria. And because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they made him a procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over he would make him King of Judea. But it so happened, that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition. For as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the King's cup-bearers with money, to give a poisoned portion to Antipater. So he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man, in other respects, active in the management of affairs, and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands.

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and the multitude were angry at him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a greater figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet. Who indeed came upon him with an army presently, to revenge his father's death. But upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelius, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology,

apology, and professed that he cleared him of that suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

¶ Pentecost.

6. So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace. After which, at the ¶ festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having his armed men with him. Hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his approach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves. But Herod despised the pretence, and him that gave the command, and came in by night. Upon which Malichus visited him, and bewailed Antipater. Herod also made him believe [he admitted of his lamentation as real;] although he had much ado to restrain his passion. However, he did himself bewail the murder of his father, in his letter to Cassius: who, on other accounts also, hated Malichus. Cassius sent him word back, that he should avenge his father's death upon him; and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands; Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was an hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea. The despair he was in of escaping, excited him to think of greater things: for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony; and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

8. But fate laughed at the hopes he had. For Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper. But calling one of the principal servants that stood by him, to him, he sent him out as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand, about the  
plot

plot that was laid against him. Accordingly they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city, with their swords in their hands, upon the sea-shore; where they encompassed Malichus, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus was immediately affrighted, till he swooned away, and fell down at the surprize he was in; and it was with difficulty that he recovered; when he asked who it was that had killed Malichus? And when one of the tribunes replied, that it was done by the command of Cassius: "Then, said he, Cassius hath saved both me and my country, by cutting off one that was laying plots against both." Whether he spake according to his own sentiments, or whether his fear was such that he was obliged to commend the action by saying so, is uncertain. By this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

## C H A P. XII.

*Phasaelus is too hard for Felix: Herod also overcomes Antigonus in battle: and the Jews accuse both Herod and Phasaelus; but Antonius acquits them, and makes them tetrarchs.*

§ 1. **W**HEN Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might revenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus; and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness. In the mean time Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix; and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus's brother when he possessed himself of the fortresses: for he had gotten a great many of them already; and among them the strongest, Masada.

2. However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod; who, as soon as he was re-



covered, re-took the other fortresses, and drove him out of Masada, in the posture of a supplicant. He also expelled Marion, the tyrant of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places. But as to those Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and so sent them away: and thereby procured good-will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marion had indeed obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius; who \* set tyrants over all Syria. And out of his hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus: and principally on Fabius's account, whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money; and had him accordingly on his side, when he made his descent. But it was Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

3. When Herod had fought against these, in the passes of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle; and drove away Antigonus, and returned to Jerusalem, beloved by every body for the glorious action he had done. For 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, of whom he begat Antipater; so did he now marry Mariamne, † the daughter of Alexander the son of Aristobulus, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus; and was become thereby a relation of the King.

4. But when Cesar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Cesar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, among the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony unto Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that

\* Here we see that Cassius set tyrants over all Syria. So that his assisting to destroy Cesar does not seem to have proceeded from his true zeal for publick liberty, but from a desire to be a tyrant himself.

† This is right; for Alexandra was the daughter of Hyrcanus, the wife of Aristobulus, and the mother of Mariamne.

they

they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an honourable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation: and having made Antony his friend, by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper, as not to hear the others speak against him. And thus did they part at this time.

5. However, after this there came an hundred of the principal Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery. These Jews put those men that were the most potent, both in dignity and eloquence, foremost; and accused the || brethren. But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren; and that while Hyrcanus stood by him, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus which party were the fittest to govern? who replied, that Herod and his party were fittest. Antony was glad of that answer; for he had formerly been treated in an hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judea with Gabinius: so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs; and committed to them the government of Judea.

|| Phasaelus  
and Herod.

6. But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody; whom he was also going to kill presently: the rest he drove away with disgrace. On which occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem. So they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem. Upon these men, who made a clamour, he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them; and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

7. But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the sea-shore, and earnestly desired of these ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions. And when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and

wounded more of them. Of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus; as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him. Yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Parthians bring Antigonus back into Judea, and cast Hyrcanus and Phasaelus into prison. The flight of Herod, and the taking of Jerusalem: and what Hyrcanus and Phasaelus suffered.*

§ I. **T**WO years\* afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and Pacorus the King's son, had possessed themselves of Syria; and Lysanias had already succeeded upon his father Ptolemy, the son of Menneus's death, in the government [of Chalcis;] he prevailed with the governor, by the promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus, and to turn Hyrcanus out of the Kingdom. Pacorus was, by these means, induced so to do; and marched along the sea coast, while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country. But, of the maritime people, the † Tyrians would not receive Pacorus; although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him. So he committed a troop of his horse to a certain cup-bearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name [Pacorus,] and gave him orders to march into Judea, to learn the state of affairs among their ene-

\* Take Dean Aldrich's note here: "In the second year, (i. e. after Antony was come into Asia, and that at the persuasion of Labienus) Pacorus and Barzapharnes seized upon Syria. Ptolemy was also dead; and Lysanias, his son and successor, was entered into friendship with Antigonus. Barzapharnes united them, as in Antiq. XIV. 13. 3. After which Lysanias (as Josephus writes here) or Antigonus, (as in the Antiquities) i. e. they both joined their endeavours, and found means [by money, &c.] to induce the Parthians to undertake the restoration of Antigonus."

† This escape of the Tyrians from the Parthians, is confirmed by Dio, XLVIII, page 372. as Dean Aldrich observes here,

mies, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance.

2. Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus; and shewed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country. So he sent them before into that place called \* Drymus, [the wood land:] to seize upon the place. Whereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove the enemy away, and pursued them as far as Jerusalem. And as their numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the King's palace. But as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle 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 houses adjoining as a guard to them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burnt those men. While Herod, in his rage for their killing them, attacked and slew many of the people; till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes; and slaughters were made continually among them.

3. Now when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city was full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country; the greatest part of them armed also. At which time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a very great number, and put all the rest to flight: some he shut up within the city, and others within the outward rampart. In the mean time Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconciler between them. And Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthian into the city, with five hundred horse, and to treat him in an hospital manner; who pretended

\* This large and noted wood, or woodland, belonging to Carmel, called Δρυμὸς by the Septuagint, is mentioned in the Old Testament, 2 Kings xix. and II. xxxviii, and by Strabo, XVI. pag. 758. as both Aldrich and Spanheim here remark.

that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus. However, he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes; to put an end to the war: although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary; and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he laid for him; because the barbarians are naturally perfidious. However, Pacorus went out, and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected. He also left some of the horsemen called the Freemen with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

4. But now, when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted, and were in arms. Who came very cunning to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions, by an obliging behaviour to them. Accordingly he at first made them presents, and afterward, as they went away, laid ambushes for them. And when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Ecdippon, they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they were there informed of the promise of a thousand talents; and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were with them, among the five hundred, to the Parthians. They also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night-time. They had been also seized upon before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem: because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself. Nor was this a meer report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

5. Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus and fleeing away, although Ophellius earnestly persuaded him to it. For this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians. But Phasaelus went up to the Parthian governor, and reproached him to his face, for this treachery; and chiefly because he had done it for money. And he promised him, that he would give him

him more money for their preservation, than Antigonus had promised to give for the Kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavoured to remove all this suspicion, by apologies, and by oaths; and then went [to the other] Pacorus. Immediately after which those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus; who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness, and their perjury.

6. In the mean time the cup-bearer was sent [back,] and laid a plot 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 having then received intelligence that a messenger, who was to bring him the letters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy; he would not go out of the city. Though Pacorus said very positively, that he ought to go out, and meet the messengers that brought the letters; for that the enemy had not taken them; and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them, but of what Phasaelus had done. Yet had he heard from others that his brother was seized. And † Alexandra, the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to those barbarians; who now were come to make an attempt upon him openly.

† Mariamne here, in the copies.

7. Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately; because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence by openly attacking him; Herod prevented them; and went off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him by night, without their enemies being apprized of it. But as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued them. And as he gave orders for his mother, and sister, and the young woman who was betrothed to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother, to make the best of their way; he himself, with his servants, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians. And when, at every assault

he had slain a great many of them, he came to the strong hold of Masada.

8. Nay he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians; and created him troubles perpetually; ever since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city. These sometimes brought it to a sort of a regular battle. Now in the place where Herod beat them, and killed a great number of them; there he afterward built a citadel, in memory of the great actions he did; and adorned it with the most costly palaces; and erected very strong fortifications; and called it, from his own name, Herodium. As they were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Threffa of Idumea, his brother Joseph met him; and advised him to diminish the great number of his followers, because Masada would not contain so great a multitude, they being above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice; and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them provisions for their journey. But he got safe to the fortress, with his nearest relations. And there it was that he left eight hundred men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege: but he made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering; and fell upon the houses of those that were fled, and upon the King's palace; and spared nothing, but Hyrcanus's money; which was not above three hundred talents. They light of other mens money also; but not of so much as they hoped for. For Herod having a long while had a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most valuable among his treasures conveyed into Idumea; as every one belonging to him had in like manner done also. But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war, without denouncing it; and to demolish the city Marissa; and not only to set up Antigonus for King, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands;

in

in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus also himself bit off Hyrcanus's ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him; that so he might never be able, upon any mutation of affairs, to take the High Priesthood again. For the High Priests that officiated were to be complete and without blemish.

10. However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaëus, by reason of his courage; for though he neither had the command of his sword, nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses by dashing his head against a stone. So he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation; and died with great bravery; and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end; viz. that he recovered of that stroke; and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him. Whichsoever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. 'Tis also reported that, before he expired, he was informed, by a certain poor woman, how Herod had escaped out of their hands; and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive, that will avenge me of mine enemies."

11. This was the death of Phasaëus. But the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired; yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hand of Antigonus; and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*When Herod is rejected in Arabia, he makes haste to Rome; where Antony and Cesar join their interest to make him King of the Jews.*

§ 1. **N**OW Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey to Arabia, making haste to get money of the King, while his brother was yet alive; by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon



on the covetous temper of the barbarians, to spare Phasaelus. For he reasoned thus with himself; that if the Arabian King was too forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would however borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother; and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed. Accordingly he led his brother's son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother; and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians, to get them accepted. However, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians. For their King Malichus sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return out of his country; and used the name of the Parthians as a pretence for so doing; as though these had denounced to him, by their ambassadors, to cast Herod out of Arabia. While in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to Antipater; and not be obliged to make requitals to his sons, for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the impudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them. These men were the most potent of all whom he had in his Kingdom.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly; and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested; he returned back, and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country; in order to meet with those whom he had left behind. But on the next day word was brought him, as he was going to Rhinocurura, that his brother was dead; and how he came by his death. And after he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances would bear, he proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the King of Arabia repented of what he

he had done; and sent presently away messengers to call him back. Herod had prevented them; and was come to Pelusium. Where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet; so he besought their captains to let him go by them. Accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria. And when he came into the city, he was received by Cleopatra with great splendour; who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about. But he rejected the queen's solicitations; and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

3. But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he, with difficulty, got safe to Rhodes; a place which had been grievously harrassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius. And although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-deck'd ship, of very great magnitude; wherein he and his friends sailed to \*Brundisium, and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him; and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family; and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress; and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for assistance.

4. Hereupon Antony was moved at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs; calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater; but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue. So he then resolved to get him made King of the Jews; whom he had himself formerly made Tetrarch. The contest also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement; and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod. For he looked upon Antigonus as

\* This Brontesium or Brundisium has coins still preserved: on which it is written ΒΡΕΝΔΕΙΟΝ, as Spanheim informs us.

a seditious person, and an enemy of the Romans. As for Cesar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony; remembring very fresh the wars he had gone through together with his father; the hospitable treatment he had met with from him; and the entire goodwill he had shewed to him. Besides that activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together: wherein Messala, and after him Atratinus produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At the same time they proved that Antigonus was their enemy; not only because he soon quarrelled with them; but because he now overlooked the Romans; and took the government by the means of the Parthians. These reasons greatly moved the senate. At which juncture Antony came in, and told them, that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be King. So they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Cesar went out, with Herod between them; while the consul, and the rest of the magistrates, went before them; to offer sacrifice, and to lay the decree in the capitol. Antony also made a feast for Herod, on the first day of his reign.

## C H A P. XV.

*Antigonus besieges those that were in Masada: whom Herod frees from confinement, when he came back from Rome; and presently marches to Jerusalem. Where he finds Silo corrupted by bribes.*

§ 1. **D**URING this time, Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada; who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water. On which account, Joseph, Herod's brother, was disposed to desert to the Arabians, with two hundred of his own friends; because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offences with regard to Herod. And he had been gone out of the fortrefs already, unless on that very night, when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain; so that his reservoirs were filled,

filled, and he was under no necessity of running away. After which therefore they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a great many of them; some in battles, and some in ambush. Nor had they always success in their attempts; for sometimes they were beaten.

2. In the mean time \* Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria, to restrain the incursions of the Parthians, and after he had done that, he came into Judea; in pretence indeed, to assist Joseph, and his party; but in reality to get money of Antigonus. And when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got enough of money, he went away with the greatest part of his forces. Yet still did he leave Silo, with some part of them, lest, if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would come again to his assistance; and therefore cultivated a good understanding with Silo in the mean time; lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.

3. By this time Herod had sailed from Italy, and was come to Ptolemais. And as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foreigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee, against Antigonus; wherein he was assisted by Ventidius, and Silo both; whom † Delliüs, a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod [into his kingdom.] Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians: as was Silo, in Judea, corrupted by the bribes that Antigonus had given him. Yet was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day, as he went along; and Galilee, with few exceptions, joined themselves to him. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprize; and that was Masada: to deliver his rela-

\* Dr. Hudson and Dean Aldrich both refer us, upon this occasion, to Dio, XLVIII, as giving us this history of Ventidius, when he was sent to assist Herod against Antigonus.

† This Delliüs is famous, or rather infamous, in the history of Mark Antony, as Spanheim and Aldrich here note, from the coins; from Plutarch and Dio.

tions from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going: for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies hands; that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortrefs might be left in the enemies power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces [from Jerusalem.] And when the Jews pursued him, and pressed upon him, [in his retreat;] Herod made an excursion upon them, with a small body of his men; and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo, when he was in distress.

4. After this Herod took Joppa; and then made haste to Masada, to free his relations. And, as he was marching, many came in to him; induced some by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some to repay the benefits they had received from them both. But still what engaged the greatest number on his side, was their hopes, when he should be established in his kingdom; so that he had already assembled an army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him, as he marched out; in which yet he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily recovered his relations that were in Masada, as well as the fortrefs Ressa, and then marched to Jerusalem: where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own; as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

5. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows, and threw their darts at them, while others ran out in companies, and attacked them in front. But Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that "He was come for the good of the people, and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies; but to grant oblivion to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him." Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party. So Antigonus gave order to his forces to beat the ene-

my from the walls. Accordingly they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight."

6. And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes. For he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, to buy themselves food; and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters; because all the parts about the city were laid waste, by means of Antigonus's army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege. But Herod went to the captains under Silo, and to a great many of the soldiers, and begged of them not to leave him, who was sent thither by Cesar, and Antony, and the senate: for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After entreating them thus, he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretences: and in order to provide that, for the following days, they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria, (which city had joined itself to him) to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, to Jericho. When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to lay ambushes for these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the mountains, to watch those that brought the provisions: Yet was not Herod idle, but took with him ten cohorts; five of them were Roman, and five were Jewish, with some mercenary troops intermixed: and besides these a few horsemen, and came to Jericho. And when he came he found the city deserted; but that there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains. Those he took, and dismissed, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it; having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back, and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him,

|| Or Idumea. him, to take their winter quarters there, viz. into \* || Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the robbers that were in the caves. He after that avenges himself upon Macheras, as upon an enemy of his; and goes to Antony, as he was besieging Samofata.*

§ 1. **T**HUS the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest; but seized upon Idumea, with two thousand footmen, and four hundred horsemen; and kept it, by sending his brother Joseph thither, that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations, who had been in Masada, to Samaria; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilee, and drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

2. But when Herod had reached † Sepphoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty; the guards that should have kept it flying away before it was assaulted. Here he gave an opportunity to his followers, that had been in distress, to refresh themselves; there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries: after which he hastened away to the robbers, that were in the caves; who over-ran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants, as a war itself could have done. Accordingly he sent beforehand three cohorts of foot, and one troop of horse, to the village

\* So it should be probably in the Antiquities also, XIV. 15. 3. though I was not aware of this correction when I translated that chapter. The reason is plain, that although Herod might have part of Judea now under him; yet does he not seem to have gotten hitherto any parts of Idumea, till his brother conquered them afterward; as both the books confess in the following sections.

† This Sepphoris, the metropolis of Galilee, so often mentioned by Josephus, has coins still remaining, ΣΕΠΦΩΡΗΝΩΝ, as Spahnheim here informs us.

Arbela, and came himself \* forty days afterwards, with the rest of his forces. Yet were not the enemy affrighted at his assault, but met him in arms: their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness the boldness of robbers. When therefore it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing, with their right; but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance; and both made his own left wing return to the charge, and fell upon the pursuers, and at last gained a complete victory, when they fled.

3. But Herod followed to the river Jordan, and slew a great part of them. Thus Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under: some however yet remained, and lay concealed in caves, which required longer time ere they could be conquered. In order to which, Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labours to the soldiers: gave every one of them an hundred and fifty drachmæ of silver, a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into winter quarters. He also sent to his youngest brother Pheroras, to take care of a good market for them, where they might buy themselves provisions: and to build a wall about Alexandria; which he punctually performed.

4. In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians; but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea. So Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius; but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. These caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side; since they had only some winding path-ways very narrow, by which they got up to

\* This way of speaking, *after 40 days*, is interpreted by Josephus himself *on the 40th day*, Antiq. XIV. In like manner, when Josephus says, chap. 33. that Herod lived after he had ordered Antipater to be slain 5 days; this is by himself interpreted, Antiq. XVII. that he died on the 5th day afterward. So also what is in this book, chap. 13. § 1. *after two years*, is, Antiq. XIV. 13. 3. *on the second year*. And Dean Aldrich here notes, that this way of speaking is familiar in Josephus.



them; but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity. Infomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard. For he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. These men slew the robbers and their families; and when they made resistance, they sent in fire upon them, [and burnt them.] And as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made, that they should come and deliver themselves up to him. But not one of them came willingly: and of those that were compelled, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, who, with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them after the following manner. He ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew every son as he went out. Herod was near enough to see this sight: his compassion was moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children. Yet did he not relent at all upon what he said; but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent; and slew his wife, as well as his children. And when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

5. By this means Herod subdued these cave-hid mountainous robbers. He then left there, of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria. He led also with him three thousand armed foot, and six hundred horse, against Antigonus. Now those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of his forces, and slew him. They also laid the country waste, and then retired to the bogs, and to places not easily to be found. But when Herod was

was informed of this insurrection, he came to the assistance of the country immediately, and destroyed a great number of the seditious; and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged. He also exacted the tribute of an hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the rebellion they had made in the country.

6. By this time the Parthians being driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain; Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horse, and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought Macheras, who was their general, by letter, to come to his aid: and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod's violence, and about the injuries he did to the kingdom; and promised to give him money for his assistance. But he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust; for he dreaded Antony that sent him, especially as Herod gave him more money [than the other offered.] So he pretended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a spy to discover his affairs: although he did not herein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from so doing. But Antigonus perceiving what his intentions were beforehand; not only excluded him the city, but defended himself against him, as against an enemy, from the walls, till Macheras was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmaus, to Herod. And as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, as if they were all for Antigonus.

7. Hereupon Herod was very angry at Macheras, and was going to fight against him as his enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Macheras of male-administration. But Macheras was made sensible of his offences, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony. But when he heard that he was besieging \* Samosata, with

\* This Samosata, the metropolis of Commagena, is well known from its coins; as Spanheim assures us, Dean Aldrich also confirms what Josephus says,

with a great army; which is a strong city near to Euphrates; he made the greater haste, as observing that this was a proper opportunity for shewing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey. Insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly he heaped many more honours upon him; and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom. And now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

## C H A P. XVII.

*The death of Joseph, [Herod's brother] which had been signified to Herod in dreams. How Herod was preserved twice, after a wonderful manner. He cuts off the head of Pappus, who was the murderer of his brother. And sends that head to [his other brother] Pheroras. And in no long time he besieges Jerusalem, and marries Mariamne.*

§ 1. **I**N the mean time Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power; but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus, till his return; for that Macheras would not be such an assistant as he could depend on, as it appeared by what he had done already. But as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts, which Macheras sent with him, to seize on the corn, as it was now the midst of summer. But when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in places which were difficult to pass, he was both killed himself, bravely fighting in the battle, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed. For these cohorts were new raised men, out of Syria; and there was no mixture of those called veteran soldiers among them, who might have supported those that were unskilful in war.

that Herod was a great means of taking this city by Antony; and that from Plutarch and Dio.

2. This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus, but he proceeded to that degree of rage, as to treat the dead body of Joseph barbarously. For, when he had gotten 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 price of redemption. And now the affairs of Galilee were put into such disorder after this victory of Antigonus, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There was a great change made in Idumea, where Macheras was building a wall about one of the fortresses, which was called Gittha. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things. For after the taking of Samosata, and when Antony had set \* Sosius over the affairs of Syria, and given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed † into Egypt. Sosius sent two legions before him into Judea, to assist Herod; and followed himself soon after, with the rest of his army.

3. Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death: and as he leaped out of his bed, in a disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. When he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning; and made haste to march against his enemies, and reached Libanus, where he got eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain, and joining with them one Roman legion; before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also

\* That Antony made this Sosius president of Syria and Cilicia, (which are countries several times joined together in the New Testament, Acts xv. Gal. i. 21.) we are informed by Dio.

† Since Plutarch says that Antony now went to Athens; and Dio says he went to Italy; and Josephus both here, and in the Antiq. XIV. says he went into Egypt; Dean Aldrich proposes archbishop Usher's conjecture, in agreement with Appian and Dio, that he went first to Athens, thence to Brundisium in Italy, and thence returned to Athens, and thence into Egypt, to Cleopatra. Otherwise I should venture to add, that we ought to follow Josephus, as the nearest to Antony's time of all these historians, and suppose he went directly into Egypt.

made an immediate and continual attack upon the fortrefs. Yet was he forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighbouring villages, before he could take it. But when, after a few days times, the second legion, that came from Antony, joined themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted at his power; and left their fortifications in the night time.

4. After this he marched through Jericho, making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers. Where happened to him a providential sign, out of which when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God. For that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men; and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forward with his army. When about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his front. Yet durst they not be so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand. But threw stones and darts at them at a distance. By which means they wounded a considerable number, and, among the rest, Herod was wounded with a dart in his side.

5. Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage, but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria. Whose fortune it was to oppose Macheras. But Herod over-ran the enemies country, took five little cities, destroyed two thousand men that were in them, burned their houses, and then returned to his camp. But his head quarters were at the village called Cana.

6. Upon this a great multitude of Jews resorted to him every day, both out of Jericho, and the other parts of the country; some out of their hatred to Antigonus, and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done: but others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change. So he fell upon them immediately. Pappus,

pus, and his party, were not terrified, either at their number or their zeal, but marched out with great alacrity to fight them. And it came to a close fight. Now other parts of their army made resistance for a while: but Herod running the utmost hazard, out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him; and always turned his force against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all. So that a great slaughter was made. While some were forced back into that village whence they came out: he also pressed hard upon the rear, and slew a vast number of them. He also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house was filled with armed men, the upper rooms being crowded with soldiers for their defence. And when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within. Upon many he had the roofs shaken down, whereby they perished by heaps. Those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands. And the multitude of those slain, and lying on heaps, was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, but dispersed themselves, and fled away. On the confidence of this victory; Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he had been hindered by the depth of winter's [coming on;] which saved Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

7. Now when, at the evening, Herod had already dismissed his friends, to refresh themselves after their fatigue, and was going himself, (while he was still hot in his armour, like a common soldier) to bath himself, and had but one servant that attended him, one of the enemies met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that more of them: these were men who had run away out of the battle, into the bath, in their armour; and they had lain there for some time in great terror and in privacy.

And when they saw the King, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a fright, although he were naked, and endeavoured to get off into the publick road. Now there was, by chance, no body else at hand that might seize upon these men; and for Herod he was contented to have come to no harm himself; so that they all got away in safety.

8. But on the next day Herod had Pappus's head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and was slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, by way of punishment for their slain brother. For he was the man that slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it. This was the third year since he had been made King at Rome. So he pitched his camp before the temple: for on that side it might be besieged; and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs, and raised three ramparts, and gave orders to have towers built upon them, and left the most laborious of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, who had been betrothed to him before; as we have || already said: having his enemies in great contempt already.

9. When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army. Sosius also joined him with a large body, both of horse and foot, which he sent before him through the midland parts, while he marched himself along Phenicia. And when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven regiments of foot, and six thousand horse, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, which was no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near to the north wall. Herod's dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made King: and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

|| Chap. 12.  
§ 3.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*How Herod and Sosius took Jerusalem by force. And what death Antigonus came to. Also concerning Cleopatra's avaricious temper.*

§ 1. **N**OW the Jews in the city were divided into several factions: for the people that crouded about the temple, being the weakest part of them, gave it out, that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first: but as to the more bold and hardy, they got together in bodies, and fell a robbing others, after various manners, and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city; and this because there was no food left, either for the horses or the men. Yet some of the warlike men, who were used to fight regularly, were appointed to defend the walls during the siege, who not only drove those that raised the ramparts away from the wall, but were always inventing one machine or another to be an hindrance to the engines of the enemy. Nor had they so much success any way, as in the mines under ground.

2. The King contrived that ambushes should be so laid, as to restrain the excursions of the robbers; and took care that provisions should be brought to them from great distances. He also was too hard for the Jews, by the Romans skill in the art of war; although they were bold to the utmost degree. Now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death; but, through their mines under ground, they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden; and before they could batter down one wall, they built them another in its stead. And to sum up all at once, they did not shew any want either of industry or contrivances, having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round them, they bore a siege of five months; till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city; as did Sosius's centurions after them. And now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple;



temple; and upon the pouring in of the army, there was a great slaughter, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of this siege, and by reason that the Jews, who were about Herod, earnestly endeavoured that none of their adversaries might remain, who were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crouded together in narrow streets, and in houses, or were running away to the temple. Nor was there any mercy shewed either to infants or to the aged, or to the weaker sex. Infomuch, that although the King sent about, and desired them to spare the people, no body could be persuaded to withhold their right-hand, but slew on like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell down at Sosius's feet. Who, without pitying him at all upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him || Antigona. Yet did he not treat him like a woman, or let him go free, but put him in bonds, and kept him in custody.

|| i. e. A  
woman, not  
a man.

3. But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries. For the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in it: but the King endeavoured to restrain them, partly by his exhortations, partly by his threatenings, nay, partly by force; as thinking the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen, were seen by them. He also forbade at the same time the spoiling of the city; asking Sosius, in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans, by thus emptying the city of money and men, had a mind to leave him King of a desert? and told him, that "He judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens." And when Sosius said, that "It was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder, as a reward for what they suffered during the siege;" Herod made answer, that "He would give every one of the soldiers a reward out of his own money." So he

he purchased the deliverance of his country, and performed his promises to them, and made presents, after a magnificent manner, to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders; and, with a most royal bounty, to Sosius himself. Whereby no body went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dedicated a crown of gold to God; and then left Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony. The \* axe at last brought him to his end, who still had a fond desire of life, and some hopes of it to the last; but, by his cowardly behaviour, well deserved to die by it.

4. King Herod made still more his friends those that were of his party, by the honours he conferred on them; but for those of Antigonus's party, he slew them. And as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all sufferings; for Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, and after that fell a slaying those no way related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had: nay, she extended her avaricious humour to the Jews and Arabians; and secretly laboured to have Herod and Malichus, the Kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

5. Antony complied in part; for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great Kings, yet was he thereby alienated from them. He also took away a great deal of their country; nay even the plantation of palm-trees at Jericho; where also grows the balsam-tree; and bestowed them upon her: as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus; † Tyre

\* This death of Antigonus is confirmed by Plutarch and Strabo; the latter of whom is cited for it by Josephus himself, Antiq. XV. 1. 2.

† This ancient liberty of Tyre and Sidon under the Romans, taken notice of by Josephus, both here and Antiq. XV. 4. 1. is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo, XVI. as Dean Aldrich remarks; although, as he justly adds, this liberty lasted but a little while longer, when Augustus took it away from them.

and Sidon excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians, as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea. And there did Herod pacify her indignation by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his Kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium, and paid her all the respects possible. Not long after this, Antony came back from Parthia, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes's son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

## C H A P, XIX.

*How Antony, at the persuasion of Cleopatra, sent Herod to fight against the Arabians: and how, after several battles, he at length got the victory. As also concerning a great earthquake.*

|| Between  
Octavius  
and Anto-  
ny.

§ I. **N**OW when the war about || Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony; as being already freed from his troubles in Judea; and having gained Hyrcania; which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through, by Cleopatra. For since, as we have already noted, she had laid a plot against the Kings [of Judea and Arabia;] she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia; or if he were worsted, of Judea; and that she might destroy one of those Kings by the other.

2. However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod. For at the very first he took hostages from the enemy; and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them, about Diospolis; and he conquered that army, although it fought

fought resolutely against him. After which defeat, the Arabians making greater preparations, assembled at Canatha, a city of Celefyria, in vast multitudes; and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence; and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp. Yet did not the soldiery comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians; and beat them at the first onset; and then pursued them. Yet were there snares laid for Herod in that pursuit. While Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Canatha the men of that country against him. For upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and return'd back; then both join'd their numerous forces about rocky places, that were hard to be gone over; and there put Herod's men to the rout, with great slaughter. But those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it.

3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succours; but he came too late. Now the occasion of that overthrow was, that the officers would not obey orders. For had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod. However, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and over-run their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity. For in the \* seventh year of his reign, when the war

\* This seventh year of the reign of Herod, [from the conquest, or death of Antigonus,] with the great earthquake in the beginning of the same spring; which are here fully implied to be not much before the fight at Actium, between Octavius and Antony; and which is known from the Roman Historians to have been in the beginning of September, in the 31st year before the Christian Era; determines the chronology of Josephus as to the reign of Herod; viz. that he began in the year 37, beyond rational contradiction. Nor is it quite unworthy of our notice, that this seventh year of the reign of Herod, or the 31st before the Christian Era, contained the latter part of a sabbatick year. On which sabbatick year therefore 'tis plain this great earthquake happened in Judea.

about Adium was at the height; at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage; and it being augmented to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy accidents, they pretended that all Judea was overthrown. Expecting, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews; and then marched into Judea. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities, one after another. Whom yet Herod got together, and endeavoured to encourage by the following speech.

4. “ The present dread you are under seems to me to  
 “ have seized upon you very unreasonably: 'Tis true, you  
 “ might justly be dismayed at that providential chastise-  
 “ ment which hath befallen you: but to suffer yourselves  
 “ to be equally terrified at the invasion of men, is unman-  
 “ ly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted  
 “ at our enemies, after this earthquake, that I imagine  
 “ that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians,  
 “ that we may be avenged on them. For their pre-  
 “ sent invasion proceeds more from our accidental mis-  
 “ fortunes, than that they have any great dependence  
 “ on their weapons, or their own fitness for action.  
 “ Now that hope which depends not on mens 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. We may easily ob-  
 “ serve, that fortune is mutable; and goes from one  
 “ side to another. And this you may readily learn  
 “ from examples among yourselves. For when you  
 “ were once victors in the former fight, your enemies  
 “ overcame you at last. And very likely it will now  
 “ happen so, that these who think themselves sure of  
 “ beating you, will themselves be vanquished. For  
 “ when

“ when men are very confident, they are not upon their  
“ guard ; but fear teaches to act with caution. Inso-  
“ much, that I venture to prove, from your very timor-  
“ ousness, that you ought to take courage. For when  
“ you were more bold than you ought to have been,  
“ and than I would have had you ; and marched on ;  
“ Athenio’s treachery took place. But your present  
“ slowness, and seeming dejection of mind, is to me a  
“ pledge and assurance of our victory. And indeed it  
“ is proper beforehand to be thus provident ; but when  
“ we come to action, we ought to raise our minds, and  
“ make our enemies, be they never so wicked, believe,  
“ that neither any human, no nor any providential mis-  
“ fortune can ever depress the courage of Jews, while  
“ they are alive. Nor will any of them ever overlook  
“ an Arabian, or suffer such an one to become lord of  
“ his good things ; whom he has in a manner taken  
“ captive, and that many times also. And do not you  
“ disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimate crea-  
“ tures. Nor do you imagine that this earthquake  
“ is a sign of another calamity. For such affecti-  
“ ons of the elements are according to the course of  
“ nature ; nor does it import any thing farther to men,  
“ than what mischief it does immediately of itself. Per-  
“ haps there may come some short sign beforehand in  
“ the case of pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes ;  
“ but these calamities themselves have their force limit-  
“ ed by themselves ; [without foreboding any other  
“ calamity.] And indeed what greater mischief can  
“ the war, though it should be a violent one, do to us,  
“ than the earthquake hath done ? Nay, there is a sig-  
“ nal of our enemies destruction visible, and that a  
“ very great one also ; and this not a natural one, nor  
“ derived from the hand of foreigners neither ; but it  
“ is this, that they have barbarously murdered our am-  
“ bassadors, contrary to the common law of all man-  
“ kind ; and have destroyed so many, as if they esteem-  
“ ed them sacrifices for God, in relation to this war.  
“ But they will not avoid his great eye, nor his invincible  
“ right hand. And we shall be revenged of them pre-  
“ sently,

“sently, in case we still retain any of the courage of  
 “our forefathers; and rise up boldly to punish these  
 “covenant breakers. Let every one therefore go on,  
 “and fight, not so much for his wife, or his children,  
 “or for the danger his country is in; as for these am-  
 “bassadors of ours. Those dead ambassadors will con-  
 “duct this war of ours better than we ourselves who  
 “are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, I will  
 “myself go before you into danger. For you know  
 “this well enough, that your courage is irresistible,  
 “unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly.\*”

5. When Herod had encouraged them by this speech, and he saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and, after that sacrifice, passed over the river Jordan, with his army; and pitched his camp about Philadelphia, near the enemy, about a fortification that lay between them. He then shot at them at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement presently. For some of them had been sent beforehand to seize upon that fortification. But the King sent others who immediately beat them out of it. While he himself went in the front of the army; which he put in battle array every day; and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp; for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was no less dispirited; Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces. By which means they were compelled to come out to fight; which they did in disorder, and so that the horse and foot were mixed together. They were indeed superior to the Jews in number; but inferior in their alacrity. Although their very despair of victory, gave them some appearance of courage.

6. While they made opposition, they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished; five thou-

\* This speech of Herod is set down twice by Josephus; here, and Antiq. XV. 5. 3. to the very same purpose; but by no means in the same words. Whence it appears, that the sense was Herod's; but the composition Josephus's.  
 sand

land thus perished, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these round, and besieged them. While they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms, they had an additional distress, which was thirst, and want of water. For the King was above hearkening to their ambassadors; and when they offered five hundred talents, as the price of their redemption, he pressed still harder upon them. And as they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out, and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews; till in five days time four thousand of them were put into bonds; on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of saving themselves, and came out to fight: with these Herod fought, and slew again about seven thousand. Insomuch, that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished their courage, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

## C H A P. XX.

*Herod is confirmed in his Kingdom by Cesar, and cultivates a friendship with the Emperor by magnificent presents: while Cesar returns his kindness, by bestowing on him that part of his Kingdom which had been taken away from it by Cleopatra; with the addition of Zenodorus's country also.*

§ 1. **B**UT now Herod was under an immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony; who was already † overcome at Actium by Cesar. Yet was he more afraid than he had reason. For Cesar did not think he had quite undone Antony, while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the King resolved to expose himself to dangers. Accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Cesar then abode; and came to him without his diadem, in the habit and appearance of a private person; but in his behaviour as a King. So he concealed nothing of the truth, but spake thus before his face: “ O Cesar, as I  
“ was made King of the Jews by Antony, so do I pro-  
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“ fefs that I have used my royal authority in the best  
 “ manner, and entirely for his advantage. Nor will I  
 “ conceal this farther, that thou hadst certainly found  
 “ me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his,  
 “ had not the Arabians hindred me. However, I sent  
 “ him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten  
 “ thousand [Cori] of corn. Nay indeed I did not de-  
 “ sert my benefactor after the blow that was given him  
 “ at Actium. But I gave him the best advice I was  
 “ able, when I was no longer able to assist him in the  
 “ war; and I told him, that there was but one way of  
 “ recovering his affairs; and that was to kill Cleopatra;  
 “ and I promised him, that if she were once dead, I  
 “ would afford him money, and walls for his security;  
 “ with an army, and myself to assist him in his war  
 “ against thee. But his affections for Cleopatra stopped  
 “ his ears; as did God himself also; who hath bestow-  
 “ ed the government on thee. I own myself also to  
 “ be overcome together with him; and with his last  
 “ fortune, I have laid aside my diadem, and am come  
 “ to thee; having my hopes of safety in thy virtue; and  
 “ I desire that thou wilt consider, how faithful a friend,  
 “ and not whose friend I have been.”

2. Cesar replied to him thus: \* “ Nay, thou shalt  
 “ not only be in safety, but shalt be a King; and that  
 “ more firmly than thou wert before. For thou art  
 “ worthy to reign over many subjects, by reason of the  
 “ fastness of thy friendship; and do thou endeavour to  
 “ be equally constant to me, upon my good success;  
 “ which is what I depend upon from the generosity of  
 “ thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well  
 “ in preferring Cleopatra to thee. For by this means  
 “ we have gained thee by her madness. And thus thou  
 “ hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine.  
 “ On which account Quintus Didius hath written to  
 “ me, that thou sentest him assistance against the gla-

\* This answer of Augustus is strongly confirmed by Plutarch, Appian, and Dio; who mutually assist and correct one another's and Josephus's copies; some of which were otherwise difficult to be made out; as Aldrich and Spanheim observe on this place.

“diators. I do therefore assure thee that I will confirm the Kingdom to thee by a decree. I shall also endeavour to do thee some farther kindnesſes hereafter; that thou mayſt find no loſs in the want of Antony.”

3. When Cefar had ſpoke ſuch obliging things to the King, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had beſtowed on him by a decree; in which he loudly enlarged in the commendation of the man. Herod alſo confirmed his favour by the preſents he gave him; and deſired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony’s friends, who was become a ſuppliant to him. But Cefar’s anger againſt him prevailed; and he complained of the many and very great offences the man, whom he petitioned for, had been guilty of. After this, Cefar went for Egypt, through Syria, when Herod received him with royal entertainments; and then did he firſt of all ride along with Cefar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais; and feaſted him with all his friends; and diſtributed among the reſt of the army what was neceſſary to banquet them withal. He alſo made a plentiful proviſion of water for them, when they were to march as far as Peluſium, through a dry country. Which he did alſo at their return. Nor were there any neceſſaries wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion both of Cefar and of his ſoldiers, that Herod’s Kingdom was too ſmall for thoſe generous preſents he made them. For which reaſon when Cefar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only beſtow other marks of honour upon him, but made an addition to his Kingdom; by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra; but beſides that, Gadara, and Hippoſ, and Samaria; and moreover, of the maritime cities, \*Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato’s-Tower. He alſo made

\* Since Joſephus, both here, and in his Antiquities, XV. reckons Gaza, which had been a free city, among the cities given to Herod by Auguſtus, and yet implies that Herod had made Coſtobarus a governor of it before; Haradin has ſome pretence for ſaying that Joſephus here contradicted himſelf. But perhaps Herod thought he had ſufficient authority to put a governor into Gaza, after he was made Tetrarch or King, in times of war, before the city was entirely delivered into his hands by Auguſtus.

† Galatians, Gr.

him a present of four hundred † Galls, as a guard for his body; which they had been to Cleopatra before. Nothing so strongly induced Cesar 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; and what lay in its neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis, on the following occasion. Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascens. Who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of Syria; and desired of him that he would represent the calamity they were in to Cesar. When Cesar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders, that this nest of robbers should be destroyed. Varro therefore made an expedition against them, and cleared the land of them, and took it away from Zenodorus. Cesar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not again become a receptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him a Procurator of all Syria, on the tenth year afterward, when he came again into that province; and so established him, that the other Procurators could not do any thing in the administration, without his advice. But when Zenodorus was dead, Cesar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachonitis and Galilee. Yet what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was beloved by Cesar, next after Agrippa; and by Agrippa, next after Cesar. Whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul exceed it; which was chiefly bent on the promotion of piety.

\* Since the battle at Actium, as we have seen, was in the beginning of September, A. 31. and the next year Augustus came first into Syria, A. 30. and again, 10 years afterwards, A. 20. as Josephus will inform us presently, which was expressly Herod's 17th year expiring, or 18th begun, Antiq. XV. 10. 3. Herod's reign must have begun A. 37. as has been already determined.

‡ Take here Dean Aldrich's Note, which agrees to Spanheim's determination also. *After the first Games at Actium.* That is, on the first year of the second Actian Games, and the 15th year of the reign of Herod. For the fight at Actium was in his 7th year. On the 3d year after which, (i. e. on the 10th of Herod) the first Actian Games were celebrated, when Cesar Octavianus was consul the 6th time, and M. Vipianus was also consul the 2d time.

## C H A P. XXI.

*Of the [temple and] cities that were built by Herod, and erected from the very foundations. As also of those other edifices that were erected by him. And what magnificence he shewed to foreigners; and how fortune was in all things favourable to him.*

§ 1. **A**Ccordingly on the fifteenth year of his reign Herod rebuilt the temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, twice as large as that before inclosed. The expences he laid out upon it were vastly large also; and the riches about it were unspeakable. A sign of which you have in the great cloisters that were erected about the temple; and \* the citadel which was on its north side. The cloisters he built from the foundation; but the citadel he repaired at a vast expence. It was a royal palace, which he called Antonia, in honour of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments: to which the holy house itself could not be compared [in largeness:] the one apartment he named Cefareum, and the other Agrippeum, from his [two great] friends.

2. Yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities. For when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land; and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Cesar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and an half, he called the city Sebaste;

\* This fort was first built, as it is supposed, by John Hyrcanus: See Prid. at the year 107. and called Baris, the Tower or Citadel. It was afterwards rebuilt, with great improvements, by Herod, under the government of Antonius, 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 also the situation and largeness of it in my description of the temples at Jerusalem. It lay on the north-west side of the temple, and was a quarter as large.

and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

3. And when Cesar had farther bestowed upon him another additional country, he built him there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called Panium; where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height, and at its side, beneath, or at its bottom, a dark cave opens itself, within which there is an horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth: it contains a mighty quantity of water, which is immoveable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan rise at the roots of this cavity outwardly; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan. But we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

4. But the King erected other places at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros and the former palace, such as were better and more useful than the former for travellers, and named them from the same friends. To say all at once, there was not any place of his Kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Cesar's honour. And when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of esteem into his province, and built many cities which he called Cesareas.

5. And when he observed that there was a city by the sea side that was much decayed, its name was Strato's Tower, but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces. This was a most beneficial publick work, for all the sea shore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle between which this city is situate, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them: which wind, if it blew but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their re-  
treat

treat the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the King, by the expences he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built an haven larger than was the \* Pyreum [at Athens :] and in the inner retirements of the water he built other deep stations [for the ships also.]

6. Now although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and ornament of the works was such, as though he had not had any difficulty in the operation. For when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathom water; the greatest part of which were fifty feet in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth; and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall, which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide. One hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves: whence it was called Procumatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round it. On this wall were very large towers: the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drusium, from Drusus, who was son-in-law to Cesar.

7. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. And all the place before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a key [or landing place] to those that came on shore. But the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great colossi, supported by pillars; where those colossi that are on your left hand, as you sail into the port, are supported by a solid tower; but those on the right hand are supported by two upright

\* That Josephus speaks truth, when he assures us that "The haven of this Cefarea was made by Herod not lesser, nay rather larger, than that famous haven at Athens called the Pyreum," will appear, says Dean Aldrich, to him who compares the descriptions of that at Athens in Thucydides and Pausanias, with this of Cefarea in Josephus here.

stones joined together: which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. There were continual edifices joined to the haven; which were also themselves of white stone; and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple for Cesar, excellent both in beauty and largeness; and therein a colossus of Cesar, not less than that of Jupiter Olympius, which it was made to resemble. The other colossus of Rome was equal to that of Juno at Argos. So he dedicated the city to the province; and the haven to the sailors there; but the honour of the building he ascribed to \* Cesar, and named it Cesarea.

8. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called them in like manner, Cesar's games: and he first himself proposed the largest prizes, upon the hundred ninety second Olympiad. In which not only the victors, but those that came next to them, and even those in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippeum. Moreover he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraved upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so. For he made a monument for him, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his Kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho; and was a very strong and very fine building; and dedicated it to his mother, and called it Cypros. Moreover, he dedicated

\* These building of cities by the name of Cesar, and institution of solemn games in honour of Augustus Cesar, as here, and in the Antiquities, related of Herod by Josephus, the Roman historians attest to; as things then frequent in the provinces of that empire: as Dean Aldrich observes.

a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaelus. Whose structure, largeness and magnificence we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley, that leads northward from Jericho, and named it Phasaelis.

10. And as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself; but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself \* Herodium. He called also that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the \* same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with most costly palaces: insomuch that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was expended on the outer walls, and partitions, and roofs. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges; and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps, of the whitest marble. For the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also. Insomuch, that on account of its containing all necessaries, the fortress might seem to be a city; but by the bounds it had, a palace only.

11. And when he had built so much, he shewed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built places for exercise at Tripoli, and Damascus, and Ptolemais. He built a wall about Byblus; as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre; with theatres at Sidon, and Damascus. He also built aquæducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the sea side; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains; as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable, both for their workmanship, and

\* There were two cities or citadels, called Herodium in Judea; and both mentioned by Josephus, not only here, but Antiq. XIV. 13. 9. XV. 9. 6. Of the War, I. 13. 8. III. 3. 5. One of them was 200, and the other 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem. See the VI Dissertations, pag. 340. One of them is mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat. V. 14.



largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people. Nay, not a few cities there were who had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own Kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those for ever also, on the settlements for exercises; and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships: this he did in many other places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians and Samians? or of his great liberality through all Ionia? And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them withal? and as for that large open place belonging to Antioch and Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs in length? when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness: which he besides adorned with a cloister of the same length.

12. 'Tis true a man may say these were favours peculiar to those particular places, on which he bestowed his benefits. But then, what favours he bestowed on the Eleans was a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the habitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were come to nothing, for want of money; and that the only remains of antient Greece were in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth year games, which in his sailing to Rome he happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues in money for perpetuity. Insomuch, that his memorial, as a combatant there, can never fail. It would be an infinite task, if I should go over his payments of peoples debts, or tributes for them, as he eased the people of Phasaelis, of Batanea, and of the small cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his

his soul, lest he should be exposed to envy, or seem to hunt after greater things than he ought; while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities, than did their owners themselves.

13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent hunter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding. For in one day he caught forty wild beasts. \* That country breeds also bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags, and wild asses. He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood. Many men therefore there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises; when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. Besides these performances, depending on his own strength of mind and body; fortune was also very favourable to him. For he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he failed, he was not himself the occasion, but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

## C H A P. XXII.

*The murder of Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus, the High Priests: as also of Mariamne the queen.*

§ I. **H**Owever, fortune was avenged on Herod for his external great successes, by raising him up domestic troubles; and he began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was much enamoured. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married, when a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris; and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus. On her account disturbances arose in his family; in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For first of all he expelled Antipater, the son of Doris, for

\* Here seems to be a small defect in the copies: which describe the wild beasts which were hunted in a certain country by Herod; without naming any such country.

the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthia to him: under this pretence, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he over-ran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, out of the commiseration they had for his condition. And had he complied with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, he had not perished. But the marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod] was his temptation. For as he relied upon him, and was overfond of his own country, he returned. Herod's provocation was this; not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be their king, than for Herod.

2. Of the \* five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king. But then, what was stronger than all this, was the love that he bare to Mariamne; and which inflamed him every day to a great degree; and so far conspired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles, on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him, was not inferior to his love to her. She had indeed but too just a cause of indignation, from what he had done; her boldness might also proceed from his affection to her. So she openly reproached him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her brother Aristobulus. For he had not spared Aristobulus, though he were but a child. For when he had given him the High Priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly

\* These 5 children of Herod, by Mariamne, are here set down by Spanheim, from Josephus, viz. 3 sons, Alexander, and Aristobulus, and a third not named, as dying young at Rome: with two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros.

after. But when Aristobulus had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar, at a festival, the multitude, in great crouds, fell into tears. Whereupon the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool, till he was drowned.

3. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister, and mother, after a most contumelious manner. He was dumb on account of his affection for her. Yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed. Which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony; and that her lust was so extravagant, as to have thus shewed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after women; and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder, because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous; and because he considered with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman; and that on her account Lysanias the king was taken off; as well as Malichus the Arabian. For his fear did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his life.

4. When therefore he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband; as to one who would be faithful to him, and bare him good-will on account of their kindred. He also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he should slay her. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only to demonstrate the king's love to his wife; how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itself; discovered this grand secret to her. Upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, and he confirmed his love to her by many oaths; and assured her, that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had for her:

“ Yes,

“ \* Yes, says she, thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me!”

5. When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man; and said, that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad; and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner. At which time his sister Salome took the opportunity to blast her reputation; and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph. Whereupon, out of 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 his affections were kindled again. Indeed the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead; but would appear under his disorders to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he was better instructed by time; when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great, as his affection had been for her while she was living.

### C H A P. XXIII.

*Calumnies against the sons of Mariamne. Antipater is preferred before them. They are accused before Cesar: and Herod is reconciled to them.*

§ 1. **N**OW Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been born their mother. And when they considered the greatness of Herod's crime towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; not only while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them, as they grew up to be men. And when they were come to an age fit for

\* Here is either a great defect, or mistake in Josephus's present copies, or memory. For Mariamne did not now reproach Herod with this his first injunction to Joseph to kill her, if he himself were slain by Antony; but that he had given the like command a second time to Soemus also, when he was afraid of being slain by Augustus. Antiq. XV. 3. 5, &c.

marriage, the one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter; which Salome had been the accuser of their mother. The other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hatred in their minds: which those that calumniated them took a handle from; and certain of them spake now more plainly to the king, that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons. And he that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Cesar. And when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater, whom he had by Doris, into favour again, as a defence to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.

2. But these sons were not able to bear this change in their affairs. When they saw him that was born of a mother of no family, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation. And as they day after day improved in their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren; while he told some stories of them himself, and put it upon other proper persons to raise other stories against them; till, at length, he entirely cut his brethren off all hopes of succeeding to the Kingdom. For he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly he was sent with imperial ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Cesar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren were, flattery and calumny; whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass, that the King had thoughts of putting his sons to death.

3. So the father drew Alexander as far as Rome, and charged him with an attempt of poisoning him before Cesar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation; but having a judge that was more skilful than Antipater,

pater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation upon his father, but with great strength of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him. And when he had demonstrated the innocency of his brother, who was in the like danger with himself, he at last bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the disgrace they were under. He was enabled also to justify himself not only by a clear conscience, which he carried within him, but by his eloquence; for he was a shrewd man in making speeches. And upon his saying at last, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep; and he brought Cesar to that pass, as to reject the accusations, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of this reconciliation were these; that they should, in all things, be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the Kingdom to which of them he pleased.

4. After this the King came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons, though he was not without suspicion of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of those accusations. Yet did not he openly discover his hatred to them, as revering him that had reconciled them. But as Herod sailed by Cilicia, he touched at \*Eleusa, where Archelaus treated them in the most obliging manner, and gave him thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome, that they should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

5. Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his

\* That this island Eleusa, afterward called Sebaste, near Cilicia, had in it the royal palace of this Archelaus King of Cappadocia, Strabo testifies, XIV. pag. 671. Stephanus of Byzantium also calls it, "An island of Cilicia, which is now Sebaste." Both whose testimonies are pertinently cited here by Dr. Hudson.

three sons, and gave them an apologetick account of his absence: and “ thanked God greatly, and thanked  
 “ Cesar also, for settling his house, when it was under  
 “ disturbances, and had procured concord among his  
 “ sons, which was of greater consequence than the  
 “ Kingdom itself, and which he promised to render still  
 “ more firm. That Cesar had put it into his power to  
 “ dispose of the government, and to appoint a successor.  
 “ Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindness,  
 “ and to provide for his own advantage, he declared  
 “ that his three sons shall be Kings. In the first place,  
 “ he prayed for the approbation of God to what he  
 “ was about; and, in the next place, desired the  
 “ people’s approbation. The age of one of them,  
 “ and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them  
 “ the succession. Indeed, said he, my Kingdom is so  
 “ large, that it may be sufficient for more Kings. Now  
 “ do you keep those in their places whom Cesar hath  
 “ joined, and their father hath appointed; and do not  
 “ you pay undue or unequal respects to them, but to  
 “ every one according to the prerogative of their births.  
 “ For he that pays such respects unduly, will thereby  
 “ not make him that is honoured beyond what his age  
 “ requires so joyful, as he will make him that is disho-  
 “ noured sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends  
 “ that are to converse with them, I will appoint them  
 “ to each of them, and will so constitute them, that  
 “ they may be securities for their concord, as well  
 “ knowing, that the ill tempers of those, with whom  
 “ they converse, will produce quarrels and contentions  
 “ among them. But that, if these, with whom they  
 “ converse, be of good tempers, they will preserve  
 “ their natural affections for one another. But still, I  
 “ desire that not these only, but all the captains of my  
 “ army have for the present their hopes placed on me  
 “ alone. For I do not give away my Kingdom to my  
 “ sons, but give them royal honours only. Whereby  
 “ it will come to pass, that they will enjoy the sweet  
 “ parts of government, as rulers themselves; but that  
 “ the burden of the administration will rest upon my-  
 “ self,



“ self, whether I will or not. And let every one con-  
 “ sider what age I am of, how I have conducted my  
 “ life, and what piety I have exercised. For my age is  
 “ not so great that men may soon expect the end of  
 “ my life. Nor have I indulged such a luxurious way  
 “ of living as cuts men off when they are young; and  
 “ we have been so religious towards God, that we [have  
 “ reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age.  
 “ But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons,  
 “ so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished  
 “ by me on their account. I am not one who envy my  
 “ own children, and therefore forbid men to pay them  
 “ great respect. But I know that such [extravagant]  
 “ respects are the way to make them insolent. And if  
 “ every one that comes near them does but revolve this  
 “ in his mind, that if he prove a good man, he shall  
 “ receive a reward from me; but that, if he proves fe-  
 “ ditious, his ill intended complaisance shall get no-  
 “ thing from him to whom it is shewn: I suppose  
 “ they will all be of my side, that is, of my sons side.  
 “ For it will be for their advantage that I reign, and  
 “ that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my  
 “ good children, reflect upon the holiness of nature it-  
 “ self, by whose means natural affection is preserved,  
 “ even among wild beasts: in the next place, reflect upon  
 “ Cesar, who hath made this reconciliation among us:  
 “ and in the third place, reflect upon me, who intreat  
 “ you to do what I have power to command you: con-  
 “ tinue brethren. I give you royal garments and royal  
 “ honours. And I pray to God to preserve what I  
 “ have determined, in case you be at concord one with  
 “ another.” When the King had thus spoken, and had  
 saluted every one of his sons, after an obliging manner,  
 he dismissed the multitude. Some gave their assent to  
 what he had said, and wished it might take effect accord-  
 ingly. Those who wished for a change of affairs, pre-  
 tended they did not so much as hear what he said.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*The malice of Antipater and Doris. Alexander is very uneasy on Glaphyra's account. Herod pardons Pheroras, whom he suspected; and Salome, whom he knew, to make mischief among them. Herod's eunuchs are tortured; and Alexander is bound.*

§ I. **B**UT now the quarrel, that was between them, still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first born was confirmed to Antipater. As was Antipater very angry at his brethren, that they were to succeed him. But then this last, being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them. While the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues, which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them farther; and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was carried to Herod by his emissaries with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing, in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offence; but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he raised of him might seem to have some foundation of truth. And if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the truth of the rest. Antipater's friends again were all either naturally so cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor

should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness. For he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favour by flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal what he either did or said. Thus did he act a part very cunningly in all points, and wrought himself a passage by his calumnies with the greatest shrewdness. While he put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus, but suborned other men to inform of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in and pretend [to be of his side,] and would begin to contradict what was said, but would afterward contrive matters so privately, that the King should have an indignation at him. His general aim was this, to lay a plot, and to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father. For nothing afforded so great a confirmation to these calumnies, as did Antipater's apologies for him.

2. By these methods Herod was inflamed; and, as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct; some of their own accord, and others by the King's injunction; as particularly did Ptolemy, the King's dearest friend, as also the King's brethren, and all his children. For Antipater was all in all; and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also in high favour; she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a step-mother, and hated the Queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law. All men did therefore already pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the King's command which alienated every body [from the brethren,] he having given this charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible, not only to his domesticks about the court, but to his friends abroad. For Cesar had  
given

given such a privilege to no other King, as he had given to him; which was this, that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them. For which reason they could not guard themselves against them. For their father did not make any publick complaints against either of them. Though in a little time they perceived how things were by his coldness, and by the greater uneasiness he shewed upon any thing that troubled him. Antipater had also made their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always talking with her, as with a wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her \* nobility and genealogy [from great persons,] and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that Kingdom, as being derived, by her father's side, from Temenus; and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hytaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister and wives, who were not a few, † with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. And this King delighting in many. All which hated Alexander, on account of Glaphyra's boasting and reproaches.

3. Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law; besides the anger she had conceived at Glaphyra's reproaches. For he perpetually upbraided his wife with

\* Of this vain-glorious claim of Glaphyra's to most noble ancestors, see Dean Aldrich's note here.

† 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 in 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. xvii. or xxi. or indeed any where else, does not appear to me. And what our Saviour says about the common Jewish divorces, which may lay much greater claim to such a permission than polygamy, seems to me true in this case also: that *Moses for the hardness of their hearts suffered them to have several wives at the same time: but that from the beginning it was not so.* Matt. xix.

the meanness of her family; and complained, that as he had married a woman of a low birth, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her, with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown, he would make them weave with their maidens, and his brothers country school-masters; adding jestingly, that they had been very carefully instructed to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod. Nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her own son in-law. There was also another calumny that ran abroad, and inflamed the King's mind. For he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother; and among their lamentations for her, did not abstain from cursing him. And that when he made presents of any of Mariamne's garments to his later wives, these threatened, that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would cloath them in hair cloth.

4. Upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young mens high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind. But before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them as a King; but, for the main, admonished them as a father to love their brethren; and told them, that he would pardon their former offences, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said, they were false; and alledged, that their actions were sufficient for their vindication; and said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not be too easy in believing them; for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

5. When they had thus soon pacified their father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward. For they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras,

roras, were their enemies: both of them were severe persons; especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the Kingdom, excepting his diadem. He had also an hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had asked of Cesar to make him a Tetrarch, as he was made accordingly. Herod had also given him a wife, out of the royal family, his own wife's sister; and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents. But Pheroras refused to consummate this marriage, out of his affection to a maid-servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a † brother's son of † Joseph. his, who was slain afterward by the Parthians. But in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.

6. Nay, Pheroras had been accused long before, while the † Queen was alive, as if he were in a plot to poison † Mariamne Herod. And there came then so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceeding lover of his brethren, was brought to believe what was said, and to be afraid of it also. And when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras's own friends. None of which did openly confess the crime; but they owned that he had made preparation to take her whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the King had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight of his. Nor did Salome escape all calumny upon herself. For her brother Pheroras accused her, that she had made an agreement to marry Silleus, the procurator of Obodas, King of Arabia, who was at bitter enmity with Herod. But when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her, she obtained her pardon. The King also

pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he had been accused of.

7. But the calamities of the whole family was removed to Alexander, and rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs, who were in the highest esteem with the King. One of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men by large gifts to let him use them after an obscene manner. Which when it was told to the King, they were tortured, and found guilty; and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them, that "they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, " an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his " hair, unless they thought that would make him young " again. But that they ought to place their attention " on him, who was to be his successor in the Kingdom, " whether he would or not; and who in no long time " would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his " friends happy and blessed; and themselves in the first " place. That the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately; and that the captains " of the soldiery, and the officers did secretly come to " him."

8. These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately by night and by day, who should make a close enquiry after all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected [of treason] he put them to death. Insomuch, that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings; for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others. And many abused the King's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels; and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged. He who had just then been accusing another,

Other, was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted. The danger the King was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of severity, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance; but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly he forbid a great many of them to come to court; and to those whom he had not power to punish actually, he spake harshly. Antipater now insulted the unfortunate Alexander, and got a stout company of his kindred, and openly raised all sorts of calumny against him. The King was brought to such a degree of terror, by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he caused him to be seized upon immediately, and bound; and fell to examining his friends by torture. Many of whom died [under the torture;] but would discover nothing; nor say any thing against their consciences. But some of them being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said, that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him, as he was hunting, and then to fly away to Rome. These accusations, though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the King; who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

## C H A P. XXV.

Archelaus *procures a reconciliation between Alexander, Pheroras, and Herod.*

§ 1. **N**OW Alexander perceiving it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent,] resolved to meet his calamities, how severe soever they were. So he composed four books against his enemies; and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared withal that the greatest part [of the courtiers] were in the plot with him; and chiefly Pheroras, and Salome.

Nay



Nay that Salome once came, and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judea; being affrighted for his son-in-law, and his daughter; and in a very prudent manner, and by a stratagem, obliged the King not to execute what he had threatened. For when he was come to him, he cried out, "Where in the world  
 " is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I  
 " see that head of his which contrived to murder his fa-  
 " ther; which I will tear to pieces with my own hands.  
 " I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath  
 " such a fine husband. For although she be not a part-  
 " ner in the plot, yet by being the wife of such a crea-  
 " ture she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at  
 " thy patience, against whom this plot is laid, if Alex-  
 " ander be still alive. For as I came with what haste I  
 " could from Cappadocia, I expected to find him put  
 " to death for his crimes long ago; but still in order  
 " to make an examination with thee about my daugh-  
 " ter; whom, out of regard to thee, and thy dignity,  
 " I had espoused to him in marriage. But now we must  
 " take counsel about them both. And if thy paternal  
 " affection be so great, that thou canst not punish thy  
 " son, who hath plotted against thee; let us change our  
 " right hands; and let us succeed one to the other in  
 " expressing our rage upon this occasion."

2. When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he were in disorder. Who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed, to be read by him. And as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of: and by degrees laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras. And when he saw that the King believed him [to be in earnest,] he said; "We must consider whether the young man be not him-  
 " self plotted against, by such a number of wicked  
 " wretches; and not thou plotted against by the young  
 " man.

“ For I cannot see any occasion for his falling into so  
 “ horrid a crime ; since he enjoys the advantages of roy-  
 “ alty already ; and has the expectation of being one  
 “ of thy successors. I mean this unless there were some  
 “ persons that persuade him to it ; and such persons as  
 “ make an ill use of the facility they know there is to  
 “ persuade young men. For by such persons, not only  
 “ young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old  
 “ men also ; and by them sometimes are the most il-  
 “ lustrious families and Kingdoms overturned.”

3. Herod assented to what he had said ; and, by de-  
 grees his anger against Alexander abated ; but was more  
 angry at Pheroras. For the principal subject of the four  
 books was Pheroras. Who perceiving that the King's  
 inclinations changed on a sudden ; and that Archelaus's  
 friendship could do every thing with him ; and that he  
 had no honourable method of preserving himself, he  
 procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alex-  
 ander, and had recourse to Archelaus. Who told him,  
 that “ He did not see how he could get him excused,  
 “ now he was directly caught in so many crimes ; where-  
 “ by it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted  
 “ against the King ; and had been the cause of those  
 “ misfortunes which the young man was now under ;  
 “ unless he would moreover leave off his cunning kna-  
 “ very, and his denials of what he was charged with-  
 “ al ; and confess the charge ; and implore pardon of  
 “ his brother, who still had a kindness for him. But  
 “ that if he would do so, he would afford him all the  
 “ assistance he was able.”

4. With this advice Pheroras complied ; and putting  
 himself into such an habit as might most move compassion,  
 he came with black cloth upon his body, and tears in his  
 eyes ; and threw himself down at Herod's feet ; and  
 begged his pardon for what he had done ; and confessed  
 that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every  
 thing he had been accused of ; and lamented that disorder  
 of his mind, and distraction, which his love to a  
 woman he said had brought him to. So when Arche-  
 laus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness  
 against

against himself, he then made an excuse for him; and mitigated Herod's anger towards him; and this by using certain domestical examples; "For that when he had  
 " suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his  
 " own, he preferred the obligations of nature, before  
 " the passion of revenge. Because it is in Kingdoms,  
 " as it is in gross bodies; where some member or other  
 " is ever swelled by the body's weight; in which case  
 " it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal  
 " it by a gentle method of cure."

5. Upon Archelaus's saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was mollified. Yet did he persevere in his own indignation against Alexander, and said, he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him; and this till he had brought Herod to that pass, that, contrary to his former behaviour to him, he petitioned Archelaus for the young man; and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him. But Archelaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander; because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it might be preserved. And when the King said, that his son would take it for a great favour to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage; especially since they had already children, and since his wife was so well beloved by him; and that as while she remains his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be once torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair; because such young men's attempts are best mollified, when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. Archelaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without difficulty; 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 discourse with Cesar; because

cause he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

6. Thus a period was put to Archelaus's stratagem; whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in. But when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feasting, and other agreeable entertainments. And when Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents; with a golden throne, set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine, who was called Pannychis. He also paid due honours to every one of his friends, according to their dignity. In like manner did all the King's kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Archelaus. And so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility, as far as Antioch.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*How \* Eurycles calumniated the sons of Mariamne: and how Euaratus of Cos's apology for them had no effect.*

§ 1. **N**OW a little afterward there came into Judea a man that was much superior to Archelaus's stratagems; who did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian; his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money he chose to live under a King; for Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts; as a bait to compass his ends; and quickly received them back again manifold. Yet did he esteem bare presents as nothing, unless he embued the Kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly he imposed upon the King by

\* This vile fellow, Eurycles, the Lacedemonian, seems to have been the same who is mentioned by Plutarch, as 25 years before a companion to Mark Antony; and as living with Herod. Whence he might easily insinuate himself into the acquaintance of Herod's sons, Antipater and Alexander; as Usher, Hudson, and Spanheim justly suppose. The reason why his being a Spartan rendered him acceptable to the Jews, is visible from the publick records of the Jews and Spartans, owning those Spartans to be of kin to the Jews, and derived from their common ancestor Abraham; the first patriarch of the Jewish nation.

flattering him. For as he soon perceived Herod's blind side; so he said and did every thing that might please him; and thereby became one of his most intimate friends. For both the King, and all that were about him, had a great regard for this Spartan, on account of his country.

2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived what quarrels the brothers had one with another; and in what disposition the father was towards each of them; he chose to take his lodging at first in the house of Antipater; but deluded Alexander with a pretence of friendship to him; and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus. For which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander's familiarity, as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus. And when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method; and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipater; and so betrayed Alexander, by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son, he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because he who was born of a Queen, and was married to a King's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession; and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most compleat manner. His advice was thought to be faithful by the young man; because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus. On which account it was that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behaviour with regard to himself; without concealing any thing from him; and how it was no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her Kingdom. Eurycles pretended to commiserate his condition; he also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints of their father; and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against

against him; and were almost ready to attack him with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money; and on that account he commended Antipater before his father; and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves; and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod, and told him, that " He would  
" save his life, as a requital for the favours he had received from him; for that a sword had been long  
" whetted, and Alexander's right hand hath been long stretched out against him. But that he had laid impediments in his way, prevented his speed; and that  
" by pretending to assist him in his design. How Alexander said, that Herod was not contented to reign  
" in a Kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their mother's government, after he  
" had killed her; but besides all this, that he introduced a spurious successor; and proposed to give the  
" Kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater. That he would now appease the ghosts  
" of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on him. For that it was not fit for him to take the succession of the government from such a father, without bloodshed. That many things happen every  
" day to provoke him so to do; that he can say nothing but it affords occasion for calumny against him.  
" For that if any mention be made of nobility of birth, even in other cases, he is abused unjustly; while his  
" father would say, that no body, to be sure, is of noble birth but Alexander; and that his father was inglorious for want of such nobility. If they be at  
" any time hunting, and he says nothing, he gives offence; and if he commends any body, they take it in  
" way of jest. That they always find their father unmercifully severe, and to have no natural affection for  
" any of them but for Antipater. On which accounts, if his plot does not take, he is very willing to die.  
" But that in case he kill his father, he hath sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the first place,  
" he hath Archelaus, his father in-law, to whom he  
" can

“ can easily fly ; and in the next place, he hath Cesar ;  
 “ who hath never known Herod’s character to this day.  
 “ For that he shall not appear then before him with  
 “ that dread he used to do, when his father was there  
 “ to terrify him ; and that he will not then produce the  
 “ accusations that concerned himself alone ; but would,  
 “ in the first place, openly insist on the calamities of  
 “ their nation ; and how they are taxed to death ; and  
 “ in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that  
 “ wealth is spent, which was gotten by blood-shed.  
 “ What sort of persons they are that get our riches ;  
 “ and to whom those cities belong, upon whom he be-  
 “ stows his favours. That he would have enquiry  
 “ made, what became of his grandfather [Hyrcanus,]  
 “ and his mother [Mariamne :] and would openly pro-  
 “ claim the gross wickedness that was in the Kingdom.  
 “ On which accounts he should not be deemed a par-  
 “ ricide.”

3. When Eurycles had made this portentous speech,  
 he greatly commended Antipater ; as the only child that  
 had an affection for his father ; and on that account was  
 an impediment to the others plots against him. Here-  
 upon the King, who had hardly repressed his anger up-  
 on the former accusations, was exasperated to an incur-  
 able degree. At which time Antipater took another  
 occasion to send in other persons to his father, to accuse  
 his brethren ; and to tell him, that they had privately  
 discoursed with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had once  
 been masters of the horse to the King ; but for some of-  
 fences had been put out of that honourable employ-  
 ment. Herod was in a very great rage at these infor-  
 mations ; and presently ordered those men to be tortur-  
 ed. Yet did not they confess any thing of what the  
 King had been informed. But a certain letter was pro-  
 duced, as written by Alexander, to the governor of a  
 castle, to desire him to receive him and Aristobulus  
 into the castle, when he had killed his father ; and to  
 give them weapons, and what other assistance he could  
 upon that occasion. Alexander said that this letter was  
 a forgery of Diophantus’s. This Diophantus was the  
 King’s

King's secretary; a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand. And after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod did also order the governor of the castle to be tortured; but got nothing out of him of what the accusations suggested.

4. However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody. Till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his saviour, and his benefactor; and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia; and there he got money of Archelaus; having the impudence to pretend, that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece; and used what he had thus wickedly gotten, to the like iniquitous purposes. Accordingly he was twice accused before Cesar, that he had filled Achaia with sedition; and had plundered its cities; and so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

5. But it will be now worth while to put Euaratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan. For as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came; so the King put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard any such things from the young men. Yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing these miserable sons. For Herod was now only disposed to hearken to what made against them; and every one was most agreeable to him, that would believe they were guilty, and shewed an indignation at them.



## C H A P. XXVII.

Herod, by Cesar's 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 exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons. For Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves. So he sent to her, to take care of her own safety; and told her that the King was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if when she formerly endeavoured to marry herself to Silseus the Arabian, she had discovered the King's grand secrets to him, who was the King's enemy. This last storm entirely sunk the young men, when they were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the King, and informed him of what admonition had been given her. Whereupon he could bear no longer; but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept asunder. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, and his friend Olympus with him, to Cesar immediately. Who carried the informations in writing along with them. Now as soon as these had sailed to Rome, and delivered the King's letters to Cesar, Cesar was mightily troubled. Yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons. So he wrote back to him, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that "He would do well to make an examination into this matter, of the plot laid against him, in a publick court; and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province. And if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away from him, that he should moderate their punishment."

2. With these directions Herod complied; and came to Berytus, where Cesar had ordered the court to be  
assem-

affembled. The presidents fat firft, as Cefar's letters had appointed; who were Saturninus, and Pedanius; and their lieutenants that were with them. With whom was the Procurator Volumnius. Next to them fat the King's kinfmen, and friends; with Salome and Pheroras. After whom fat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus. For Herod had a fufpicion of him, becaufe he was Alexander's father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his fons 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 withal they had but been fuffered to fpeak, Alexander would eafily have answered what they were accused of. But they were in cuftody at Platane, a village of the Sidonians.

3. So the king arofe and inveighed againft his fons, as if they were there prefent. That part of the accusation that they had plotted againft him, he urged but faintly, becaufe he was deftitute of proofs; but he infifted before the affeffors on the reproaches, jefts, injurious carriage, and ten thousand the like offences againft him, which were heavier than death itfelf. And when no body contradicted him, he moved them to pity his cafe, as though he had been condemned himfelf, now he had gained a fevere victory againft his fons. So he asked every one's fentence. Saturninus condemned the young men, but not to death: for that it was not fit for him, who had three fons of his own now prefent, to give his vote for the deftruction of the fons of another. The two lieutenants alfo gave the like vote. Some others there were alfo who followed their example. But Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy fide; and all thofe that came after him condemned the young men to die: fome out of flattery, and fome out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the laft act of this tragedy. Yet did no body fuppofo that Herod would be fo barbarous as to murder his children. However, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence failed to Cefarea, and

deliberated with himself what sort of death the unfortunate youths should suffer.

4. There was a certain old soldier of the king's, whose name was Tero, who had a son who was very familiar with, and a friend to Alexander, and who himself particularly loved the young men. This soldier was in a manner distracted out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing. At first he cried out aloud, as he went about, "That justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perished; and nature confounded; and that the life of man was full of iniquity;" and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who regarded not his own life. At last he ventured to go to the king, and said, "Truly, I think, thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearkenest to most wicked wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee. Since thou hast frequently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death; and yet believest them against thy sons: while these, by cutting off the succession of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater, and thereby chuse to have thee such a king as may be thoroughly in their own power. However, consider whether this death of Antipater's brethren will not make him hated by the soldiers. For there is no body but commiserates the young men; and of the captains a great many shew their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those that had such indignation. But the king ordered those men, with Tero himself, and his son, to be seized upon immediately.

5. At which time there was a certain barber, whose name was Trypho; this man leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, "This Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor, when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Tero, with his son, and the barber by the torture. But as the others denied the accusations, and he said nothing farther, Herod gave order that Tero should

should be racked more severely. But his son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the King, if he would grant [that his father should be no longer tortured.] When he had agreed to this, he said, that "His father, at the persuasion of Alexander, had an intention to kill him." Now some said this was forged, in order to free his father from his torments; and some said that it was true.

6. And now Herod accused the captains, and Tero, in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against them. Accordingly there were they put to death, together with [Trypho] the barber, by the pieces of wood, and the stones that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cesarea; and ordered them to be there strangled. And as what he had ordered was executed immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander, their grand father by the mother's side. This was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*How Antipater is hated of all men: and how the king espouses the sons of those that had been slain to his kindred; but that Antipater made him change them for other women. Of Herod's marriages, and children.*

§ 1. **B**UT an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession, because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies against his brethren. However, he began to be in terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain advancing to manhood. For Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander. And Aristobulus had Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus his sons; with Herodias and Mariamne his daughters; and all by Bernice, Salome's daughter. As for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together

ther with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice, Aristobulus's daughter, to Antipater's uncle by his mother. And it was Antipater who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match. He also got into Pheroras's favour, and into the favour of Cesar's friends by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness, and sent no small sums of money to Rome. Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well satisfied with the presents he made them. Yet the more he gave, the more he was hated; as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. The receivers bore him no more good-will than before; but those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely; on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans; and discovering, at the same time, his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.

2. Accordingly Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children; and, with his eyes full of tears, said thus to them: "It was an unlucky  
 " fate that took away from me these childrens fathers.  
 " Which children are recommended to me by that natural  
 " commiseration which their orphan condition requires. However, I will endeavour, though I have  
 " been a most unfortunâte father, to appear a better  
 " grand-father; and to leave these children such curators  
 " after myself, as are dearest to me. I therefore betroth  
 " thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of these  
 " brethren, the children of Alexander; that thou may'st  
 " be obliged to take care of them. I also betroth to thy  
 " son, Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus. Be thou  
 " therefore a father to that orphan, and my son † Herod  
 " shall have her sister; whose grand-father, by the mother's  
 " side, was High Priest. Let every one that loves  
 " me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, nor ever  
 " abrogate them. And I pray God that he will join these  
 " children together in marriage, to the advantage of my  
 " kingdom,

† Herod-  
Philip.

“ kingdom, and of my posterity; and may he look  
 “ down with eyes more serene upon them, than he look-  
 “ ed upon their fathers.”

3. While he spake these words, he wept, and joined the childrens right hands together. After which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly. He supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even in his father's lifetime; and that he should run another risque of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a King,] and Pheroras a Tetrarch to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation; and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bare to his brethren, when alive; and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

4. Now he was afraid of going subtilly about this matter with his father, who was presently moved, upon the least suspicion. So he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him, before his face, not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him; and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in other persons: for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's son was to have both his grand-father, Archelaus, and Pheroras for his curators. And he besought him earnestly, since there was so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those [intended] marriages. Now the king had nine \* wives; and children by seven of them. Antipater was himself born of Doris; and Herod of Mariamne, the High Priest's daughter. Antipas and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Samaritan; as was his daughter Olympias, which his

\* 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, those wives were in all ten. [Yet is it remarkable, that he had no more than fifteen children by them all.]

brother \* Joseph's son had married. By Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had Herod, and Philip: and by Pallas, Phasaelus. He had also two other daughters, Roxana and Salome; the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis. He had also two wives that had no children: the one his first cousin, and the other his niece. And besides these, he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since therefore the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these [intended] marriages.

5. When the King perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was very angry at it; and a suspicion came into his mind, as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater. So at that time he made Antipater a long and a peevish answer; and bid him be gone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his flatteries, and changed the marriages. He married Aristobulus's daughter to him; and his son to Pheroras's daughter.

6. Now one may learn in this instance how very much this flattering Antipater could do, even what Salome in the like circumstances could not do. For when she, who was his sister, and who, by the means of Julia, Cesar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Syllenus the Arabian; Herod swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy, unless she would leave off that project. He also caused her, against her own consent, to be married to Alexas, a friend of his; and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexas's son; and the other to Antipater's uncle by the mother's side. And for the daughters the king had by Mariamne; the one was married to Antipater, his sister's son; and the other to his brother's son, Phasaelus.

\* To prevent confusion, it may not be amiss, with Dean Aldrich, to distinguish between 4. 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 questor, 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.

## C H A P. 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. He dies at home.*

§ I. **N**OW when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, became intolerable. For not being able to avoid the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking now upon him as already fixed in the Kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which excited new disturbances. For Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. She also was so insolent as to affront the King's \* two daughters. On which account the King hated her to a great degree. Yet although these women were hated by him, they domineered over others. There was only Salome who opposed their good agreement, and informed the King of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of his affairs. And when those women knew what calumnies she had raised against them, and how much Herod was displeas'd, they left off their meetings and friendly entertainments of one another; nay, pretended to quarrel one with another, when the King was within hearing. The like dissimulation did Antipater make use of; and when matters were publick, he opposed Pheroras. But still they had private cabals in the night time. Nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew every thing they did, which she told to Herod.

\* These daughters of Herod, whom Pheroras's wife affronted, were Salome and Roxane, two virgins, who were born to him of his two wives, Elpide and Phedra,



2. But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras's wife, whom Salome had principally accused. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and accused her of many things; and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughters; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him; and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions. At length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him, that "he would give him his choice of these two things; whether he would keep in with him, his brother, or with his wife?" And when Pheroras said, that he would † die rather than forsake his wife; Herod not knowing what to do farther in that matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now though Antipater did not transgress that injunction publickly, yet did he in secret come to their night meeting. And because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome. For when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Cesar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him with a splendid attendance and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him, wherein Antipater had the Kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod I mean, who was the son of Mariamne, the High Priest's daughter.

3. Sylleus also, the Arabian, failed to Rome, without any regard had to Cesar's injunctions, to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which Ni-

† This strange obstinacy of Pheroras in retaining his wife, who was one of a low family, and refusing to marry one nearly related to Herod, though he so earnestly desired it, as also that wife's admission to the counsels of the other great court ladies, together with Herod's own importunity, as to Pheroras's divorce and other marriage, all so remarkable here, cannot be well accounted for, but on the supposal that Pheroras believed, and Herod suspected that the Pharisees prediction, as if the crown of Judea should be translated from Herod's to Pheroras's posterity, and that most probably to Pheroras's posterity by this his wife also, would prove true.

colaus had with him before. This Sylleus had also a great contest with Aretas, his own King. For he had slain many others of Aretas's friends, and particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city Petra. Moreover he had prevailed with Phabatus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum of money, to assist him against Herod. But when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Sylleus; and by his means he demanded of him all that Cesar had required of him to pay. But when Sylleus paid nothing of what he was to pay, and did also accuse Phabatus to Cesar, and said, that he was not a steward for Cesar's advantage, but for Herod's; Phabatus was angry at him on that account, but was still in very great esteem with Herod; and discovered Sylleus's grand secrets, and told the King, that Sylleus had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him; and of whom he must therefore have a care. Accordingly the King complied. For this Corinthus, though he were brought up in Herod's Kingdom, yet was he by birth an Arabian. So the King ordered him to be taken up immediately; and not only him, but two other Arabians, who were caught with him. The one of them was Sylleus's friend, the other the head of a tribe. These last, being put to the torture, confessed, that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money, to kill Herod. And when they had been farther examined before Saturninus, the president of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife. Yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he banished both her and his brother out of his Kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away into his own † tetrarchy, and swore that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod's death; and that he would never return while he was alive. Nor indeed would he return when his brother was sick, although

† Perea,  
beyond  
Jordan.

though he earnestly entreated him, because he had a mind to leave some injunctions with him before he died. But Herod unexpectedly recovered. A little afterward Pheroras himself fell sick, when Herod shewed greater moderation; for he waited on him, and pitied his case, and took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good; for Pheroras died a little afterward. Now though Herod had so great an affection for him to the last day of his life, yet was a report spread abroad that he had killed him by poison. However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem, and appointed a very great mourning to the whole nation for him, and bestowed a most pompous funeral upon him. And this was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristobulus's murderers came to.

## C H A P. XXX.

*When Herod made inquiry about Pheroras's death, a discovery was made that Antipater had prepared a poisonous draught for him. Herod casts Doris, and her accomplices, as also Mariamne, out of the palace, and blots her son Herod out of his testament.*

§ 1. **B**UT now the punishment was transferred unto the original, author Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras. For certain of his freedmen came, with a sad countenance, to the King, and told him, that "his brother had been destroyed by  
 " poison; and that his wife had brought him somewhat  
 " that was prepared after an unusual manner; and that,  
 " upon his eating it, he presently fell into his distemper;  
 " that Antipater's mother and sister two days before  
 " brought a woman out of Arabia, that was skilful in  
 " mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love  
 " potion for Pheroras; and that, instead of a love  
 " potion, she had given him poison; and that this  
 " was done by the management of Sylleus, who was  
 " acquainted with that woman."

2. The King was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the maid servants and some of the free women

women also tortured. One of which cried out in her agonies, " May that God that governs the earth and the heaven, punish this author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother ! " The King took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire farther into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras, and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings; and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk with them for a whole night together, as they returned from the King, and would not suffer any body, either man servant or maid servant, to be there. While one of the free women discovered the matter.

3. Upon this, Herod tortured the maid servants every one by herself separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries, and that accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome, and Pheroras to Perea. For that they oftentimes talked to one another thus: " That after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them, and upon their wives; because after he had not spared Mariamne and her children, he would spare no body. And that for this reason it was best to get as far off the wild beast as they were able." And that Antipater oftentimes lamented his own case before his mother, and said to her, that " he had already grey hairs upon his head; and that his father grew younger again every day; and that perhaps death would overtake him before he should begin to be a King in earnest. And that, in case Herod should die, which yet no body knew when it would be, the enjoyment of the succession could certainly be but for a little time; for that these heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up. That he was deprived by his father of the hopes of being succeeded by his children; for that his successor after his death was not to be any one of his own sons, but Herod, the son of Mariamne. That in this point Herod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should therein take place; for he would take

" care

“ care that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children. Yet does he hate his brother still worse; whence it was that he, a while ago, gave himself an hundred talents, that he should not have any intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, wherein have we done him any harm? Antipater replied, I wish he would but deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked and alive only. But it is indeed impossible to escape this wild beast, who is thus given to murder, who will not permit us to meet with or love any person openly; yet may we meet even in publick, if we have but the courage and the hands of men.”

4. These things were said by the women upon the torture; as also that Pheroras resolved to fly with them to Perea. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the affair of the hundred talents. For he had had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So he vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a second time. He also took care of Pheroras's women, after their tortures, as being now reconciled to them. But he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the rack, out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty person untortured.

5. And now he betook himself to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater. And upon torturing him, he learned, that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion of his; that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free from the suspicion of doing it himself. That Pheroras also committed this potion to his wife. Then did the King send for her, and bid her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as  
if

if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of her house, to prevent any examination and torture from the King. However, it came to pass, as it seems, by the providence of God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The King, when she was brought to him, took care of her, (for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall) and asked her, why she had thrown herself down? and gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from all punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried.

6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said, "Why do I hesitate to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead; that would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction. Hear then, O King, and be thou, and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras, as he was dying, then it was that he called me to him, and said, my dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affectionate to me, and have contrived to kill him, who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompence of my impiety. But do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to the avenger in the invisible world." This I brought as he bad me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire; but reserved a little of it for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee.

7. When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it. But the King let her alone, and transferred the tortures to Antiphilus's mother and brother, who both confessed that  
Antiphilus

Antiphilus brought that box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his, who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverers of what could not otherwise have been found out, and brought such as were the freest from suspicion to be examined. Whereby it was discovered, that Mariamne, the High Priest's daughter, was conscious of this plot, which her very brothers, when they were tortured, declared. Whereupon the King avenged this insolent attempt of the mother's upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of his testament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

## C H A P. XXXI.

*Antipater is convicted by Bathyllus. But still he returns from Rome, without knowing it. Herod brings him to his trial.*

§ 1. **W**HEN these things were over, Bathyllus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's designs: he was his freedman. This man came, and brought another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents; that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also to destroy the King. He brought also additional corroborating proofs, the letters which Antipater wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip, which were the King's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not be prejudicial to his hopes. And to that end he forged letters against them, in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write, how they grossly reproached their father, and did openly bewail Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at their being recalled. For their father had already sent for them. Which was the very thing that troubled Antipater.

2. Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea, and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have the like letters against them sent from Rome; and then came to his father, who had as yet no suspicion of him, and apologized for his brethren; and alledged on their behalf, that some of the things contained in those letters were false; and others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he expended a great deal of his money, by making presents to such as wrote against his brethren, did he aim to conceal the cause of his disbursements; by buying costly garments and carpets of various contextures, with silver and gold cups, and a great many more curious things: for he brought in an account of his expences, amounting to two hundred talents. His main pretence for which was the law-suit he had been in with Syllus. So while all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort also, were covered by his greater villany; while all the examinations by torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, and the letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder his brethren; yet did no one of those that came to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea; although seven months had intervened between his conviction and his return. So great was the hatred which they all bore to him; and perhaps they were the ghosts of those brethren of his that had been murdered, that stop'd the mouths of those that intended to have told him. He then wrote from Rome; and informed [his friends] that he would soon come to them; and how he was dismissed with honour by Cesar.

3. Now the King being desirous to get this plotter against him into his hands; and being also afraid lest he should some way come to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard; he dissembled his anger in his epistle to him; wrote kindly to him, and desired him to make haste; because, if he came quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother. For Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled out of the palace. However, he had before received a letter, which contained an ac-



count of the death of Pheroras, at \* Tarentum; and made great lamentation at it: for which some commended him, as being for his own uncle. Though probably this confusion arose on account of his having thereby failed in his plot [on his father's life:] and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than to Pheroras. Moreover, a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia, he received the forementioned epistle from his father; and made great haste accordingly. But when he had failed to Celenderis, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother's misfortunes: as if his soul foreboded some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his friends which were the most considerate, advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected: because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon her: But those that were less considerate, and had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country, than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make haste home; and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for suspicion, that in case any thing had been moved to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence: which durst not have been done had he been present. And they said, it was absurd to deprive himself of certain happiness, for the sake of an uncertain suspicion: and not rather to return to his father, and take the royal authority upon him; which was in a state of fluctuation on his account only. Antipater complied with this last advice: for providence hurried him on [to his destruction.] So he passed over the sea; and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cesarea.

4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude: while every body, both from fear and hatred, avoided him; their hatred they had now liberty to shew; and the dread men were in of the King's anger made men keep from him. For the whole city [of Jerusalem]

\* This Tarentum has coins still extant, as Reland informs us here.

was filled with the rumours about Antipater: and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them. As no man was dismissed more magnificently when he began his voyage to Rome; so was no man now received back with greater ignominy. And indeed he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family. Yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion. And while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now fly any whither; nor had he any way of escaping the difficulties which encompassed him. Nor indeed had he even there any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family; by reason of the threats the King had given out. Yet had he some small hopes of better tidings. For perhaps nothing had been discovered: or, if any discovery had been made, perhaps he should be able to clear himself by impudence, and artful tricks; which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

5. And with these hopes did he screen himself, till he came to the palace; without any friends with him. For these were affronted, and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this juncture.] So Antipater went in to his father: and, putting on a bold face, came near to salute him. But Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out, "Even this is  
 " an indication of a parricide, to be desirous to get me  
 " into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusa-  
 " tions. God confound thee, thou vile wretch! do  
 " not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of  
 " those crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint  
 " thee a court where thou art to be judged; and Va-  
 " rus, who is very seasonably here, to be thy judge;  
 " and get thou thy defence ready against to-morrow,  
 " for I give thee so much time to prepare subtle excuses  
 " for thyself." Antipater was so confounded that he was  
 able to make no answer to this charge, and went away;

but his mother and wife came to him, and told him of  
 all the evidence they had gotten against him. Hereupon

he recollected himself, and considered what defence he should make against the accusations.

## C H A P. XXXII.

*Antipater is accused before Varus : and is convicted of laying a plot [against his father,] by the strongest evidence. Herod puts off his punishment till he should be recovered ; and in the mean time alters his testament.*

§ 1: **N**OW the day following the King assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends ; and called in Antipater's friends also. Herod himself, with Varus, were the presidents ; and Herod called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in ; among whom some of the domestick servants of Antipater's mother were produced also ; who had but a little while before been caught 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 thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Cesar.” When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in ; and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, “ Father, I beseech thee do not condemn me beforehand ; but let thy ears be unbiaffed, and attend to my defence ; for if thou wilt give me leave, I will shew that I am innocent.”

2. Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spake thus 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 myself worthy of all sorts of calamity, for begetting such children ; while yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons : for when I had settled the Kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of Cesar, and made them envied by other Kings, I found them plotting against me. These have been put to death ;  
“ and

“ and that in great measure 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 dan-  
 “ ger. But this profligate wild beast, when he had been  
 “ over and above satiated with that patience which I  
 “ shewed him, made use of that abundance I had given  
 “ him against myself. I seemed to him to live too long ;  
 “ and he was very uneasy at the old age I was arrived  
 “ at ; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a  
 “ King by parricide. Justly am I served by him for  
 “ bringing him back out of the country to court, when  
 “ he was of no esteem before ; and for thrusting out  
 “ those sons of mine that were born of the Queen ; and  
 “ for making him a successor to my dominions: I con-  
 “ fess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty of ;  
 “ for I provoked those sons of mine to act against me,  
 “ and cut off their just expectations for the sake of An-  
 “ tipater. And indeed what kindness did I do to them,  
 “ that could equal what I have done to Antipater ? to  
 “ whom I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal au-  
 “ thority while I am alive ; and whom I have openly  
 “ named for the successor to my dominions in my te-  
 “ stament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own  
 “ of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an  
 “ extravagant degree out of my own revenue ; and  
 “ when he was lately about to sail to Rome, I gave him  
 “ three hundred talents ; and recommended him, and  
 “ him alone of all my children, to Cesar, as his father’s  
 “ deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of  
 “ mine guilty of like those of Antipater ? And what  
 “ evidence was there brought against them so strong, as  
 “ there is to shew this son to have plotted against me ?  
 “ Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself,  
 “ and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks.  
 “ Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him : for  
 “ I know the wild beast ; and I foresee how plausibly he  
 “ will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was  
 “ he who exhorted me to have a care of Alexander,  
 “ when he was alive, and not entrust my body with all  
 “ men : this was he who came to my very bed, and  
 “ looked

“ looked about lest any one should lay snares for me :  
 “ this was he who took care of my sleep, and secured  
 “ me from any fear of danger ; who comforted me under  
 “ the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my  
 “ sons, and looked to see what affection my surviving  
 “ brethren bore me : this was my protector, and the  
 “ guardian of my body : and when I call to mind, O  
 “ Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art  
 “ of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still  
 “ alive ; and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep  
 “ plotter of mischief. However, since some fate or  
 “ other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises  
 “ up those that are dearest to me against me, I will,  
 “ with tears, lament my hard fortune ; and privately  
 “ groan under my lonesome condition : yet am I re-  
 “ solved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall  
 “ escape punishment ; although the evidence should ex-  
 “ tend itself to all my sons.”

3. Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by  
 the confusion he was in ; but ordered Nicolaus, one of  
 his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater :  
 but in the mean time Antipater lift up his head, (for he  
 lay on the ground before his father's feet,) and cried out  
 aloud, “ Thou, O father, hast made my apology for  
 “ me : for how can I be a parricide whom thou thy-  
 “ self confessest to have always had for thy guardian ?  
 “ Thou callest my filial affection, prodigious lies and  
 “ hypocrisy. How then could it be that I, who was so  
 “ subtil in other matters, should here be so mad, as  
 “ not to understand that it was not easy that he who  
 “ committed so horrid a crime could be concealed from  
 “ men ; but impossible that he should be concealed from  
 “ the judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is pre-  
 “ sent every where. Or did not I know what end my  
 “ brethren came to, on whom God inflicted so great a  
 “ punishment for their evil designs against thee. And  
 “ indeed what was there that could possibly provoke me  
 “ against thee ? Could the hope of being King do it ?  
 “ I was a King already. Could I suspect hatred from  
 “ thee ? No. Was not I beloved by thee ? And what  
 “ other

“ other fear could I have ? Nay, by preserving thee  
 “ safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money ?  
 “ No. For who was able to expend so much as my-  
 “ self ? Indeed, Father, had I been the most execrable  
 “ of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most  
 “ cruel wild beast, must I not have been overcome with  
 “ the benefits thou hadst bestowed upon me : whom,  
 “ as thou thyself sayst, thou broughtest [into the pa-  
 “ lace,] whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy  
 “ sons ; whom thou madest a King in thine own life-  
 “ time ; and, by the vastness of the other advantages  
 “ thou bestowedst on me, thou madest me an object of  
 “ envy. O miserable man ! that thou shouldst under-  
 “ go this bitter absence, and thereby afford a great op-  
 “ portunity for envy to arise against thee ; and a long  
 “ space for such as were laying designs against thee ! Yet  
 “ was I absent, Father, on thy affairs, that Sylleus  
 “ might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age.  
 “ Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Ce-  
 “ sar, the ruler of the habitable earth ; who oftentimes  
 “ called me \* Philopator : take the letters he hath sent  
 “ thee ; they are more to be believed than the calum-  
 “ nies raised here. These letters are my only apology.  
 “ These I use as the demonstration of that natural af-  
 “ fection I have to thee. Remember that it was against  
 “ my own choice that I sailed [to Rome,] as knowing  
 “ the latent hatred that was in the Kingdom against  
 “ me. It was thou, O Father, however unwillingly,  
 “ who hast been my ruin ; by forcing me to allow time  
 “ for calumnies against me, and envy at me : however,  
 “ I am come hither, and am ready to hear the evidence  
 “ there is against me. If I be a parricide, I have passed  
 “ by land and by sea without suffering any misfortune  
 “ on either of them. But this method of trial is no  
 “ advantage to me ; for it seems, O 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  
 “ march through my bowels ; have no regard to any

\* A lover  
of his fa-  
ther.

“ lamentations that this polluted body can make : for  
 “ if I be a parricide, I ought not to die without tor-  
 “ ture.” Thus did Antipater cry out with lamentation  
 and weeping, and moved all the rest, and Varus in par-  
 ticular, to commiserate his case : Herod was the only  
 person whose passion was too strong to permit him to  
 weep, as knowing that the testimonies against him were  
 true.

4. And now it was that, at the King's command,  
 Nicolaus, when he had promised a great deal about the  
 craftiness of Antipater, and had prevented the effects of  
 their commiseration to him, afterwards brought in a  
 bitter and large accusation against him ; ascribing all the  
 wickedness that had been in the Kingdom to him, and  
 especially the murder of his brethren ; and demonstrated  
 that they had perished by the calumnies he had raised  
 against them. He also said, that he had laid designs  
 against them that were still alive, as if they were laying  
 plots for the succession. And, [said he] How can it be  
 supposed that he who prepared poison for his father,  
 should abstain from mischief as to his brethren ? He  
 then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison  
 Herod, and gave an account in order of the several dis-  
 coveries that had been made, enlarging with great indig-  
 nation as to the affair of Pheroras ; because Antipater  
 had been for making him murder his brother ; and had  
 corrupted those that were dearest to the King ; and filled  
 the whole palace with wickedness. And when he had  
 insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs for  
 them, he left off.

5. Then Varus bid Antipater make his defence ; but  
 he lay along in silence, and said no more but this, “ God  
 “ is my witness that I am entirely innocent.” So Va-  
 rus asked for the potion ; and gave it to be drunk by a  
 condemned malefactor, then brought from prison, who  
 died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very  
 private discourse with Herod, and had written an account  
 of this assembly to Cesar, went away after a day's stay ;  
 the King also bound Antipater, and sent away to in-  
 form Cesar of his misfortunes.

6. Now after this it was discovered, that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antipater's domestick servants came and brought letters from Rome, from a maid-servant of Julia \*, whose name was Acme. By her a message was sent to the King, that she had found a letter written by Salome among Julia's papers, and had sent it to him privately, out of her good-will to him. This letter of Salome contained the most bitter reproaches of the King, and the highest 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 desirest, 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 epistle was discovered, and what the epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the King's mind, that perhaps the letters against Alexander were also forged; he was moreover greatly disturbed and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay therefore to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; yet, when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into: however, he sent an account to Cesar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome. He sent also for his testament, and altered it; and therein made Antipater King; as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputations with him: but he bequeathed to Cesar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his wife and children, and friends and freedmen, about five hundred. He also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land and of money; and shewed his respects to Salome, his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts.





## C H A P. XXXIII.

*The golden eagle is cut to pieces. Herod's barbarity when he was ready to die. He attempts to kill himself. He commands Antipater to be slain. He survives him five days, and then dies.*

§ 1. **N**OW Herod's distemper became more and more severe, because these his disorders, fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition. For he was already almost seventy years of age; and had been brought low by the calamities that happened to him about his children; whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health. The grief also that Antipater was still alive, aggravated his disease: whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain [in a public manner.]

2. There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city [Jerusalem,] who were thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation. The one was Judas, the son of Sephoreus; and the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse like an army of the young to these men, when they expounded the laws. Now when these men were informed that the King was wearing away with melancholy, and a distemper, they dropped words to their acquaintance, how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country. That it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the King had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple; which those learned men exhorted them to cut down, and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because that the soul was immortal; and that

that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account \*; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to shew a right love of their souls, preferred death by a disease, before that which is the result of a virtuous behaviour.

3. At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumor was spread abroad, that the King was dying: this 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 mid-day, and while a great number of people were in the temple; and cut down that golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the King's captain of the temple; who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about forty of the young men, and brought them to the King. And when he asked them, first of all, Whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle? they confessed they had done so. And when he asked them, By whose command they had done it? they replied, At the command of the law of their country. And when he farther asked them, How they could be so joyful when they were soon to be put to death? they replied, \* Because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.

4. At this the King was in such extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease [for the time;] and went out, and spake to the people. Wherein he made a ter-

\* Since in these two sections, we have an evident account of the Jewish opinions in the days of Josephus, about a future happy state, and the resurrection of the dead, as in the New Testament, Joh. xi. 24. I shall here refer to the other places in Josephus, before he became a Catholic Christian, which concern the same matters. Of the War, II. 8. 10. 11. III. 8. 4. VII. 6. 7. Contr. Apion, II. 30. Where we may observe that none of these passages are in his books of Antiquities; written peculiarly for the use of the Gentiles; to whom he thought it not proper to insinuate so much out of their way as these were. Nor is this observation to be omitted here especially, on account of the sensible difference we have now before us in Josephus's representation of the arguments used by the rabbins to persuade their scholars to hazard their lives for the vindication of God's law, against images, by Moses; as well as of the answers those scholars made to Herod, when they were caught and ready to die for the same: I mean as compared with the parallel arguments and answers represented in the Antiquities, XVII. 6. 2. 3.

rible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege; and as aiming at greater changes under pretence of their law; and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious and seditious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty; and desired, that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would cease to be angry at the rest. With this the King complied; though not without difficulty; and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their rabbins, to be burnt alive; but delivered the rest that were caught, to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.

5. After this the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts, with various symptoms. For there was a gentle fever upon him; and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body; and continual pains in his colon; and dropfical tumours about his feet; and an inflammation of the abdomen; and a putrifaction of his privy member, that produced worms. Besides which he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright; and had a convulsion of all his members; insomuch that the diviners said, those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live; and hoped for recovery; and considered of several methods of cure. Accordingly he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirrhoe which run into the lake Asphaltitis; but are themselves sweet enough to be drunk. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil. Whereupon his eyes failed him; and he came and went as if he were dying. And as a tumult was then made by his servants, at their voice he revived again. Yet did he after this despair of recovery; and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmæ a piece; and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

6. He then returned to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body, as almost threatened him with present death; when he proceeded to attempt an horrid wickedness. For he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into a place called the Hippodrome; and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and made this speech to them, "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death. However, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do but you take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death; and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no."

7. These were the commands he gave them. Then there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given, that Acme was put to death at Cesar's command; and that Antipater was condemned to die. However, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Cesar permitted him. So he, for a little while, revived, and had a desire to live. But presently after he was overborn by his pains; and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to prevent a natural death. So he took an apple, and asked for a knife; for he used to pare apples, and eat them. He then looked round about to see that there was no body to hinder him; and lift up his right hand, as if he would stab himself. But Achiabus, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindred his attempt. On which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace, as if the King were expiring. 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 obstruct him in his intention, but ran and told the King what his design

sign was. Hereupon the King cried out louder than his distemper would well bear; and immediately sent some of his guards, and slew Antipater. He also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanium, and altered his testament again; and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, and the brother of Antipas, his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch\*.

8. So Herod having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died; having reigned thirty four years, since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty seven years since he had been made King by the Romans. Now, as for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any man's could be so; since from a private man he obtained a Kingdom, and kept it so long; and left it to his own sons. But still, in his domestick affairs, he was most unfortunate, Now before the soldiers knew of his death. Salome and her husband came out, and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the King had commanded to be slain; and told them, that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome told the soldiers [the King was dead;] and got them, and the rest of the multitude together to an assembly, in the amphitheatre at Jericho. Where Ptolemy, who was entrusted by the King with his signet ring, came before them, and spake of the happiness the King had attained; and comforted the multitude; and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers; wherein he earnestly exhorted them to bear good-will to his successor. And after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament; wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis, and the neighbouring countries; Antipas was to be Tetrarch, as we said before; and Archelaus was made King. He had also been commanded

\* We have a large citation of this and the two following sections, in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. I. 8. and that as taken out of Josephus's second book of the Jewish war. By which we learn that our present distinction of these two books of the Jewish war, both in the Greek original, and Rufinus's old version, is different from that used by Eusebius; and that this first very long book was not, in his copy, so much longer than any of the other six, as it now is.

to carry Herod's ring to Cesar, and the settlements he had made sealed up; because Cesar was to be lord of all, and was to confirm his testament. And he ordered that the other dispositions he had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament.

9. So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement; and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good-will; and besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this they betook themselves to prepare for the King's funeral. Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein; but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones; and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple, and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a scepter in his right hand. And near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred. Next to which came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians; the Germans also, and † Galls, all accoutred as if they were going to war. But the rest of the army went foremost, armed; following their captains and officers in a regular manner. After whom, five hundred of his domestic servants and freedmen followed, with sweet spices in their hands; and the body was carried two hundred furlongs, to Herodium, where he had given orders to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

† Galatians, Gr.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
JEWISH WAR:  
OR, HIS  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Destruction of JERUSALEM.

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BOOK II.

[From the death of HEROD, till VESPASIAN was sent by NERO to subdue the Jews: containing the Interval of 69 Years.]

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CHAP. I.

*Archelaus makes a funeral feast for the people, on the account of Herod. After which a great tumult is raised by the multitude: and he sends the soldiers out upon them. Who destroy about three thousand of them.*

§ I. **N**OW the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome, was the occasion of new disturbances. For when he had mourned for his father \* seven days, and had given a very expensive

\* Observe Dean Aldrich's Note on this place. "The law, or custom of the Jews, requires seven days mourning for the dead. Whence the author of  
"the

penfive funeral feaft to the multitude; (which cuftom is the occafion of poverty to many of the Jews, becaufe they are forced to feaft the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not eſteemed an holy perſon) he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple. Where the people accoſted him with various acclamations. He alſo ſpake kindly to the multitude, from an elevated throne of gold; and returned them thanks for the zeal they had ſhewn about his father's funeral, and the ſubmiſſion they had made to him, as if he were already ſettled in the Kingdom. But he told them withal, that "He would not, " at preſent, take upon him either the authority of a " King, or the names thereto belonging; until Ceſar, " who is made lord of this whole affair by the teſtament, " confirm the ſucceſſion. For that when the ſoldiers " would have ſet the diadem on his head at Jericho, he " would not accept of it. But that he would make " abundant requitals, not to the ſoldiers only, but to " the people, for their alacrity and good-will to him, " when the ſuperior lords ſhould have given him a com- " plete title to the Kingdom. For that it ſhould be his " ſtudy to appear in all things better than his father."

2. Upon this the multitude were pleaſed, and preſently made a trial of what he intended, by aſking great things of him. For ſome made a clamour that he would eaſe them in their taxes: others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities; and ſome, that he would looſe thoſe that were in priſon. In all which caſes, he answered readily to their ſatiſfaction; after which he offered [the proper] ſacrifices; and feaſted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of thoſe that deſired innovations came in crowds towards the evening; and began then to mourn, when the public mourning for the king was over, for thoſe that were put to death

" the book of Eccleſiaſticus, xxii. aſſigns ſeven days as the proper time of mourn-  
 " ing for the dead: and enjoins men to mourn for the dead, that they may not  
 " be evil ſpoken of. For as Joſephus ſays preſently, if any one omits this  
 " mourning [funeral feaſt] he is not eſteemed an holy perſon. Now it is cer-  
 " tain, that ſuch a ſeven days mourning has been cuſtomary from times of the  
 " greateſt antiquity. Gen. l. 10. Funeral feaſts are alſo mentioned as of con-  
 " ſiderable antiquity, Ezek. xxiv. Jer. xvi. Prov. xxxi. Deut. xxvi. 14."



by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. The mourning was solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city; as being for those men who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple. They cried out, that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men, upon those that were honoured by Herod: and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made High Priest should be deprived; and that it was fit to chuse a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

3. At these clamours Archelaus was provoked; but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome. Accordingly he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion, rather than by force; and sent his general in a private way to them; and by him exhorted them to be easy. But the seditious threw stones, and drove him away as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they shewed to others, who came to them after him; many of which were sent by Archelaus, in order to reduce them to sobriety: and these answered still on all occasions after a passionate manner. And it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. And indeed at the feast of unleavened bread, which was now at hand, and is by the Jews called the Passover, and used to be celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, an innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship. Some of these stood in the temple, bewailing the rabbins, [that had been put to death,] and procured their sustenance by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them; before the disease should spread over the whole multitude; and gave orders, that they should constrain those that began the tumult by force to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were irritated; and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them. But the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado

to escape so. After which they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief. Nor did it appear to Archelaus, that the multitude could be restrained without blood-shed. So he sent his whole army upon them; the foot in great multitudes by the way of the city; and the horse by the way of the plain. Who falling upon them on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of them. But the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains. These were followed by Archelaus's heralds; who commanded every one to retire to their own homes; whither they all went, and left the festival.

## C H A P. II.

*Archelaus goes to Rome, with a great number of his kindred. He is there accused before Cesar by Antipater: but is superior to his accusers in judgment, by the means of that defence which Nicolaus made for him.*

§ 1. **A**rchelaus went down now to the sea-side, with his mother, and his friends, Poplas, and Ptolemy, and Nicolaus; and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace, and to take care of his domestic affairs. Salome went out also along with him, with her sons: as did also the King's brethren, and sons-in-law. These in appearance, went to give him all the assistance they were able, in order to secure his succession; but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws, by what he had done at the temple.

2. But as they were come to Cefarea, Sabinus the procurator of Syria met them. He was going up to Judea, to secure Herod's effects. But Varus, [president of Syria] who was come thither, restrained him from going any farther. This Varus Archelaus had sent for, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time indeed, Sabinus, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadels, nor did he shut up the treasuries where his father's money was laid up; but promised that he would lie still, until Cesar should have taken cognizance of the affair.

So he abode at Cesarea. But as soon as Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was failed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governors of the citadels, and the stewards [of the King's private affairs,] he tried to sift out the accounts of the money; and to take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels were not unmindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus; and continued to guard them, and said the custody of them rather belonged to Cesar, than to Archelaus.

3. In the mean time Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the Kingdom; and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred who failed along with Archelaus himself also. He likewise carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him; he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Ireneus, the orator. Upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother; and because the second testament gave the Kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome; although, in the first place, every one rather desired to live under their own laws, [without a king;] and to be under a Roman governor. But if they should fail in that point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

4. Sabinus did also afford these his assistance to the same purpose, by the letters he sent; wherein he accused Archelaus before Cesar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, digested the crimes of which they accused Archelaus, and put them into Cesar's hands. And after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and his father's accounts. And when

when Cesar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to alledge for themselves; as also had considered of the great burden of the Kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of the children Herod had left behind him; and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion; he assembled the principal persons among the Romans together; (in which assembly Caius, the son of Agrippa and his daughter Julias, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat) and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

5. Then stood up Salome's son Antipater; (who of all Archelaus's antagonists, was the shrewdest pleader) and accused him in the following speech: " That Archelaus  
 " did in words contend for the Kingdom; but that in  
 " deeds he had long exercised royal authority; and so  
 " did but insult Cesar, in desiring to be now heard on  
 " that account. Since he had not stayed for his deter-  
 " mination about the succession; and since he had sub-  
 " orned certain persons, after Herod's death, to move  
 " for putting the diadem upon his head, since he had  
 " set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a  
 " king, and altered the disposition of the army, and  
 " granted to some higher dignities. That he had also  
 " complied in all things with the people in the requests  
 " they had made to him as to their king; and had also  
 " dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his fa-  
 " ther, for most important reasons. Now, after all this,  
 " he desires the shadow of that royal authority, whose  
 " substance he had already seized to himself; and so hath  
 " made Cesar lord, not of things, but of words. He  
 " also reproached him farther, that his mourning for his  
 " father was only pretended; while he put on a sad coun-  
 " tenance in the day time, but drank to great excess in  
 " the night: from which behaviour he said the late dis-  
 " turbances among the multitude came; while they had  
 " an indignation thereat. And indeed the purport of  
 " his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus's crime  
 " in slaying such a multitude about the temple, who  
 " came to a festival, 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 war, that should come  
 “ upon them [suddenly,] before it was denounced,  
 “ could not have occasioned. And he added, that it  
 “ was the foresight his father had of that his barbarity,  
 “ which made him never give him any hopes of the  
 “ Kingdom, but when his mind was more infirm than  
 “ his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and  
 “ did not well know what was the character of that son,  
 “ whom in his second testament he made his successor.  
 “ And this was done by him at a time when he had no  
 “ complaints to make of him whom he had named be-  
 “ fore when he was sound in body, and when his mind  
 “ was free from all passion. That, however, if any  
 “ one should suppose Herod’s judgment, when he was  
 “ sick, was superior to that at another time; yet had  
 “ Archelaus forfeited his Kingdom by his own beha-  
 “ viour, and those his actions which were contrary to  
 “ the law, and to its disadvantage. Or what sort of a  
 “ King will this man be, when he hath obtained the  
 “ government from Cesar, who hath slain so many be-  
 “ fore he hath obtained it?”

6. When Antipater had spoken largely to this pur-  
 pose, and had produced a great number of Archelaus’s  
 kindred as witnesses, to prove every part of the accu-  
 sation, he ended his discourse. Then stood up Nicolaus  
 to plead for Archelaus. He alledged, that “ the  
 “ slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; that  
 “ those that were slain were become enemies not to Ar-  
 “ chelaus’s Kingdom only, but to Cesar, who was to  
 “ determine about him. He also demonstrated, that  
 “ Archelaus’s accusers had advised him to perpetrate  
 “ other things, of which he might have been accused.  
 “ But he insisted, that the latter testament should, for  
 “ this reason above all others, be esteemed valid, be-  
 “ cause Herod had therein appointed Cesar to be the  
 “ person who should confirm the succession. For he  
 “ who shewed such prudence, as to recede from his  
 “ own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world,  
 “ cannot

“ cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgment about  
 “ him that was to be his heir. And he that so well  
 “ knew whom to chuse for arbitrator of the succession,  
 “ could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose  
 “ for his successor.”

7. When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came, and fell down before Cesar's knees, without any noise. Upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination in his case. But when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard; whether it were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments for Herod's successor, or whether the government should be parted among all his posterity, because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.

## C H A P. III.

*The Jews fight a great battle with Sabinus's soldiers, and a great destruction is made at Jerusalem.*

§ I. **N**OW before Cesar had determined any thing about these affairs, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, 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 was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest. So he left one of those legions, which he brought with him out of Syria, in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came, after he was gone, and gave them an occasion of making innovations. For he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a strict search after the King's money, depending not only on the soldiers which were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants, whom he armed, and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast,

which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews call Pentecost, was at hand, its name being taken from the number of the days [after the passover,] an immense number of people got together, not on account of the accustomed divine worship, but of the indignation they had [at the present state of affairs.] out of Galilee, and Idumea, and Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan. But the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself exceeded the rest, both in number and in alacrity. So they distributed themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places. One was at the north side of the temple; another at the south side, by the Hippodrome; and the third part were at the palace, on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

2. Now Sabinus was affrighted both at their multitude and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, beseeching him to come to his succour quickly; for that if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Phaelus; it is of the same name with Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians; and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy. For his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews, in which they were too hard for them by their superior skill in war. But when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downwards upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. On these it was not easy for the Romans to avenge themselves, nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand.

3. Since therefore the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to the cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude and costliness. Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame,

flame, and many of them perished. As many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them. Some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward; and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire by killing themselves with their own swords. But so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under. Until at last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents. Of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers.

4. However, this destruction of the works [about the temple,] and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round, and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly. For they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legion. There were also a great many of the King's party who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews. Yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and 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 strength and wisdom, which 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, that they should go their ways, and not prove an hindrance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed was 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



a bait laid for them. This consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

## C H A P. IV.

*Herod's veteran soldiers become tumultuous. The robberies of Judas. Simon and Athrongeus take the name of King upon them.*

§ I. **A**T this time there were great disturbances in many places of the country. And the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for Kings. In Idumea two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers got together, and armed themselves, and fought against those of the King's party: These Achiabus, the King's first cousin, opposed, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sepphoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas, (the son of that arch-robber Hezekias, who formerly over-ran the country, and had been subdued by King Herod;) this man got no small multitude together, and brake open the place where the royal armour was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that affected royalty.

2. In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants to the King, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his own head. He also went about with a company of robbers that he had gotten together, and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, with many other costly edifices; and procured himself very easily spoils, snatching them out of the fire. And he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if \* Gratus, the captain of the foot of the King's party, had not taken the Trachonite archers,

\* Tacitus says, that this pretended king, Simon, was slain by Quintilius Varus, then president of Syria. Whereas our somewhat ancients, and, in the affairs of Judea, much more credible Author, Josephus, says, that it was done by Gratus, the general of the Roman foot, and not by Varus. Though it was indeed done by Gratus, while Quintilius Varus was president of Syria.

and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. In this battle many of his foot were slain; Gratus also killed Simon himself, as he was flying along a strait valley, by an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and brake it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan, at Betharamptha, were also burnt down, by some other of the seditious that came out of Perea.

3. At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a King. He was called Athrongeus. It was the strength of his body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul, which despised death; and, besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these, and made use of them as his generals when he made his incursions; while he did himself act like a King, and meddled only with the more important affairs. And at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to over-run the country for no little time with his brethren; 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 encompass a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion, slew their centurion Arius, and forty of the stoutest of his men, while the rest of them, who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were after some time subdued; the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemus; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterward; while at present they filled all Judea with a pyratick war.

## C H A P. V.

*Varus composes the tumults in Judea, and crucifies about two thousand of the seditious.*

§ 1. **U**PON Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and his officers, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion [he had left there.] So he made haste to their relief, took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horse belonging to them, and marched to Ptolemais, having given orders for the auxiliaries, that were sent by the Kings and governors of cities, to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian, (who, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot) Varus sent a part of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais, and Caius, one of his friends, for their commander. This Caius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sephoris, and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants, while Varus marched to Samaria with his whole army. Here he did not meddle with the city, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called Arus. It belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered as they had done the other: and they carried off all the money they light upon belonging to the publick revenues. All was now full of fire and bloodshed, and nothing could resist the plunders of the Arabians. Emmaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, at the command of Varus, out of his rage at the slaughter of those that were about Arius.

2. Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and was no sooner seen by the Jews, than he made their camps disperse

perse themselves up and down the country. But the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt; and said, that they had raised no commotions, but had only been forced to admit the multitude because of the festival; and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebaste, as well as the King's army. There also met him those of the Roman-legion, armed after their accustomed manner. For as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's fight; but was gone out of the city before this, to the sea-side. But Varus sent a part of his army into the country, against those that had been the authors of this commotion. And as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in these tumults he put into custody; but such as were the most guilty he crucified, to the number of two thousand.

3. He was also informed that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms. But when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away; but made haste, with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted. But these, by the advice of Achiabus, delivered themselves up to him, before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offences; but sent their captains to Cesar to be examined by him. Now Cesar forgave the rest; but gave orders that certain of the King's relations (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen) should be put to death; because they had engaged in a war against a King of their own family. When therefore Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

## C H A P. VI.

*The Jews greatly complain of Archelaus; and desire that they may be made subject to Roman governors. But when Cesar had heard what they had to say, he distributed Herod's dominions among his sons, according to his own pleasure.*

§ I. **B**UT now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country. They were fifty in number; but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Cesar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in \* Apollo's temple, that was in the palace; (this was what he had himself built and adorned, at a vast expence :) the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors; and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends; the kindred of Archelaus were neuter. For to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred and envy would not give them leave; while yet they were afraid to be seen by Cesar with his accusers. Besides these, there was present Archelaus's brother, Philip; being sent thither before-hand, by Varus, for two reasons; the one was, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other, that in case Cesar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.

2. And now, upon the permission that was given to the accusers to speak, they, in the first place, went over Herod's breaches of their law; and said, that " He was not a King, but the most barbarous of all tyrants; and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him. That when a very

\* This holding a council in the temple of Apollo, in the Emperor's palace at Rome, by Augustus, and even the building of this temple magnificently by himself in that palace, are exactly agreeable to Augustus, in his elder years; as Aldrich and Spanheim observe, and prove, from Suetonius, and Propertius.

" great number had been slain by him, those that were  
 " left had endured such miseries that they called those  
 " that were dead happy men. That he had not only  
 " tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities;  
 " and had done much harm to the cities of his own  
 " country, while he adorned those that belonged to fo-  
 " reigners; and shed the blood of Jews, to do kind-  
 " nesses to those people that were out of their bounds.  
 " That he had filled the nation with poverty, and the  
 " greatest iniquity; instead of that happiness, and those  
 " laws which they had anciently enjoyed. That, in  
 " short, the Jews had born more calamities from He-  
 " rod, in a few years, than had their forefathers during  
 " all that interval of time that had passed since they  
 " had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in  
 " the reign of \* Xerxes. That, however, the nation  
 " was reduced to so low a condition, by being inured  
 " to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of  
 " their own accord; though he brought them into bit-  
 " ter slavery. That accordingly they readily called Ar-  
 " chelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant,  
 " King, after the decease of his father; and joined with  
 " him in mourning for the death of Herod, and in  
 " wishing him good success. While yet this Archelaus,  
 " lest he should be in danger of not being thought the  
 " genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the mur-  
 " der of three thousand citizens. As if he had a mind  
 " to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his go-  
 " vernment; and to fill the temple with the like num-  
 " ber of dead bodies at that festival. That however,  
 " those that were left after so many miseries had just  
 " reason to consider now at last the calamities they had  
 " undergone; and to oppose themselves, like soldiers  
 " in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces [but  
 " not upon their back as hitherto.] Wherefore they pray-  
 " ed that the Romans would have compassion upon the

† Here we have a strong confirmation, that it was Xerxes, and not Arta-  
 xerxes, under whom the main part of the Jews returned out of the Babylonian  
 captivity; i. e. in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. Which is exactly  
 agreeable to Josephus's old Hebrew, but neither to our modern Hebrew, nor  
 Greek copies.

“ [poor] remains of Judea ; and not expose what was  
 “ left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces ;  
 “ and that they would join their country to Syria ; and  
 “ administer the government by their own commanders.  
 “ Whereby it would [soon] be demonstrated, that those  
 “ who are now under the calumny of seditious persons,  
 “ and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that  
 “ are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones.” So  
 the Jews concluded their accusation with this request.  
 Then rose up Nicolaus, and confuted the accusations  
 which were brought against the † Kings ; and himself  
 accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled ; and as  
 naturally disobedient to Kings. He also reproached all  
 those kinsmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were  
 gone over to his accusers.

† Herod  
 and Arche-  
 laus.

3. So Cesar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved  
 the assembly for that time. But a few days afterward  
 he \* gave the one half of Herod's Kingdom to Arche-  
 laus, by the name of Ethnarch ; and promised to make  
 him King also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy  
 of that dignity. The other half he divided into two  
 Tetrarchies ; and gave them to two other sons of He-  
 rod : the one to Philip, and the other to that Antipas,  
 who contested the Kingdom with Archelaus. Under  
 this last was Peræa, and Galilee ; with a revenue of two  
 hundred talents. But Batanea, and Trachonitis, and  
 Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jam-  
 nia, with a revenue of an hundred talents, were made  
 subject to Philip. While Idumea, and all Judea, and  
 Samaria, were parts of the Ethnarchy of Archelaus ; al-  
 though Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes,  
 out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of  
 the nation. He also made subject to him the following

\* Dean Aldrich sets down here those passages of Tacitus and Strabo, which  
 confirm what Josephus says, both here, and Antiq. XVII. 13. 4. Tacitus's words  
 are these ; Histor. V. 9. “ The children of Herod, says he, governed this na-  
 “ tion, now reduced ; and parted it into three governments.” Strabo's words  
 are as follows : “ Of Herod's sons some of them he himself slew, as plotters  
 “ against him. Others at his death he left his successors ; and gave each of  
 “ them a part of his dominions. Cesar also honoured the sons of Herod, and  
 “ his sister Salome, and her daughter Bernice.”

cities, viz. Strato's tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerufalem. But as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the Kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus, was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the King had left her in his testaments, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Cesar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon. By all which she acquired a revenue of sixty talents. But he put her house under the Ethnarchy of Archelaus. The rest of Herod's offspring received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments. But, besides that, Cesar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver; and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. But after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents; reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents, in honour of the deceased.

## C H A P. VII.

*The history of the spurious Alexander. Archelaus is banished; and Glaphyra dies: after what was to happen to both of them had been shewed them in dreams.*

§ 1. **I**N the mean time there was a man, by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon, with one of the Roman freedmen, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome, in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation; and who knew all the affairs of the Kingdom; and instructed him to say, how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete; and got a great deal of money of them for travelling in splendor, and thence sailed to Melos; where he was thought so

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† Puteoli.

certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more, and prevailed with those that had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed at † Dicearchia; and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there; and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were a King. Nay, the resemblance in his countenance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crouds to see him; while an innumerable multitude stood in the narrow places, through which he was carried. For those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan; and maintained a royal attendance for him, at their own proper charges.

2. But Cesar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face; because he had been accused by Herod before him; discerned the fallacy in his countenance, as soon as he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him: and sent Celadus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Cesar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance; and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he understood the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him. For when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said, that "He was also preserved alive; and was left on purpose in Cyprus, for fear of treachery; because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power, while they were separate." Then did Cesar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories." So he said that he would discover him; and followed Cesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money. For that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did while he  
was

was alive. Cesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body; but ordered him that persuaded him, to be put to death. The people of Melos had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expences they had been at on his account.

3. And now Archelaus took possession of his \* Ethnarchy; and used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also barbarously; out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Cesar; and, in the ninth year of his government, he was banished to Vienna, a city of † Gall; and his effects were put into Cesar's † Galatia. treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent Gr. for by Cesar, he seemed to see nine || ears of corn, full || Gen. xlii. and large; but devoured by oxen. When therefore he I---7<sup>h</sup> had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them what they thought it portended; and when one of them had one interpretation, and another had another, Simon, one of the sect of the Essens, said, that "He thought the ears of corn denoted years; " and the oxen denoted a mutation of things; because " by their ploughing they made an alteration of the " country. That therefore he should reign as many " years, as there were ears of corn; and after he had " passed through various alterations of fortune, should " die." Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation, he was called to his trial.

4. I cannot also but think it worthy to be recorded, what dream Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus King of Cappadocia, had; who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was

\* Father Harduin pretends, that this Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, was by Augustus made at first not barely an Ethnarch, but a King; contrary to the testimony of Josephus, both here, and Antiq. XVII. ii. 4. without any proper evidence for that his contradiction. On the other side, there is a coin still extant, with HEROD in one place, and ETHNARCH in another: which Spanheim once conjectured to be this very Herod Archelaus. Unless Herod the great be himself there called Ethnarch; as the same Spanheim afterward supposed. However, I prefer Spanheim's first conjecture, as best agreeing with Josephus.

the son of Herod the King, by whom he was put to death; as we have already related. This Glaphyra was married, after his death, to Juba King of Lybia; and, after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus the Ethnarch saw her; and fell so deeply in love with her, that that he divorced Mariamne, who was then his wife, and married her. When therefore she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while, she thought she saw Alexander stand by her, and that he said to her, "Thy marriage with the King of Libya might have been sufficient for thee; but thou wast not contented with him, but art returned again to my family, to a third husband; and him, thou impudent woman, hast thou chosen for thine husband, who is my brother. However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast offered me. I shall [soon] have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Now Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.

## C H A P. VIII.

Archelaus's *ethnarchy* is reduced into a [Roman] province. The sedition of Judas of Galilee. The three sects of the Jews.

§ I. **A**ND now Archelaus's part of Judea was reduced into a province, and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of [life and] death put into his hands by Cesar. Under his administration it was, that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt; and said they were cowards, if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans; and would, after God, submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own; and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

2. For there are \* three philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first of which are the Pharisees;

\* Take Dean Aldrich's note here entire. "What is said of the Essens in this chapter, Porphyry has transcribed, and Eusebius out of Porphyry, in his Preparation,"

risees; of the second the Sadducees; and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essens. 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 an evil; but esteem continence, and the conquest over our passions to be virtue. They neglect wedlock, but chuse out other persons children, while they are pliable, and fit for learning; and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued: but they guard against the lascivious behaviour of women; and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

3. These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who hath more than another. For it is a law among them, that those who come to them, must let what they have be common to the whole order: insomuch that among them all, there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches; but every one's possessions are intermixed with every other's possessions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. They think that oil is a defilement. And if any one of them be anointed, without his own approbation, it is wiped off his body. For they think to be sweaty is a good thing; as they do also to be always clothed in white garments. They also have stew-

“paration, IX. 2. Concerning them Josephus writes elsewhere, Antiq. XIII. 5. 9.  
 “What Porphyry says was extant [about them] in the IId book against Apion,  
 “is not found there at present. Besides these, Philo has written about the Essens,  
 “in his book, That every good man is free. Eusebius produces an elegant  
 “place out of his apology for the Jews, [not now extant,] in his Preparation,  
 “VIII. 10. Lastly, Pliny treats of the Essens in Nat. Hist. V. 17. Whatso-  
 “ever we meet with that is authentic in other authors, is derived from these  
 “fountains. Let young men therefore read these [original] authors; and not  
 “suffer themselves to be perplexed with other accounts.” The same learned  
 “person adds presently, “The rules of the Essens do generally agree with those  
 “of the Pythagoreans. For 'tis well known that the Daci, who were instructed  
 “by Zamolxis the Pythagorean, as well as Pythagoras himself, borrowed the  
 “greatest part of their institutions from the Jews. It were easy to compare the  
 “doctrines and practices of both sects together: but we need not take that  
 “trouble; while every body is acquainted with the Pythagorean institutions.”

ards appointed, to take care of their common affairs; who every one of them have no seperate businels for any, but what is for the uses of them all.

4. They have no one certain city. But many of them dwell in every city, and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it was their own: and they go in to such as they never knew before, as if they had been never so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing with them when they travel into remote parts; though still they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accordingly there is in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow of the change of garments, or of shoes, till they be first entirely torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another; but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself. And although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

5. As for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary. For before sun-rising, they speak not a word about profane matters; but put up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made supplication for its rising. After this every one of them is sent away by their curators to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled; in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour. After which they assemble themselves together again into one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. When this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any one of another sect to enter. While they go, after a pure manner, into the dining room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down. Upon which

which the baker lays them loaves in order. The cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them. But a priest says grace before meat. And it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest, when he hath dined, says grace again after meat. || And when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them. After which they lay aside their [white] garments, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening. Then they return home to supper, after the same manner: and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house; but they give every one leave to speak in their turn. Which silence thus kept in their house, appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery. The cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise; and the same settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted them; and that such as is abundantly sufficient for them.

|| This is like a Christian daily love feast. See Tertull. Apologet. Chap. 39.

6. And truly, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their curators. Only these two things are left to every one's own free will, to assist those that want it, and to shew mercy. For they are permitted of their own accord to afford succour to such as deserve it, when they stand in need of it; and to bestow food on those that are in distress. But they cannot give any thing to their kindred, without the curators. They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace. Whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath. But swearing is avoided by them; and they esteem it \* worse

Z 4

than

\* This practice of the Essens, in refusing to swear, and esteeming swearing on ordinary occasions, worse than perjury, is delivered here in general words; as are the parallel injunctions of our Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 16. and of St. James, v. 12. But all admit of particular exceptions, for solemn causes, and on great and necessary occasions. Thus these Essens, who here do so zealously avoid swearing, are related, in the very next section, to admit none till they take tremendous oaths to perform their several duties, to God, and to their neighbour; without supposing they thereby break this rule not to swear at all. The case is the same in Christianity, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions; which altho' they agree with Christ, and St. James, in forbidding to swear in general; yet do they explain it elsewhere, by avoiding to swear false-ly,

than perjury. For they say, that he who cannot be believed, without [swearing by] God, is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients; and chuse out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers.

7. But now, if any one hath a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted; but he is prescribed the same method of living which 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 hath given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification. Yet is he not even now admitted to live with them. For after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years; and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allow'd to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths; that, in the first place, he will exercise piety towards God, and then that he will observe justice towards men; and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the righteous; that he will ever shew fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, because no one obtains the government without God's assistance; and that, if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, nor endeavour to outshine his subjects, either in his garments, or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies; that he will keep his hands clear from theft, and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their

ly, and to swear often, and in vain: and again, by not swearing at all; but withal adding, that, if that cannot be avoided, to swear truly: which abundantly explains to us the nature of the measures of this general injunction.

doctrines to others, no not though any one should threaten his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherways than as he received them himself; that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of \* the † angels. These are the † Or messengers. oaths by which they secure their profelytes to themselves.

8. But for those that are caught in any hainous sins, they cast them out of their society. And he who is thus separated from them, does often die after a miserable manner. For as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the customs he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere; but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger, till he perish. For which reason they receive many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them; as thinking the miseries they have endured a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

9. But in the judgments they exercise, they are most accurate and just. Nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than an hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they most of all honour, after God himself, is the name of their || legislator: whom if any one blas- || Moses. pheme, he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders, and the major part. Accordingly if ten of them be sitting together, no one of them will speak while the other nine are against it.

\* This mention of the names of angels, so particularly preserved by the Essens: (if it means more than those messengers which were employed to bring them the peculiar books of their sect:) looks like a prelude to that worshipping of angels blamed by St. Paul, as superstitious and unlawful, in some such sort of people as these Essens were, Colof. ii. 8. As is the prayer to, or towards the sun for his rising every morning, mentioned before § 5. very like those not much later observances made mention of, in the preaching of Peter, Authent. Rec. Pt. II. page 669. and regarding a kind of worship of angels, of the month, and of the moon; and not celebrating the new moons, or other festivals, unless the moon appeared. Which indeed seems to me the earliest mention of any regard to the moon's phasis in fixing the Jewish calendar. Of which the Talmud and later Rabbins talk so much, and upon so little ancient foundation.



They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover they are \* stricter than any other of the Jews in 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 remove any vessel out of its place, nor go to stool thereon. Nay, on other days, they dig a small pit, a foot deep, with a paddle; (which kind of hatchet is given them, when they are first admitted among them) and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the divine rays of light, they ease themselves into the 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 chuse out for this purpose. And although this easement of the body be natural, yet is it a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if it were a defilement.

10. When the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes. And so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the juniors they must wash themselves, as if they had intermixed themselves with a company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also, insomuch that many of them live above an hundred years, by means of the simplicity of their diet; nay, as I think, by means of the regular course of live they observe also. They contemn the miseries of life, and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always. And indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had, in their trials. Wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either; no nor once to flatter their tormentors, or to shed a tear. But they smiled in their very pains; and laughed those to scorn who in-

\* Of the Jewish or Essens rigour in the observation of the rest on the sabbath day, see Dean Aldrich's and Dr. Hudson's Notes here.

flicted the torments upon them; and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again.

11. For their doctrine is this, that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue forever; and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement. But that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinion of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean; in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain, or snow, or with intense heat; but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean: while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishments. And indeed the Greeks seem to me to have followed the same notion, when they allot the islands of the blessed to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demigods; and to the souls of the wicked, the region of the ungodly, in Hades; where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, are punished. Which is built on this first supposition, that souls are immortal. And thence are those exhortations to virtue, and dehortations from wickedness collected; by which good men are bettered in the conduct of their life, by the hope they have of reward after their death: and the inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they lye concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after their death. These are the divine doctrines of the Essens \* about the soul, which lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

\* Of these Jewish, or Essene, and indeed Christian doctrines concerning souls, both good and bad, in Hades; see the excellent discourse or homily of our Josephus, concerning Hades. Porphyry quotes this account of Josephus very largely.

12. There are also among them who undertake to \* foretel things by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets; and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

13. Moreover there is another order of Essens, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage; as thinking that, by not marrying, they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession; nay rather that, if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However, they try their spouses for three years; and if they find that they have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them. But they do not use to † accompany with their wives when they are with child, as a demonstration that they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with somewhat girded about them. And these are the customs of this order of Essens.

14. But then, as to the two other orders at first mentioned, the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to ‖ fate and to God; and yet allow that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although ‖ fate does co-operate in every action. They say that souls are incorruptible; but that the ‡ souls of good men only are

‡ Or providence.

\* Dean Aldrich reckons up three examples of this gift of prophecy in several of these Essens, out of Josephus himself, viz. in the History of the War, I. 3. 5. Judas foretold the death of Antigonus at Strato's tower. II. 7. 3. Simon foretold that Archelaus should reign but nine or ten years. And Antiq. XV. 10. 4. 5. Menahem foretold that Herod should be King, and should reign tyrannically; and that for more than twenty or even thirty years. All which came to pass accordingly.

† This law or counsel of perfection, was taken into the Christian religion, and is extant, as such, in the Constitut. VI. 28. in the Recognitions, VI. 10, 11. and in others of the antient fathers.

‡ There is so much more here about the Essens than is cited from Josephus in Porphyry and Eusebius, and yet so much less about the Pharisees and Sadducees,

are removed into other bodies; but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order, and take away || fate entirely; and suppose that God is not con- || Or pro-  
 cerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they vidence.  
 say that to act what is good, or what is evil, is at mens own choice; and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the § punishments and rewards in Hades. § Note, that  
 Moreover the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and Hades in-  
 are for the exercise of concord, and regard for the pub- cludes the  
 lick; but the behaviour of the Sadducees one towards place of re-  
 another is in some degree wild; and their conversation wards, as  
 with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as well as of  
 if they were strangers to them. And this is what I punish-  
 had to say concerning the philosophick sects among the ments.  
 Jews.

duces, the two other Jewish sects, than would naturally be expected in proportion to the Essens or third sect; nay, than seems to be referr'd to by himself elsewhere; that one is tempted to suppose Josephus had at first written less of the one, and more of the two others, than his present copies afford us. As also that by some unknown accident our present copies are here made up of the larger edition in the first case, and of the smaller in the second. However, what Josephus says in the name of the Pharisees, that only the souls of good men go out of one body into another, although all souls be immortal; and still the souls of the bad are liable to eternal punishment: as also what he says afterward, Antiq. XVIII. 1. 3. that the soul's vigour is immortal; and that under the earth they receive rewards or punishments, according as their lives have been virtuous or vicious in the present world; that to the bad is allotted an eternal prison; but that the good are permitted to live again in this world; are nearly agreeable to the doctrines of Christianity. Only Josephus's rejection of the return of the wicked into other bodies, or into this world, which he grants to the good, looks somewhat like a contradiction to St. Paul's account of the doctrine of the Jews, that *they themselves allowed that there should be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust*, Acts xxiv. 15. Yet because Josephus's account is that of the Pharisees, and St. Paul's that of the Jews in general, and of himself, the contradiction is not very certain.

## C H A P. IX.

*The death of Salome. The cities which Herod and Philip built. Pilate occasions disturbances. Tiberius puts Agrippa into bonds; but Caius frees him from them, and makes him King. Herod Antipas is banished.*

§ 1: **A**ND now as the ethnarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip and Herod Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies. For when Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her tetrarchy, and Jamnia; as also her plantation of palm-trees that was in Phasaelis\*. But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years six months and two days; both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies; and the latter of them built the city Cesarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas: as also the city Julias in the lower Gaulanitis. Herod also built the city Tiberias in Galilee, and in Perea [beyond Jordan] another that was called Julias.

2. Now Pilate, who was appointed procurator in Judea by Tiberius, sent by night those images of Cesarea that are called ensigns into Jerusalem. This excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot: for those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens had at this procedure, a vast number

\* We have here, in that Greek MS. which was once Alexander Petavius's, but is now in the library at Leyden, two most remarkable additions to the common copies, though deemed worth little remark by the editor. Which, upon the mention of Tiberius's coming to the empire, inserts first the famous testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, as it stands verbatim in the Antiquities, XVIII. 3. 3. with some parts of the excellent discourse or homily of Josephus concerning Hades. But what is here principally to be noted, is this, that in this homily, Josephus having just mentioned Christ as God the word and the judge of the world, appointed by the father, &c. adds, that He had himself elsewhere spoken about him more nicely or particularly.

of people came running out of the country. These zealously waited on Pilate at Cefarea, and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve their antient laws inviolable: but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down prostrate on 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 open market place, and called to him the multitude; as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers, that they should all, as by agreement, at once encompass the Jews with their weapons. So the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks. The Jews were under the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight. Pilate also said to them, that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Cesar's images; and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell down in vast numbers together, and exposed their necks; and cried out that they were sooner ready to be slain, than that their law should be transgressed. Pilate was greatly surpris'd at their prodigious superstition, and gave order that the ensigns should be presently carried out of Jerusalem.

4. After this he rais'd another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is call'd \* Corban upon aqueducts; whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had indignation; and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they surrounded his tribunal, and made a clamour at it. Now when he was apprized beforehand of this disturbance, he mix'd his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude, and order'd them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not indeed to use their swords, but with their staves to beat those that clamoured. He then gave the signal from his tribunal, [to do as he had bidden them.] Now the

\* This use of Corban or Oblation, as here applied to the sacred money dedicated to God in the treasury of the temple, illustrates our Saviour's words, Mark vii. 11.

Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received; and many of them perished as trodden to death by themselves: the calamity of those that were slain made the remainder hold their peace.

5. In the mean time Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius to accuse Herod the tetrarch; who not admitting of his accusation, he stay'd at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus; who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius; and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length stretched out his hands and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him Emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domesticks; who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died; after he had reigned twenty-two years six months and three days.

6. But when Caius was made Cesar, he\* released Agrippa from his bonds, and made him King of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead. But when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he enflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch; who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Cesar, that he was destitute of that greater dignity; for since Cesar had made Agrippa a King from a private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod; so that he came to Caius; by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being banished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him in order to accuse him: to whom also

\* Dean Aldrich produces here two testimonies that confirm what Josephus says, as to Caius's freeing Agrippa from imprisonment, and bestowing the Kingdom of his grandfather Herod upon him; I mean Dio LIX. and Philo in Flaccum, page 665.

Caius gave his tetrarchy by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, whither his wife had followed him.

## C H A P. X.

*Caius commands that his statue should be set up in the temple itself, and what Petronius did thereupon.*

§ 1. **N**OW Caius Cesar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a God, and to desire to be so called; and to cut off those of the greatest nobility of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as the Jews. Accordingly he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem to place his \* statues in the temple; and commanded him that, in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of the nation into captivity. But God concerned himself with these his commands. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea with three legions, and many Syrian auxiliaries: Some of the Jews could not believe the stories that spake of a war; but those that did were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves: and the terror diffused itself through them all; for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

2. This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it an hundred and twenty furlongs; that on the north is the highest, and is called, by the people of the country, The ladder of the Tyrians; which is at the distance of an hundred furlongs. The very small river † Belus runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs;

\* Tacitus owns that Caius commanded the Jews to place his effigies in their temple; though he is mistaken when he adds, that the Jews thereupon took arms.

† This account of a place near the mouth of the river Belus in Phenicia, whence came that sand out of which the ancients made their glass, is a known thing in history; particularly in Tacitus and Strabo, and more largely in Pliny.



near which there is \* Memnon's monument; and hath near it a place no larger than an hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded, is filled again by the winds; which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

3. But now the Jews got together in great numbers, with their wives and children, into that plain that was by Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and in the next place for themselves. So he was prevailed upon, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee, and called together the multitude, with all the men of note to Tiberias; and shewed them the power of the Romans and the threatenings of Cesar; and besides this, proved that their petition was unreasonable; because while all the nations in subjection to them had placed the images of Cesar in their several cities among the rest of their Gods, for them alone to oppose it, was like the behaviour of revolters, and injurious to Cesar.

4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, and how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, or indeed of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much less in the temple: Petronius replied, "And am not I also, said he, bound to keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but just that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against you: for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon

\* This Memnon had several monuments; and one of them appears, both by Strabo and Diodorus, to have been in Syria; and not improbably in this very place.

the whole multitude cried out, that "They were ready to suffer for their law." Petronius then quieted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Cesar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifice twice every day for Cesar and for the Roman people; but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, together with their children and wives, to be slain." At this Petronius was astonished, and pitied them on account of the inexpressible sense of religion, and that courage which made them ready to die for it; so they were dismissed without success.

5. But on the following days he got together the men of power privately, and the multitude publickly, and sometimes used persuasions, and sometimes he gave them his advice; but he chiefly made use of threatenings, and insisted upon the power of the Romans and the anger of Caius; and besides, upon the necessity he was himself under [to do as he was enjoined.] But as they could be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of lying without tillage; for it was about seed-time that the multitude continued for fifty days together idle; he at last assembled, and told them, that "It was best for him to run some hazard himself; for either, by the divine assistance, I shall prevail with Cesar, and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, which will be matter of joy to us both; or, in case Cesar continue in his rage, I will be ready to expose my own life for such a number as you are." Whereupon he dismissed the people, who prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he took the army out of Ptolemais and returned to Antioch: from whence he presently sent an epistle to Cesar, and informed him of the irruption he had made into Judea, and of the supplications of the nation; and that unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the inhabitants, he must permit them to keep their law and countermand his former injunction. Caius answered that epistle in a violent way, and threatened to have Petronius

nius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caius's epistle were tost by a storm, and detained on the sea for three months; while others that brought the news of Caius's death had a good voyage. Accordingly Petronius received the epistle concerning Caius seven and twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

## C H A P. XI.

*Concerning the government of Claudius, and the reign of Agrippa. Concerning the deaths of Agrippa, and of Herod; and what children they both left behind them.*

§ 1. **N**OW when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery; Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him. But the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that staid with them to keep the city quiet; and went up into the capitol, in great numbers; and resolved to oppose Claudius by force; on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed; or at least to chuse by vote such an one for Emperor as might be worthy of it.

2. Now it happened that at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome; and that both the senate called him to consult with them; and at the same time Claudius sent for him out of the camp; as he should have occasion for his service. So he perceiving that Claudius was in effect made Cesar already, went to him; who sent him ambassador to the senate, to let them know, what his intentions were; that "In the first place, it was without his seeking, that he was hurried away by the soldiers; moreover, that he thought it was not just to desert those soldiers in their zeal for him; and that, if he should do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty."

“certainty. For that it was a dangerous case to have  
 “been once called to the empire. He added farther,  
 “that he would administer the government as a good  
 “prince, and not like a tyrant. For that he would be  
 “satisfied with the honour of being called Emperor;  
 “but would, in every one of his actions, permit them  
 “all to give him their advice. For that although he  
 “had not been by nature for moderate measures, yet  
 “would the death of Caius afford him a sufficient demon-  
 “stration how soberly he ought to act in that station.”

3. This message was delivered by Agrippa. To which the Senate replied; that “Since they had an  
 “army, and the wisest counsels on their side, they  
 “would not endure a voluntary slavery.” When Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message, that “He could not bear the thoughts of betray-  
 “ing them that given their oaths to be true to him;  
 “and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly,  
 “against such as he had no mind to fight; that how-  
 “ever [if it must come to that] it was proper to chuse  
 “a place without the city for the war. Because it was  
 “not agreeable to piety to pollute the temples of their  
 “own city with the blood of their own countrymen;  
 “and this too on occasion of their imprudent conduct.” And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

4. In the mean time one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, and cried out, “O my fel-  
 “low soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of  
 “ours, to kill our brethren, and to use violence to our  
 “kindred that are with Claudius? while we may have  
 “him for our Emperor whom no one can blame; and  
 “who hath so many just reasons [to lay claim to the  
 “government:] with regard to those against whom  
 “we are going to fight.” When he had said this, he marched through the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. All the patricians were immediately in a great fright at their being thus deserted. But still, because there appeared no other method

of deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Claudius. But those that had the greatest luck in flattering the good fortune of Claudius betimes met them before the walls, with their naked swords; and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger; before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them; had not Agrippa ran before, and told him what a dangerous thing they were going about; and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was most desirable to rule; and would be Emperor of a desert.

5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the soldiery; and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner; and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon his first coming to the empire. Moreover he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately; and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis; and besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. This gift he declared to the people by a decree; but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the Capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

6. Now riches flowed in upon Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion. Nor did he abuse it on small matters. But began to encompass Jerusalem with a wall, which had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege. But his death, which happened at Cesarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years; as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros; Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and a son born of the same mother, whose name

name was Agrippa. He was left a very young child; so that Claudius made the country a Roman province; and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator; and after him Tiberius Alexander; who making no alterations of the ancient laws kept the nation in tranquillity. After this, Herod the King of Chalcis died, and left two sons, born of his brother's daughter Bernice. Their names were Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus; whom he had by his former wife, Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his, that died a private person; his name was also Aristobulus, who left a daughter whose name was Jotape. And these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus, the son of Herod. Which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mariamne, and were slain by him. Alexander's posterity they reigned in Armenia.

## C H A P. XII.

*Many tumults under Cumanus: which were composed by Quadratus. Felix is procurator of Judea. Agrippa is advanced from Chalcis to a greater kingdom.*

§ I. **A**FTER the death of Herod, King of Chalcis, Claudius set \* Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom; while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province; and therein he succeeded Alexander. Under Cumanus began the troubles, and the Jews ruin came on. For when the multitude were come to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread; and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple; (for they always were armed, and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation, which the multitude thus assembled might make;) one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and cowering down, after an indecent manner,

\* Compare with these accounts in Josephus that of Julius of Tiberias, who was greatly acquainted with the family of this Agrippa, as it has been set down already, after Josephus's life. Who says, "that this Agrippa, the last King of the Jews, took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero; and still more augmented by Vespasian; and died in the third year of Trajan."

turned back his breech to the Jews, and spake such words as you might expect upon such a posture. At this the whole multitude had indignation; and made a clamour to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier; while the rasher part of the youth, and such as were naturally the most tumultuous, fell to fighting; and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon which Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him; and sent to call for more armed men. Who when they came in great numbers, into the cloisters, the Jews were in a very great fright; and being beaten out of the temple, ran into the city. And the violence with which they crouded to get out was so great, that they trod and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed; insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation; and every family lamented [their own relations.]

2. Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers. For at the publick road of Beth-horon, one Stephen, a servant of Cesar's, carried some furniture; which the robbers fell upon, and seized. Upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about to the neighbouring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound; laying it to their charge that they had not pursued the thieves, and caught them. Now here it was that a certain soldier, finding the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and \* threw it into the fire. Hereupon the Jews were in great disorder; and ran together with united clamour to Cæsarea, to Cumanus; and made supplication to him, that he would not overlook this man, who had offered such an affront to God, and to his law; but punish him for what he had done. Accordingly he perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer; gave order that the soldier should be brought, and drawn through those that required to have him punished to execution. Which being done, the Jews went their ways.

\* 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.

3. After this there happened a fight between the Galileans and the Samaritans at a village called Geman; which is situate in the great plain of Samaria; where, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast, a certain Galilean was slain. And besides a vast number of people ran together out of Galilee, in order to fight with the Samaritans. But the principal men among them came to Cumanus, and besought him, that before the evil grew incurable, he would come into Galilee, and bring the authors of this murder to punishment; for that there was no other way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However Cumanus postponed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about; and sent the petitioners away without success.

4. But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder; and they left the feast; and, without any generals to conduct them, marched with great violence to Samaria. Nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them. But they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Dineus, and by Alexander in their thievish and seditious attempts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighbourhood of the Acrabatene toparchy, and slew them, without sparing any age; and set the villages on fire.

5. But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called the troop of Sebaste, out of Cesarea; and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled. He also seized upon a great number of those that followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And as for the rest of the multitude that went so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out cloathed with sackcloth; and having ashes on their head; and begged of them to go their ways; lest by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon their country, and temple; their children, and their wives; and not bring the utmost dangers of destruction upon them, in order to avenge themselves up-  
on



on one Galilean only. The Jews complied with these persuasions of theirs; and dispersed themselves. But still there were a great number who betook themselves to robbing; in hopes of impunity; and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country. And the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to \* Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished. The great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan the son of Ananus, the High-priest, came thither, and said, that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbance, on account of that murder they had committed; and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them that when he should come to those places he would make a diligent inquiry into every circumstance. After which he went to Cesarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews whom he had learned to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them; but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power among them, and both Jonathan and Ananias the high priests, as also Ananus the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were eminent among the Jews to Cesar. As he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans; he also ordered that Cumanus [the procurator] and Celer the tribune should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done to Cesar. When he had finished these matters he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, returned to Antioch.

\* This Ummidius or Numidius, or, as Tacitus calls him, Vinidius Quadratus is mentioned in an ancient inscription, still preserved, as Spanheim informs us, which calls him UMMIDIUS QUADRATUS.

7. Now when Cefar at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say, (where it was done in the hearing of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews; as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cumanus) he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death. He banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews, to be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

8. After this Cefar sent Felix, \* the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea; and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater Kingdom. For he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis. He added to it the Kingdom of Lyfania, and that province which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, died, and left Nero his successor in the empire, whom he

\* Take the character of this Felix (who is well known from the Acts of the apostles, particularly from his trembling when St. Paul discoursed of righteousness, chastity, and judgment to come; and no wonder, when we have elsewhere seen, that he lived in adultery with Drusilla, another man's wife.) in the words of Tacitus, produced here by dean Aldrich: "Felix exercised, says Tacitus, the authority of a King, with the disposition of a slave; and relying upon the great power of his brother Pallas at court, thought he might safely be guilty of all kinds of wicked practices." Observe also the time when he was made procurator, A. D. 52. that when St. Paul pleaded his cause before him, A. D. 58. he might have been many years a judge unto that nation: as St. Paul says he had then been, Acts xxiv. 10. But as to what Tacitus here says, that before the death of Cumanus, Felix was procurator over Samaria only, does not well agree with St. Paul's words, who would hardly have called Samaria a Jewish nation. In short, since what Tacitus here says, is about countries very remote from Rome, where he lived; since what he says of two Roman procurators, the one over Galilee, the other over Samaria at the same time, is without all example elsewhere; and since Josephus, who lived at that very time in Judea, appears to have known nothing of this procuratorship of Felix, before the death of Cumanus, I much suspect the story itself, as nothing better than a mistake of Tacitus's; especially when it seems not only omitted, but contradicted by Josephus, as any one may find that compares their histories together. Possibly Felix might have been a subordinate judge among the Jews some time before, under Cumanus; but that he was in earnest a procurator of Samaria before, I do not believe. Bishop Pearson, as well as bishop Lloyd, quote this account, but with a doubtful clause; *sic fides Tacito*; if we may believe Tacitus,

had adopted by his wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor; although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his former wife; and a daughter, whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero. He had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was Antonia.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Nero adds four cities to Agrippa's Kingdom; but the other parts of Judea were under Felix. The disturbances which were raised by the Sicarii, the Magicians, and an Egyptian false prophet. The Jews and Syrians have a contest at Cesarea.*

§ 1. **A**S to the many things in which Nero acted like a mad man, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, and by that means used his good fortune to the injury of others, and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother, from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him, and how, at last, he was so distracted that he became an actor upon the theatre, I omit to say any more about them; because there are writers enough upon those subjects every where. But I shall turn myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

2. Nero therefore bestowed the Kingdom of the lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, || Herod's son; and he added to Agrippa's Kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging; I mean Abila, and that Julias which is in Perea, Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee. But over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch-robber, and many that were with him, alive, when they had ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome; and caused an innumerable multitude of robbers and their associates to be crucified.

3. When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, who slew men in the day time,  
in

|| i. e. Herod, king of Chalcis.

in the midst of the city. This they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers dissembled indignation against the murderers. By which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan, the high priest; after whose death many were slain every day; while the fear men were in of being so served was more afflicting than the calamity itself; and while every body expected death every hour, as men do in war. So men were obliged to look before them, and to take notice of their enemies at a great distance; nor if their friends were coming to them, durst they trust them any longer. But in the midst of their suspicions and guarding of themselves they were slain. Such was the celerity of the plotters against them, and so cunning was their contrivance.

4. There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, which laid waste the happy state of the city no less than did these murderers. These were such men as deceived and deluded the people under pretence of divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government. And these prevailed with the multitude to act like mad men, and went before them into the wilderness, as pretending that God would there shew them the signals of liberty. But Felix thought this procedure was to be the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horse and foot, both armed, who destroyed a great number of them.

5. But there was an Egyptian prophet that did the Jews more mischief than the former; for he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet, and got together || thirty <sup>4000,</sup> thousand men that were deluded by him. These he led <sup>Acts xxi.</sup> round about from the wilderness to the mount, which was called the mount of olives, and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place. And if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison and the people,

people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them. Inasmuch, that when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of those that were with him were either destroyed or taken alive; the rest dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

6. Now when these were quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part was subject to an inflammation. For a company of deceivers and robbers got together, and persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government; and saying, that such as willingly chose slavery ought to be forced from such their desired inclinations. For they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the masters, and set the villages on fire, till all Judea was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war.

7. There was also another disturbance at Cesarea. Those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians, that lived there, raising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs; and said that he who built it was a Jew, meaning King Herod. The Syrians confessed also, that its builder was a Jew; but they still said however that the city was a Grecian city. For that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews. On which account both parties had a contest, which increased so much, that it came at last to arms; and the bolder sort marched out to fight. For the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people, that were disposed to be tumultuous; and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches and strength of body; but the Grecian part had

|| So Grecians and Syrians, being both Gentiles, were esteemed one and the same, as in the New Testament.

had the advantage of assistance from the soldiery. For the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria; and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet; and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bands. Yet did not their sufferings affright the remainder, or make them desist; but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market-place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not; and they would not obey him; he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them, and plundered their houses. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides, as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albinus, as he is by Florus, who, by the barbarity of his government, forces the Jews into the war.*

§ 1. **N**OW Festus succeeded Felix as procurator, A. D. 60. and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office as the other had done. Nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named, but he had an hand in it. Accordingly he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money. So that no body remained in the prisons, as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing.

thing. At this time the enterprizes of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable; the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their rebellious practices; while that part of the people, who delighted in disturbances, joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albinus. And every one of these wicked wretches was encompassed with his own band of robbers; while he himself, like an arch-robber or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those that lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to shew great indignation at what they had suffered; but that those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the whole, no body durst speak their minds; but tyranny was generally tolerated. And at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

A. D. 64. 2. And although such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius \* Florus, who succeeded him, shew him to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison. For the former did the greatest part of his rogueries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner. And as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine or vexation. Where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous; and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could any one out-do him in disguising the truth; nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceit

\* Not long after this beginning of Florus, the wickedest of all the Roman procurators of Judea, and the immediate occasion of the Jewish war, at the 12th year of Nero, and the 17th of Agrippa, or A. D. 66. the history in the xx books of Josephus's Antiquities ends. Although Josephus did not finish those books till the 13th of Domitian, or A. D. 93. twenty seven years afterward. As he did not finish their Appendix, containing an account of his own life, till Agrippa was dead, which happened on the 3d year of Trajan, or A. D. 100.

than he did. He indeed thought it but a petty offence to get money out of single persons; so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once; and did almost publickly proclaim it all the country over, that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils they got. Accordingly, his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire toparchies were brought to desolation; and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3. And truly while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, no body durst do so much as send an embassage to him against Florus. But when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread, \* three millions of people besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation; and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch. Florus also conducted him as far as Cesarea, and deluded him; tho' he had at that very time the purpose of shewing his anger at the nation, and procuring it a war; by which means alone he supposed he might conceal his enormities. For he expected that if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Cesar; but that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery that was so much greater. He therefore did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

4. At this time it happened that the Grecians at Cesarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought

\* Here we may note, that 3,000,000 of 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 256,000 paschal lambs, which at twelve to each lamb, which is no immoderate calculation, come to 3,072,000.



the judicial determination. At the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month Artemisius [Jyar.] The occasion was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cesarea had a synagogue, near a place whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek. The Jews had endeavoured frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price. But as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of affront to them; and made working shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there. But as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him; and then went away from Cesarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a licence to the Jews to fight it out.

5. Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cesarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward at the entrance to that synagogue, and sacrificed birds \*. This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. Whereupon the sober and moderate part

\* Take here Dr. Hudson's 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 their law in the cleansing of a leper, (Levit. c. 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:" says Dr. Hudson.

of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again. While the seditious part, and such as were in the fervour of youth, were inflamed to fight. The seditious also among the [Gentiles of] Cesarea stood ready for the same purpose. For they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand, [as ready to support him;] so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to stop the tumult, came thither, and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to quiet the sedition. But when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cesarea, the Jews caught up their books of the law, and retired to Nabata, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case; and besought him to help them; and, with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him. But he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cesarea.

6. The citizens of Jerusalem, altho' they took this matter very ill, did yet restrain their passion. But Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Cesar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran to the temple, with prodigious clamours, and called upon Cesar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him; and carried a basket about, and begged some pittance of money for him, as for one that was destitute of possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet was not he made ashamed of his love of money; but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more. And instead of coming to Cesarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning thence, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances; on which account he had received a

|| Of eight talents.

received a || reward; he marched hastily with an army of horse and foot against Jerusalem, that he might gain his will by the arms of the Romans; and might by his terror, and by his threatenings, bring the city into subjection.

7. But the people were desirous of making Florus ashamed of his attempt, and met his soldiers with acclamations; and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them go back, and not now make a shew of receiving him in an obliging manner, whom they had so foully reproached before. And said that it was incumbent on them, in case they had generous souls, and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear to be lovers of liberty, not only in words, but with their weapons also. With this message was the multitude affrighted; and upon the coming of Capito's horse into the midst of them were dispersed, before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behaviour to him. Accordingly they retired to their own houses, and spent that night in fear and confusion of face.

8. At this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it; when the High Priests, and the men of power, and those of the greatest eminence in the city came; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them that they should themselves partake of the vengeance to them belonging, if they did not produce the criminals: but these demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was no wonder at all that in so great a multitude there should be some more daring than they ought to be, and, by reason of their youth, foolish also. And that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and denied it out of fear of what would follow. That he ought however to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might pre-  
serve

serve the city for the Romans; and rather for the sake of a great number of innocent people, to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of the wicked to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.

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 slay such as they met with; so the soldiers taking this permission in a sense agreeable to their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent to, but forcing themselves into every house, slew its inhabitants; so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no method of plunder was omitted: they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. The number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children, (for they did not spare even the infants themselves) was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier was this new method of Roman barbarity; for Florus ventured then to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the \* equestrian order whip'd, and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who, altho' they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

## C H A P. XV.

*Concerning Bernice's petition to Florus, to spare the Jews, but in vain; as also how, after the seditious flame was quenched, it was kindled again by Florus.*

§ 1. ABOUT this very time King Agrippa was going A. D. 66 to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero. But as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem,

\* Here we have examples of native Jews who were of the equestrian order among the Romans; and so ought never to have been whip'd or crucified, according to the Roman laws. See almost the like case in St. Paul himself, Acts xxii.

and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected; and frequently sent the masters of her horse, and her guards to Florus, and begg'd of him to leave off these slaughters. But he would not comply with her request, nor have any regard either to the multitude of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded; but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering. Nay, this violence of the soldiers brake out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on the queen herself. For they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught, under her very eyes; but indeed had killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace, and had stayed there all night with her guards about her, for fear of an insult from the soldiers. She dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a \* vow which she had made to God. For it is usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows; and, for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Which things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal; and besought him [to spare the Jews.] Yet could she neither have any reve-

\* This vow which Bernice, here and elsewhere called Queen, not only as daughter and sister to two Kings, Agrippa the great, and Agrippa junior, but the widow of Herod King of Chalcis, came now to accomplish at Jerusalem, was not that of a Nazarite, but such a one as religious Jews used to make in hopes of any deliverance from a disease, or other danger; as Josephus here intimates. However, these thirty days abode at Jerusalem, for fasting and preparation against the oblation of a proper sacrifice, seems to be too long; unless it were wholly voluntary in this great lady. It is not required in the law of Moses relating to Nazarites, Numb. vi. and is very different from St. Paul's time for such preparation, which was but one day, Acts xxi. So we want already the continuation of the Antiquities, to afford us light here; as they have hitherto done on so many occasions elsewhere. Perhaps in this age the traditions of the Pharisees had obliged the Jews to this degree of rigor; not only as to these thirty days preparation, but as to the going barefoot all that time; which here Bernice submitted to also. For we know, that as God's and our Saviour's yoke is usually easy, and his burthen comparatively light, in such positive injunctions, so did the Scribes and Pharisees sometimes bind upon men heavy burthens, and grievous to be born; even when they themselves would not touch them with one of their fingers. However, Noldius well observes, that Juvenal in his sixth satire alludes to this remarkable penance or submission of this Bernice to Jewish discipline; and jests upon her for it; also Tacitus, Dio Suetonius, and Sextus Aurelius mention her as one well known at Rome.

rence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar.] On the next day the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished, with grievous reflections on Florus. At which the men of power were affrighted, together with the High Priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. The multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them; and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

3. So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over, and endeavoured to kindle that flame again; and sent for the High Priests, with the other eminent persons, and said, The only demonstration, that the people would not make any other innovations, should be this; that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cesarea, whence two cohorts were coming. And while these men were exhorting the multitude to comply, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them, not to return the Jews salutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now the High Priests assembled the multitude in the temple; and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and salute the cohorts very civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. The seditious part would not comply with these persuasions: but the consideration of those that had been destroyed, made them incline to those that were the boldest for action.

4. At this time it was, that every priest, and every \*servant of God, brought out the holy vessels, and the or- \* Levite.  
namental garments, wherein they used to minister about sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of

hymns came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve these holy ornaments, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the High Priests themselves with copious dust sprinkled upon their heads; with bosoms deprived of any covering, but what was rent. These besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not, for a small offence, betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste: saying, "What benefit  
 " will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from  
 " the Jews? Or what amendment of your affairs will  
 " it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them?  
 " And that if they saluted them civilly, all handle would  
 " be cut off from Florus to begin a war; that they  
 " should thereby gain their country, and freedom  
 " from all farther sufferings. And that, besides, it  
 " would be a sign of a great want of command of  
 " themselves, if they should yield to a few seditious per-  
 " sons; while it was fitter for them, who were so great  
 " a people, to force the others to act soberly."

5. By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude, and to the seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers after a composed manner. And when they were come up with them, they saluted them: but when they made no answer, the seditious exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs: and as they fled, the horse trampled them down. Thus a great many were killed by the strokes of the Romans; and more by their own violence in crushing one another: for there was terrible crowding about the gates; and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction ensued. Nor could any one of them be distinguished by his relations, in order to the care of his funeral. The soldiers also who beat  
 them

them, fell upon those whom they overtook; without shewing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude thro' the place called \* Bezetha, as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the King's palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel, [Antonia.] But his attempt failed; for the people immediately turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt. And as they stood upon the tops of their houses, threw their darts at the Romans. Who, as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above; and they were not able to force a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages; retired to the camp at the palace.

6. The seditious were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia. So they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus. For whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God [in the temple;] and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia; as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt. He then sent for the High Priests, and the Sanhedrim, and told them, that he was indeed himself going out of the city; but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Hereupon they promised that they would attempt no innovations, in case they would leave them one band; but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill-will against that, on account of what they had suffered.

\* I take this Bezetha to be that small hill, adjoining to the north side of the temple, whereon was the hospital with five portico's or cloisters: and beneath which was the sheep pool of Bethesda, into which an angel or messenger, at a certain season, descended; and where he or they, who were the first put into the pool, were cured, Joh. v. 1. &c. This situation of Bezetha, in Josephus, on the north side of the temple, and not far off the tower Antonia, exactly agrees to the place of the same pool at this day. Only the remaining cloisters are now but three. See Maundrel, pag. 106. The entire buildings seem to have been called the New City: and this part, where was the hospital, peculiarly Bezetha, or Bethesda.



So he changed the band, as they desired; and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cefarea.

### CH A P. XVI.

*Cestius sends Neopolitanus the tribune to see in what condition the affairs of the Jews were. Agrippa makes a speech to the people of the Jews; that he may divert them from their intentions of making war with the Romans.*

§ 1. **H**OWEVER, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war; and sent to \* Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting [from the Roman government;] and imputed the beginning of the former fight to them; and pretended they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion. But did themselves write to Cestius; as did Bernice also; about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty. Cestius, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains [what he should do.] Some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army; either to punish the revolt, if it was real; or to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them. But he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs; and to give him a faithful account of the intentions of the Jews. Accordingly he dispatched one of his tribunes, whose name was Neopolitanus; who light upon King Agrippa, as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia; and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errands he was sent.

2. And here the High Priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the Sanhedrim, came to congratulate the King, [upon his safe return.] And after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation; but transfer-

\* The president of Syria. Chap. 14. § 3.

ed, after a subtle manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied; that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves; and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated; in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the King gave them was intended for their good. But as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem; and congratulated both Agrippa, and Neopolitanus. But the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all, and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations; and besought Agrippa to assist them. They also cried out to Neopolitanus, and complained of the many miseries they had endured under Florus; and shewed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neopolitanus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with one only servant, as far as Siloam; that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans; and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple. Where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans; and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace: and having performed such parts of divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius.

3. The multitude of the Jews addressed themselves to the King, and to the High Priests; and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus; and not by their silence afford a suspicion, that they had been the occasions of such great slaughters as had been made, and were disposed to revolt. Alledging that they should seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report

by shewing who it was that began it. And it appeared, that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassage. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus; yet did not he think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He therefore called the multitude together into a large gallery; and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asamoneans, that she might be seen by them; (which house was over the gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery) and spake to them as follows.

4. \* “ Had I perceived that you were all zealously  
 “ disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the  
 “ purer and more sincere part of the people did not  
 “ propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you,  
 “ nor been so bold as to give you counsel. For all dif-  
 “ courses that tend to persuade men to do what they  
 “ ought to do is superfluous, when the hearers are  
 “ agreed to act contrary. But because some are earnest  
 “ to go to war, because they are young, and without  
 “ experience of the miseries it brings; and because some

\* In this speech of King Agrippa we have an authentick account of the extent and strength of the Roman Empire when the Jewish war began. And this speech, with other circumstances in Josephus, demonstrate how wise, and how great a person this Agrippa was; and why Josephus elsewhere calls him a most wonderful or admirable man. He is the same Agrippa who said to Paul, *Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian*; and of whom St. Paul said, *He was expert in all the customs and questions of the Jews*. But what seems to me very remarkable here is this; that when Josephus, in imitation of the Greeks and Romans, for whose use he wrote his Antiquities, did himself frequently compose the speeches which he put into others mouths, they appear, by the politeness of their composition, and their flights of oratory, to be not the real speeches of the persons concerned, who usually were no orators; but of his own elegant composition; the speech before us is of another nature; full of undeniable facts, and composed in a plain and unartful, but moving way. So that it appears to be King Agrippa's own speech; and to have been given Josephus by Agrippa himself, with whom Josephus had the greatest friendship. Nor may we omit Agrippa's constant doctrine here; that this vast Roman Empire was raised and supported by divine providence: and that therefore it was in vain for the Jews, or any others, to think of destroying it. Nor may we neglect to take notice of Agrippa's solemn appeal to the angels here used. The like appeals to which we have in St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 22. and by the Apostles, in general, in the form of the ordination of Bishops, Constitut. Apost. VIII. 4.

“ are

“ are for it, out of an unreasonable expectation of re-  
“ gaining their liberty ; and because others hope to get  
“ by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it, that  
“ in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what  
“ belongs to those that are too weak to resist them ; I  
“ have thought proper to get you all together, and to  
“ tell 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 conduct of some others. Let not any one  
“ be tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me  
“ say do not please them. For as to those that admit  
“ of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will  
“ still be in their power to retain the same sentiments  
“ after my exhortation is over. But still 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 make a tragical  
“ exclamation concerning the injuries that have been  
“ offered you by your procurators ; and concerning the  
“ glorious advantages of liberty. But before I begin  
“ the inquiry, who you are that must go to war ? and  
“ who they are against whom you must fight ? I shall  
“ first separate those pretences that are by some con-  
“ nected together. For if you aim at avenging your-  
“ selves on those that have done you injury, why do  
“ you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liber-  
“ ty ? But if you think all servitude intolerable, to what  
“ purpose serves your complaint against your particu-  
“ lars governors ? For if they treated you with mode-  
“ ration, it would still be equally an unworthy thing  
“ to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that  
“ may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your  
“ going to war. Your first occasion is the accusations  
“ you have to make against your procurators. Now here  
“ you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and  
“ not give them any provocation. But when you re-  
“ proach 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 pri-  
“ vately,

vately, and with some degree of modesty; and to  
 lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so  
 much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with  
 patience. And the quietness of those who are injur-  
 ed diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But  
 let us take it for granted, that the Roman ministers  
 are injurious to you, and are incurably severe. Yet  
 are they not all the Romans who thus injure you.  
 Nor hath Cesar, against whom you are going to make  
 war, injured you. 'Tis not by their command that  
 any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are  
 in the west cannot see those that are in the east. Nor  
 indeed is it easy for them there, even to hear what is  
 done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war  
 with a great many, for the sake of one; to do so  
 with such mighty people, for a small cause; and this  
 when these people are not able to know of what you  
 complain. Nay, such crimes as we complain of may  
 soon be corrected; for the same procurator will not  
 continue for ever. And probable it is, that the suc-  
 cessors will come with more moderate inclinations.  
 But as for war, if it be once begun, 'tis not easily  
 laid down again, nor born without calamities coming  
 therewith. As to the desire of recovering your liber-  
 ty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late; whereas  
 you ought to have laboured earnestly in old time that  
 you might never have lost it. For the first experi-  
 ence of slavery was hard to be endured; and the strug-  
 gle that you might never have been subject to it would  
 have been just. But that slave who hath been once  
 brought into subjection, and then runs away, is ra-  
 ther refractory, than a lover of liberty; for it was  
 then the proper time for doing all that was possible  
 that you might never have admitted the Romans  
 [into your city,] when Pompey came first into the  
 country. But so it was, that our ancestors, and their  
 Kings, who were in much better circumstances than  
 we are both as to money, and [strong] bodies, and  
 [valiant] souls, did not bear the onset of a small  
 body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have  
 now

“ now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted, in your circumstances, will venture to oppose the entire Empire of the Romans. While those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the land, and walked upon the sea, and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe; and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia at the lesser Salamis; are yet at this time servants to the Romans. And those injunctions which are sent from Italy, become laws to the principal governing city of Greece! Those Lacedemonians also, who got the great victories at Thermopylæ, and Platea, and had Agefilaus [for their King,] and searched every corner of Asia, are contented to admit the same lords. Those Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the Empire over the world; these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of army do you rely upon? what are the arms you depend on? where is your fleet, that may seize upon the Roman seas? and where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabians? Will not you carefully reflect upon the whole Roman Empire? Will not you estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighbouring nations? while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth. Nay, rather, they seek  
“ for

“ for somewhat still beyond that. For all Euphrates  
 “ is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east-side;  
 “ nor the Danube on the north; and for their southern  
 “ limit Libya hath been searched over by them, as far  
 “ as countries uninhabited; as is Cadiz their limit on  
 “ the west. Nay, indeed, they have sought for another  
 “ habitable earth, beyond the ocean; and have carried  
 “ their arms as far as such British islands as were never  
 “ known before. What therefore do you pretend to?  
 “ Are you richer than the Galls? stronger than the Ger-  
 “ mans? wiser than the Greeks? more numerous than  
 “ all men upon the habitable earth? What confidence  
 “ is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Per-  
 “ haps it will be said, it is hard to endure slavery.  
 “ Yes; but how much harder is this to the Greeks,  
 “ who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the  
 “ sun. These, though they inhabit a large country, are  
 “ in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. 'Tis the  
 “ same case with the Macedonians, who have juster  
 “ reasons to claim their liberty than you have. What  
 “ is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? do not they  
 “ submit to a single governor, and to the consular  
 “ bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Henio-  
 “ chi, and Colchi, and the nation of Tauri, those  
 “ that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about  
 “ Pontus, and Meotis? who formerly knew not so much  
 “ as a lord of their own; but are now subject to three  
 “ thousand men; and where forty long ships keep the  
 “ sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and  
 “ very tempestuous. How strong a plea may Bithynia,  
 “ and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the  
 “ Lycians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty? But they  
 “ are made tributary, without an army. What are the  
 “ circumstances of the Thracians? whose country ex-  
 “ tends in breadth five days journey, and in length  
 “ seven, and is much more defensible than yours, and  
 “ by the rigour of its cold sufficient to keep off armies  
 “ from attacking them; do not they submit to two  
 “ thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the  
 “ Illyrians, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far

“ as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two  
 “ legions? by which also they put a stop to the incur-  
 “ sions of the Dacians. And for the Dalmatians, who  
 “ have made such frequent insurrections in order to re-  
 “ gain their liberty, and who could never before be so  
 “ thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered  
 “ their forces together again, and revolted; yet are  
 “ they now very quiet under one Roman legion. More-  
 “ over, if great advantages might provoke any people  
 “ to revolt, the Galls might do it best of all, as  
 “ being so thoroughly walled round by nature; on the  
 “ east by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine,  
 “ on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the  
 “ west by the ocean. Now although these Galls have  
 “ such obstacles before them to prevent any attacks, and  
 “ have no fewer than three hundred and || five nations || Or fifteen;  
 “ among them; nay have, as one may say, the foun-  
 “ tains of domestick happiness within themselves, and  
 “ send out plentiful streams over almost all the world;  
 “ these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive  
 “ their prosperous condition from them. And they un-  
 “ dergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds,  
 “ or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having  
 “ borne a war of eighty years, in order to preserve their  
 “ liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have  
 “ to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune,  
 “ which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These  
 “ Galls therefore are kept in servitude by twelve hun-  
 “ dred soldiers, which are hardly so many as are their  
 “ cities. Nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of  
 “ Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to pre-  
 “ serve their liberty; nor could their vast distance from  
 “ the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the  
 “ martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape.  
 “ No more than could the ocean, with its tide, which  
 “ yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay the  
 “ Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars  
 “ of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds,  
 “ upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these  
 “ nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for  
 “ these



“ these people, although they were so hard to be con-  
 “ quered, and at a distance so remote from Rome.  
 “ Who is there among you that hath not heard of the  
 “ great number of the Germans? You have to be sure  
 “ yourselvcs seen them to be strong and tall, and that  
 “ frequently, since the Romans have them among their  
 “ captives every where. Yet these Germans, who  
 “ dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater  
 “ than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, who  
 “ are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, and have  
 “ the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises, 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 away to them, and subdued  
 “ them, while they were encompassed by the ocean,  
 “ and inhabited an island that is not less than [the con-  
 “ tinent of] this habitable earth. And four legions are  
 “ a sufficient guard to so large an island. Why should  
 “ I speak much more about this matter? while the Par-  
 “ thians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of  
 “ so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty  
 “ forces, send hostages to the Romans. Whereby you  
 “ may see, if you please, even in Italy, the noblest na-  
 “ tion of the east, under the notion of peace, submit-  
 “ ting to serve them. Now when almost all people  
 “ under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be  
 “ the only people that make war against them? and  
 “ this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians,  
 “ who in the midst of their brags of the great Hannibal,  
 “ and the nobility of their Phenician original, fell by the  
 “ hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyreneans,  
 “ derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmar-  
 “ ridæ, a nation extended as far as the regions uninha-  
 “ bitable for want of water; nor have the Syrtes, a  
 “ place terrible to such as barely hear it described, the  
 “ Nafamons, and Moors, and the immense multitude  
 “ of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Ro-  
 “ man

" man valour. And as for the third part of the ha-  
 " bitable earth, || whose nations are so many that 'tis || Africa,  
 " not easy to number them, and which is bounded by  
 " the Atlantick sea, and the pillars of Hercules, and  
 " feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as  
 " far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued  
 " entirely. And besides the annual fruits of the earth,  
 " which maintain the multitude of the Romans for  
 " eight months in the year, this over and above pays  
 " all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to  
 " the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like  
 " you, esteem such injunctions a disgrace to them, al-  
 " though they have but one Roman legion that abides  
 " among them. And indeed, what occasion is there  
 " for shewing you the power of the Romans over re-  
 " mote countries? when it is so easy to learn it from  
 " Egypt, in your neighbourhood. This country is  
 " extended as far as the Ethiopians, and Arabia the  
 " happy, and borders upon India. It hath seven mil-  
 " lions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabi-  
 " tants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the re-  
 " venue of the poll tax. Yet is it not ashamed to sub-  
 " mit to the Roman government, although it hath  
 " Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by rea-  
 " son it is so full of people, and of riches, and is be-  
 " sides exceeding large; its length being thirty furlongs,  
 " and its breadth not less than ten. And it pays more  
 " tribute to the Romans in one month, than you do in  
 " a year. Nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends  
 " corn to Rome that supports it for four months [in the  
 " year.] It is also defended on all sides, either by al-  
 " most unpassable deserts, or seas that have no havens,  
 " or by rivers, or by lakes. Yet have none of these  
 " things been found too strong for the Roman good  
 " fortune. However, two legions that lie in that city  
 " are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and  
 " for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedo-  
 " nians. Where then are those people whom you are  
 " to have for your auxiliaries? must they come from  
 " the parts of the world that are uninhabited? For all

“ that are in the habitable earth are [under the] Ro-  
 “ mans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as  
 “ beyond Euphrates; and suppose that those of your  
 “ own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your  
 “ assistance. But certainly these will not embarrass  
 “ themselves with an unjustifiable war; nor, if they  
 “ should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians per-  
 “ mit them so to do. For it is their concern to main-  
 “ tain the truce that is between them and the Romans;  
 “ and they will be supposed to break the covenants be-  
 “ tween them, if any under their government march  
 “ against the Romans. What remains therefore is this,  
 “ that you have recourse to divine assistance. But this  
 “ is already on the side of the Romans. For 'tis im-  
 “ possible that so vast an empire should be settled with-  
 “ out God's providence. Reflect upon it, how impos-  
 “ sible it is for your zealous observation of your reli-  
 “ gious customs to be here preserved, which are hard  
 “ to be observed even when you fight with those whom  
 “ you are able to conquer. And how can you then  
 “ most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being  
 “ forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn  
 “ his face from you. And if you do observe the custom  
 “ of the sabbath days, and will not be prevailed on to  
 “ do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as  
 “ were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest  
 “ in his siege on those days on which the besieged rested.  
 “ But if in time of war you transgress the law of your  
 “ country, I cannot tell on whose account you will af-  
 “ terward go to war. For your concern is but one,  
 “ that you do nothing against any of the laws of your  
 “ forefathers. And how will you call upon God to  
 “ assist you when you are voluntarily transgressing  
 “ against his religion? Now all men that go to war do  
 “ it either as depending on divine, or on human assis-  
 “ tance. But since your going to war will cut off both  
 “ these assistances, those that are for going to war chuse  
 “ 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

“ by this mad prank you will however escape the re-  
“ proach of being beaten. But it were best, O my  
“ friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the  
“ haven, to foresee the impending storm, and not to  
“ set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurri-  
“ canes. For we justly pity those that fall into great  
“ misfortunes without foreseeing them; but for him  
“ who rushes into manifest ruin he gains reproaches,  
“ [instead of commiseration.] But certainly no one  
“ can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agree-  
“ ment, or that when the Romans have got you under  
“ their power, they will use you with moderation, or  
“ will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn  
“ your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole na-  
“ tion. For those of you who shall survive the war,  
“ will not be able to find a place whither to flee; since  
“ all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are  
“ afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay indeed, the dan-  
“ ger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but  
“ those of them which inhabit in other cities also. For  
“ there is no people upon the habitable earth which have  
“ not some portion of you among them, whom your  
“ enemies will slay, in case you go to war; and so every  
“ city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter  
“ for the sake of a few men; and they who slay them  
“ will be pardoned. But if that slaughter be not made  
“ by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take  
“ arms against those that are so kind to you. Have  
“ pity therefore, if not of your children and wives, yet  
“ upon this your metropolis and its sacred walls. Spare  
“ the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy  
“ furniture, for yourselves. For if the Romans get you  
“ under their power, they will no longer abstain from  
“ them; when their former abstinence shall have been  
“ so ungratefully requited. I call to witness your  
“ sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this  
“ country common to us all, that I have not kept back  
“ any thing that is for your preservation. And if you  
“ will follow that advice which you ought to do, you  
“ will have that peace which will be common to you

“ and to me ; but if you indulge your passions, you  
 “ will run those hazards which I shall be free from.”

5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his  
 sister wept ; and by their tears repress'd a great deal of  
 the violence of the people ; but still they cried out,  
 “ that they would not fight against the Romans, but  
 “ against Florus ; on account of what they had suffered  
 “ by his means.” To which Agrippa replied, “ that  
 “ what they had already done was like such as make war  
 “ against the Romans ; for you have not paid the \* tri-  
 “ bute which is due to Cesar ; and you have † cut off  
 “ the cloysters [of the temple] from joining to the  
 “ tower Antonia : you will therefore prevent any oc-  
 “ casion of revolt, if you will but rejoin these, and  
 “ pay your tribute ; for the citadel does not now be-  
 “ long to Florus ; nor are you to pay the tribute-mo-  
 “ ney to Florus.”

† Where  
 was the Ro-  
 man garri-  
 son,

#### C H A P. XVII.

*How the war of the Jews with the Romans began ; and  
 concerning Manahem.*

§ 1. **T**HIS advice the people hearkened to, and went  
 up into the temple with the King and Ber-  
 nice, and began to rebuild the cloysters. The rulers  
 also and the senators divided themselves into the villages  
 and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty  
 talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus  
 did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was  
 threatened. Moreover, he attempted to persuade the  
 multitude to obey Florus, until Cesar should send one  
 to succeed him. But they were hereby more provoked,  
 and cast reproaches upon the King, and got him ex-  
 cluded the city ; nay, some of the seditious had the im-  
 pudence to throw stones at him. So when the King saw  
 that the violence of those that were for innovations was  
 not to be restrained, being very angry at the contume-

\* Julius Cesar had decreed, that the Jews of Jerusalem should pay an annual tribute to the Romans, excepting the city Joppa; and for the sabbatical year, as Spanheim observes from the Antiquities, XIV. 10. 6.

lies he had received; he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cesarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own Kingdom.

2. At this time some of those that principally excited the people to go to war, made an assault upon a certain fortress called Masada. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high-priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Cesar on this account. And when many of the high-priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their multitude; for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them; but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

3. Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferr'd with the high priests, as did also the principal of the Pharisees; and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate; which was that gate of the † inner temple which looked toward the sun-rising. In the first place they shewed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country; after which they confuted their pretence as unjustifiable, and told them, that “ their forefathers had adorned  
“ their temple in great part with donations bestowed on  
“ them by foreigners; and had always received what  
“ had been presented to them from foreign nations:  
“ and that they been so far from rejecting any person’s

† Court of the priests.

“ sacrifice, (which would be the highest instance of im-  
 “ piety) that they had themselves placed those dona-  
 “ tions about the temple which were still visible, and  
 “ had remained there so long a time, that they did now  
 “ irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and  
 “ invited them to make war upon them, and brought  
 “ up novel rules of a strange divine worship, and de-  
 “ termined to run the hazard of having their city con-  
 “ demned for impiety; while they would not allow any  
 “ foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to wor-  
 “ ship therein. And if such a law should be introduced  
 “ in the case of a single private person only, he would  
 “ be offended at it, as an instance of inhumanity de-  
 “ termined against him; while they have no regard to  
 “ the Romans, or to Cesar, and forbid even their ob-  
 “ lations to be received also. That however they can-  
 “ not but fear, lest by thus rejecting their sacrifices they  
 “ shall not be allow’d to offer their own; and that this  
 “ city will lose its principality, unless they grow wiser  
 “ quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly; and  
 “ indeed amend the injury [they have offered foreigners]  
 “ before the report of it comes to the ears of those that  
 “ have been injured.”

4. As they said these things, they produced those  
 priests that were skillful in the customs of their coun-  
 try; who made their report, that “ all their forefa-  
 “ thers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations.”  
 But still not one of the innovators would hearken to  
 what was said; nay, those that ministred about the  
 temple would not attend their divine service, but were  
 preparing matters for beginning the war. So the men  
 of power perceiving that the sedition was too hard for  
 them to subdue, and that the danger which would arise  
 from the Romans would come upon them first of all;  
 endeavoured to save themselves, and sent ambassadors,  
 some to Florus, the chief of which 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 desired of  
 them both, that they would come with an army to the  
 city,

city, and cut off the sedition before it should be too hard to be subdued. This message was good news to Florus, and, because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting, and for those against whom the war was to be made; and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews. He was also sensible, that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should proceed; so he sent three thousand horse to the assistance of the people, out of Auranitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, under Darius the master of his horse, and Philip the son of Jacimus the general of his army.

5. Upon this the men of power, with the high-priests, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace took courage, and seized upon the † upper city; for the seditious part had the lower city and the temple in their power. So they made use of stones and slings perpetually one against another, and threw darts on both sides. Sometimes it happened that they made excursions by troops, and fought it out hand to hand. The seditious were superior in boldness, but the King's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it; as did the seditious, with Eleazar, besides what they had already, labour to gain the upper city. Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days time; but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized on.

† Mount  
Sion.

6. Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory, upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar, (that there might never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable, and always burning.) Upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observation of this part of religion: and when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crouded in among the weaker people, (that was the name for such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called Sicæ) they grew bolder, and carried their undertaking farther;



farther; infomuch that the King's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness, and so they gave way and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias the high-priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice. After which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were repositied, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts, to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors; and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy: so the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies; at which time some of the men of power, and of the high-priests, went into the 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 the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. The seditious were contented with the victory they had gotten and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous, [Ab] they made an assault upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, whither the King's soldiers were fled, and parted themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls; no one had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they distributed themselves into 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 one with another, either by night or by day, while the seditious supposed that those within would grow weary for want of food, and those without supposed the others would do the like by the tediousness of the siege.

8. In the mean time one Manahem the son of Judas, that was called the Galilean, (who was a very cunning sopher, and had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans) took some of the men of note with him and retired to Masada, where he broke open King Herod's armory. and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a King to Jerusalem. He became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege; but they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they 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: yet did they then meet with another wall that had been built within; for the besieged were sensible beforehand of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was undermining; so they provided themselves of another fortification; which when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were under some consternation. However, those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation. This was granted to the King's soldiers and their own countrymen only: but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected; for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude, and to desire them to give them their right hand for their security they thought would be a reproach to them; and besides, if they should give it them, they durst not depend upon it. So they deserted their camp, as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers; that called Hippicus, that called Phasaelis, and that called Mariamne; but Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled, and slew as many of them as they could catch before they got up to the towers, and

and plundered what they left behind them, and set fire to their camp. This was executed on the sixth day of the month Gorpheus, [Elul.]

9. But on the next day the high-priest was caught where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct. He was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother, by the robbers. Hereupon the seditious besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any one of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high-priest Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel; and as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he grew an insupportable tyrant. But Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them, how “ It was not proper when  
 “ they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of  
 “ liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own  
 “ people, and to bear a lord; who, though he should  
 “ be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than them-  
 “ selves; as also that, in case they were obliged to set  
 “ some one over their publick affairs, it was fitter they  
 “ should give that privilege to any one rather than to  
 “ him;” they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers in their armour. But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people; and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while; but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled which way every one was able. Those that were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada; among whom was Eleazar the son of Jairus, who was of kin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward. As for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called Ophla, and there lay skulking; but they  
 took

took him alive and drew him out before them all; they then tortured him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him; as they did by those that were captains under him, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Apfalom.

10. And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices; but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger 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 in pressing it forward; and this till Metilius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only, but agreed to deliver up their arms and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition, sent to them Gorion the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, and Judas the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security of their right hands and of their oaths; after which Metilius brought down his soldiers. Which soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any appearance of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under no farther suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round and slew them; while they neither defended themselves, nor entreated for mercy, but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered, excepting Metilius; for when he entreated for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew and be circumcised, they saved him alive. This loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army; but still it seemed to be a prelude to the Jews own destruction. While men made publick lamentation, when they saw that such occasions

calions were afforded for a war as were incurable, that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some divine vengeance, even though they should escape revenge from the Romans. So that the city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditious; for indeed it so happened, that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath-day: on which day the Jews have a respite from their works, on account of divine worship.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The calamities and slaughters that came upon the Jews.*

§ 1. **N**OW the people of Cesarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour [when the soldiers were slain;] which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of providence; insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cesarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants. Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. The whole Jewish nation was greatly enraged at this disaster; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebonitis, and Gerasa, and Pella, and Scythopolis; and after them Gadara and Hippos. And falling upon Gaulanitis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire, and then went to Kedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cesarea; nor was either Sebaste, or Ascalon, able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked. And when they had burnt these to the ground, they entirely demolished Anthedon and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of these cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

2. How-

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

3. And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners. But when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that acted as enemies. For as they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen. Nay their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected

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

4. It will deserve our relation what besel Simon. He was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body, and the boldness of his conduct; although he abused them both to the detriment of his countrymen. For he came every day, and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis; and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him. For when the people of Scythopolis threw darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy: for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude. But he cried out after a very moving manner, and said, "O  
 " you people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for  
 " what I have done with relation to you, when I gave  
 " you such security of my fidelity to you, by slaying so  
 " many of those that were related to me. Wherefore we  
 " very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners,  
 " while we acted after a most wicked manner against our  
 " own nation. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I  
 " am, by mine own hands.. For 'tis not fit I should  
 " die

“ die by the hands of our enemies. And let the same  
 “ action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes,  
 “ and a testimony of my courage to my commendation ;  
 “ that so no one of our enemies may have it to brag of,  
 “ that he it was that slew me ; and no one may insult  
 “ upon me as I fall.” Now when he had said this, he  
 looked round about him upon his family with eyes of  
 commiseration, and of rage : (that family consisted of a  
 wife, and children, and his aged parents) in the first place  
 he caught his father by his grey hairs, and ran his sword  
 through him ; after him he did the same to his mother,  
 who willingly received it. And after them he stabbed  
 his wife and children : every one almost offering them-  
 selves to his sword, as desirous to prevent being slain  
 by their enemies. So when he had gone over all his fam-  
 ily, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all ; and  
 stretching out his right hand, that his action might be  
 observed by all, he sheathed his sword in his own bowels.  
 This young man was to be pitied on account of the  
 strength of his body, and the courage of his soul. But  
 since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity [against his  
 own countrymen] he suffered deservedly.

5. Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other  
 cities rose up against the Jews that were among them.  
 Those of Ascalon slew 2500, and those of Ptolemais  
 2000, and put not a few into bonds. Those of Tyre  
 also put a great number to death, but kept a great-  
 er number in prison. Moreover, those of Hippos,  
 and those of Gadara did the like ; while they put to  
 death the boldest of the Jews, but kept those of whom  
 they were afraid in custody. As did the rest of the ci-  
 ties of Syria, according as they every one either hated,  
 or were afraid of them. Only the Antiochians, the Si-  
 donians, and Apamians, spared those that dwelt with  
 them ; and would not endure either to kill any of the  
 Jews, or to put them in bonds. And perhaps they spar-  
 ed them, because their own number was so great, that  
 they despised their attempts. But I think the favour  
 was chiefly owing to their commiseration of those whom  
 they saw to make no innovations. The Gerasens also



did no harm to those that abode with them; but conducted those who chose to depart as far as their borders reached.

6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's Kingdom. For he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus, to Antioch, but had left one of his companions, whose name was Noarus, to take care of the publick affairs. Noarus was of kin to King \* Sohemus. Now there came certain men, seventy in number, out of Batanea; who were the most considerable for their families and prudence of the rest of the people: and desired to have an army put into their hands; that if any tumult should happen they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain it. This Noarus sent out some of the King's armed men by night, and slew all those [seventy] men. Which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa; and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, though he brought ruin upon the Kingdom. Thus cruelly did he treat that nation, contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it. Who did not indeed dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus; but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. The seditious took the citadel which was called Cypros, and was above Jericho; and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications. This was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews that were at Macherus persuaded the Romans, who were in garrison, to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans being in great fear, lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart, upon certain conditions. And when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel. Into which the people of Macherus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

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

7. But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, from that very time when Alexander [the great,] upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, as a reward, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves. Which honorary reward continued among them under his successors. Who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the gentiles;] and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before. They also gave them this farther privilege, that they should be called Macedonians. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Cesar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians: and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse. At this time especially, when there were tumults in other places, the disorders among them were put 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 came flocking to the theatre: which when their adversaries saw, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies. Upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them. And as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away. Three men whom they caught, they haled along, in order to have them burnt alive. But all the Jews came in a body to defend them; who at first threw stones at the Grecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man. And this they had soon effected, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms; but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not to provoke the Roman army against them. But the seditious

made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

8. Now when he perceived that those that were for innovations would not be pacified, till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city; and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance, were come thither out of Lybia, to the ruin of the Jews. These were permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. They accordingly rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bidden; though not without bloodshed on their own side. 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 back, they were destroyed unmercifully: some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses; which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans. No mercy was shewed to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age; till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps. Nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire. Accordingly these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation. But the populace of Alexandria bare so very great hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recal them; and it was an hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

9. Such was the miserable calamity which at this time befel the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lye still, while the Jews were every where up in arms. So he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire; and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of foot, and four troops of horse, besides those auxiliaries that were sent by the Kings.

Kings. Of which \* Antiochus sent two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, with as many archers: Agrippa sent the same number of foot, and one thousand horse. Sohemus also followed with four thousand: a third part whereof were horse, but the rest were archers. Thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities; who had not indeed the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity, and in their hatred to the Jews, what they wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius, Agrippa himself; both as a guide in his march over the country, and a director what was fit to be done. So Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which was called The city of men, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation. This he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains; but full of all sorts of good things. Those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city; although it were of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he over-ran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them; and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews plucked up their courage, for they knew that Cestius was retired; and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

10. And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to Cesarea. But he sent part of his army before him to Joppa; and gave order, that if they could take that city [by surprize] they should keep it; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him, and for the rest of the army. So some of them

\* Spanheim notes on the place, that this later Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, is mentioned by Dio LIX. pag. 645. and that he is mentioned by Josephus elsewhere twice also. V. 11. 3. and Antiq. XIX. 2. 1.

made a brisk march by the sea-side, and some by land; and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease. And as the inhabitants had made no provision aforehand for a flight; nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting; the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families; and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horse to the toparchy of Narbatene, that adjoined to Cesarea; who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people. They also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

11. But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee; and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sepphoris, with acclamations of joy. Which wise conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in quiet. While the seditious part, and the robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee, and is situate over against Sepphoris: it is called Afamon. So Gallus brought his forces against them. But while those men were in the parts superior to the Romans, they easily threw their darts upon the Romans, as they made their approaches; and slew about two hundred of them. But when the Romans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into the parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten. Nor could they who had only light armour on, sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over. Nor when they were beaten, could they escape the enemies horsemen. Insomuch that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at, among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.



## C H A P. XIX.

*What Cestius did against the Jews; and how, upon his besieging Jerusalem, he retreated from the city, without any just occasion in the world. As also what severe calamities he underwent from the Jews in his retreat.*

§ 1. **A**ND now Gallus seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilee, returned with his army to Cesarea. But Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to † Antipatris. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them. This party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them, without engaging. So they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men. For the \* whole multitude were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles. Yet did he destroy fifty of those that shewed themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards. And ascending by Bethoron, he pitched his camp at a certain place called Gabao; fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

† In the road to Jerusalem.

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

We have also in this and the next section, two eminent facts to be observed, viz. the first example, that I remember, in Josephus, of the onset of the Jews enemies upon their country when their males were gone up to Jerusalem, to one of their three sacred festivals; which, during the theocracy, God had promised to preserve them from. The second fact is this; the breach of the sabbath by the seditious Jews in an offensive fight; contrary to the universal doctrine and practice of their nation in these ages; and even contrary to what they themselves afterward practised in the rest of this war.

2. The Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, left the feast; and betook themselves to their arms. And taking courage greatly from their multitude, went in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise; and without any consideration had of the rest of the seventh day; although the sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard. But that rage which made them forget their religious observation [of the sabbath,] made them too hard for their enemies in the fight. With such violence therefore did they fall upon the Romans, as to break into their ranks, and to rush through the midst of them; making a great slaughter as they went. Insomuch that unless the horse, and such part of the foot as were not yet tired in the action had wheeled round, and succoured that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger. However, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain; of which number four hundred were 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; and their names were Monobazus, and Kenedeus. And next to them were Niger of Perea; and Silas of Babylon; who had deserted from King Agrippa to the Jews. For he had formerly served in his army. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city. But still Simon, the son of Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Bethoron, and put the rear of the army into disorder; and carried off many of the beasts that bare the weapons of war; and led them into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances into the city; and appeared openly resolved not to rest, when once the Romans should begin to march.

3. And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon

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

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



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

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

6. And

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

7. It then happened that Ceſtius was not conſcious either how the beſieged deſpaired of ſucceſs, nor how courageous the people were for him; and ſo he recalled his ſoldiers from the place; and by deſpairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any diſgrace, retired from the city, without any reaſon in the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of his, they reſumed their courage, and ran after the rear of his army, and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of both their horſemen and their footmen. Ceſtius lay all night at the camp at Scopuſ; and as he went off farther the next day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him; who ſtill fell upon the laſt, and deſtroyed them. They alſo fell upon the flanks of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely. Nor durſt thoſe that were hindmoſt turn back upon thoſe who wounded them; as imagining that the multitude of thoſe that purſued them was immenſe. Nor

\* There may another very important, and providential reaſon be here aſſigned, for this ſtrange and fooliſh retreat of Ceſtius; which, if Joſephus had been now a Chriſtian, he might probably have taken notice of alſo; and that is, the affording the Jewiſh Chriſtians in the city an opportunity of calling to mind the prediction and caution given them by Chriſt about 33 years before; that when they ſhould ſee the abomination of deſolation, [the idolatrous Roman armies, with the images of their idols, in their enſigns, ready to lay Jeruſalem deſolate,] ſtand where it ought not; or, in the holy place: or, when they ſhould ſee Jeruſalem compaſſed with armies: they ſhould then flee to the mountains. By complying with which thoſe Jewiſh Chriſtians fled to the mountains of Perea, and eſcaped this deſtruction. Nor was there, perhaps, any one inſtance of a more impolitick, but more providential conduct than this retreat of Ceſtius, viſible during this whole ſiege of Jeruſalem: which yet was providentially ſuch a great tribulation, as had not been from the beginning of the world to that time; no nor ever ſhould be,

did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side; because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks; and because they saw the Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. This was the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves upon their enemies. So they were galled all the way; their ranks were put into disorder; and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain. Among whom were Priscus the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus the tribune, and Emilius Secundus, the commander of a troop of horse. So it was not without difficulty, and the loss of a great part of their baggage, that they got to Gabao, their former camp. There it was that Cestius staid two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances. But when, on the third day, he saw a still much greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own detriment.

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

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

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

gathered the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, and came back running and singing to their metropolis. While they had themselves lost a few only; but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty horse. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius, [Marhesvan,] in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

## C H A P. XX.

*Cestius sends ambassadors to Nero. The people of Damascus slay those Jews that lived with them. The people of Jerusalem, after they had [left off] pursuing Cestius, return to the city, and get things ready for its defence, and make a great many generals for their armies; and particularly Josephus, the writer of these books. Some account of his administration.*

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

2. In the mean time the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them. And as they had them already cooped up together in the place of publick exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they

they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt. Yet did they distrust their own wives, which were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion. On which account their greatest concern was how they might conceal the things from them. So they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, in number ten thousand, all of them unarmed, in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

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

4. They also chose other generals for Idumea; Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of the high-priests; and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high-priest. They also enjoined Niger, the then governor of † Idumea, who

\* From this name of Joseph, the son of Gorion, or Gorion, the son of Joseph, as IV. 3. 9. one of the governors of Jerusalem, who was slain at the beginning of the tumults by the zealots, the much later Jewish author of an history of that nation takes his title, and yet personates our true Josephus, the son of Matthias. But the cheat is too gross to be put upon the learned world.

† We may observe here, that the Idumeans, as having been proselytes of justice since the days of John Hyrcanus, during about 195 years, were now esteemed as part of the Jewish nation, and here provided of a Jewish commander accordingly.

was of a family that belonged to Perea beyond Jordan, and was thence called the Peraite, that he should be obedient to those forenamed commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country; but Joseph, the son of Simon, was sent as general to Jericho; as was Manasseh to Perea; and John, the Effen, to the toparchy of Thamna. Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica and Acrabattene; as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

5. Every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with what alacrity and prudence they were masters of. But as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the goodwill of the people of that country, as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious to himself, that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his fast friends; and that he should gain the same favour from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted, he chose out \* seventy of the most prudent, and those elders in age, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee; as he chose seven judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels. The greater causes, and those wherein

\* We see here, and in Josephus's account of his own life, § 14. how exactly he imitated his legislator Moses, or perhaps only obeyed what he took to be his perpetual law, in appointing seven lesser judges for smaller causes in particular cities, and perhaps for the first hearing of greater causes, with the liberty of an appeal to seventy-one supreme judges; especially in those causes where life and death were concerned. Moreover, we find, § 7. that he imitated Moses, as well as the Romans, in the number and distribution of the subaltern officers of his army; as Exod. xviii. Deut. i. 15. and in his charge against the offences common among soldiers. In all which he shewed his great wisdom, piety, and skilful conduct in martial affairs. Nor, had he been then a Christian, could he immediately have spoken so movingly of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, without one word of either the condemnation of James, or crucifixion of Christ, as he did when he was become a Christian afterward.

life and death were concerned, he enjoined they should be brought to him, and the seventy elders.

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

7. And when he considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, he despaired of teaching these his men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. 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 give the signals one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets; how to expand the wings of an army, and make them wheel about; and when one wing hath had success, to turn again to assist those that were hard set, and to join in the defence of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardiness of the body. And above all he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans, and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their bodies, and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them, that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in; such as theft, and robbery, and rapine; and from defrauding their own countrymen; and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of kin to them, to be any advantage to themselves. For that wars are then managed the best, when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that such as are ill men in private life, will not only have those for enemies which attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

8. Thus did he continue to admonish them. Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient; that is, sixty thousand foot, and \* two hundred and fifty horse. And besides these, in which he put the greatest trust, there were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries. He had also six hundred men as guards of his body. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his army, excepting the mercenaries. For every one of the cities, mentioned above, sent out half their men to the

\* I should think that an army of 60,000 foot should require many more than 250 horse; and we find Josephus had more horse under his command than 250 in his future history. I suppose the number of the thousands is dropt in our present copies.

army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them. Infomuch, that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work; and so those that sent out their corn, were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

## C H A P. XXI.

*Concerning John of Gischala. Josephus uses stratagems against the plots John laid against him: and recovers certain cities which had revolted from him\*.*

§ 1. **A**S Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning, and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there; and for wicked practices he had not his fellow any where. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wants were an hindrance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions. He thought it a point of virtue to delude people; and would delude even such as were the dearest to him. He was an hypocritical pretender to humanity; but where he had hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood. His desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving. But in some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices. At first they were but few; but as he proceeded in his evil course, they became still more

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

and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries; but chose such out of the rest as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs. So he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre, and were vagabonds, that had run away from its villages. By the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to arise among them.

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

report, that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans. And many such plots did he lay in order to ruin him.

3. At the same time certain young men of the village Dabaritta, who kept guard in the great plain, laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa's and Bernice's steward, and took from him all that he had with him: among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold; yet were they not able to conceal what they had stolen, but brought it all to Josephus, to Taricheæ. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the King and Queen; and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Taricheæ, with an intention of sending the things back to their owners at a proper time. Which act of Josephus brought him into the greatest danger. For those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him; both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that he would freely deliver up, what had cost them so much pains, to the King and Queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them. They also raised great disorders in all the neighbouring cities. Insomuch that in the morning an hundred thousand armed men came running together. Which multitude was crouded together in the Hippodrome at Taricheæ, and made a very peevish clamour against him. While some cried out, that "They should depose the traitor;" and others, that "They should burn him." Now John irritated a great many; as did also one Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Then it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body, were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four. And as he was asleep they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained with him persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprized at his being himself deserted, nor at the great multitude that came

against him; but leaped out to them with his cloaths rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Taricheæ, commiserated his condition. But those that were come out of the country, and those in their neighbourhood to whom his government seemed burthensome, reproached him; and bid him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them. For they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they had suspected concerning him; and that it was in order to obtain pardon, that he had put himself entirely into so pitiable a posture. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his; who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another, about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all. Hereupon he was permitted to speak; when he said, "I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself. For I did never esteem one that was your enemy, to be my friend; nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage, to be my advantage. But, O you people of Taricheæ, I saw 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 other cities, should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils; and therefore it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it. But if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may if you please punish your benefactor."

4. Hereupon the people of Taricheæ loudly commended him. But those of Tiberias, with the rest of the company, gave him hard names, and threatened him. So both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and fell on quarrelling one with another. On this he grew bold, for the people of Taricheæ were about forty thousand in number;

number; and spake more freely to the whole multitude, and reproached them greatly for their rashness; and told them, that "With this money he would build walls about Taricheæ, and would put the other cities in a state of security also. For that they should not want money if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who procured it for them."

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

6. As for John, his envy grew greater [upon this escape of Josephus,] and he framed a new plot against him. He pretended to be sick; and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John's plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city,

that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John. Which favours when he had made use of, in two days time he did what he came about. Some he corrupted with frauds, and others with money; and persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him. Which epistle when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias. At which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his coming was not for his advantage, sent however one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick; and that being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had gotten the people of Tiberias together in the stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out. At which cry Josephus turned himself about; and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea shore; and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the midst of the lake.

7. But now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters. But Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin. So he sent some of his party to tell them, that they should do no more than provide for their own safety; that they should not kill any body, nor accuse any for the occasion they had afforded [of a disorder.] These men obeyed his orders, and were quiet. But the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, got together in great multitudes, to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt,

tempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city. While the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus. And as they were now augmented to many ten thousands of armed men, they cried out, that they were come against John, the common plotter against their interest; and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good-will to him kindly; but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct, rather than by slaying them. So he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John, by name, who had readily been shewed him by those that came from every city; and caused publick proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days time, and would burn both their houses, and their families. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately; who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runagates, from open attempts, to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus, as having too great power; and to let them know, that he would soon come as a tyrant, to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. This accusation the people were aware of beforehand; but had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers, to fight Josephus. They also made a decree of themselves, for recalling him from his government: yet did they not think that decree sufficient. So they sent withal two thousand and five hundred armed men, and four persons of the highest rank among them. Joazar, the son of Nomicus; and Ananias, the son of Sadduk: as also Simon and Judas the sons of Jonathan; all very able men in speaking, to withdraw the good will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that if he would voluntarily come away, they should permit him to [come and] give an account  
of



of his conduct; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his government, they should treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him; but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was; that being only known among some secret councils of his enemies. By this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately; Sepphoris, and Gamala, and Gischala, and Tiberias: yet did he recover these cities without war; and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagems, and had taken the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem; and the people [of Galilee] had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay not only these forces, but those that sent them, had not those forces prevented it by running away.

8. Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear he was in of Josephus; but within a few days Tiberias revolted again; the people within inviting King Agrippa [to return to the exercise of his authority there.] And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horse appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheæ; and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out alone against the revolters, or to stay where he was; because he was afraid the King's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city; for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the sabbath day, and would hinder his proceeding; so he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem. And in the first place he ordered the gates of Taricheæ to be shut, that no body might go out, and inform those [of Tiberias] for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about. He then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty; and in each of them he put no more than four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance  
 to  
 from

from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there; while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen. But when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men; and threw down their arms; and by signals of intercession besought him to spare the city.

9. Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions, and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that besides they should endeavour so hastily to seize upon him, who took care of their safety, and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him, that built their walls; that however he would admit of any intercessors from them that might make some excuse for them, and with whom he would make such agreements as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently; and when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, that they also might give him some security on their behalf; after which, under one new pretence or another, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Tarichææ, and to confine those men in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Tarichææ.

10. And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Clitus that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him  
[only:]

[only :] but Josephus, whose intention was to slay no body, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel to cut off both Clitus's hands. Yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself to such a large body of enemies, and refused. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself. He begged therefore from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands, which Josephus agreed to, upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand. Accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left. So great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself. Thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city \* with empty ships and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he retook Gischala, which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants: and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction, while at the same time he regained their good-will by restoring them their money.

## C H A P. XXII.

*The Jews make all ready for the war; and Simon the son of Gioras falls to plundering.*

§ 1. **T**HUS were the disturbances of Galilee quieted; when upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for a war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high-priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments; insomuch that in all parts of the city darts,

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

and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; but the moderate sort were exceeding sad; and a great many there were who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed, as were understood to be forerunners of evils, by such as loved peace; but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of zealots. But their violence was too hard for him; and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

2. But as for the Acrabbene toparchy, Simon the son of Gioras got a great number of those that were fond of innovations, and betook himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harrass the rich mens houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and beforehand to affect tyranny in his government: and when an army was sent against him by Ananus and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the robbers that were at Masada, and stayed there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them; till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain, and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages to secure them from those insults. And in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
JEWISH WAR:  
OR, HIS  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Destruction of JERUSALEM.

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BOOK III.

[From VESPASIAN's coming to subdue the Jews,  
to the taking of Gamala; containing the interval of  
about one year.]

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CHAP. I.

*Vespasian is sent into Syria by Nero, in order to make war  
against the Jews.*

§ 1. **W**HEN Nero was informed of the Romans  
ill success in Judea, a concealed terror,  
as is usual in such cases, fell upon him;  
although he openly looked very big, and was very an-  
gry, and said, that what had happened was rather owing  
to the negligence of the commander, than to any va-  
lour

lour of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do; and to have a soul superior to all such accidents whatsoever: yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in [how to recover his affairs again.]

2. And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the East, now it was in so great a commotion, and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also; he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war. He was grown an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits. He was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans. He had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before\*; whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him, without any sweat or labour of his own.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience and great skill; and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence: perhaps also there was some interposition of providence which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself Emperor afterward. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compella-

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

tions, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions; while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria; where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the Kings in that neighbourhood.

## CHAP. II.

*A great slaughter of the Jews about Ascalon. Vespasian comes to Ptolemais.*

§ 1. **N**OW the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal; but like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This is an antient city, distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the Jews; on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all both for strength and sagacity; Niger called the Peraite, Silas of Babylon, and besides them John the Essen. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on [near them;] for the garrison consisted of one cohort of foot, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius.

2. These Jews therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary; and as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprized of the attack they were going to make, drew his horse beforehand; and being neither daunted at the multitude, nor at the courage of the enemy, received

ceived their first attacks with great bravery; and when they crouded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskilful in war, but were to fight with those that were skilful therein. They were foot, to fight with horse; they were in disorder, to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed, to fight those that were compleatly so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel; and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient, and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation: so they were easily beaten. For as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry; and those of them that came behind such as crouded to the wall, fell upon their own party's weapons, and became one another's executioners, till they all were forced to give way to the attacks of the horse, and were disperfed all the plain over, which was wide and fit for the horse. A circumstance very commodious for the Romans, and which occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews. For such as ran away they could over-run them, and make them turn back; and when they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they run them through, and slew a vast number of them; infomuch that others encompassed them, and drove them before them, whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows; and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in. While the Romans had such good success, with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude; and as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success, so did the latter feel no weariness, by reason of their good fortune; infomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand of the Jews lay dead, with two of their generals, John and Silas, and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger their general, who fled away together to a small



city of Idumea, called Sallis. Some few of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity; the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts. For overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by their former glorious actions, to venture on a second destruction. So when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness and other deficiencies in war. For Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through. Where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and were compassed about with horse, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting; and were above eight thousand of them slain. So all the rest ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower, belonging to a village called Bezedel. However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, the most courageous man of them all, to escape, they set the wall on fire. And as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved. And on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that, with great lamentation, were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral. And when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy; as though he were preserved by God's providence, to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch (which is the metropolis of Syria, and,  
without

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

## C H A P. III.

*A description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea.*

§ 1. **N**OW Phenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two; the Upper Galilee, and the Lower. They are bounded, towards the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel, which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians; to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called the city of horsemen, because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the King dwelt therein. They are bounded on the south with Samaria and Scy-

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

thopolis, as far as the river Jordan. On the east with Hippene and Gadaris, and also with Gaulanitis, and the borders of the Kingdom of Agrippa. Its northern parts are bounded by Tyre, and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the Lower, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places \* Ptolemais is its neighbour. Its breadth is from the village called Xaloth, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe. From which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it. Its length is also from Meroth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions. For the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous army; for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts; insomuch, that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation, by its fruitfulness: accordingly it is all cultivated by its inhabitants. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick; and the very many villages there are here, are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of || them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

|| The cities  
sure, not  
villages.

3. In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength. For this is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful. But for Perea, which is indeed much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert, and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits. Yet hath it a moist soil, [in other parts] and produces all kinds of fruits; and its plains are planted with trees of all sorts, while yet the olive tree, the vine, and the

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

palm trees 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 Perea is from Macherus to Pella; and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan. Its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its western with Jordan. The land of Moab is its southern border; and its eastern limits reach to Arabia and Silbonitis, and besides to Philadelphene and Gerasa.

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

5. In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anuath, which is also named Borceos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia. The Jews that dwell there call it Jardan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situate in the very || middle. On which || Of Judea and Samaria together. account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country. Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais. It was parted into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem

falem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities, they presided over their several toparchies. Gophna was the second of those cities; and next to that Acrabatta; after them Thamma, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people. And besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulanitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the Kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at mount Libanus and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha, as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

## C H A P. IV.

*Josephus makes an attempt upon Sepphoris, but is repelled.  
Titus comes with a great army to Ptolemais.*

A. D. 67. § I. **T**HE auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horse, and six thousand foot, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies, in the great plain. The foot were put into the city, to be a guard to it; but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and over-running the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus, and his men. They also plundered all the places that were out of the cities liberty; and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city; hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have had much ado to take it. By which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes; both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing  
with

with the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. But by this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war. Nor did the Romans out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by night or day, burning the places in the plain; and driving away the cattle that were in the country; and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting; and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity. So that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood. Nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity. The only refuge they had was, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

2. But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia, to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit. So he took with him those forces he was sent for; and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais; and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father. Eighteen cohorts followed these legions. There came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horse; and five other troops of horse from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand foot; but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred a-piece; with an 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 one thousand archers, and a thousand horse. Malchus also, the King of Arabia, sent a thousand horse, besides five thousand foot, the greatest part of which were archers. So that the army, including the auxiliaries sent by the Kings, as well horse, as foot, when united, amounted to sixty thousand; be-

\* This Antiochus was King of Comagene. Agrippa's Kingdom had just been described. It contained as Reland distinctly observes, only the tetrarchy of Philip given him by Claudius, and part of Galilee given by Nero, i. e. that part which contained Tiberias, Taricheæ, and Julias, with fourteen villages thereto belonging: and Sohemus was King of Emesa in Syria.

sides the servants; who as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men. For as they were in their master's service in times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war. Inasmuch that they were inferior to none either in skill or in strength; only they were subject to their masters.

## C H A P. V.

*A description of the Roman armies, and Roman camps. And of other particulars, for which the Romans are commended\*.*

§ 1. **N**OW here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve at other times for the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And indeed if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so large a dominion, hath been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune. For they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war; nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace. But as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises. Nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms; but every soldier is every day exercised, with great diligence, as if it were in time of war. Which is the

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

reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity; nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labour tire them. Which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same. Nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises unbloody battles; and their battles bloody exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprize them with the suddenness of their incursions. For as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight, till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise rashly made, or uneven. Nor do they all abide in it; nor do those that are in it take their places at random. But if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled. Their camp is square by measure; and carpenters are ready in great numbers, with their tools, to erect their buildings for them.

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

3. When



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

4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound. At which time no body lies still; but, at the first intimation, they take down their tents; and all is made ready for their march. When the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march, then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden; and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march. When also they set fire to their camp, because it will be easy for them to erect another, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time that they are to go out; in order to excite those that, on any account, are a little tardy; that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and asks them, thrice, in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go out to war, or not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and chearful voice, saying, We are ready. And this they do almost before the question is asked them. They do this as filled with a kind

kind of martial fury; and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands.

5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner; every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The foot are armed with breast-plates, and head-pieces; and have swords on each side; but the sword which is upon their left side, is much longer than the other; for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those foot also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself, have a lance, and a buckler; but the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear, and a long buckler; besides a saw, and a basket, a pick-ax, and an ax, a thong of leather and an hook; with provisions for three days; so that a footman has no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand. A shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses; with three or more darts that are born in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces, and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops. And he always leads the legions forth, to whom the lot assigns that employment.

6. This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans; as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off hand. But counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun; and what hath been there resolved upon is put in execution presently. For which reason they seldom commit any errors; and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors which they commit upon taking counsel beforehand, to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only. Because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate; while consultation, though it may

may sometime fail of success, hath this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter. But for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them. And as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

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

Roman possessions are inferior to the Romans themselves.

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

## C H A P. VI.

*Placidus attempts to take Jotapata, and is beaten off. Vespasian marches into Galilee.*

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

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

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

nal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march. These sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons, and battalions, six men in depth; which were followed at last by a centurion: who according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the foot, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was born by the mules, and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those brought up the rear, for the security of the whole army; being both footmen, and those in their armour also; with a great number of horsemen.

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

## C H A P. VII.

Vespasian, *when he had taken the city Gadara, marches to Jotapata. And after a long siege, the city is betrayed by a deserter, and taken by Vespasian.*

§ 1. **S**O Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it at the first onset; because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men fit for war. He came then into it, and slew all the youth. The Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever. And this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation; and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villages, and small cities that were round about it. Some of which were quite destitute of inhabitants; and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants into captivity.

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

an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata. For he had gotten intelligence, that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither; and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous, and rocky: not without difficulty to be travelled over by foot, but absolutely impracticable for horse. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty first of the month Artemisius [Jyar;] Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither. Which made him make haste to the city; as supposing that, with taking that, he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under 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 prudent man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly he sent Placidus, with a thousand horse; and Ebutius a Decurion, a person that was of eminency both in counsel and in action, to blockade the city, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army, and followed them; and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata. And bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill, which was seven furlongs from the city, and endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation. Which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had



marched all the day: Although they placed a double file of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit. Which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly. For nothing makes men fight so desperately in war, as necessity.

5. Now when, the next day, an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first stayed out of the walls, and opposed them, and met them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers, and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work. While he himself, with the foot, got upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him. These fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall; and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer. For as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally inspirit the Romans. These last had skill, as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them, and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed them thirteen men. Of the Jews side seventeen were slain, and six hundred wounded.

6. On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before. For they were now become more courageous than formerly, on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before; as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately. For a sense of shame inflam'd these into a passion; as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the  
Jews,

Jews, till the fifth day continually; while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls most desperately. Nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy; nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

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

8. Vespasian therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the commanders to a council of war, and consulted which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down; some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above upon them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their bank; and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall. While others pulled the neighbouring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them. So that while they were busy three different ways, no body was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with

all forts of darts. And the noise of what could not reach them, was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

9. Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city; the number of the engines was in all an hundred and sixty: and bid them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them, with a great noise; and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose. Together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows; which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the wall which were reached by the engines. For the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well as all those also that threw darts, and slung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lye still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place. For they then made sallies out of the city, like private robbers by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen; and killed them, when they were thus naked. And when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it; together with the hurdles. Till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him. For those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles; and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the city's preservation. So he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher. And when they said, that this was impossible to be done, while so many darts were thrown at

them, he invented this sort of cover for them. He bid them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen, newly kill'd; that these hides, by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them, might receive them. For that the other darts would slide off them; and the fire that was thrown, would be quenched by the moisture that was in them. And these he set before the workmen. Under them they went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, both by day and by night; till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall; and fitted to it strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans; who in their own opinions were already gotten within the walls: while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance; and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

11. And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtilty of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata. For taking heart again, upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties; together with all such contrivances as robbers make use of; plundering all that came to hand, and setting fire to all the other works, till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them; and resolved to lye round the city, to starve them into a surrender. As supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for mercy, by want of provisions; or if they should have the courage to hold out to the last, they would perish by famine. And he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine. But still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessaries. But they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city; the people being there usually satisfied with rain water. Yet is it a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer. And at this season, during the siege, they were in great

distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely: for Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure. But this scanty distribution of water was deemed by them as a thing more hard than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they had otherwise been; nay, they were as much disheartened hereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in; for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced then to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command, that they should wet a great many of their cloths, and hang them about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged, and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender; which was what the Jews greatly desired: for as they despaired of either themselves or their city's being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle before one by hunger and thirst.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem, besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could  
hardly

hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out of the city, and procured from them what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance. He enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch, as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived the contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

15. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt, if he continued in it. So he consulted how he, and the most potent of the city, might fly. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begg'd of him, "Not to overlook them while they entirely depended on him alone; for that there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them; because every body would undertake any pains with great chearfulness on his account; and in that case there would be some comfort for them also, tho' they should be taken. That it became him neither to fly from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of that city as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm. By going away he would be the cause of drowning the city; because no body would then venture to oppose the enemy, when he was once gone, upon whom they wholly confided."

16. Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them, that "He would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he stayed with them he should be able to do them little good, while they were in a safe condition; and that if they were once taken he should only perish with them, to no purpose; but

" that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he  
 " should be able to bring them very great relief; for  
 " that he would then immediately get the Galileans to-  
 " gether, out of the country, in great multitudes, and  
 " draw the Romans off their city by another war; that  
 " he did not see what advantage he could bring to them  
 " now by staying among them, but only provoke the  
 " Romans to besiege them more closely; as esteeming  
 " it a most valuable thing to them to take him; but  
 " that if they were once informed that he was fled out  
 " of the city, they would greatly remit of their eager-  
 " nefs against it." Yet did not this plea move the  
 people, but inflamed them the more to hang about him.  
 Accordingly both the children, and the old men, and  
 the women with their infants, came mourning to him,  
 and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold  
 of his feet and held him fast, and besought him, with  
 great lamentations, that he would take his share with  
 them in their fortune. And I think they did this, not  
 that they envied my deliverance, but that they hoped  
 for their own; for they could not think they should  
 suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would  
 but stay with them.

17. Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to  
 stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties; and if he  
 resolved to go away by force, he should be put into cus-  
 tody. His commiseration also of the people under their  
 lamentations had much broken his eagerness to leave  
 them; so he resolved to stay; and arming himself with  
 the common despair of the citizens, he said to them,  
 " Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when  
 " there is no hope of deliverance left. 'Tis a brave  
 " thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about  
 " some such noble undertaking as may be remembered  
 " by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work  
 immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the ene-  
 mies out guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp it-  
 self, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces  
 that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works.  
 And this was the manner in which he never left off  
 fight.

fighting for a considerable number both of days and nights.

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

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



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

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

when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall having been but newly built, was giving way, Josephus, and those about him, had afterward immediate recourse to fire to defend themselves withal: Whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways; set fire to the machines, and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves. Nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry, with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately; and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

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

22. After

22. After these mens performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings, with the works belonging to the fifth and to the tenth legion, which they put to flight. When others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments and all their materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before. Where a certain Jew, that defended the city from the Romans, hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little; the distance being so great, that no mighty impression could be made. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans; for when those that stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed, and a report went abroad through the whole army, that the general was wounded; while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together, with surprize and fear, to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father. Inasmuch that the multitude were in great confusion, out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under. For being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly. For now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately, in order to avenge their general; and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

23. But still Josephus, and those with him, although many were killed by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those that managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones. And these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see. For the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible

visible mark to the enemy, as they were in the day time. While the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided. For the force with which these engines threw stones and darts, made them hurt several at a time; and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried away the pinacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers. For no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night; for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, that it was flung three furlongs. In the day time also, a woman with child had her belly so violently stricken, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible; the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also; of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall. And indeed dreadful was the clamour which these things raised in the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were wounded. While the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been ascended by dead carcasses. The mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes. Nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting, that could either affect the hearing or the sight. Yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, tho' it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid, by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

24. In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city [by storm,] after a little recreation, upon the hard pains they had been at the night before. And as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against those ruins of the wall; but covered with their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands. That so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such ascent were laid. Behind them he placed the flower of the foot. But for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city, when it should be taken. And behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same commands he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bid them to take up other ladders, and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched; that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down, while the rest of them should be over-borne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

25. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters; but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down; and before them all, six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that "when the  
 "legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that  
 "they might not be affrighted at it; and that to avoid  
 "the multitude of the enemies darts, they should bend  
 "down on their knees, and cover themselves with their  
 "shields; and that they should retreat a little backward  
 "for a while, till the archers should have emptied their  
 "quivers.

“ quivers. But that when the Romans should lay their  
 “ instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap  
 “ out on the sudden, and with their own instruments  
 “ meet the enemy; and that every one should then  
 “ strive to do his best, in order not to defend his own  
 “ city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in  
 “ order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed;  
 “ and that they should set before their eyes how their  
 “ old men were to be slain, and their children and wives  
 “ were to be killed immediately by the enemy; and that  
 “ they would beforehand spend all their fury on account  
 “ of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour  
 “ it out on the actors.”

26. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men. But then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army; (for none of the usual guards that had been fighting before were removed;) when they also saw not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies, with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a lamentable outcry of destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the warlike actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition; and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not. While he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was. As for those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them; but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

27. And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a terrible shout, and the darts, as by order, flew so fast, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charges he had given them, they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts. And as to the engines that were set ready to go to work,

work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many great actions were exhibited; while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to shew 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 were slain, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enow to come in their places, and succour them; while on the side of the Romans fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the room of those that were thrust down; these encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken; and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

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

ward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

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

30. Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army upon occasion of what happened. And as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do, than any further exhortations, he gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty foot high; and that they should cover them with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among



the slingers, who, not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort upon their enemies. Nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion; and to him Vespasian committed a thousand horse and two thousand foot. When Trajan came to the city, he found it hard to be taken; for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall. But when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them; and, after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them: and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them. But when the Jews were endeavouring to get again within their second wall, their own fellow-citizens shut them out, as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God therefore who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their bloody enemies. For they fell upon the gates in great crouds, and earnestly calling to those that kept them  
by

by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second. So they were inclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers; many of them were run through by swords of their own men, and many by their own swords; besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits. And at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, in number twelve thousand. So Trajan conjectured, that the city was empty of people that could fight; and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture on any opposition. So he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus, to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon, imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horse and a thousand foot. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege. And when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while, but soon afterward left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently. But when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a fierce battle between them. For the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours time. But when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old. So there were no males now remaining, besides infants, which, with the women, were carried into

captivity. So that the number of the slain both now in the city, and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand; and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befel the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan.]

A. D. 67.

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

to

to terms with him, and thereby save themselves; and assured them that, if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm. But when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them, and slew them all, in number eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan.] And these were the calamities that befel the Samaritans at this time. A. D. 67.

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

\* Monsieur Toinard's conjecture here is, that these odd seven days should be blotted out, both here and chap. 8. § 9. and the true number be esteemed only forty days. There being no more from the 21st of Artemisius, when Josephus entered the city, § 3. before the siege began, till the 1st of Panemus, when the city was taken, as § 35. will inform us. This is said only upon supposition, that the 21st of Artemisius and the 1st of Panemus were the true days of the beginning and ending of this siege. Of the former of which numbers yet, at least, a doubt may sooner be made, than of this number 47. My reason is this, that such number 21 is but *once* set down, whereas the other 47 is repeated again, chap. 8. § 9. without any variation. I therefore rather suppose that Josephus entered Jotapata on the 14th of Artemisius, which will afford us 47 days for the duration of this siege, than to say he entered on the 21st, that the siege might be supposed to have lasted 40 days only.

his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city; and as he was crucified smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them; and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if the report were a sham. So he commanded them to keep the man in custody; and prepared the army for taking the city.

34. According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall. And it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city; and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it. For a great many of them were fast asleep; and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in; till the whole Roman army was gotten in; and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were slaying they perceived the city was taken. And the Romans so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any; but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down. At which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves. For as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands. For when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved

to prevent being killed by them; and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

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

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

## C H A P. VIII.

*How Josephus was discovered by a woman; and was willing to deliver himself up to the Romans; and what discourse he had with his own men, when they endeavoured to hinder him; and what he said to Vespasian, when he was brought to him; and after what manner Vespasian used him afterward.*

§ 1. **A**ND now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken. For he reckoned that if he were once in their power the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city. But as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence: for he withdrew himself from the enemy, when he was in the midst of them; and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den, at one side of it; which den could not be seen by those that were above ground. And here he met with forty persons of eminency, that had concealed themselves; with provisions enow to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the day time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places; and in the night time got up out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping; and took exact notice of the watch. But as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den; thus he concealed himself two days: but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent immediately 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 came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved. But they did not prevail with him; for he gathered sus-  
picious

pitions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it; though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished; until Vespasian sent, besides these, a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered; and told him, that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired, than hated him; that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him not in order to punish him; for that he could do, tho' he should not come voluntarily; but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest colour upon the vilest action; by pretending friendship, and meaning perfidiousness. Nor would he have himself acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

3. Now as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery was so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den. But the tribune would not permit them so to do; as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor used every argument with Josephus to comply, and he understood how 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 give shrewd conjectures about the interpretations of such

\* These divine afflatus's or prophetick dreams, by which Josephus foretold, among other things, the coming of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman Empire in the days of Nero, and before either Galba, or Otho, or Vitellius were thought of as successors to Nero; are all attested to by Suetonius and Dio, the Roman historians. And of that, as well as other prefaces of this their elevation, See Tacitus, Histor. I. 10. II. 1. and Sueton. in Vespas. §. 4, 5, 7. and Dio LIX. See the like prophetick dream in Josephus's account of his own life, §. 42.



dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books; as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests. And just then was he in an extasy; and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish nation, to depress the same; and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans; and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretel what is to come to pass hereafter; I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans, as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

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

5. Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him; and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them, in the distress he was then in; when he said thus to them; "O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. 'Tis a brave thing to die in war. But so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If therefore I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my own hand. But if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? For 'tis certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves, which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely, that 'tis a brave thing to die for liberty. But still so, that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us. But in the present case, our enemies do neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now he is equally a coward who will not die, when he is obliged to die; and he who will die, when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what we are afraid of when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? but it may be said, we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said, that 'tis a manly act for one to kill himself. No certainly; but a most unmanly one. As I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals; and

" an

“ an instance of impiety against God our creator. Not  
 “ indeed is there any animal that dies by its own con-  
 “ trivance, or by its own means. For the desire of life  
 “ is a law engraven in them all. On which account we  
 “ deem those that openly take it away from us to be  
 “ our enemies; and those that do it by treachery are  
 “ punished for so doing. And do not you think that  
 “ God is very angry, when a man does injury to what  
 “ he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that  
 “ we have received our being; and we ought to leave  
 “ it to his disposal to take that being away from us.  
 “ The bodies of all men are indeed mortal, and are  
 “ created out of corruptible matter. But the soul is  
 “ ever immortal; and is a portion of the divinity that  
 “ inhabits in our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys  
 “ or abuses a depositum he hath received from a meer  
 “ man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person.  
 “ But then if any one cast out of his body this divine  
 “ depositum, can we imagine that he who is there-  
 “ by 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 that debt which was received  
 “ from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to re-  
 “ quire it back again, enjoy eternal fame, that their  
 “ houses and their posterity are sure, that their souls are  
 “ pure, and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in  
 “ heaven. From whence, in the revolutions of ages,  
 “ they are again sent into pure bodies. While the souls  
 “ of those whose hands have acted madly against them-  
 “ selves, are received by the darkest place in Hades;  
 “ and while God, who is their father, punishes those  
 “ that offend against either of them in their posterity.  
 “ For which reason God hates such doings; and the  
 “ crime is punished by our most wise legislator. Ac-  
 “ cordingly

“ cordingly our laws determine, that the bodies of such  
“ as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be  
“ set without burial; although at the same time it be  
“ allowed by them to be lawful to bury our enemies  
“ [sooner.] The laws of other nations also injoin such  
“ mens hands to be cut off, when they are dead, which  
“ had been made use of in destroying themselves when  
“ alive; while they reckoned, that as the body is alien  
“ from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body.  
“ 'Tis therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason  
“ justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring  
“ upon us, impiety towards our creator. If we have  
“ a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it; for to be  
“ preserved by our enemies, to whom we have given so  
“ many demonstrations of our courage, is no way in-  
“ glorious. But if we have a mind to die, it is good  
“ to die by the hand of those that have conquered us.  
“ For my part, I will not run over to our enemies quar-  
“ ters, to be a traitor to myself. For certainly I should  
“ then be much more foolish than those that deserted to  
“ the enemy. Since they did it in order to save them-  
“ selves; and I should do it for destruction, for my  
“ own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Ro-  
“ mans may prove treacherous in this matter. For if,  
“ after their offer of their right hand for security, I be  
“ slain by them, I shall die cheerfully; and carry away  
“ with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a conso-  
“ lation greater than victory itself.”

6. Now these and many the like motives did Josephus use to these men, to prevent their murdering themselves. But desperation had shut their ears; as having long ago devoted themselves to die: and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands; one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward; and every one of them appeared openly, as if he were ready to smite him. But he calling to one of them by name; and looking like a general to another; and taking a third by the hand; and making a fourth ashamed of himself by praying him to forbear; and being in this condition  
di-

distracted with various passions, (as he well might, in the great distress he was then in,) he kept off every one of their swords from killing him; and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general, in these his fatal calamities; and the swords dropped out of their hands, and not a few of them there were, who when they aimed to smite him with their swords, were not either willing, or able to do it.

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

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. All the Romans ran together to

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

9. When Josephus heard him give those orders, he said that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to himself alone. When therefore they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus, and two of their friends, he said, "Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest  
 " no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself  
 " captive. But I come to thee as a messenger of greater  
 " tidings. For had not I been sent by God to thee, I  
 " knew what was the \* law of the Jews in this case;  
 " and how it becomes generals die. Dost thou send me  
 " to Nero? why? Are Nero's successors till they come

\* I do not know where to find the law of Moses here mentioned by Josephus, and afterward by Eleazar, VII. 8. 7. and almost implied in I. 13. 10. by Josephus's commendation of Phasaclus for doing so. I mean whereby Jewish generals and people were obliged to kill themselves, rather than go into slavery under heathens. I doubt this would have been no better than self-murder. And I believe it was rather some vain doctrine, or interpretation of the rigid Pharisees, or Essens, or Herodians, than a just consequence from any law of God delivered by Moses.

“ to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Cesar, and  
 “ Emperor; thou, and this thy son. Bind me now still  
 “ faster, and keep me for thyself. For thou, O Cesar, art  
 “ not only lord over me, but over the land, and the sea,  
 “ and all mankind. And certainly I deserve to be kept in  
 “ closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punish-  
 “ ed, if I rashly affirm any thing of God.” When he had  
 said this, Vespasian at present did not believe him; but  
 supposed that Josephus said this, as a cunning trick, in  
 order to his own preservation. But in a little time he  
 was convinced. God himself erecting his expectations,  
 so as to think of obtaining the empire, and by other signs  
 foreshewing his advancement. He also found Josephus  
 to have spoken truth on other occasions. For one of  
 those friends that were present at that secret conference,  
 said to Josephus, “ I cannot but wonder how thou could-  
 “ est not foretel to the people of Jotapata, that they  
 “ should be taken; nor couldest foretel this captivity  
 “ which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou  
 “ now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage  
 “ that is arisen against thyself.” To which Josephus re-  
 plied, “ I did foretel to the people of Jotapata that they  
 “ would be taken on the forty seventh day; and that I  
 “ should be caught alive by the Romans.” Now when  
 Vespasian had enquired of the captives privately about  
 these predictions, he found them to be true; and then  
 he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did  
 he not set Josephus at liberty from his bands; but be-  
 stowed on him suits of cloaths, and other precious gifts.  
 He treated him also in a very obliging manner, and con-  
 tinued so to do; Titus still joining his interest in the ho-  
 nours that were done him.

## C H A P. IX.

*How Joppa was taken, and Tiberias delivered up.*

§ 1. **N**OW Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the  
 fourth day of the month Panemus, [Tamuz:] and from thence came to Cesarea, which lay by  
 the sea side. This was a very great city of Judea, and  
 for

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

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

3. Now Joppa is not naturally a haven; for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is strait, but the two ends bend towards each other; where there are deep precipices, and great rocks that jet out into the sea; and



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

4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there

there where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp; and the horse might spoil the country that lay round it, and destroy the neighbouring villages and smaller cities. So these troops over-ran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut many to pieces, and laid desolate the whole region.

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

6. But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood. Yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction. And when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at

\* These publick 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.

another rate than they treated captives; they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had shewed their good will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation, and reproaches were cast upon him. Their rage was also aggravated by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture on farther calamities, and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another. They therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem, as to the troubles which now came upon it.

7. But Vespasian, in order to see the Kingdom of Agrippa, while the King persuaded him himself so to do, (partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do, and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government) removed from that Cesarea which was by the sea side, and went to that which is called \* Cesarea Philippi; and there he refreshed his army for twenty days, and was himself feasted by King Agrippa: where he also returned publick thanks to God for the good success he had had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was meditating innovations, and that Taricheæ had revolted, both which cities were parts of the Kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted [from their obedience to their governors,] he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities, for the sake of Agrippa, to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to [the other] Cesarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Seytho-

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

polis, which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators. It is named Sennabris. He also sent Valerian a decurion with fifty horse, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged, by some of the seditious part, to join with them, and so were forced to fight. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alight off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them. But before they could come to discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed. Their leader was one whose name was Jesus, the son of Saphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory; and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many; for those that were unprovided to fight those that were ready; and being on other accounts surprized at this unexpected onset of the Jews, ran away on foot; as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them: which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

8. Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans. They then took their King along with them, and fell down before Vespasian to supplicate his favour, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city; to spare a people that have been ever civil and obliging to the Romans, but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though

they were zealous to give them the security of their right hands of a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With their supplications the general complied, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses, because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands, by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Taricheæ. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horse to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioners, he took his army and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the King; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the King undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. Thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

## C H A P. X.

*How Taricheæ was taken. A description of the river Jordan, and of the country of Gennesareth.*

§ 1. **A**ND now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheæ, but fortified his camp more strongly, suspecting that he should be forced to stay there and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheæ, relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. This lake is called by the people of the country the lake of Gennesareth. The city itself is situate like Tiberias,

at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias; for the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews revolt, when he had great plenty of money and great power: but Taricheæ partook only of the remains of that liberality. Yet had they a great number of ships ready upon the lake, that in case they were beaten at land they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up that they might undertake a sea fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had built to pieces. But as soon as they saw the armed men assembling, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships; where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them; and then cast anchor and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, sent his son with six hundred chosen horse to disperse them.

2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father and informed him, that he should want more forces; but as he saw a great many of the horse eager to fight, even before any succours could come, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews; he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "My brave Romans! for it is right  
 " for me to put you in mind of what nation you are,  
 " in the beginning of my speech, that so you may not  
 " be ignorant who you are, and who they are against  
 " whom we are going to fight. For as to us Romans,

" no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape  
 " our hands hitherto; but as for the Jews, that I may  
 " speak of them too, though they have been already  
 " beaten, yet do they not give up the cause. And a  
 " sad thing it would be for us to grow weary under our  
 " good success, when they bear up under their misfor-  
 " tunes. As to the alacrity which you shew publickly,  
 " I see it, and rejoice at it; yet am I afraid lest the  
 " multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed  
 " fright upon some of you. Let such an one consider  
 " again, who we are that are to fight? and who those  
 " are against whom we are to fight? Now these Jews,  
 " though they be very bold, and great despisers of death,  
 " are but a disorderly body, unskillful in war, may ra-  
 " ther be called a rout than an army; while I need say  
 " nothing of our skill and our good order: for this is  
 " the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for  
 " war in time of peace, that we may not think of num-  
 " ber for number when we come to fight with our ene-  
 " mies. For what advantage should we reap by our  
 " continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal  
 " in number to such as have not been used to war?  
 " Consider farther, that you are to have a conflict with  
 " men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed,  
 " with foot while you are horse, with those that have  
 " no good general, while you have one. And as these  
 " advantages make you in effect manifold more than  
 " you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish  
 " their number. Now it is not the multitude of men,  
 " though they be soldiers, that manages wars with suc-  
 " cess; but it is their bravery that does it, though they  
 " be but a few. For a few are easily set in battle ar-  
 " ray, and can easily assist one another, while over nu-  
 " merous armies are more hurt by themselves than by  
 " their enemies. 'Tis a bold rashness, the effects of  
 " madness, that conducts the Jews. Those passions in-  
 " deed make a great figure when they succeed, but are  
 " quite extinguished upon the least ill success. But we  
 " are led on by courage and obedience, and fortitude;  
 " which shews itself indeed in our good fortune, but  
 " still

“ still does not for ever desert us in our ill. Nay in-  
 “ deed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than  
 “ those of the Jews. For although they run the ha-  
 “ zard of war for liberty, and for their country, yet  
 “ what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and  
 “ that it may never be said, that after we have got do-  
 “ minion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to  
 “ confront us? We must also reflect upon this, that  
 “ there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster  
 “ in the present case; for those that are ready to assist  
 “ us are many, and at hand also; yet is it in our power  
 “ to seize upon this victory ourselves, and I think we  
 “ ought to prevent the coming of those my father is  
 “ sending to us for our assistance, that our success may  
 “ be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to  
 “ us. And I cannot but think this an opportunity  
 “ wherein my father and I, and you, shall be all put  
 “ to the trial, whether he be worthy of his former glo-  
 “ rious performances, whether I be his son in reality,  
 “ and whether you be really my soldiers. For it is  
 “ usual for my father to conquer. And for myself, I  
 “ should not bear the thoughts of returning to him, if  
 “ I were once taken by the enemy. And how will you  
 “ be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not shew  
 “ equal courage with your commander, when he goes  
 “ before you into danger? For you know very well,  
 “ that I shall go into the danger first, and make the  
 “ first attack upon the enemy. Do not you therefore  
 “ desert me; but persuade yourselves that God will be  
 “ assisting. Know this also before we begin, that we  
 “ shall now have better success than we should have if  
 “ we were to fight at a distance.”

3. As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury  
 fell upon the men. And as Trajan was already come be-  
 fore the fight began, with four hundred horse, they were  
 uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would  
 be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian  
 had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thou-  
 sand archers; and had given it them in charge, to  
 seize upon the mountain that was over against the city,  
 and



and repel those that were upon the wall. These did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way. And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others march with a great noise after him; and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them. By which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, altho' they were surpris'd at their onset, and at their good order, made resistance for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborn by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet. Many also of them were slain on every side; which made them disperse themselves, and run to the city, as fast as every one of them was able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest some he fell upon as they stood on heaps; and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and ran them through. Many also he leaped upon as they fell one upon another, and trod them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain; but at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

4. But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city. For the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning. And now the less so, because they had been beaten. But the foreigners, who were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more. Insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them; as all mutually angry one at another. When Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow-soldiers, now is the time. And 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 in an uproar against one another. We have the city, if we make haste. But be-

" sides

“ sides haste. we must undergo some labour, and use  
 “ some courage. No great thing can be accomplished  
 “ without danger. Accordingly we must not only pre-  
 “ vent their uniting again, which necessity will soon com-  
 “ pel them to do; but we must also prevent the coming  
 “ of our own men to our assistance; that as few as we  
 “ are, we may conquer so great a multitude, and may  
 “ ourselves alone take the city.”

5. As soon as Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake. By which lake he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all: as did the others soon after him. Those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror, at the boldness of the attempt. Nor durst any one venture to fight with him, or to hinder him. So they left guarding the city, and some of those that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth. And some were slain as they were getting up into the ships; but others of them, as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners that had not fled away already made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting. For in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of a consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt; and then put a stop to any farther slaughters, out of commiseration of these inhabitants of the place. Those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, sailed as far as possibly they could from the enemy.

6. Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done. At which, as was natural, he was very joyful; both on account of the courage, and glorious actions of his son. For he thought that now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that no body got privately out of it; but to  
 kill

kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly launched, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

7. Now this lake of Gennefareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length an hundred and forty. Its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking; for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens. The lake is also pure; and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sand. It is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up; and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water; and yet always cooler than one would expect in so diffuse a place as this is. When this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan; but, in reality, it is carried thither after an occult manner, from a place called Phiala. This place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is an hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand. And indeed it hath its name Phiala [vial or bowl] very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel. Its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis. For he had chaff thrown into Phiala; and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain head of the river was, whither it had been therefore carried [by the waters.] As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expences. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis. And when it hath run another  
hundred

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

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

\* It may be proper to observe here, that near this lake of Gennefareth grapes and figs hang on the trees ten months of the year. We may observe also, that in Cyril of Jerusalem, Cateches. xviii. § 3. which was delivered not long before Easter, there were no fresh leaves of fig trees, nor bunches of fresh grapes in Judea. So that when St. Mark says, xi. 13. that our Saviour, soon after the same time of the year, came and found leaves on a fig tree near Jerusalem, but no figs, because the time of new figs ripening was not yet; he says very true. Nor were they therefore other than old leaves which our Saviour saw, and old figs which he expected; and which even with us commonly hang on the trees all winter long.

9. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put on shipboard as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to conquer those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies hand, and in war against them: nor could they fight by sea; for their ships being small, and fitted only for piracy, were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels; and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans, when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them. Yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another; for they threw them against such as were in their armour: while the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves. And when they ventured to come near the Romans, they became sufferers themselves, before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavoured to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them. But when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships, and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lift their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels. But if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands. And indeed they were destroyed after various manners every where, till the rest being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea.] But as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake;

lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land. One might then see the lake all bloody, and full of dead bodies; for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very moving sight there was on the following days over that country. The shores were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled, and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrified, they corrupted the air. Insomuch, that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the conclusion of the sea fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheæ, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants, or not? And when those commanders alledged, that the dismissal of them would be to his own disadvantage; because when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest; since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as they fled to, to fight against us: Vespasian acknowledged, that they did not deserve to be saved; and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself, \* after what manner they should be slain; for if he had them slain there, he suspected the people of the country

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

would

would thereby become his enemies. That to be sure they would never bear, that so many that had been supplicants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurances of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against Jews could be any impiety; and that he ought to prefer what was profitable, before what was fit to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them; while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it; and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless; in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the Isthmus; and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred; besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa. Those who belonged to his Kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with. However, the King sold these also for slaves. But for the rest of the multitude, who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives; of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus, [Elul.]

A. D. 67.

END of the THIRD VOLUME.



