

T H E  
WARS of the JEWS,  
B Y  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

Translated into ENGLISH by

Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE, Knight.

C O N T A I N I N G :

- I. The Wars of the JEWS with the ROMANS: In Seven Books.
- II. The Life of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS: Written by Himself.

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All carefully Revised, and Compared with the Original GREEK.

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# P R E F A C E.

**O**F all the Wars that were ever seen or heard of in this Age, whether national or civil, that of the Jews with the Romans was certainly the most considerable: And there are several Pretenders to the writing of the Story. Some take up their Materials barely upon trust and Hearsay, without any Knowledge at all of the Matter in question. And there are some again, that spitefully stifle and disguise the evident Truth of Things, with partial Reports and false Glosses; more like Orators than Historians, in favour of the one Side, or the other, as the Faction stands affected, without any Regard to the good Faith or Reputation of the Work.

Upon this Consideration, I Joseph, the Son of Matthias, an Hebrew born, and a Priest of Jerusalem, have now bethought myself of turning that Narration into Greek, for the common Benefit of the Subjects of the Roman Empire, which I formerly communicated in my Mother-Tongue, to the Parthians, Babylonians, and other Barbarians, for their better Information: And I shall give farther to understand, that having first borne Arms for the Jews against the Romans, I found myself afterwards, under some sort of Necessity to interest myself in their Service.

This terrible War brake out upon a Nick of Time, when the Romans were all embroiled among themselves: And the Jews, being strong, rich, and seditious, wanted neither Men, Money, nor Good-will, to improve the Opportunity: Which they enflamed into so desperate a Tumult, that they did not only flatter themselves with the Hope of carrying all before them; but, at the same Time, struck whole Nations in the East, with an Apprehension of being totally over-run: For the Jews, as well those beyond Euphrates as the rest, were all in a Confederacy to rise as one Man. The Gauls were also in motion upon the Borders of Italy; the Germans unquiet; and, in one Word, every thing in Confusion upon the Death of Nero: Some setting up for the Empire itself; others for making their Fortunes by a Change of Government, the Soldiery as well as the rest, and all bent upon Innovations

In this State of Affairs, I reckoned myself bound in Honour and Conscience, to vindicate so many important Truths from Imposture and Mistake: And after having instructed the Parthians, the Babylonians, the most remote of the Arabians, the Jews on the other Side of the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, in a just Account of the Rise, Progress, and Event of the War; not to suffer the Greeks, and so many of the Romans, that had nothing to do in the Controversy, to be imposed upon by Flatteries and Fictions, and to continue wholly ignorant upon the main.

But with what Face shall People cry up that for History, which has neither Sense nor Connection in it; nor so much as one Syllable, in my Opinion, that makes for  
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their Purpose? As if they could not do honour sufficient to the Romans, without vilifying the Jews. Now I do not understand the Glory of triumphing over a weak Adversary. Why were they not ashamed rather, of being so long about it? Considering the mighty Power of the Romans, with the Fame and Conduct of their Generals? which is all lessened, if, upon the gaining of their Point, they derogate from the Bravery and Resolution of those they have overcome.

Far be it from me at last to enlarge upon the Exploits of the Jews, as others do upon the Romans; for the Thing I pretend to, is to do right indifferently to both Parties, without adding or diminishing; to say no more than I am able to prove; and to content myself in the Conscience of an affectionate and tender Affliction for the Ruin of my Country: But we were undone by our own Divisions; and then for the burning of the holy Temple, it was the Tyranny of our own Governors, that forced the Romans, how much soever against their Wills, upon that Extremity. Witness Titus Cæsar himself, under whose Command the Thing was done. How did he compassionate us all along, when he saw how we were torn to Pieces by intestine Factions, even to the Degree of suspending the final Destruction of the City, when he might have laid it in Ashes out of hand: And all this on purpose to give the Authors of the War, Time to bethink themselves and repent. If it shall be objected, that in this Passion and Bitterness of mine against the Oppressors and Spoilers of my Country, I have passed the Laws and Bounds of an Historian, I have nothing to offer, but the Violence of an ungovernable Sorrow in my Excuse. For of all the Places that ever fell under the Dominion of the Roman Empire, Jerusalem was undoubtedly the City, that had the greatest Share in both Extremes, by Turns, of Glory and Misery: From the Creation of the World, in fine, to this Instant, never any thing came near it. And for a farther Aggravation of the Calamity, we laid violent Hands upon ourselves, which makes the Case yet more inconsolable. Now if any Man shall think me too sensible in so deplorable a State of Things, let him distinguish betwixt the tragical Circumstances of the Story, and the good-natured Infirmities of the Author.

Upon this Occasion, I cannot but blame and wonder at several eloquent Men among the Greeks, to see them only By-standers and Eye-witnesses of the most memorable Revolution for War and military Actions, that ever appeared under the Sun, without concerning themselves in any Memorials of the History: Nay, which is worse, and derogating at the same Time from the Ability of others, that were willing to perform that Office; never considering that what they fall short of in Capacity and Talent, is supplied abundantly by Humanity and Good-will. And yet these censorious Critics, can take upon them at the same Time, to compile Histories of the Medes and Assyrians, though done already to their Hands by ancient Writers; to whom they are as much inferior for Style and Matter, notwithstanding this tacit Reproach, as for Design. But their Way of writing was to report what they had seen; speak upon Knowledge; and to be as good as their Words; without laying themselves open to the Scandal of a Contradiction, by any Disguise or false Suggestion whatever. It is the Part of a faithful and a judicious Historian, to furnish himself with Materials that are new and not common; and so to transmit the Memorials of his own Time down to Posterity.

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Now that Man cannot properly be said to be a Man of Skill and Industry, that only transposes, like a Plagiary, the Order and Disposition of another Man's writings: But he rather that obliges the World with an intire Body of History, that is all new, and his own. It has cost me a great deal of Money and Labour, being a Stranger, to furnish both Greeks and Romans with a Memorial of Transactions worthy to be known. But for the Greeks themselves, though their Mouths are open enough either upon the Subject of Controversy or Profit, yet in the Matter of History, which requires Truth and Pains, they are all as mute as Fishes: Leaving it to a Company of pitiful Wretches, that understand nothing at all, to manage the Province of Historians, and communicate to the World the Lives and Actions of Princes. But the good Faith of History is nevertheless venerable with us, though the Greeks undervalue it.

I might give you an Account here of the Original of the Jews, what they were, how they came to leave Ægypt, what Countries they passed through in their Wanderings, where they inhabited, how long and how often; and when and whither they went from thence: But at this Time, and in this Place, it would be both superfluous and unseasonable; in regard that the Story has been so faithfully delivered over and over already, by several of our own People, and as candidly translated by some of the Greeks into their own Tongue. I shall begin my History, where their Writers and our Prophets left off. As to the Conduct of the War, which I was an Eye-witness of, I shall be as copious and particular as is possible; but for what passed before my Time, I shall be more short and general.

The Method I propose to myself, shall be to set forth how Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, after the forcing of Jerusalem, and keeping possession of it for three Years and a half, came to be driven out by the Sons of Asmonæus. And afterwards, upon a Contest betwixt the Successors who should govern, how the Romans, under the Command of Pompey, made their Advantage of that Division: And how Herod, the Son of Antipater, with the Help of Sosius the General, put an End to the Power of the Asmonæan Line.

In the next Place, how after the Death of Herod, and under the Reign of Augustus, there happened a popular Revolt; Quintillius Varus being at that time Governor of Judæa. I shall likewise treat of the War that broke out in the twelfth of Nero: And what passed under the Command of Cestius, with the notable Exploits of the Jews, upon their first entering into Arims.

Their fortifying the Borders upon the Disasters of Cestius, and Nero's putting Vespasian in the Head of the Army, for fear of the main Chance: How this General, with his eldest Son, entered into Judæa with a mighty Army of Romans; the Defeat of a Body of Auxiliaries, that were scattered all over Galilee, with the Number of the Slain: How he took some of their Towns by Force, while others surrendered. I shall deliver nothing, in fine, but upon Sight, and certain Knowledge: With a Respect to the Roman Management of War; their Government and Discipline; the Bounds and Content of both Galilees, the Condition and Limits of Judæa; the particular Quality of the Soil; the Lakes and Fountains; what Towns were taken; and the Miseries they endured by Fire and Sword. I shall do all this, without suppressing

any Part of my own Misfortunes; wherein I doubt not of being believed, for I write to those that know I speak the Truth.

My next Point will be, to shew how the Tidings of Nero's Death coming to Vespasian, just as he was posting away to Jerusalem; (the Jews at that Time being very low) the Affairs of the Empire diverted him, and called him away to Rome. I shall take notice also of the Presages he had of his future Greatness; the Changes he found there; and the Soldiery declaring him Emperor, even against his Will.

How upon his going into Ægypt to give necessary Orders, the Jews brake out into a violent Sedition; the Slavery they endured under tyrannical Oppressors; and their fierce Animosity one against another; how Titus, upon his Return into Ægypt, made two Inroads into Judæa; how he levied an Army; where he drew them up, and in what Form of Battle.

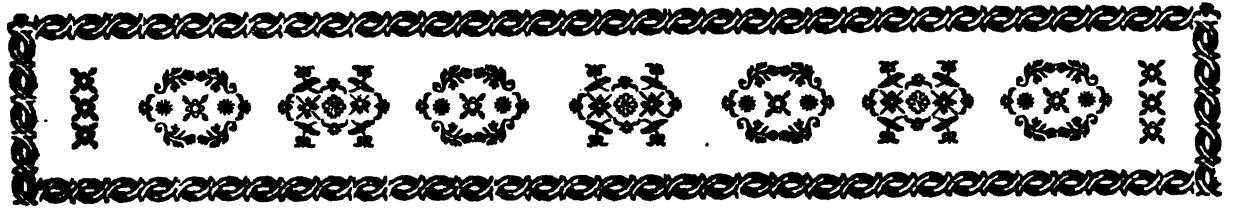
How many desperate Commotions he had seen in Jerusalem with his own Eyes. The Number of his Approaches; the Strength and vast Bigness of his Works; the Compass and the Thickness of the three Walls; the Fortifications of the City, and likewise of the Temple; the Figure and the Dimensions of the Altar: All this shall be exactly and faithfully reported. And so for our solemn Festivals, and the Ceremonies that attend them; the seven sorts of Purification; the Offices of the priestly Function; the sacerdotal Robes; and all that is sacred belonging to the holy Temple. Nothing of this shall be either altered or omitted; but punctually set down without making it more or less.

I shall then come to the Cruelty of our Governors, towards those of their own Tribe and Profession; and to the Humanity of the Romans; even towards Strangers; and shew how often, and how generously, Titus, out of an honourable Design to save both the Temple and the City, pressed and invited the Jews to come to an Agreement among themselves. I shall enlarge also upon the Sufferings and Calamities of the People, and the variety of Afflictions they laboured under, one while by War, another while by Sedition, and then again by Famine, till in the End they were made Prisoners: Neither shall I pass over the Destruction of the Fugitives, or the Torments inflicted upon those that were taken.

I shall not forget the Conflagration of the Temple, against the very Will and Liking of Cæsar himself: The sacred Treasure of all Sorts that was there consumed; the Remainder of the City laid wholly in Ashes; The Prodigies and Portents that preceded the captivating of our tyrannical Masters, and the Slavery of the People that were carried away; with an Account of their respective Adventures, the eager Pursuit of those that escaped the Dint of the War; and the razing of the Retreats and Habitations of the Conquered down to the Ground. I shall say somewhat likewise of Titus's Progress through the Country, to put Things in some sort of Order again; and then of his Return into Italy, and of his Triumph.

These are the Heads of the seven following Books; which I have written for the sake of Truth, not Diversion; in confidence, that no Man that knows any thing either of Business or of this War, will blame me for it. I shall only refer the Reader to the Chapters for the Order of the Work.

FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

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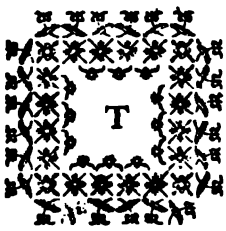
WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK I.

From the taking of Jerufalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, to the Death of Herod the Great; containing the interval of 167 Years.

CHAP. I.

\* Antiochus and Ptolemy Competitors. Antiochus enters Judea, and takes Jerufalem: A cruel Persecutor of the Jews, and Bacchides as bad. Matthias kills Bacchides. Judas gets the Temple, and restores God's Worship. Antiochus dies. Eleazar killed by the Fall of an Elephant. Judas slain by the Troops of Antiochus.



HE great Men of the Jews being divided into Factions among themselves, upon an Impulse of Honour (for Men of Dignity and Power do not naturally love to be subjected to their Equals); and this happening at a Time when there was a Competition a-foot betwixt Antiochus Epiphanes, and Ptolemy the Sixth; Onias, one of the High-Priests, got the better of it, and drove the Sons of Tobias out of the City; who applied themselves to Antiochus with Supplications, that he would break into Judæa, and make use of them for his Guides. The King was easily prevailed upon to

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\* Antiochus Epiphanes was Grandson to Seleucus the last of Alexander's Officers. After the Jews had Liberty under Cyr

do the Thing his Heart was set upon before; and so he marched into Judæa with a mighty Army; took Jerusalem itself by Assault, and put a prodigious Number of People to the Sword, that were suspected to be Friends to Ptolemy. The Pillage in general he gave to the Soldiers; rifled the Temple himself, and for three Years and a half discontinued the Prayers and Sacrifices that were offered up daily there to Almighty God. The High-Priest Onias fled to Ptolemy, who gave him Leave to build a Temple and a City near Heliopolis, after the Model of that at Jerusalem; which we shall have Occasion to speak of elsewhere.

Antiochus was now Master of a strong and a wealthy City, beyond all Thought or Expectation of his Enemies at his Feet, and all the Ravages before him of a bloody Desolation. But this was not yet sufficient to put a stop to the Course of an insatiable Cruelty and Ambition, beside the Malice he carried in his Heart for the Difficulties he suffered in the Siege, to the Degree of forcing the Jews to the renouncing of their Country's Laws, Rites, and Religion. They were no longer to circumcise their Children, nor to offer any Sacrifices upon their Altars, but Hogs, which the Law has expressly forbidden. This was a Barbarity that all good Men had a Horror for; and whoever discovered but the least Repentment of it, was sure to die for it. Bacchides had at that Time the Command of Judæa under Antiochus; and the World could not have found him out a fitter Instrument for his Purpose, being a Man naturally merciless and fierce, and as ready to execute Mischief, as the other could be to command it. It was his common Practice to treat Men of Quality with Blows, like Slaves; and Jerusalem, in fine, was no other than the Image of a City that was taken every Day over again. This was his Way of Proceeding, till the insupportable Insolence provoked some of the Sufferers to meditate a Revenge.

Matthias the Son of Asmonæus, (of Modin) and one of the Priests, drew out a Troop of his own Domestics; (having five Sons) and arming them with Daggers, killed Bacchides, and so withdrew immediately to the Mountains, out of Reach of the Garrisons, for their Security. The People came trooping in to Matthias, till he found himself strong enough to venture down into the Plain; where he gave the Enemy Battle, and forced them out of the Borders. This Success gave him such a Reputation, that the People, in Acknowledgment of their Deliverance, chose him for their General; in which Command he died, leaving the Government to his eldest Son Judas.

Now Judas (upon a Presumption that Antiochus would not give it over thus) got a considerable Body of an Army together of his own Countrymen: And in the first place  
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Cyrus the Great to rebuild their City and Temple, they were chiefly governed by their High Priest; but after the Death of Alexander, when his Officers divided the several conquered Provinces amongst themselves, Jerusalem was, by treachery and deceit, obtained by Ptolemy King of Egypt; upon his Death, Antiochus Epiphanes, Son of Antiochus the Governor over Syria, an aspiring and ambitious Man, made War upon his Sons, but being obliged by the Romans to relinquish his Conquests over them in Egypt, he eagerly embraced the Opportunity of a Quarrel amongst the Jews about the High Priesthood, turned his Forces against their City, possessed himself of it, and being of a greedy and avaritious Disposition, pillaged it of its most valuable Things, and greatly distressed and miserably entreated the Inhabitants: This is the Beginning and Foundation of those Wars which the Jews were constantly engaged in amongst themselves and the neighbouring Powers, till, calling in the Assistance of the Romans, and afterwards mutinying against their Governors, they were, by Vespasian and Titus entirely destroyed as a Nation. See Antiq. Book 12, c. 1.



struck up an Alliance with the Romans. Antiochus upon this made another Intursion into Judæa, where he received a terrible Repulse and Defeat. Judas plied his Advantage, and gave an Assault to the City-Garrison, being as yet untouched. In this Action the Soldiers were beaten out of the upper City (commonly called, the Holy Place) into the lower. Judas being now possessed of the Temple, purified it all over, ran a Wall about it, and furnished it a-new with all sorts of Vessels for the Service of God's Worship, the other being looked upon as polluted and profaned. He caused to be erected also another Altar, and Sacrifices to be offered upon it: But so soon as ever the Religion was restored, Antiochus died.

This Antiochus was followed by another of the same Name, the Successor of his Father's Enmity to the Jews, as well as of his Crown. He put himself at the Head of an Army of 50,000 Foot, near 5000 Horse, and 80 Elephants, and so fell in upon Judea by the Way of the Mountains. He took the Town of Bethsura; and passing through a narrow Defile, in a Place called Beth-zacharias, Judas engaged him in the Pass; and before the Armies could join, his Brother Eleazer taking Notice of one Elephant taller than the rest, with a great Castle upon his Back, and golden glorious Trappings, he gave for granted that the Rider must needs be Antiochus. In this Confidence he advanced upon the Enemy, and made his way into their Body up to the Elephant; but finding that the Person upon him, whom he took for the King, was out of his Reach, he stabbed the beast into the Guts, and was crushed to Death under the Weight of him upon his Fall; giving only to understand how much a brave Man valued his Honour above his Life. But he, it seems, that rode this Elephant, was only a private Man; and if it had been Antiochus himself, Eleazar could have got no more by it than the Reputation of sacrificing his Life to the very Hope of so heroical an Exploit. This Disappointment was looked upon by his Brother, as a Presage to the Fate of that Battle; for though the Jews maintained a long and an obstinate Fight, they were yet in the End over-borne by Numbers; and after a great Loss of Men, Judas with the Remainder retired into the Toparchy of Gophnis; but Antiochus went his Way to Jerusalem: And after a few Days Stay, was forced to withdraw again for want of Necessaries, leaving behind him a competent Garrison, and sending the rest to take their Winter-Quarters in Syria.

The King being now out of the Way, Judas was not idle; but taking Heart upon the Recourse to him of several of his own Nation, together with those that had escaped out of the late Battle, he encountered some of the Troops of Antiochus at a Place called Adasa; where he made himself so signal by his Conduct and Valour, that being known in the Battle, he was oppressed by Multitudes, and fell in the Action. His Brother John did not live many Days after him, being inveigled into an Ambush by the Friends of Antiochus, that cost him his Life.

## C H A P. II.

*Jonathan betrayed, and put to Death by Tryphon. Simon recovers Judæa; and is murdered by the Treachery of Ptolemy. A Plot upon John, otherwise Hyrcanus, but disappointed. The barbarous Cruelty of Ptolemy to the Mother and Brothers of Hyrcanus. Antiochus lays Siege to Jerusalem. Sebaste destroyed by Aristobulus and Antigonus.*

**J**ONATHAN succeeded his Brother as Prince of the Jews, and behaved himself, with great Caution and Prudence towards those of his own Nation; strengthening his Interest also by making Friends of the Romans, and coming to a better Understanding with the Son of Antiochus. But all this would not serve their Turn yet. For the Tyrant Tryphon, the Tutor of young Antiochus, had recourse to Treachery, and how he might deprive Jonathan of the Assistance of his Friends over and above: So that upon Jonathan's coming to Antiochus at Ptolemais with a slender Train, Tryphon seized him by surprize; and when he had him Prisoner, marched with his Army against Judæa; where Simon the Brother of Jonathan beat him off, and routed him: Upon which he went away in a Rage, and put Jonathan to Death.

Simon went on at the same Rate of Conduct and Courage; Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia; made himself Master also of Accaron, and demolished it; assisted Antiochus against Tryphon, who, before his Expedition into Media, laid Siege to Dora. But such was the Avarice of this King, that though Simon had contributed to the Death of Tryphon, by the Aid he had given him, it was not long after yet, that Antiochus sent Cendebæus with an Army to lay waste Judea, and to enslave Simon himself. This Prince of the Jews was somewhat in Years; but managed the War however with a Spirit of Youth and Vigour. He sent his sons before with the best of his Troops, and went himself another Way with the rest: And having planted several Ambushes up and down about the Mountains, he succeeded every where; and gained a mighty Victory: After which he was declared High-Priest. Thus was Judæa delivered out of the Hands of the Macedonians, after a Subjection to them of a hundred and seventy Years.

This great Man was murdered afterward at a Feast, by the Treason of his Son-in-Law Ptolemy, who had at the same Time his Wife and two of his Sons Prisoners, and ordered out his Bravo's to dispatch John the Third, who was also called Hyrcanus. The young Man having Notice of this Design upon his Person, hastened away to the City, where he had a great many Friends, partly upon his Father's Score, out of the Reverence they had for his Memory, and partly out of the Hatred they bare to Ptolemy, for his ill Conditions. Now Ptolemy would fain have gotten into the City by another Port; but the People having already taken Hyrcanus into the Town, would not admit the other. Upon this Repulse, Ptolemy betook himself to the Castle of Dagon beyond Jericho; and Hyrcanus, being at this Time possessed of the sacerdotal Dignity in Succession to his Father; so soon as ever he had sacrificed, and discharged  
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the Duties of his Function, he marched away presently to besiege Ptolemy in the Castle, and to set his Mother and his Brothers at Liberty.

Hyrchanus advanced up to the Place, and had certainly carried it, if his Tenderness and Good-nature had not hindered him: For still as Ptolemy found himself pressed, his Mother and his Brothers were presently brought out and exposed upon the Wall for a Spectacle, with Menaces to cast them down headlong from the Battlements, unless Hyrchanus drew off that very Moment: And those Menaces were accompanied with Blows too. Hyrchanus must needs be transported with Rage and Indignation at so barbarous a Treatment; but still the Tenderness of Piety and Duty softened him again, on the other Hand: The Mother all this while, without any Dread, either of Torments, or Death, adjuring the Son to do Justice upon that Monster, without any Regard to what she suffered; for to die by the Hand of Ptolemy, she said, would be more welcome to her than Immortality itself; provided only that she and her Family might have Justice done them upon that unrighteous and inhuman Wretch. Hyrchanus, in fine, betwixt the Resolution and the Authority of his Mother, was prevailed upon to resume his Courage, and to prosecute the Assault. But finding that still as he repeated the Attack, on the one Side, Ptolemy repeated the Blows and Indignities on the other; his Courage failed him, and his very Heart was drowned in Sorrow. These expostulatory Deliberations kept the Siege so long in Hand, that they were now overtaken by the seventh Year: Which, with the Jews, is a Year of Rest, as the seventh Day is a Day of Rest. Ptolemy finding that upon this Revolution the Siege was respited, he put both Mother and Brothers to Death, and then fled to Zeno, otherwise called Cotylas, the Governor of Philadelphia.

Antiochus, bearing an old Grudge in his Mind, for a Defeat Simon had formerly given him, carried an Army into Judæa, with a Resolution to be revenged upon the Son for the Father's Sake; and there sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrchanus in it. Hyrchanus in this Distress opened the Sepulchre of David (the richest Prince that ever was;) took upward of three Thousand Talents out of it, and came to a Composition with Antiochus for three Hundred Talents to raise the Siege. This was the first Prince of the Jews that ever entertained foreign Mercenaries.

Antiochus having now quitted Jerusalem, and being upon the March with all his Troops into Media; Hyrchanus took his Time, and presently moved toward Syria, upon Intelligence that their Towns were neither manned nor fortified; which he found accordingly to be true. So he took Medaba, and Samæa, with divers other Places thereabouts; Sichem and Gazirim: He over-ran the Country of the Chuthites, a People bordering upon a famous Temple erected there, in Imitation of that at Jerusalem. He took likewise Dorion, and Marissa, and a great many other Towns in Idumæa.

He went afterward to Samaria, a City rebuilt by King Herod, and now called Sebaste. He begirt the Place on all Hands, and committed the Care of the Siege to his Sons Aristobulus and Antigonus; who brought them to such a Distress for want of Food, that the People were forced to make shift with that which, in truth, was not Man's Meat. In this Extremity they addressed themselves to Antiochus (otherwise called Aspendius) for Succour; who came readily to their Assistance, but to his own

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Undoing; for the two Brothers gave him a total Overthrow, following him upon the Pursuit as far as Scythopolis: But in the End he gave them the slip. Aristobulus and Antigonus returned after this to Samaria; shut them up again, forced the City, and laid it in Rubbish, carrying away the Inhabitants Captives. Every Thing succeeding thus to their Wish, the Soldiers well disposed and chearful, they would not suffer the good Humour to cool, but in that Heat marched as far as Scythopolis: Where they came to a Partition of the Lands about Mount Carmel, among them.

### C H A P. III.

*The Death and Character of Hyrcanus King of the Jews; and his eldest Son Aristobulus succeeds him. A Plot upon Antigonus, and the Queen manages it. Aristobulus starves his Mother, and puts his Brother Antigonus to Death. A strange Prediction of one Judas an Essene. Aristobulus falls into a judicial Distemper upon his Brother's Death. The last Words of Aristobulus. Alexander set at Liberty, and declared King. Theodore defeats Alexander. Alexander takes Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. A dangerous Mutiny. He subdues the Galaadites and Moabites; razes Amathus, and is routed by Obodas. A Battle betwixt Demetrius and Alexander. Eight Hundred Prisoners crucified for a Spectacle. The miserable End of Aristobulus.*

**J**OHN and his Sons were so prosperous in all they undertook, that in pure Spite and Envy, the Nations entered into Conspiracies against them, and would never let them be quiet till they themselves were brought to Reason by open War. After that Decision, the Remainder of John's Life and Government was easy and happy; and at the End of three and thirty Years he departed this Life, leaving five Sons behind him. He was so good a Man, that never any Creature had Reason to complain of him. A singular Felicity! And he was in Possession likewise of three other Advantages almost peculiar to himself. He was at the same Time a Prince, a High-Priest, and a Prophet: Receiving his Revelations from God himself, and seldom or never failed in his Predictions. As to his two eldest Sons, he foresaw and foretold, that their Dominion would not last long. It will be worth the while to write the History of their Lives, and to see how short they fell of the Reputation and Happiness of their Father.

After the Death of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, the eldest Son, translated the Principality into a Monarchy, and in the first Place set the Crown upon his own Head. This was 481 Years and three Months after the Return of the People into Judæa from the Captivity of Babylon. Aristobulus had so great a Kindness for his Brother Antigonus, that

that he made him a Co-partner with him in the Royal Dignity; but the rest of his Brethren were taken into Custody, and he caused his Mother to be clapped up too, for pretending some sort of Right to the Government, upon a Suggestion that John had left the Regency in her Hand: Proceeding in short to that Excess of Cruelty, that he starved her in the very Prison.

But Aristobulus was effectually punished for these unnatural Violences, in the Loss of Antigonus; whom he caused to be put to Death, upon the Calumnies of a Faction, whose Business it was to make him odious. Now Aristobulus had so great a Tenderness for his Brother (having made him, as I said, his Companion in the Government) and so fair an Opinion of him, that it was a good while before he would believe those spiteful Stories to be any other than Forgery and Slander. But there fell out one Time an unlucky Accident; Aristobulus happened to fall sick during the Celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, and Antigonus, in the mean Time, to come back from the Camp to Jerusalem in all his Bravery. Toward the End of the Solemnity, he marched up to the Temple in an extraordinary Pomp and Dress, with a Train of armed Men at his Heels; and the more glorious he appeared, the greater Honour (as he intended it) he did his Brother; but all this, upon an Impulse principally of Devotion. The Court-Parasites and Tale-Bearers, went presently open-mouth to the King upon this Occasion: "They did not understand this Clutter of Arms and Soldiers, they said; nor was it for a private Man to march with Troops and Guards: Neither could Antigonus have any honest End in this Parade. But the Honour of a Share in the Government would not serve his Turn, they saw, without the Possession of it.

Aristobulus was so far prevailed upon, by little and little, though with some Difficulty, that he bethought himself of providing against all Hazards, without discovering any Sort of Jealousy. He lodged at that Time in the Castle of Baris, afterwards called Antonia: Where he sent for his Guards, and ordered them to wait for Antigonus in a certain dark Passage under Ground there. If he came without Arms, they should let him go; but if otherwise, they were to kill him upon the Place. Aristobulus, upon this, sends for Antigonus to come to him; but to bring no Arms along with him. The Queen concerted the Plot with the Conspirators, artfully enough, by engaging the King's Messenger not to deliver the right Message: But rather to tell Antigonus, that the King heard of a wonderful Suit of Arms he had got in Galilee; and, being at present a little indisposed, he had a great Mind to see him as soon as he could, and that he should come accoutred in those Arms. Antigonus (without the least Suspicion of his Brother's good Faith and Kindness) made all the Haste he could to dress, and away, as if he had been to shew himself: But in the blind Passage before spoken of (known by the Name of Straton's Tower) the Guards fell upon him, and killed him. This Instance may serve for a Lesson to us, that the Bonds of Nature, Equity, and Friendship, are all cancelled, where the Ear is once opened to Pick-thanks and Tale-bearers; and that there's no trusting to Court-Favourites.

In this Place I must not forget a memorable Story of one Judas, by Sect an Essene; a Man famous for Divination, and one that was never charged, in the Way of his Profession.

Profession, either with a Falſity, or a Miſtake. It was his Chance to be paſſing by as Antigonus went through the Temple, and called out aloud (upon the Sight of him) to ſome of his Acquaintance there within hearing (as he had Followers and Diſciples in abundance; “ Nay then, ſays he, the Lord bleſs us! ’Tis e’en Time for me to “ leave the World. What ſhould we do living any longer when Truth itſelf is dead? “ My Prediction is falſe, I perceive, and I have told a Lie: For that very Antigonus “ that was to have been ſlain this Day is yet living. The fatal Place where he was to “ have been killed is Straton’s Tower: Which is no leſs than 600 Stadia from hence, “ and we are at this preſent but in the fourth Hour of the Day.” After theſe Reflections upon the Preſage, the old Man, with a Sadneſs in his Countenance that betrayed the Anxiety of his Heart, ſtood a while muſing and thoughtful; and by-and-by comes the News of Antigonus’s Death, in a ſubterranean Paſſage, bearing the ſame Name alſo of Straton’s Tower, with that of Cæſarea upon the Sea-Coaſt. And this was it that miſſed the Prophet.

The horrid Fact was no ſooner committed, but the Conſcience of Ariſtobulus flew in his Face, and inflamed his Diſtemper: So that betwixt Horror of Thought, a troubled Mind, and the Torments of his Diſeaſe, his Guts came out, and he fell into a Vomiting of Blood. The Servants that carried it out to throw it away, caſt it, by a moſt remarkable Providence, upon the very Place where Antigonus was ſlain, and the Blood of the Murderer fell upon the very Stains of the Blood of the Murdered. Some that ſaw and obſerved it, took it to be done on Purpoſe; as if it had been intended only for a kind of Oblation to the Ghoul of Antigonus. The By-ſtanders gave ſuch a Shriek upon it, that the King over-hearing it, ſent preſently to inquire what was the Matter; and the ſhyer they were of telling it, the more eager was the King to know it: So that, in the End, betwixt Force and Menace, they told him the whole Truth of the Story. This Surprize brought Tears into the King’s Eyes; and then fetching a deep Sigh, “ Well! ſays he, it was not to be expected, that my ſc-  
“ cret Sins ſhould eſcape the Eye of an all-ſeeing God; or that divine Vengeance  
“ ſhould not follow ſo horrid a Wickedneſs upon the Heel. Ah! thou miſerable Body  
“ of mine; how long wilt thou keep my ſoul from doing the Juſtice that I owe to  
“ my murdered Mother and Brother! Why do I not rather ſacrifice my Blood all at  
“ once, than drain it out at length thus Drop by Drop, to go off at laſt, in the Bit-  
“ ternels of my Pains and Agonies, the Sport of Fortune?” With theſe Words he concluded his Life.

The Widow-Queen, after the Death of Ariſtobulus, ſet Alexander at Liberty, and declared him King. He was the eldeſt Son, and reputed a Prince of Moderation: But yet, ſo ſoon as ever he came to the Crown, he put one of his Brothers to Death that aſpired to the Sovereignty; but the other ſubmitting to live in a private Condition, he took him home to himſelf.

After the taking of Aſochis, by Ptolemy Lathur the King of Egypt, Alexander gave him Battle, and killed a great many of his Men; but Ptolemy, however, got the Day. Cleopatra, the Mother of this Prince, forcing him away into Egypt, Alexander took Gadara by Siege; and Amathus, the faireſt Caſtle by much of all beyond  
Jordan,

Jordan, and the Place where Theodore, the Son of Zeno, had deposited his Treasure, and all he had that was precious. But Theodore coming upon him before he was aware, did not only recover his own, but took the King's Baggage, and cut off near ten Thousand Jews in the Battle. Alexander, by the Help of some Inforcements, after this Blow, carried the War towards the Sea-Coasts; took Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon, which Herod afterward called Agrippias.

It is no new Thing, where there are great Numbers of People, to have great Seditions; as at public Meetings, Feastings, and the like. This was the Case of the Jews against Alexander in one of their solemn Festivals; and it came to such a Height, that it fell little short of a general Revolt: So that, in his own Defence, he was forced to take Strangers into Pay; as Pisidians and Cilicians: But for Syrian Mercenaries, their natural Aversion to the Jews was so great, that he durst not meddle with them. In short, he cut to Pieces upwards of six thousand of the Mutineers; and then made War upon Arabia; where he subdued the Galaadites and the Moabites, made them his Tributaries; and so back again to Amathus. By this Time, Theodorus being frightened away by the Reputation of Alexander's Successes, quitted the Place; and the other finding it without a Garrison, razed it to the Ground.

His next Adventure was against Obodas the King of the Arabians; who lay posted in the Province of Gaulan; the fittest Place in the World for an Ambuscade. Alexander was there surprized, and driven into a deep Valley; where his People were crushed to Death in the Defiles by the Multitudes of Camels, to the Ruin, in fine, of the whole Army; Alexander himself escaped with much Difficulty to Jerusalem; where he found his old Enemies more violent and implacable now than ever, since his last Disaster. They gave him a great deal of Trouble; but upon all Encounters he was still too hard for them: Infomuch, that within the Compass of six Years, he destroyed at least fifty thousand Jews; but he had little Joy of these Victories, where he himself was the worse for them. He betook himself, in the End, from Arms to Reasoning, and to attempt the Ingratiating of himself with his People some gentler Way: But this Vanity and Inconstancy of his Humour, instead of gaining them over, rendered him so odious and contemptible, that upon asking them what he could do in the World to please them, they told him he must die, and try what that would do; for they could hardly pardon him in his Grave for the Injuries he had done them in his Life-time.

They called to their Assistance King Demetrius Eucærus; who finding it his Interest to come over to them, readily complied; and advancing with an Army, joined the Jews near Sichem. They reckoned in all three thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot: And Alexander, with only a thousand Horse, six thousand mercenary Foot, and a matter of ten thousand well-affected Jews encountered them. The two Kings, before they engaged, made a Trial what Deserters they could gain over from either Party. Demetrius applied himself to Alexander's Mercenaries; and Alexander to the Jews that followed Demetrius; in Hope of succeeding on both Sides backward and forward. But when they saw that neither the Jews nor the Greeks were to be wrought upon, they put it to a Battle, and Demetrius carried it: Not but that Alexander's

Mercenaries shewed themselves Men of Honour and Courage. This did not hinder, however, but that upon the final Event of this Action, they seemed beyond all Expectation to have both the better of it: For some of those Troops that went over to Ventidius, did not stick to him; and the very Compassion that several of the Jews had for their unfortunate King, transported six thousand even of those that had fought against him, to seek him out, and join him in the Mountains, where he had taken Sanctuary. This Turn of Humour and Fortune, gave Demetrius such a Surprize, for fear the rest of the Army should follow this Example, that he quitted his Design, and withdrew. But these Desertions of the Auxiliaries had no Effect yet upon the Multitude; for they maintained the War still against Alexander, till they were all lost: One Part of them cut off, and the remainder driven into Bemezel; where they were all made Prisoners, and carried to Jerusalem. But we shall now see how far the ungovernable Rage of an impetuous Passion will transport People, when they come once to abandon the Measures of Honour and Virtue. Alexander made a Treat for his Concubines; and one Part of the Entertainment was the Spectacle of eight hundred Prisoners upon the Cross in the Middle of the City, having first cut the Throats of their Wives and Children before their Faces. This execrable frightful Tragedy was presented for a Diversion to Alexander and his Women, in the Height of the Debauch: but then it struck the Party with so astonishing a Terror, that eight thousand of the Inhabitants fled their Country next Night, and never came back again till after the Death of this Prince. By these inhuman Methods, he came at last, with much ado, to settle himself and his People in some Sort of Quiet.

## C H A P. IV.

*Antiochus surprized by Aretas. A bloody Battle, and Antiochus routed and slain. Aretas joins with Damascus. Alexander's Wars, Exploits, Sicknes, and Death. He leaves the Regency to his Wife Alexandra, and two Sons Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Hyrcanus is advanced to the Pontificate. The Character of the Pharisees. Their Envy and Tyranny. Alexandra governs the People; and the Pharisees Alexandra. Alexandra falls sick and dies, leaving the Command to Hyrcanus: But Aristobulus takes the Government upon him, and his Wife and Sons are made Prisoners in Antonia. The two Brothers come to a Battle, and Aristobulus carries it. They compound afterwards, and agree.*

**T**HIS Peace of Alexander was not so well settled, but Antiochus (otherwise called Dionysius) the Brother of Demetrius, and the last of the Race of Seleucus, brought him into fresh Troubles. This Prince having overcome the Arabians, put Alexander into some Apprehension for himself: So that he ran a Line, with a  
deep



deep Ditch, and a high Wall before it, strengthened with wooden Towers of some tolerable Defence. This Line, or Retrenchment, was carried all along the Mountains near Antripatris to the Borders of Joppa: But all this was no Obstruction to the Progress of Antiochus; for he set fire to the Towers; filled the Ditches; and so passing over with his Army, marched strait away against the Arabians; putting off his Revenge upon Alexander, that would have hindered him, to some other Time. Aretas, the Arabian Prince, upon the Approach of Antiochus, drew his Men into strong Holds: And then, all on a sudden, when Antiochus thought himself safe and out of Danger, the Arabian fell upon him at unawares with ten thousand Horse. The Fight was obstinate and bloody; but yet, so long as Antiochus lived, his Men stood very bravely by him, though the Arabians made a very great Slaughter. But when Antiochus fell (as he was still in the hottest of the Action,) his Men turned their Backs and fled: So that upon the Issue, betwixt those that were cut off in the Fight and upon the Pursuit, the Army was well nigh totally destroyed. Some slipped into Cana; where the greater Part of them perished for Want of Bread.

The People of Damascus had such a Dread and Hatred for Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, that they entered into a League with Aretas, and made him King of Cæle-Syria: Who carried the War into Judæa, defeated Alexander, and so went off again upon Conditions.

The King of the Jews having taken Pella, went and assaulted Gerasa, and carried it, though fortified with a triple Circumvallation; making himself Master, not only of the Place, but of all Theodore's Treasure that was laid up there, both at once. After this, he demolished Gaulan, Seleucia, and a City known by the Name of Antiochus's Pharanx, with the strong Castle of Gamara, over and above. In this Place he took Prisoner Demetrius the Governor (a Man of a most infamous Character); and so returned to Jerusalem, where he was received with Joy and Acclamations, after a three Years prosperous Success. At the End of the War, he fell into an Indisposition by a quartan Ague; and being possessed with an Opinion that Action and Stirring would do him good, he entered into a new, and an unseasonable War; and struggling beyond his Strength, he tired himself out with the Fatigue, and so ended his Days in a Hurry, dying in the twenty-seventh Year of his Reign.

The King left the Government to his Wife Alexandra, as one that had made herself very popular by her Moderation and Virtue: A Woman far from the Rigour and Hardness of her Husband, and therefore he made no Doubt of the People's ready Submission and Resignation to her Authority. Neither was Alexander deceived in his Opinion; for the Reputation of her Piety atoned for the Disadvantages of her Sex; being a Woman perfectly well instructed in the Jewish Rights and Customs, and one that had ever given constant Proof of her Zeal for the Observance of those holy Laws. She brought Alexander two Sons; the elder, Hyrcanus, and him for his Age she advanced to the Pontificate. And then finding him also of a Temper heavy and manageable, she reckoned there would be no Danger in declaring him King too. But then for Aristobulus, the younger, being of a quick and enterprising Spirit, she thought it more advisable to keep him in a private State of Life.

There was among the Jews a certain Sect called Pharisees: That valued themselves upon being thought holier than their Neighbours, and better skilled in the Law. Alexandra, that was bigotted in her Religion, even to the Degree of Superstition, had a mighty Reverence for those holy Men, upon the pure Account of their Pretensions: And they played their Game so well on the other hand too, by fair Appearances and Insinuations, that the Powers and Privileges of the Government were effectually engrossed into their Hands. If any body was to be put in, or put out; laid in Chains, or set at Liberty; it was to be all as they pleased. The honourable and the profitable Commissions of the Government, they reserved to themselves; but the Cares, the Expences, and the Difficulties, were left to Alexandra. No Creature better understood the Art of Public Menage and Administration than herself. She made it her Business to advance the Militia of the nation to the Height. She kept two armies a-foot, and a great Number of Foreign Auxiliaries in Pay; which made her strong at home, and formidable Abroad. But still as she had all this while the Command of others, she herself was yet under the Dominion of the Pharisees.

There was one Diogenes, a Man of Quality, and a most particular Friend to the late King. The Pharisees caused him to be put to Death, upon Suggestion that he had a Hand in the crucifying of the eight hundred Prisoners before mentioned, who were put to Death by the King's Command: Nay, they pressed the Queen further yet, not to let any one Man escape that was an Adviser in that horrible Action. The Queen was so captivated, that she had not the Power to deny them any thing: So that under that Colour, they destroyed whom they pleased, and carried it on so far, that no good Man was safe; insomuch that several Persons of Condition were forced to take Sanctuary with Aristobulus; who presently moved his Mother on the Behalf of those Persons for their Dignities sake, and for the future to turn those out of the Town that she should suspect to be guilty. This being granted, instead of being put to Death, they were only banished. Alexandra, about this Time, sent an Army to Damascus, upon a Pretext that Ptolemy pressed very hard upon the Town: She took the Place, without any thing remarkable that passed at the taking of it. Cleopatra was now besieged in Ptolemais by Tigranes the King of Armenia, and Alexandra at the same Time, plying him with Presents and Proposals. But Lucullus being already entered in Armenia with the Roman Army, he marched presently away to prevent Mischiefs at Home.

Some short Time after this, Alexandra fell dangerously ill: Whereupon the younger Brother Aristobulus, with a Train of his Servants (as he had a great many,) and all in the Flower of their Youth, faithful and brave, got Possession of the Castles; took what Money he could find; engaged a Body of auxiliary Troops, and declared himself King. Hyrcanus, upon this Turn, made his Moan to his Mother; who so far commiserated his Case, that she caused the Wife and Sons of Aristobulus to be shut up in the Castle, on the North-side of the Temple, formerly called Baris (as I said before,) and afterwards Antonia in the Government of Anthony, as Sebaste and Agrippias drew their Names from Augustus and Agrippa. Alexandra, after a nine Years Reign, was taken off by this Sickness, before she could revenge herself upon Aristobulus, for endeavouring to depose his Brother.

Alexandra

Alexandra left Hyrcanus all she had in the World, and transmitted the Government into his Hands, while she was yet living; but Aristobulus was much his Superior yet, both in Force and Credit. The Dispute betwixt the two Brothers came to a Battle near Jericho; where the greater Part of Hyrcanus's Men went over to Aristobulus: Hyrcanus and the wretched Remainder of his People, escaping with much Difficulty into Antonia, where they had good Hostages for their Security: The Wife and Sons of Aristobulus (as we have said before) being there in Custody. These Brothers, before Matters proceeded to farther Extremities, came to this agreement; that Hyrcanus should yield up the Kingdom to Aristobulus, and content himself with such Honours and Privileges as properly belong to the Dignity of the King's Brother. The Reconciliation being interchangeably declared in the Temple, and in the Sight of the People, with mutual Embraces, and the two Brothers to change Houses. Aristobulus to go to the Palace, and Hyrcanus to the House of Aristobulus.

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C H A P. V.

*Hyrcanus by the Advice of Antipater, makes a friend of Aretas the king of Arabia, against Aristobulus. Aretas enters Judæa with fifty thousand Men: Forces Aristobulus into Jerusalem; and besieges him there. Scaurus takes a Bribe, and raises the Siege. The two Brothers implore Pompey's Assistance, one against the other. The Vanity of Aristobulus, and Pompey's Contempt of him. Aristobulus takes Sanctuary in Alexandria. The two Brothers plead their Cause before Pompey. Aristobulus makes his Way for Jerusalem: Humbles himself, and Pompey makes him a Prisoner. Jerusalem besieged, and the Temple taken by Assault. Twelve thousand Jews slain. Pompey's Piety and Moderation. Aristobulus and his Family carried away Prisoners: But Aristobulus makes his Escape upon the Way.*

**T**HIS unexpected Advancement of Aristobulus to the Crown, was a terrible Mortification to all his Enemies, but especially to Antipater, upon the Score of an old Grudge betwixt them. Now this Antipater was by Extraction an Idumean, and for his Birth and Estate, one of the first Rank of the Country. Hyrcanus being now deposed, and driven out of his Dominions, Antipater advised him by all means to apply himself to Aretas, the king of Arabia, for Assistance towards the Recovery of his Kingdom: Employing his own Interest also with Aretas towards the gaining of his Point, and reflecting all the while upon Aristobulus, as a very ill Man; and at the same time elevating Hyrcanus up to the Skies. He plied him also with Arguments drawn from the Honour of the Undertaking, and the Generosity of the Office, minding him that it was a Thing worthy of himself, and well becoming the Character of  
a great

a great Prince, for one crowned Head to vindicate another: And more especially in the Case of an injurious Oppression and Distress. When they were both thus instructed and prepared, Hyrcanus to be gone, and Aretas to receive him, Antipater conveyed Hyrcanus out of the city by Night; and posting away with him, brought him safe to Petra, the Royal Palace of Arabia: And there, with fair words and Presents, he delivered him up to the Care and Goodness of Aretas, who promised him he would do all he could toward the restoring of him to his Crown. Aretas upon this entered Judea with an Army of fifty thousand Men, Horse and Foot; but Aristobulus not being in Condition to look him in the Face, was broken all to pieces at the first Charge, and forced to take Sanctuary in Jerusalem: Where he was besieged by Aretas, and had certainly been taken, if Scaurus, the Roman General, had not by his Providence delivered him. Pompey the Great, that was then in War with Tigranes, sent Scaurus with an Army out of Armenia into Syria: But coming to Damascus, he found the Place taken by Metellus and Lellius, and their Troops drawn off. Scaurus, coming by this time to understand how Matters went in Judea, could not do better, he thought, than to bend his Course that way.

He was no sooner upon the Borders, but he was there encountered upon the Way by two Ambassadors from the two Brothers; one from each, and both upon the same Errand: That is to say, their Instructions were to implore the Assistance of the Romans for each of the two, one against the other. But Aristobulus's three hundred Talents (for that was the Sum) weighed down the Justice of Hyrcanus's Pretensions, as appeared by Scaurus's sending away Ambassadors to the Arabians and Hyrcanus, in the Name of Pompey the Great and the Senate of Rome, charging them immediately to quit the Siege, and be gone at their utmost Peril. Aretas presently withdraws in a Fright out of Judea to Philadelphia, and Scaurus returns to Damascus. Now Aristobulus did not think it enough to escape taking, but got all the Force together he was able to make, and followed the Enemy upon the Heel. He came up with them at last at a Place called Papyron; where he fought and cut off betwixt six and seven thousand of their Men, and Cephalon, the Brother of Antipater, one of the Number.

Hyrcanus and Antipater being now disappointed of the Succour they expected from the Arabians, applied themselves for Relief to their very enemies: And upon Pompey's entering Syria, and coming to Damascus, they cast themselves upon his Honour for Protection: With an Introduction of large Presents, and the same Arguments over again that had been used to Aretas; desiring Pompey, upon the main, to consider the Violence of Aristobulus, and the Right of Hyrcanus, as well in respect of his Age, as of his Manners. But Aristobulus depended so much upon his Interest in Scaurus, that he made himself as fine as Hands could set him out, and so made his Compliment to Pompey in a Royal Dress, and with the Train and Equipage of a King. When he had staid a while, that is to say, so long as his Stomach would bear waiting (for he looked upon it as a Thing below his Dignity to subject himself to an Attendance), he went his Way back again to Diospolis.

This Freak of Aristobulus gave Pompey great Offence: Which was but what Hyrcanus and his Companions wished for. He draws out presently his Roman Troops, and some Syrian Auxiliaries, and marches after him. When he was passed Pella, and  
Scythopolis,

Scythopolis, coming to Coreda the borders of Judea, in the Mediteranean, he was informed that Aristobulus had taken Sanctuary in Alexandrion (a stately Castle upon a very high Mountain); and thither he sent to Aristobulus to come down to him. This was so imperious a Message, that he resolved to run any Hazard rather than comply with it: But what with the Murmuring of the People, and the Advice of his Friends, to consider the Strength of the Romans, and the necessity of the Case, he was prevailed upon, in the Conclusion, to go down to Pompey: Which he did; and, after many Things said there in Defence of his Pretensions, he went up again. After this at the Instance of Hyrcanus, he came down the second Time: And when the two Brothers had disputed the Title awhile, backward and forward, Aristobulus returned as before, without any Let or Interruption from Pompey. He was so divided within himself, betwixt Hope and Fear, that one while he was in a Mood to humble himself, and to do whatever Pompey would have him. But when he was gone half Way sometimes in that Resolution, he repented, and so up to the Castle again, for fear of doing any thing derogatory to his Royal State. Pompey had now a good Mind to get Possession of the Castles: But being told that Aristobulus had charged all the Governors to take no Notice of any Orders but under his own Hand, he appointed Aristobulus to write to the several, respective Commanders immediately upon the Sight of those Letters, to deliver them up. Aristobulus did as he was commanded; but went away immediately to Jerusalem in Wrath and Indignation, meditating all the Way he went, a War with Pompey.

Pompey gave him no Time to provide himself, but hastened after him immediately; and he went on the more chearfully for the News he met with about Jericho, of the Death of Mithridates. This is the fruitfullest Province of all Judea; a world of Palm-trees in it, and of the famous Balsam that drops from the Plant, upon cutting the Bark with a sharp Stone. He staid there that Night, and posted away the next Morning for Jerusalem. Aristobulus was so surprized at this Expedition, that he went and cast himself at Pompey's Feet, with Supplications and Tears; Promises of Money, and Proposals of giving up both the City and his Person into Pompey's Hand. This softened him a little for the present, but Aristobulus it seems, could not make good what he had offered: For when Gabinius was sent to receive the Money, the Friends and Companions of Aristobulus, that kept the town for him in his Name, would not so much as let him in.

This Shuffling irritated Pompey to such degree, that he kept Aristobulus a Prisoner, and so advanced to the City to take a View of the Fortifications and Defences, and to consider upon what Quarter to attack it. The Walls were strong and impregnable; a hideous Precipice at the Foot of them; and the temple so invincibly secure, that if the City itself were taken, the Work were but half done.

While Pompey was upon this Deliberation, and casting within himself where to begin, and what to do, there brake out a violent Sedition in the Town, betwixt the two Parties of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus: The former were for pushing it to a War, and rescuing their King by Arms, upon a Point of Honour and Duty; the other, for taking Pompey into the Town, without any Opposition. This was the Sense of the Majority, out of a Dread they had for the Romans. The Friends of Aristobulus upon this retired into the  
Temple.

Temple, and cut down the Bridge of Communication betwixt that and the city, in a final Resolution of maintaining it to the last. Others there were that took several Romans into the Town, and put them into the Palace Royal: Whereupon Pompey sent Pifo (one of his General Officers) with a strong Detachment to take Possession of it. When Pompey saw the Obstinacy of the Jews in the Temple, and that there was now no longer any Hope of an Accommodation, he posted his Guards, and put all Things in Order for an Attack: Hyrcanus and his People contributing the best they could both in Action and Counsel to his Assistance.

Their first Business was to fill up that monstrous Ditch and Valley upon the North Side of the Wall; and this they attempted with what Rubbish and Materials the Soldiers could get together toward the bringing of it up to a Level: A Work of infinite Difficulty, both in Regard of the prodigious Depth, and the Advantage the Jews had of galling them from above: A Work, in fine, insuperable, if it had not been for a Remark of Pompey's upon the Jews superstitious Observance of their seventh Day or Sabbath. This great Man understanding that the Jews made a Conscience of doing any Manner of Work upon that Day, but what was of absolute Necessity, either for the Support of Life, or the Defence of it, in Case of immediate Danger, he commanded his Soldiers only to ply their Intrenchments upon that Day, without doing any other Act of Hostility. When the Ground was now levelled, the Bulwarks advanced with strong and large Turrets planted upon them and manned; the Romans, with certain Tyrian Engines they had got, began the battery: The Soldiers at the same time beating the Defendants out of the Towers above, with stones from the Walls, till in the End they were quite tired out with the Labour.

Pompey could not but admire the Constancy and Resolution of these People, and more especially in this Particular, That in the Middle of all Extremities and Dangers, they never discontinued the Worship and Ceremonies of their Religion, but offered up their daily Prayers and Sacrifices as orderly, as if it had been in a profound Peace: And it was the same Thing with them at last too, when they came to be finally destroyed, and to have their Throats cut at the very Altar. In short, after a three Months Siege, and the Loss only of one Tower, the Temple was taken by Assault. The first that entered the Breach was Faustus Cornelius, the Son of Sylla, and after him, Furius and Fabius, two Centurions, with their Companies; who beset the Temple, and put to the Sword all that either fled or resisted. There were several Priests at that Time in the very Exercise of their holy Function, that with the Sword's Point at their Breasts, went on yet with their Oblations and Incense, without any Regard to the Safety of their Lives, out of a Veneration they had for the Duties of their Profession. The Pompeian Jews pressed so hard upon their Fellow-Tribes-Men of the other Party, that they forced some of them down Precipices: Others, in a Rage of Desperation, set Fire to what they could come at about the Walls, and then cast themselves into the Flames. There perished in this Outrage twelve thousand Jews; not many Romans, but more wounded.

This was a dismal Desolation and Calamity in several Respects; but nothing touched the Jews so to the Quick, as to see the Holy of Holies exposed to profane Eyes: A thing

thing that never happened before. Pompey, with a Train of his People, entering into this Place, where only the High-Priest was to be admitted; saw within it the Candlesticks, Lamps, and Tables for Incense, with other Vessels all of Gold; a Mass of Perfumes, and of sacred Treasure to the Value of two thousand Talents: But would not suffer any Thing of all this to be touched that was consecrated to the Service of God. On the next Day after this Destruction of the Temple, he commanded the proper Officers to take Care for the Purification of it, and to go on with the Celebration of their Holy Worship as before. He did also declare Hyrcanus High-Priest, as a Consideration for the good Offices he had rendered him, both in the Siege, and otherwise, in drawing off great Numbers of the Faction from Aristobulus. By this Way of Proceeding, like a wise and a good Man, he secured himself of the Affections of the People. Among the Prisoners there was the Father-in-Law, and Uncle of Aristobulus, both in one. Pompey struck off the Heads of all the principal Authors of the Revolt; but for Faustus, and other brave Men that acted along with him, he conferred upon them signal Marks of his Esteem and glorious Rewards. He imposed a Tribute upon Judæa. He took away from the Jews the Cities they had possessed themselves of in Cœle-Syria, and annexing them to the Jurisdiction of the present Roman Governor, he reduced the Jews to their own Bounds. He rebuilt Gadara, which they had destroyed, in favour of Demetrius one of his Freemen, and a Native of the Place. As for the inland Cities of Hippion, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, and Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethusa; and so for the Coast-Towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that which passed formerly by the Name of Straton's Tower, and was afterwards called Cæsarea by Herod, who beautified it with illustrious Buildings: He took them all from the Jews to restore them to their Inhabitants, and so joined them to the Province of Syria. After the passing of these Orders, and the settling Scaurus in the Government of Judæa and Cœle-Syria, and of all the Country of Ægypt to the Borders of Euphrates, with the Command of two Legions, Pompey hastened to Rome by the Way of Cilicia, carrying Aristobulus Prisoner with him, and his Family, that is to say, two Daughters and two Sons, Alexander and Antigonus; the former of them made his escape in his Passage; the other was carried through Rome with his Sisters.

## C H A P. VI.

*Aretas and Scaurus reconciled. Alexander arms against Hyrcanus. Scaurus compounds for a Sum of Money. Alexander worsted by Antipater; withdraws to Alexandrion; and Gabinius pursues him. An Indemnity offered, and rejected. The Bravery of Mark Anthony. Several Cities taken from the Jews, and restored to the right Owners. Machærus and Hyrcanion given up; and Alexandrion levelled to the Ground. Gabinius gives Hyrcanus the Charge of the Temple; and settles the Government.*

NUMB. 2.

D

Aristobulus

*Aristobulus defeated by the Romans; but cuts out his Way to Machærus. The Romans take the Castle, and send Aristobulus and his Son Antigonus both bound to Rome. Alexander defeated by Gabinus. Crassus succeeds Gabinus in the Government of Syria; rifies the Temple, and loses both Life and Army. Cypris had four Sons by Antipater.*

**S**CAURUS advancing with an Army into Arabia towards Petra, found the Ways so craggy and unpassable, that he had much ado to march. He laid waste, however, all the Country about Pella; where he had many Difficulties to encounter, being put to a Pinch also for want of Provisions: Though Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, made a Shift to furnish him with Necessaries, Scaurus, well knowing that there was a good Understanding betwixt Antipater and Aretas (the King of Arabia), dealt with Antipater to go to him in a Way of Friendship, and try if he could work him to compound the War for a Sum of Money. Antipater undertook the Commission; and managed the Matter so dexterously, that the Arabian was content to give three hundred Talents for his Peace; and so Scaurus withdrew his Army.

Now Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus; that had given Pompey the Slip, was by this Time at the Head of a considerable Body of Men ravaging Judæa, and pressing upon Hyrcanus, to the Degree of endangering Jerusalem itself, upon a Presumption, that the Walls which Pompey had beaten down, were not as yet repaired. But Gabinus, the Successor of Scaurus, and a Person of eminent Courage and Conduct, being sent into Syria, and marching against him, it concerned Alexander to look about him, having so considerable an Enemy to deal withal, and to put himself into the best Posture he could to receive him. He had now a marching Body of ten thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, beside several strong Holds and defensible Places, that he had fortified, as Alexandrion, Hyrcanion, and Machærus, near the Mountains of Arabia.

Gabinus, in the mean Time, sends Mark Anthony before him with a Detachment of some choice Troops of Antipater's, and a great Number of Jews under Malichus and Pitholaus, to join him; Gabinus himself following with the main Body, and advancing toward Alexander; who finding himself so much over-numbered, was forced to retire. But Gabinus pressing upon him in his Retreat, came up with him, and engaged him not far from Jerusalem; where he lost six thousand Men: One half killed upon the Spot; and the other half taken alive; himself getting away with the Remainder to Alexandrion, and the Enemy at the Back of him. When Gabinus came up to the Castle, he offered an Act of Indemnity to all Deserters that would come over to him, and join him before the Battle: But their Stomachs were too big to accept of it; so that he fell upon them; and cutting off a great many of them, shut up the rest in the Fort. Mark Anthony signalized himself to a high Degree in this Action; and though he never failed of doing bravely at any Time or Place, he seemed in a Manner yet even to outdo himself upon this Occasion. Gabinus now leaving a sufficient Strength before the Castle, took a View of all the Towns and Cities of the Province; making it his Business to settle the Minds of the People in those Places that were intire and untouched,



touched, and to repair others that were laid in Rubbish and Ruin. He gave peremptory Order for the re peopling of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marissa, Dora, Gadara, Azotus; and several other Places, where the Citizens came flocking in with all possible Joy to resume their antient Habitations.

When every thing here was put into good Order, Gabinius went back to the Siege of Alexandrion, and pushed it forward with more vigour than before. Alexander was so affrighted at the desperate State of his Affairs, that he sent his Embassadors with an absolute Resignation of himself, to acknowledge the ill Things he had done, and to beg Pardon: With a Tender, not only of Machærus and Hyrcanion, but of Alexandrion itself also at his Devotion. This being done and accepted; Gabinius levelled Alexandrion with the Ground, at the Instance of Alexander's Mother, for fear it should prove the Occasion of another War: Such was the Tendernefs, in fine, she had for her Husband and Children that were carried Prisoners to Rome, that she omitted nothing of Application and Address that might ingratiate her with the General.

Gabinius after this carried Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, committed the Temple to his Care and Charge, appointed Officers for the civil Administration, and divided the whole Province of Judæa into five Jurisdictions: The first, Jerusalem; the second, Gadara; the third, Amathus; the fourth, Jericho; and the fifth Sepphoris, a City of Galilee: The People all this while over-joyed to see themselves delivered from a Monarchy to an Aristocracy.

It was not long after this that Aristobulus made his Escape from Rome; which proved an Occasion of new Troubles: And got together a great Body of Jews, partly for the Love of Change, and partly for the sake of an old Kindness they had for him. His first Attempt was the Repairing of Alexandrion; but upon Information that Sisenna, Anthony, and Servilius, were marching toward him with an Army from Gabinius, he withdrew to Machærus; where he discharged himself of the Burden of a loose and an unprofitable Multitude, and took only a Body of eight thousand Men well armed along with him: Reckoning a thousand fugitive Jews, that Pitholaus had brought out of Jerusalem into the Number.

The Romans followed them close, and brought it to a Combat. Aristobulus and his People did all that was possible for gallant Men to do; but in the End, when they were tired out, and run down with Numbers, the Romans had a clear Victory of it: Five thousand killed; two thousand withdrew to a Hill, and made a little Stand; and the other thousand, with Aristobulus himself, cut out their Way quite through the Roman Army, and so to Machærus. They got thither about Evening, and found it all in Ruins: But Aristobulus would not yet despair of gaining Time enough by a Truce, to repair the Castle, and reinforce his Army. The Romans in the mean while plied the Attack; but at the End of two Days, and after a very brave Resistance, the Romans took the Place; with Aristobulus, and his Son Antigonus that fled from Rome with him; who were both bound, and sent to Gabinius, and so to Rome again. The Senate made the Father a Prisoner; but sent the Son back to Judæa, at the Instance of Gabinius, who had promised as much to the Wife of Aristobulus, upon the Delivery of the Castles.

Gabinius was now preparing for a War upon the Parthians; but Ptolemy having quitted the Euphrates, and being on his Return from Egypt, gave him a Diversion. Hyrcanus and Antipater were his Friends to all Manner of Purposes: For they supplied him with Men, Monies, Arms, Corn; and in fine, all Provisions and Necessaries for a War: Prevailing with the Jews also that guarded the Ways to Pelusium to let Gabinius pass over at this Return. This Departure of Gabinius did so startle the other Parts of Syria, and create such a Revolt among the Jews, that Alexander the Son of Aristobulus, having gotten a vast Multitude of the People together, he took up a Resolution to put every Roman to Death that he could lay his Hand on in that Quarter. Gabinius was not insensible of the Danger; and the Sedition increasing, he made use of his Interest with Antipater to bring Matters to a better Understanding. But Alexander being a warlike Prince, and having an Army of thirty thousand Men to trust to, nothing would serve him but the bringing of it to a Battle; which was fought near the Mountain of Itabyr. There fell ten thousand upon the Place, and the rest shifted every Man for himself, and so dispersed. Gabinius, after this Defeat, returned to Jerusalem by the Advice of Antipater, to settle the People there, under the Form of a Republic. He marched from hence after the Nabathæans, secretly discharging two Parthian Deserters that came over to him, Mithridates and Orsanes, pretending that they had made their Escapes.

Crassus succeeded Gabinius in the Government of Syria, and rifled the Temple, not only of the two thousand Talents that Pompey would not so much as touch, but of all the Gold that was there besides, toward the Charge of the Parthian War. Upon this, he passed the Euphrates; where he himself and his Army were both lost: But of this in another Place.

After Crassus, came Cassius into Syria, who put a Stop to the Parthians, when they were just ready to break into the Country. He was no sooner in Possession of his Government, but away he marches into Judæa, takes Tarichæa, and carries off near three thousand Jews into Bondage: Pitholaus one of the Number; whom Cassius put to Death, upon the Persuasion of Antipater, for tampering the Faction of Aristobulus into a Sedition. Cypris the Wife of Antipater, was a noble Arabian; by whom he had four Sons, Phasaël, King Herod, Joseph, and Pheroras; and one Daughter, whose Name was Salome. He was a Person beloved for his Generosity and Conduct, by all Men of Honour and Quality: But the most particular Friend he had in the World, was the King of the Arabians; to whom he recommended the Care of his Children, when he undertook the War against Aristobulus. But Cassius having made a Truce with Alexander, returned to his Post at Euphrates, to take Possession of the Pass, and hinder the Inroad of the Parthians.

## C H A P. VII.

*Aristobulus set at Liberty by Cæsar, and poisoned afterwards by the Pompeians; and his Body sent to Judæa. Alexander beheaded at Antioch. Philippian marries Alexandria. Antipater assists Mithridates, and takes Pelusium. Memphis delivered up to Mithridates. Antipater, upon a Pinch, rescues Mithridates, and routs the Egyptians. Hyrcanus confirmed in the Pontificate.*

**I**T so happened a while after, upon Pompey's and the Senate's quitting Rome, and crossing the Ionian Sea in a Fright, that Cæsar being left absolute Master of the Place, and all that was in it, he ordered Aristobulus immediately to be set at Liberty, and dispatched him out of hand into Syria with two Companies; taking for granted that the Country would quickly be his own, if he did but shew himself upon the Borders. But that Conjecture was too good to be true; for the Hopes of Cæsar, and the Confidence of Aristobulus, were both disappointed; the latter being made away in the mean while, and poisoned by some of Pompey's People. The Body was embalmed, and lay for some Time unburied, 'till Anthony transported it to Judæa, to be there deposited in the Royal Sepulchres. Neither did the Son Alexander escape any better than his Father; for Scipio cut off his Head at Antioch, according to Pompey's Direction: Who had passed Sentence himself against him upon the Bench, for seditious Practices against the Romans. But Ptolemy the Son of Mennæus, and the Prince of Chalcis upon Mount Libanus, sent his Son Philippion to Askalon to the Widow of Aristobulus; and ordered the bringing Home of his Son Antigonus and his Daughters to their Father. Philippion fell in love with the younger, whose Name was Alexandra, and married her: Which his Father put him to death for afterwards, and took her to wife himself. This Alliance created in him a greater Tenderness for his Brother Antigonus, and for his Sisters.

Antipater, after the Death of Pompey, made his Court to Cæsar: And Mithridates, a Pergamenian, finding a Stop put to his Expedition into Ægypt, by prohibiting his Passage to his Ships at Pelusium, he stayed with his Army at Askalon; and did not only prevail with the Arabians for Assistance, though a Stranger, but raised a matter of three thousand Jews well armed upon his own Account. He brought also several of the leading men of Syria into the Party; as Ptolemy of Libanus, Jamblichus, and another Ptolemy; Men of such Reputation, that their Interest and Example drew the whole Country after them. Mithridates finding himself now in Condition, by the Help of Antipater, to enter upon Action, advances to Pelusium: And the Inhabitants opposing his Passage, he lays Siege to the City. Antipater got himself more and more Honour still in this Encounter: For the first Dint of the Battery pressing from his Quarter, he himself was the first Man that mounted the Breach, and entered the Town with his People after him.

*Thus*

Thus was Pelusium taken; but the Ægyptian Jews (of the Province of Onias), would not suffer them to go any further; and yet Antipater prevailed with them, not only to be quiet without making any Resistance, but over and above, to furnish Necessaries for the Soldiers. This Example wrought so far upon the People of Memphis, that of their own Accord they delivered themselves up to Mithridates. Upon the Arrival of Mithridates at Delta, they gave Battle to a Body of other Ægyptians at a Place called, The Camp of the Jews; where Mithridates, with the whole right Wing, was in extreme Danger of being totally cut off; but Antipater, having already broken the Enemy's other Wing where he was engaged, slipped along the Bank of the River, and came up so seasonably to the Rescue of Mithridates, that he fell upon his Pursuers, destroyed several of them, and followed the Chace up to the Enemy's Camp, where he made himself Master of the Pillage: And all this with the Loss only of fourscore Men on his Side. There were near eight hundred of Mithridates's Men slain upon the Pursuit; but he himself preserved at last beyond all Expectation. Mithridates, after this, did him all imaginable Right to Cæsar, in the Report he made of so signal a Service; and the Emperor was so frank and generous in his Professions and Acknowledgments to this great Man, that he became more and more zealous and ambitious of any Occasion to lay down his Life for so illustrious a Master. He needed no other Proofs, in fine, of his Faith and Courage, than the Wounds he bare upon his Body, as the Marks of his Virtue. So soon as the War was over in Ægypt, Cæsar returned into Syria, and made Antipater a Free Citizen of Rome; conferring also other Honours upon him, enough to raise an Envy against him; and, in Token of a singular Respect and Esteem, confirming Hyrcanus in the Pontificate for his sake.

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#### C H A P. VIII.

*Antigonus charges the Death of Aristobulus upon the Pompeians. Hyrcanus and Antipater wrongfully accused. Cæsar makes Hyrcanus High-Priest. Antipater Governor of Judæa, and orders the Rebuilding of the Walls that Pompey had thrown down. Antipater rebuilds them, and commands Obedience to Hyrcanus. He prefers Phasaël and Herod. Hezekias, the Captain of the Robbers, taken. Hyrcanus incensed by evil Council. Herod summoned to attend the Council. His Manner of appearing. Herod declared General of the Troops in Syria and Samaria. Upon the March to depose Hyrcanus; but his Father and Brother divert him. Sextus Cæsar basely murdered by Cæcilius Bassus, and Marcus ordered to succeed in the Government.*

**A**T this very Time, Antigonus the Son of Aristobulus, addressed himself to Cæsar; and so ordered the Matter, that he did Antipater a far greater Service than he intended

intended him. His business was to complain of the Death of his Father; to tell Cæsar the Story of his being poisoned by Pompey's Instruments (as it was generally presumed); and to charge Scipio with Cruelty to his Brother, &c. But instead of keeping within this Compass, he lashed out into extravagant Invectives against Hyrcanus and Antipater, for driving himself and his Brethren most injuriously out of their native Country; and for oppressing the Public, only to gratify their own private Passions. As for the Aids they sent Cæsar into Ægypt, there was more of Fear in it than good Will; in hope to atone, in some Measure, for the Services they had formerly rendered to Pompey. Antipater, upon these Reproaches, only uncovered some Parts of his Body, and exposed his Wounds as Testimony of his Loyalty to Cæsar, and so left it to his Body to do the Office of his Tongue. "But, says he I cannot sufficiently admire the Confidence of Antigonus; the son of an Enemy to the Romans, and a Fugitive, and at last, as seditious an Incendiary as ever his Father was. Now for this Man to exhibit Accusations to Cæsar against the most faithful and dutiful of his Subjects, and to insist upon Pretensions of Merit, when he ought rather to be thankful that he is suffered to live; what an unaccountable Confidence is this! Neither does he desire any Thing because he wants it, but with a Design rather to employ it to the Ruin of his Benefactor."

Cæsar, at next Word, created Hyrcanus High-priest, as a man perfectly well qualified for the Function. He gave Antipater, at the same Time also, the Choice of any Commission he would desire; who remitted himself dutifully to his Master's good Pleasure. Whereupon he was pleased to pronounce him Governor of Judæa; and he obtained likewise his further Grace, that he might repair the Walls of his Country, which Pompey had thrown down. These Decrees he ordered to be engraven in Bras, and the Tables to be hung up in the Capitol, as a Memorial of Antipater's Services, and of Cæsar's Justice

When Antipater had brought Cæsar to the Borders of Syria, he returned to Judæa; where the first Thing he did was to rebuild the Walls that Pompey had broken down; and then to inspect the Province, and either by fair Means, or by foul, to prevent Disorder, and keep the Country quiet; giving the People to understand, that if they behaved themselves as they ought to do towards Hyrcanus, they should live happily and easily in Peace and Plenty; but if they should ever think of fishing in troubled Waters, and of advancing their own Fortunes upon the Ruin of the Public, they should find Antipater, instead of a gentle Governor, a severe Master, and Hyrcanus as unmerciful a Tyrant, instead of a gracious Prince.

This Deference to Hyrcanus did not yet hinder but that Antipater settled the State of the Province himself, to supply the Defects and Incapacities of Hyrcanus for the Offices of a Political Administration. He gave Phasaël, his eldest Son, and the Captain of the Guards, the Government of Jerusalem, and all that Province: That of Galilee to Herod, his second Son, though very young, with the same Powers; who, being naturally bold and active, was not long without an honourable Occasion of shewing the Greatness of his Mind. Syria was terribly infested, and over-run with Troops of Robbers, till he took Hezekias, the Head of them, and put to Death the Captain himself, and several of his Followers. This Exploit was so acceptable a Service to the Syrians,

rians, that all the Towns and Villages were full of Panegyricks and Acclamations, to the Honour of Herod, as the Restorer of them to their Liberties and Possessions. The Glory of this Atchievement made Herod known to Sextus Cæsar, the Kinsman of Cæsar the Great, who was then Governor of Syria. The Fame of this Action inspired Phasael with an honest and a generous Emulation to outdo his Brother, and to gain more and more upon the Hearts of the People of Jerusalem; where he exercised his Power with such a Tenderness of Moderation and Justice, that no Creature had Reason to complain. The Wisdom and Conduct of this Administration gave the People as great a Reverence for Antipater, as if he had been their absolute Sovereign; and he behaved himself all this while with a great Exactness of Faith and Kindness towards Hyrcanus.

But to shew now that it is a Thing utterly impossible to secure great Men and glorious Actions from the Stroke of Envy, we find it evidently in this Instance of Hyrcanus. He had born a kind of secret Grudge for some Time already, out of his own Head, toward these illustrious young Men (and Herod especially), for the Honour they had acquired in the World; all Mouths being full of the History of their Virtues and Adventures. Now this envious Disposition was further wrought upon by a Parcel of fleeing Parasites, and Court-Earwigs, to whom the Exemplary Integrity of Antipater's Sons was an Eye-Sore. "What said they, is the Authority of the Government to be divided betwixt Antipater and his Sons, and Hyrcanus to stand like a Property, with only the empty Name of it? How long will you go on at this Rate, at setting up Kings against yourself! It is now come to that Pass, that they do not so much as pretend to Act any longer as Deputies or Subjects, but, in one Word, bare-faced, as Sovereigns: Witness Herod's putting so many Men to death, in a flat Contradiction to the Jewish Law, and without any Mandate or Direction of yours. Is Herod a private Man, or a King? If the former, why is he not called to an Account for this, and to answer both to the King himself, and to the Law, for the Murder of so many innocent Persons."

Hyrcanus was moved at this by little and little, till he came at last, in a Fit of Wrath and Indignation, to command the summoning of Herod to make his Appearance. Herod thought himself so safe in his own Innocency, that, with the Advice of his Father, he secured his Garrisons in Galilee, and without any more ado went forthwith to the King, taking only such a Guard along with him, out of a Respect to Hyrcanus, as might be competent for the securing of his Person, without an affront to the Prince. Sextus Cæsar had so great a Kindness for the young Man, that for fear of Mischief, when they had him among them, he sent to Hyrcanus to acquit him of the Charge; who seemed willing enough to do it, out of an Inclination he had to oblige him. But Herod was yet a little doubtful how far he might depend upon fair Words, and so repaired to Sextus at Damascus, with a Resolution not to appear any more in case of a second Summons. Hyrcanus was plyed over and over to the same Purpose, as before and by the same Sort of People. They told him that Herod was gone away in a Huff, and with a Design upon some desperate Attempt. Hyrcanus was easily imposed upon, and which Way to turn himself he knew not; for he found his Enemy too hard for him.

him. But when Sextus came afterwards to declare Herod General of all his Troops in Syria and Samaria, it struck such a Terror into Hyrcanus, betwixt the Consideration of his own Strength, and the Affections of the People, that he fancied him marching at the Head of an Army against him already.

And he was not much mistaken neither; for Herod in a Transport of Indignation to see himself treated as Criminal, gathered an army together, and marched toward Jerusalem, with a full Determination to depose Hyrcanus from the Government; which he had certainly done, if his Father and his Brother had not put a Stop to the Violence of his Passion; “ desiring him to take out his Revenge in Menaces and hard Words, “ rather than to offer any Indignity to the King; under whose Countenance he had “ advanced himself to this Dignity. If it troubled him, they said, that he was ar- “ raigned, it might pass for some sort of Atonement that he was acquitted; and then “ it was but setting the Conversation of his Life against the Hazard of it. If he va- “ lued himself upon his Arms, let him at the same Time bethink himself of the Ini- “ quity of his Cause; and that no Subject can ever hope for a Blessing from Heaven, “ that draws his Sword against his Prince; and not only his Prince neither, but his “ familiar Friend, Benefactor, and Patron; and a Prince that never dealt unkindly by “ him, but when he was provoked and seduced by Calumny and evil Counsel.” Upon this Expostulation, Herod let the Contest fall, and contented himself with giving the whole Nation this Instance of his Interest and Power.

At this Time the Romans fell into a Civil War near Apania. Cæcilius Bassus caused Sextus Cæsar to be basely murdered, and then took his Command to himself. This he did as a Service to Pompey. The Officers of Julius Cæsar, in Revenge for the Death of Sextus, fell with all the Power they had upon Bassus: And Antipater, out of the Honour he had for both the Cæsars, the Dead as well as the Living, Sextus and Julius, sent his Sons to join them with Succours. But the War ran out at Length, and Marcus was ordered out of Italy to succeed Sextus in the Government.

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## C H A P. IX.

*The Murder of Julius Cæsar in the Capitol; and the horrible Factions and Confusions that followed it. Cassius, a great Oppressor; and Herod insinuates himself into his Friendship. The base Ingratitude of Malichus, who ingratiates himself with Phasaël and Herod. Cæsar and Anthony in War with Brutus and Cassius. Herod made Governor of Syria. Antipater poisoned in his Drink by the Contrivance of Malichus: Who was afterwards cut to Pieces by Herod's Officers.*

**T**HERE fell out at the same Time among the Romans, a sharper War than the former. Cæsar being now murdered by the Treachery of Cassius and Brutus,

in the third Year of his Government, and the seventh Month, his Death was followed with a horrible Confusion of Factions in the Empire. The great Men were all divided into Parties: Every Man acting as his Humour and Interest led him, without any Regard to the Public. Cassius took his Way into Syria to get Possession of the Troops that were then before Apamia; where he made Marcus and Bassus, with some male-contented Cohorts, Friends; raising the Siege of Apamia at the same time. He laid the Cities under the most unreasonable and excessive Contributions; a Tax of seven hundred Talents upon the Jews; which Antipater provided for in Time by an equal Distribution of the Charge, and appointing his Sons and his Friends to take a seasonable Care of the Levy, reckoning Malichus, his professed Enemy, into the Number of his Friends, upon that Pinch. The first that wrought himself into the good Graces of Cassius was Herod; who presented him with a Hundred Talents for the Quota of Galilee; and for that Reason was esteemed one of his best Friends. But for the rest that were not so ready with their Proportions, Cassius was so transported at the Delay, that he razed Gophna, Thamna, and two other Cities of less Note, to the Ground: And when this was done, he took up a Resolution of killing Malichus for being so dilatory: But Antipater having first sweetened Cassius with a hundred Talents, prevented the Execution of his Displeasure upon other Places.

But so soon as Cassius was gone, all Malichus's Obligations to Antipater were not only forgotten, but on the contrary, he entered into a Practice upon the Life of that Man whom he had so often, over and over, owned for his Saviour; who was to be removed out of the Way as an Obstruction to his Designs. Antipater kept an Eye upon him, as a Man both of Power and Cunning; and so passed the Jordan to put himself in Condition to stand upon his own Guard, and take his Revenge. Malichus finding himself suspected, had no Way to come off but by wheedling, and outfacing the Sons of Antipater into a better Opinion of him. Phasaël being Governor of Jerusalem, and Herod Captain of the Guards, he held them so artificially in Hand with Excuses, Oaths, and Protestations, of his Plain-dealing and Integrity, that he engaged the Sons themselves in a Mediation to the Father for a Reconciliation; and by the same Instrument he made his Peace also with Marcus the Governor of Syria, who was otherwise resolved to put him to Death as a Mutineer. Cæsar and Anthony being now in War with Brutus and Cassius, Marcus and Cassius having had ample Proofs of the Bravery of Herod, made him Governor of the whole Province of Syria, with a considerable Body of Horse and Foot for his Guard; nay, Cassius went so far as to promise him the Kingdom of the Jews at the End of the War. But it so fell out, that the Hope and Bravery of the Son occasioned the Death of the Father; for Malichus was in such a Dread of him, that he could never think himself safe while the other was living; and so he corrupted Hyrcanus's Butler to poison Antipater in his Drink. This was the Requital that great Man received from this ungrateful Wretch. He was indeed a Person of Wisdom and Courage; and the same, in fine, to whom Hyrcanus was indebted for the Possession of his Kingdom. The People were so enraged at Malichus, upon a Suspicion of this execrable Practice, that they were ready to tear him to Pieces: But upon his renouncing and adjuring any Knowledge of the Matter, the Multitude softened a little, and suspended;



ended; and Malichus, in the mean Time, by Way of Prevention, put himself into a Condition and Posture of Defence; for it could not be expected that this horrid Murder should ever go off thus. He knew Herod was absolutely for taking his Revenge at the Head of an Army; but his Brother Phasaël dissuaded him by all Means from making any public Bustle about it, for fear of raising a Tumult. The Brothers, upon this, gave him the Hearing with a Semblance of allowing his Defence; and a Countenance, as if they thought him innocent, and then proceeded to the funeral Rites and Duties for their Father; which were very splendid and magnificent.

Samaria being at this Time torn with Factions, Herod went down to quiet them; but so as to return upon all solemn Days, to keep his Festival still at Jerusalem, and his Guards about him, going and coming. Malichus did not like this Face of Things, and therefore put Hyrcanus upon telling Herod plainly, "that it was a Profanation of the Sacredness of the holy Religion and Profession, to intermix Strangers with Natives." Hyrcanus did as he was directed; but Herod, in Contempt, both of the Cause itself, and of the Authority, entered by Night into the City. Malichus went presently to him all in Tears for Antipater: And Herod carried it on the other Side, as if he believed every Word he said; though ready to burst with Rage and Indignation. But yet at the same Time he wrote to Cassius for Justice upon Malichus, for the Death of his Father, which was easily obtained, upon several Accounts; Malichus being a Person that was odious to Cassius already: So that Cassius did not only leave Herod to his Course at Law against Malichus; but sent also private Orders to his Tribunes to be assisting to Herod, if there should be Occasion.

Laodicea was now just taken, and Men of Quality came thronging in from all Parts, to Herod, with their Gratulations and Presents. He looked upon this as the fairest Opportunity in the World for the Execution of his Purpose; but Malichus, suspecting foul Play, laid a Plot to give him the Slip, by getting away his Son from Tyre; who was then a Hostage there; and so steal away with him into Judæa. But then, well considering the desperate State of his Affairs, he was afraid that would not secure him neither: And so he set his Brains at work upon a nobler Exploit; which was to set up the whole Nation of the Jews against the Romans, while Cassius had his Hands full in his War with Anthony: In which Case he flattered himself it would be no hard Matter to depose Hyrcanus, and take Possession of the Government. But the Fates had otherwise determined, it seems; for Herod, having a Jealousy of some great Mischiefs a working, invited both Malichus and Hyrcanus to Supper with him: Sending a Servant out under Pretence of having every Thing put in Order for the Entertainment; but, in Truth, with secret Instructions to the Tribunes to attend, and act according to the Agreement betwixt Cassius and Herod before mentioned. They marched out with their Arms towards the Sea-side of the City; where they met Malichus upon the Way, surrounded him, and cut him to Pieces. The Surprize put Hyrcanus into so dangerous a Swoon, that they could hardly bring him to Life again; but so soon as ever he was come to himself, he called out to Herod to know who it was that had killed Malichus? One of the Tribunes made Answer, that it was Cassius's Order. Why then says Hyrcanus, Cassius has saved me and my Country at once, in the De-

struction of so dangerous a Traitor to both. Whether this was good Faith, or Fear, no Body knows; but this was Herod's Revenge, and this the End of Malichus.

## C H A P. X.

*Felix makes War upon Phasaël and Herod. Herod falls sick at Damascus. Felix routed by Phasaël. The Ingratitude of Hyrcanus. Marion the King of the Tyrians driven out of Galilee. Marion and Antigonus march against Herod. Antigonus routed. Several Embassies with Complaints to Anthony against Phasaël and Herod. The Plaintiffs discharged without a Hearing. Repeated Complaints against the Brothers. Messala and Hyrcanus plead for them. Anthony makes them both Tetrarchs of Judæa, and treats the insolent Deputies very severely.*

**W**HEN Cassius had quitted Syria, there happened new Troubles in Jerusalem, upon the Occasion of Felix's making War against Phasaël and Herod, to revenge the Death of Malichus upon the Brothers. It so fell out that Herod being then at Damascus with Fabius the Governor, he was taken so ill that it put him out of Condition to march to the Relief of his Brother. But as it happened, Phasaël had no Need of Help; for he routed Felix with his own Troops, and did his Business without it: But exclaiming bitterly against Hyrcanus for his Ingratitude in siding with Felix, and in putting several Castles into the Hands of the Brother of Malichus: As there were many of them, and Massada among the rest; one of the strongest Holds in the Country. But this availed them little against the Power of Herod; who was no sooner got abroad again, but he retook all he had lost; and brought Hyrcanus to his Knees, even in Massada itself: Dismissing him however upon his Humiliation. He drove Marion, the King of the Tyrians, out of Galilee, and recovered from him three Castles that he had gotten; not only sparing the Lives of the Tyrians that he took, but gratifying divers of them over and above with Donatives and Bounties: By which Means the People became Herod's Friends, and Marion's Enemies both at once. This Marion was a fit Instrument for Cassius, who had set so many Tyrants over Syria already; and marching against Herod, he took Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus along with him; and Fabius also, who was effectually, but Antigonus's Mercenary: And all this, because they were Enemies to Herod: Ptolemy, the Father-in-Law of Antigonus, supplying them with all Necessaries.

Herod made ready for the Encounter, and it came to a Battle upon the Borders of Judæa; Antigonus was routed; Herod carried the Day, and returned to Jerusalem; where he was received with all Tenderesses of Honour and Respect, even by those that had despised him before: But this was out of a particular Regard to the Relation he had to Hyrcanus. For this Herod was formerly married to a Woman of his own Country:

try: She was nobly born, and her Name Doris. By this Woman he had Antipater, but he was afterwards married to Mariamne, the Daughter of Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus, and of Alexandra the Daughter of Hyrcanus. This was the Relation he had to the King. But upon Cæsar's coming into Italy, and Anthony into Asia, after the Death of Cassius at the Battle of Philippi; Embassadors were dispatched from several Places to Anthony in Bithynia; and the Heads of the Jews appeared also, with noisy Complaints against Phasaël and Herod for usurping arbitrary Power to themselves, and allowing Hyrcanus only the bare Name of Sovereignty. Herod being within Distance of over-hearing the Accusation, managed so well with Anthony, by the Mediation of a Sum of Money, that the Complainants were all discharged without a Hearing.

Anthony being, after this, at Daphnis in the Suburbs of Antioch (about the Beginning of his Intrigue with Cleopatra), there came to him a hundred of the principal Men of the Jews all in a Body; select Men for Quality and Ability: And their Business was the same Complaint over again against the two Brothers. They had made choice of the best Speaker they had, for the Advantage of the Plea; and Messala stood up for the Brothers, Hyrcanus for Kindred-sake, putting in to second him. Upon the Hearing of both Parties, Anthony asked Hyrcanus, whom he looked upon as the fittest Man for a Character in the Government. Hyrcanus replied, that for his own Part, he knew not any other comparable to the two Brothers, Anthony was over-joyed at this Declaration, having been so highly obliged to Antipater of old, for a generous Reception and Entertainment, upon his coming into Judæa with Gabinus. So he pronounced them both Tetrarchs of Judæa, and committed the whole Administration to their Conduct.

The Deputies looked so sour and disgusted upon this Proceeding, that Anthony committed fifteen of the hundred to Prison; and they 'scaped narrowly with their Lives too. The rest he treated coarsely, and so let them go. This did but inflame the Mutineers at Jerusalem to a higher Degree, so that instead of a hundred, they sent now a thousand Deputies open mouth to Anthony at Tyre; who was at that Time making ready to fall upon Jerusalem. They were so clamorous, that the Magistrates of Tyre were ordered to disperse them; and in Case of Resistance, to put all to Death that they took: Anthony giving them further in Charge to maintain the Authority of the Tetrarchs, which he had set up. Herod and Hyrcanus, being informed of this Disorder, went out to the Deputies as they were walking before the Port, and advised them civilly to have a Care how they engaged themselves and their Country, by such Intemperances, in one common Ruin. But the better they were used, the worse they were: Insomuch, that Anthony was fain to bring them to Reason by armed Troops, and a great many of them were killed and wounded. Hyrcanus was pleased, however, to take care of the Wounded, and to provide for the burying of the Dead. But all this wrought nothing at all upon those that got away; for they still went on embroiling the City and irritating Anthony, till they provoked him to put all his Prisoners to Death.

## C H A P. XI.

*Lyfanius treats with Barzapharnes to depose Hyrcanus, and set up Antigonus. The Carmeli e Jews join Antigonus; rout and pursue the Enemy to Jerufalem. Hyrcanus and Phafael force them into the Temple. A Peace propofed by Antigonus; and Pacorus for the Umpire. The Treachery of Pacorus. Herod jealous of him. Barzapharnes false and perfidious. The whole Story of the Contrivance. Phafael cautioned to look to himfelf. He charges Barzapharnes to his Face. Phafael and Hyrcanus feized by the Parthians. Pacorus's Plot upon Herod. Herod flips away by Stealth, and withdraws to Maffada. Herod gets a great Victory. He leffens his Train, and advances to Petra. The Parthians at Jerufalem ravage Town and Country. Mariffa laid wafte; Antigonus declared King. Phafael and Hyrcanus delivered up to him in Chains. Antigonus bites off Hyrcanus's Ears. Phafael dafhes out his own Brains. Herod ordered by Malichus to depart Arabia. Herod nobly treated by Cleopatra. He paffes to Brundufium, and fo to Rome. The Generofity of Auguftus and Anthony to Herod. Herod declared King of the Jews in the Senate.*

SOME two Years after this, when Barzapharnes, a noble Parthian, held the Government of Syria, with Pacorus the King's Son; Lyfanius the Succellor of Ptolemy, the Son of Mennæus struck up an Agreement, and confirmed it with Articles, to deliver up to them a thousand Talents and five hundred Women upon the dethroning of Hyrcanus, and fetting Antigonus in his Place. They fell to work upon the Project immediately; Pacorus took the Way of the Sea-Coaft, and Barzapharnes was to march over the Midland: Ptolemais and Sidon opened their Gates to Pacorus, but the Tyrians abfolutely refufed him Entrance. He fent before him a Party of Horfe into Judæa, under the Command of Pacorus the King's Butler (an Officer of his own Name,) with Inftiuctions to hearken after the Enemy's Counfels and Motions; and to affift Antigonus upon Occafion.

The Jews of Mount Carmel offered their Service to Antigonus, of their own Accord; who ordered them forthwith to advance, and poffefs themfelves of that Quarter of the County they call Dryma. They brought it to a Battle, and got the better of it; and when the Enemy was routed and difperfed, their Numbers increafing, they marched out-fight to Jerufalem; where Hyrcanus and Phafael made a very brave Refiftance, and after a fharp Difpute in the Market-Place, forced them to retire into the Temple. Herod, upon this, clapt a Guard of fixty Men into the adjoining Houfes; but the People fet Fire to them, out of a mortal Hatred they had for the two Brothers.

thers. These Practices transported Herod to such a Degree of Indignation, that he fell on upon the Enemy; cutting off great Numbers of them; and there passed not a Day without Blows and Slaughter. The Feast of Pentecost being now at Hand, and the City crouding full from one End of it to the other, up to the very Temple itself, of People that came up to the Solemnity from all Quarters; and most of them with their Arms: Phasaël took Charge of the Walls, and Herod, with a small Party, of the Palace. The latter made so unexpected a Sally into the Suburbs, that he killed several, and routed the whole Multitude: Some fled into the City; others into the Temple, and some again sheltered themselves behind the Rampart.

When Things were brought to this Pass, Antigonus proposed a Treaty of Peace, and offered Pacorus (the King's Officer before mentioned,) for an Umpire. Phasaël entertained the Motion, and took the Parthian, with five hundred Horse, into the City: His Pretence was only the composing of a Mutiny, but the plain Truth of his Intention was the assisting of Antigonus. This insinuating perfidious Wretch prevailed afterwards with Phasaël to send an Embassy to Barzapharnes upon the same Subject. This was much against the Liking and Opinion of Herod; who cautioned him all the Way to have a Care how he trusted him; for he was false, and it was but natural for a Barbarian so to be. He was a Traitor, he said, and deserved to be treated as one. Pacorus, for the better Colour of the Business, went out with Hyrcanus, and so with the rest of the Company followed Phasaël; leaving with Herod some of those Cavaliers that the Barbarians called Freeman.

When they came to Galilee, they found the People divided, and in Arms; but the Governors of Places, however, came out to meet them. Barzapharnes had the Wit to cover the Falseness of his Heart with external Civilities, such as soft Words and Presents; but so soon as they were parted, he had an Ambush in Readiness to surprize them on their Return. They were conducted to a Place near the Sea, called Ecdipon; and there they had the whole Story of the Treachery: A thousand Talents promised, and five hundred Women to be delivered up to the Parthians, and several of their own, Part of the Number: That the Parthians were always false: And they were told further, that this horrid Perfidy had not been put off so long, but that they waited for Herod's coming up to Jerusalem; for fear the Plot should take Air, and be disappointed. And to shew now that this was more than Talk, the Ambush was just now at Hand to seize them.

Ophelius was the Man, to whom Saramalla (a Syrian, and the richest Man of the Country) had communicated the Minutes of the whole Design. This Ophelius plied Phasaël with Importunity upon Importunity, to shift for himself; but Phasaël's Resolut-ion was, whatever he suffered, not to abandon Hyrcanus; so that he chose rather to lay it home to Barzapharnes, and to tell him to his Teeth what a mercenary perfidious Creature he was. "If Money be your Business, says he, I can give you more for my Life than Antigonus has promised you for the Kingdom." This put the Parthian upon a violent Denial of the whole Matter, with execrable Oaths and Imprecations; and so he went his Way to Pacorus. No sooner was he gone, but Phasaël and Hyrcanus were taken into Custody by the Parthians that staid behind, according

to their Order: And had only the Liberty left them of exclaiming against so horrid a Perjury and Treason.

The Parthian, all this while, had his Lesson given him, to try if he could decoy Herod out of the Town, and take him. This he attempted; but Herod was so well acquainted with the treacherous Practices of those Barbarians, that he would not so much as stir out of the Walls. He made no Doubt but Phasaël had written him the whole Story at Length, of the Treachery; and that the Parthians had intercepted those Letters: But all that Pacorus could do would not draw him out of his Hold; tho' he was pressed with a Pretence plausible enough; which was, that he should meet his Letters upon the Way; for he would find no such Thing in them as Imprisonment or Treachery, nor any Thing more than the common Business of familiar Letters. Herod kept himself still upon his Guard; for he had been told by others, that his Brother Phasaël was taken up: Beside, that Mariamne, the Daughter of Hyrcanus, and one of the wisest of Women, begged of him, upon any Terms, not to stir abroad, nor expose himself to the manifest Designs of those Barbarians.

Herod was too wise and wary to be imposed upon bare-faced: So that Pacorus was put to his Shifts, and to bethink himself how he might trick him out of his Life some other Way. While this was in Agitation, Herod slipped away by Night, with some of his nearest Relations (and when his Enemies least thought on it,) towards Idumæa. The Parthians had no sooner Notice of his Departure, but they got up, and followed him; sending his Mother, Brother, Mariamne (to whom he was contracted,) and Mariamne's younger Brother, before him; while he and his People about him made good against the Barbarians, and got the better of them in several Encounters; retiring at last to the Castle of Massada. The Jews were harder upon him in his Flight, than the Parthians (though ever troublesome,) and fell upon him about sixty Furlongs from Jerusalem, where they pushed it to a down-right Battle. Herod got the Victory with a great Slaughter of Men; and for the eternal Honour of the Action, he erected a most magnificent Palace upon the Place, with a strong Castle in it; which he called Herodion, after his own Name.

A great many People came in to him in his Retreat; and at Thressa in Idumæa, his Brother Joseph advised him by all Means to lessen his Train; which he took to be upward of three thousand Men, and the Castle of Massada would not hold them. Herod took his Counsel, and discharged all the unprofitable Mouths with a Viaticum to Idumæa; disposing of his Kindred, and the most necessary Persons for his Service, into the Castle, with a Body of eight hundred Men over and above for the Guard of the Women; and Provisions sufficient to hold out a Siege, if there should be Occasion. This he did, and so went forward to Petra, a City of Arabia.

The Hearts of the Parthians at Jerusalem were altogether set upon Booty; breaking into the Houses of those that were gone, and rifling the Royal Palace itself: but without so much as touching Hyrcanus's Treasure, which was not above three hundred Talents. But they possessed themselves of other Riches, though not so much as they expected. For Herod had the Providence, for fear of the lewd Barbarians, to take out what was most precious; and to transport it long before, to Idumæa, his Companions also

also taking the same Course. But after the Parthians were Masters of the Spoil of the Town, they were not content with that Ravage, but infested the Countries also with a bloody and an implacable War. They laid waste the City of Mariffa, and not only constituted Antigonus King, but delivered up Phasaël and Hyrcanus in Chains, into his Hands. He tore off the Ears of Hyrcanus with his Teeth, to render him, by that Maim, incapable of the Pontificate, in Case Times should turn: For the holy Office is not to be administered by any Person maimed or blemished.

But the Cruelty of Antigonus was frustrated by the Courage of Phasaël; who without either the Help of a Sword, or his Hands at Liberty, dashed out his Brains against a Stone; shewing himself the true Brother of Herod, and Hyrcanus a Degenerate. He died like a Man of Honour, and his End was suitable to the Glory of his Life. There goes yet another Report of him: and that he repented after that Violence upon himself; but that a Physician was sent him from Antigonus, that poisoned the Wound, and so dispatched him. But whether the one or the other, we shall not contend. There passes another Story, that, before he died, he was told by a Woman, that Herod had made his Escape. Well! says he, I shall now die in Peace; for I shall leave a Friend behind me that will revenge my Wrongs.

This was the End of Phasaël, and it was now a great Mortification to the Parthians, that Antigonus could not make good his Promise of the five hundred Women to them: But the Business was made up at Jerusalem, and Hyrcanus sent bound into Parthia. Herod knew nothing as yet of the Death of his Brother; but was so sensible of the covetous Humour of the Barbarians, that he concluded there was no redeeming of him but by a Sum of Money: And on that Account he resolved upon a Journey into Arabia; in Hope of supplying himself from the King, upon that Occasion, either as a Bounty upon the Score of an old Friendship betwixt the Arabian and Antipater, or as a Loan, upon the Pawn of his Nephew the Son of Phasaël, a Youth of seven Years of Age; whom he had at that Time with him for his Security. The Sum he proposed to give, was three hundred Talents; the Tyrians joining with him in the Request.

But his generous Intentions were most unhappily prevented by this Fatality in the Death of Phasaël; so that Herod could do him no good: Over and above that, he durst not trust himself among the Arabians. For Malichus, their King, ordered him to depart immediately out of his Territories; pretending that the Parthians had demanded, by their Embassadors, that Herod might be driven out of Arabia: But the true Reason was his Ingratitude to Antipater, and the Narrowness of his Soul, that he would not make himself a Debtor to the Sons (being then in Distress,) for the Obligations he had to the Father. He had, in fine, impudent Advisers about him, without either Faith, or Honour; and these were the Persons that were most in Credit with him.

When Herod came to find the Arabians to be his Enemies: And for those very Reasons that he thought would have made them his Friends, he dispatched the Messengers back again, with such an Answer as he was prompted to by the Passion of a troubled Mind: And so marched toward Ægypt. He came in the Evening to a certain Temple, where he had left several of his Company in his Passage. He got next Day to Rinocolura: And that was the Place where he received the first News of his Brother's Death.

This Surprize undoubtedly transported him; but so soon as ever the first Heat of his Passion was over, and that he had done Justice to the Softnesses of Humanity and natural Affection, he proceeded on his Journey. The Arabian repented himself, by this, of what he had done; and with all Speed sent after the Person he had so barbarously abused, to call him back again; but it was now too late; for he was gotten to Pelusium, where the Officers made a Difficulty of letting him pass; till upon Application to the Magistrates, he was left at Liberty to go whither he pleased, out of the Veneration he had for the Fame and Worth of the Man. He took his Passage for Alexandria, where he was received by Cleopatra, upon his Entrance into the City, with all pompous Formalities of Honour and Respect, in Hope that he might be prevailed with to accept of the Command of an Army, which she was then providing for some great Design. But Herod's Heart was so set upon his Voyage for Rome, that neither the Queen's Entreaties, the extreme Cold of the Season, nor the Hazards of the Seas, could divert him from it. Upon his putting to Sea, he took his Course by the Way of Pamphylia; where there happened so outrageous a Tempest, that they were forced to cast the Goods over-board to save the Vessel. But with great Difficulty at last, he got safe to Rhodes; where he found all Things in a terrible Confusion, by Reason of a War at that Time with Cassius. He was there received by two Friends of his, Ptolemy and Saphinias; and, notwithstanding his present Want of Money, made a Shift to provide himself a stout Vessel, that carried him and his Friends to Brundisium, and so to Rome. The Person there to whom he made his first Application, was Anthony; upon the Score of an antient Kindness and Acquaintance betwixt him and Antipater. And to him he recounted the Adventures and Misfortunes, both of himself, and his Family; with the Story of his Friends and Relations that were at present shut up, and besieged in the Castle of Massada: And how he had made a Winter Voyage of it, to pay his Duty to him, and to implore his Aid.

Anthony was so affectionately moved with a generous Compassion for Herod's Distress, and an honourable Deference to the Memory of Antipater; together with a virtuous Sense of what was due to the Character of so excellent a Person, that he resolved in the very instant to make Herod now King of the Jews, as he had declared him Tetrarch before; and this not only out of a Respect to Herod; but the Aversion Anthony bare to Antigonus, had some Part likewise in the Resolution; looking upon him as a Man turbulent and seditious, and an Enemy to the Romans. And now, after all these gentle Dispositions of Anthony in Herod's Favour, Augustus was yet rather the forwarder Friend of the two; for he was never well and easy, but when he was talking of Antipater's Services in Ægypt; and what Antipater and Cæsar had suffered there; the Honour, and the Hospitality of the Conversation; beside the Worthiness of Herod's Mind and Courage.

Upon this, there was a Senate called; where Messala, and, after him, Atratinus (Herod himself present), enlarged upon the Merits of Antipater, and his Fidelity to the People of Rome: Exposing Antigonus at the same Time, for a public Enemy: not only for falling off so soon, but for receiving a Crown from the Hands of the Parthians, in Contempt of the Romans. The Senate was so possessed with these Harangues, that they gave their Voices unanimously for Herod to be King of the Jews: Especially Anthony decla-  
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ring himself, that it would be for the Advantage of the War with the Parthians to have it so. Upon the Rising of the Senate, Anthony and Cæsar went out with Herod betwixt them; the Consuls, and other Magistrates going before, to give Order for the killing of Sacrifices, and the depositing of this Decree of the Senate in the Capitol. Herod, on the first Day of his Reign, supped with Anthony.

## C H A P. XII.

*Antigonus besieges Massada; and Joseph, Herod's Brother, defends it. Ventidius and Silo join with Herod against Antigonus. Herod takes Joppa, and relieves Massada; and so advances to Jerusalem, and begirts the City. The Besiegers are repulsed. The Craft and Corruption of Silo. A desperate Mutiny, but quieted by Herod; who possesses himself of Sepphoris, takes Jericho, and rifies it. The History of his War with the Robbers. He goes back to Samaria, and Ptolemy Commands in his Place. Machærus commits a barbarous Massacre upon the Jews. Anthony besieges Samofata, and Antiochus delivers up the Place.*

**A**NTIGONUS was at this Time before Massada; where they wanted Water to Extremity, and nothing else; insomuch that Joseph, the Brother of Herod, understanding that Malichus the King of Arabia had repented of the Injuries he had multiplied upon Herod; he took up a Resolution, with two hundred of his familiar Friends, to steal out of the Castle by Night, and to betake himself to the Arabians for Succour. And he had certainly left the Castle, if upon the precise Point of Time, when he was just about to make the Sally, there had not fallen so plentiful a Shower of Rain, that their Pits, Cisterns, and other Vessels, were all replenished with it; so that there was now no need of stirring. After this Relief, the Garrison fell to their Sallies; and betwixt Surprizes and open Force, they did considerable Execution upon the Enemy; not but that they had the Fortune to be sometimes worsted themselves.

While this passed, Ventidius, one of the Roman Generals, being sent to drive the Parthians out of Syria, entered into Judæa, under Colour of a Design to relieve Massada; but in Effect to make a Seizure of Antigonus's Treasure. Now when he had done his Business at Jerusalem, he went off again with the greatest part of the Army, but left Silo with a small Body behind him, for the better Countenance of the Cheat; for if he had quite cleared the Country, it would have been said, that he came only to feather his own Nest. Antigonus, however, made fair with Silo, having some hope yet, that he might piece again with the Parthians; and so long as there was Hope, he thought the People would be quiet.

Herod being now transported out of Italy to Ptolemais, listed a considerable Army, both of his own Nation, and Strangers; and so posted away thorough Galilee toward

Antigonus, with the Assistance of Ventidius and Silo; who were prevailed upon by the Solicitation of Dellius, at the Instance of Anthony, to help Herod into the Possession of his Kingdom. But Ventidius was taken up with composing the Broils that the Parthians had raised in the Cities; and Silo was already corrupted by Antigonus, in Judæa. But Herod wanted no Men, for they came in to him every Day, all the Way he marched; and Galilee, all but a very few, went along with him entire. The first, and the most necessary Thing he had in his Thought, was the raising of the Siege of Massada, to set his Friends and his Kindred at Liberty. But Joppa was a Block in his Way, and the first Obstacle to be removed; for there is no meddling with Jerusalem, with that Enemy at their Backs. Silo took this Occasion to withdraw; and the Jews of Antigonus's Party pursuing him, Herod with a Handful of Men, fought and defeated them, and brought off Silo, after a faint and a weak Resistance.

Joppa being now taken, Herod hastened away to set Massada free; the Country very frankly joining with him; some for his Father's Sake, some for his own, others in Gratitude for the Obligations they had to both; but the greater Part of them, for the Hope of Honour and Reward. He was by this Time Master of a considerable Army; but Antigonus did what he could, however, to obstruct his Passage, by planting Ambushes in his Way, though with little or no Damage to the adverse Party. Herod, in fine, found no great Difficulty in raising the Siege, and in withdrawing his Friends and his Goods out of the Castle. He advanced from thence to Jerusalem, where divers of Silo's Men, and of the Inhabitants, came over to him, out of an Awe they had for his Power.

He pitched his Camp upon the West-side of the Town; whence the Enemy galled him with Showers of Darts and Arrows, and the Defendants made several strong Sallies upon him. The first Thing Herod did, was the publishing of a Proclamation quite round the Walls of the City by a Herald in Form, setting forth that he had no other Design in this Expedition, than the common Good of the People, and the Safety of the City, with the Offer of an universal Act of Oblivion to all his Enemies, of what Sort or Degree soever, without Exception, Antigonus, on the other Hand, did all he could, with Noise and Harangue, to keep his People, either from hearing the Conditions of the Declaration, or from being moved with the Reason of it: And so he commanded his Men to fall on; whereupon the Besiegers were beaten off with Shot from the Towers, and forced to a Retreat.

The-Corruption of Silo was now as clear as the Sun, by the Clamours of the Soldiers, that he had tampered and suborned to put all into a Flame. "They were undone, they cried, for Want of Necessaries. They had neither Meat nor Money: And as Antigonus had ordered it, the Skirts of the City were all eaten up, and they were ruined for Want of convenient Winter-Quarters." At this Rate were the People animated to a Revolt, and Silo would have gone off for Company. This was so dangerous a Practice, that Herod was glad to apply himself, not only to Silo's Officers, but to the common Soldiery also, to prevent a worse Mischief.

"Fellow Soldiers, says he, you know very well, that I have the Commission of Cæsar, Anthony, and the Senate, for what I do. Do but stay by me one Day longer,

“longer, and all your Wants shall be supplied.” Upon this Assurance, he went away himself to give Orders for Provision, and forthwith sent them so prodigious a Quantity, that Silo’s Mouth was stopt, and no Room left for any further Complaint. And to secure them likewise for the future, he wrote to Samaria (which was then under his Protection) to send him all Manner of Provisions to Jericho: As Corn, Wine, Oil, Cattle, &c. When Antigonus heard this, he presently dispatched his Troops abroad, and laid Ambushes to intercept the Convoys. They followed their Orders, and there was now a great Army gotten together near Jericho; and Parties up and down the Mountains, to obstruct any Relief.

Herod was not idle all this while, but with ten Companies, half Romans, half Jews, and a small Body of Horse, he advanced to Jericho; where he found the City abandoned, not a Creature left in it, and only five hundred of the Inhabitants, with their Wives and Families, fled to the Mountains. These he took, and so dismissed them. The Town had a World of rich Pillage in it; which the Romans rifled and carried away: And Herod, leaving a Garrison in the Place, went his Way back again. The Roman Troops had their Winter-Quarters assigned them in the Cities that came over to Herod; as Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also, upon Silo’s Account, had Part of his Army quartered in Lydda, to stand fair with Anthony. The Romans were now easy and quiet, and in a full Enjoyment of Peace and Plenty. But Herod could not yet be at Rest; for he sent his Brother Joseph with 400 Horse and 2000 Foot to fortify Idumæa, for fear Antigonus should enter upon any new Practice: While he went himself, with his Mother and the rest of his Kindred, to Samaria; whom he had rescued at Massada. After the securing of his Friends, he advanced into Galilee to reduce certain Garrisons that Antigonus was possessed of in that Province. He came up to Sepphoris in a deep Snow, and took the Place without any Difficulty; for the Garrison quitted it without a Blow. When he had staid there awhile, and refreshed his Men after a Winter’s Fatigue, (as there was great Plenty of Provisions) he turned his Arms against the Free-booters, that sheltered themselves in Caves, and by Sallies and Incurfions made a worse Ravage in the Country than a regular War. He sent away three Companies of Foot, and a Wing of Horse before him, to Arbela, and followed them himself forty Days after with the rest of his Army. These Robbers were not at all daunted with this Incurfion; but, on the contrary, advanced against them in a Body, in the Confidence they had of the Conduct and Courage of their Leader. When the Armies came afterward to the Shock, the Thieves right Wing put Herod’s left Wing to an absolute Rout; but Herod wheeling immediately upon them with his Right, did not only put a Stop to the Flight of his own Men, but brought them on again with such a Fury, that the Robbers were not able to stand before them. He had the Chace of them as far as the Jordan: A great many of them were cut off in the Pursuit, and the rest got over the River. Galilee was now delivered from this Pest, saving only some Stragglers that kept still in their Fastnesses; which was the Occasion of Herod’s staying a little longer in the Country.

Herod, after this Exploit, as the first Fruits of his Soldiers Services, gave the common Soldiers a hundred and fifty Drachma’s a Man, and to their Officers so much more

in Proportion: And then dismissed them into their Winter-Quarters. He gave it in Charge to his younger Brother Pheroras to take Care for Provisions, and likewise to run up a Wall about the Castle of Alexandrion: Which was all done accordingly.

Anthony was now at Athens; and Ventidius sent to Silo and Herod, to join him in the War against the Parthians: But writing to them in the first Place, to settle the Affairs of Judæa. Herod was well enough content to send Silo to Ventidius, while he himself advanced against the Thieves again to ferret them out of their Dens. Now these Dens or Caverns were in the Craggs of the Rocks; hardly accessible on any Side, but by narrow Turns and Windings, and a direct Precipice from Top to Bottom. The Place was so nice and difficult, that it cost the King some Time before he could resolve what to do; but he bethought himself at last of an Experiment, bold and desperate enough. There were strong Chests, with Soldiers in them, let down with Ropes from the Top of the Mountain to the Mouth of the Entrance into the Cave. The Soldiers destroyed the Thieves in their Holes: Some with their Arms; and others that resisted, with Fire. When Herod had a Mind to save any of them, a Cryer summoned them to come to him. But upon the Main, there was not one Man that rendered himself upon his own Accord: And for those that were forced to it, a great many of them preferred their Liberties before their Lives.

There was one very remarkable Passage. An old Man, the Father of seven Sons: The Mother and the Children lay begging at him only for Leave to go out, and render themselves to the Enemy. This old man commanded them to come out one after another, and still as many of them appeared, he put them to Death. This Spectacle struck Herod to the Heart: who saw it from a Place of Prospect near at Hand, and besought the poor Man, with Signs, and Words, at length, to spare his Children. But no Words or Actions of Tenderness had the Power to work upon him. The Man went forward in his Resolution; killed the Children first, and then the Mother: Casting their dead Bodies down the Rock, and himself next; reproaching Herod for a Man of an abject, mean Spirit.

When Herod had hunted the Thieves out of their Dens, he left only such a Force behind him, as he thought sufficient to keep the peace. Ptolemy had the Command of it; and so he returned to Samaria; marching against Antigonus with three thousand Foot armed with Bucklers; and six hundred Horse. The Troublers of Galilee made Advantage of Herod's Absence, and fell upon Ptolemy by Surprise, and killed him: They laid the Country waste also, and then fled to Bogs and Defiles for their Retreat. Herod had no sooner Notice of this Disorder, but he was in with them immediately, and cut off great Numbers of their People; set all the Castles at Liberty that they had as good as blocked up, and fined the Cities a hundred Talents for the Riot.

The Parthians being now beaten, and Pacorus killed; Ventidius, by the Order of Anthony, dispatched Machærus to Herod with a thousand Horse and two Legions against Antigonus: Who sent Machærus with a complaining Letter of the Indignities Herod had put upon him, with the Offer of a considerable Sum of Money to enter into his Interest: But Machærus stood off; partly for their Sakes to whom he was recommended, and in Part because Herod was the franker Bidder of the two. But  
Machærus

Machærus made fair, however, with Antigonus; and put on the Countenance of a friendly Disposition to discourse the Matter with him: But his Business, in Truth, was only to feel his Pulse, and learn the State of his Affairs, which was a Method absolutely against the Opinion and Advice of Herod. Now Antigonus finding by this Time whereabouts he was, did not only refuse him Entrance upon his Approach to the City; but kept him off from the Walls with Darts and Arrows, as an actual Enemy. Machærus was so ashamed of himself upon this Disappointment, that away he went to Herod at Ammaus; and in a Rage put all the Jews to Death that he could meet with, whether Friends or Foes, and the Herodians as well as the rest: Neither did the Antigonians escape any better than their Neighbours.

Herod was so transported at this bloody Outrage, that he was once thinking to take his Revenge upon Machærus, bare-faced, and as an open Enemy: But upon second Thoughts he checked himself, and chose rather to carry the Cause immediately to Anthony. Machærus was so conscious to himself of what he had done; that so soon as ever Herod was gone, he posted, at that Instant, after him; and overtaking him upon the Way, after a thousand Submissions, Protestations, and other begging Importunities, with much ado he made his Peace. But this did not divert Herod yet from going to Anthony. So he went forward; and hearing upon the Way that Anthony was at that Time with a great Army before Samosata (a strong Place upon the Euphrates), he made the more Haste to be up with him Time enough to give some signal Proofs of his Faith and Courage, and at the same Time to ingratiate himself with Anthony. The Arrival of Herod put a quick End to the Siege: He destroyed a Multitude of the Barbarians, and a great Part of the Booty fell to his Share. Anthony, that had always a mighty Value for Herod, had a greater Esteem for him upon this Occasion yet than ever; which contributed exceedingly to his Honour, and to the Hopes he had of establishing himself in the Kingdom. Antiochus, in fine, was forced to deliver up Samosata.

### C H A P. XIII.

*Joseph commands in Herod's Absence. Joseph, Herod's Brother, killed in a Skirmish. Antigonus insults upon the Body, and cuts off his Head. Strange Changes upon his Successes. Sotius made General of Syria. A fore-boding Dream of Herod's. Three wonderful Deliverances. Jerusalem besieged, and taken by Assault; and Herod compounds for the Pillage. Pappus's Head cut off in Revenge of Joseph. A mean Character of Antigonus. He is sent in Chains to Anthony, and loses his Head. Cleopatra covetous and ill-natured.*

**W**HILE these Things passed, Herod's Affairs went ill in Judæa; which he left, in his Absence, under the absolute Command of his Brother Joseph; upon

upon this exprefs Condition, that he ſhould not attempt any Thing upon Antigonus while he was away: His Reason was, that he had a Jealouſy of Machærus, upon an old Account, and durſt not lay any Streſs upon his Honesty. But Joſeph, when his Brother was at a Diſtance, forgot that Article, and marched towards Jericho with five Companies that Machærus had provided him, to carry off the Corn that was then ripe upon the Ground. The Enemy fell upon him from the Mountains, and betwixt the Advantages of the Place, and the Occaſion, gave him an utter Deſeat; cutting all the Romans to Pieces, and the General himſelf; who left behind him the Character of a great and a valiant Man; theſe being only new-raiſed Troops levied in Syria, and no Veterans among them to ſupply the Want of Skill and Experience in their Fellows.

But ſuch at laſt was the Brutality of Antigonus, that the Victory would not ſerve his Turn, without unmanly inſolences upon the Dead: Inſulting over the Body of Joſeph himſelf, with Affronts and Blows, and then ſtriking off his Head; though Pheroras offered fifty Talents Compoſition for that laſt Indignity. Things were ſo altered in Galilee upon the Succeſs of Antigonus, that they took the Herodians of the firſt Quality, and plunged them into the Lake. There was a great Change in Idumæa too; where Machærus repaired the Walls of the Caſtle of Gath. Herod knew nothing of theſe Matters all this while; for upon the taking of Samofata, Anthony made Soſius Governor of Syria, with a Charge to Aſſiſt Herod againſt Antigonus, and ſo departed into Ægypt. Soſius upon this ſent away two Companies into Judæa to join Herod, and he himſelf followed ſoon after with the reſt of the Army.

While Herod was at Daphne (the Suburbs of Antioch), he had a Kind of Prefage of the Death of his Brother, in a Dream. He leaped out of his Bed upon it, and the Meſſengers that brought the News, came into his Chamber at that very Inſtant. The Surprise ſtruck him at firſt; but when his Paſſion had a little ſpent itſelf, he diſpatched away with all poſſible Speed, to find out the Enemy. Coming to Libanus, he took eight hundred Inhabitants of the Place, and one Roman Cohort to his Aſſiſtance. With this Body he entered Galilee before Day; charged the Enemy, and beat them back into the Caſtle from whence they came. He ſat down before it, and aſſulted it Day after Day; but before he could make himſelf Maſter of it, the Winter came on ſo faſt; that he was fain to draw off his Army into the next Village. Anthony, ſome few Days after this, ſent him an Inforcement of another Company; which put the Garrifon into ſuch an Apprehenſion, that they ſlipped away out of the Caſtle by Night.

Herods next Remove was in all Haſte to Jericho, to take his revenge for the Death of his Brother, where he was Preſerved by a providence ſo wonderful, that it fell little ſhort of a Miracle; but God in his Goodneſs had him under his particular Care. Herod had had at ſupper with him that Night, ſeveral Perſons of great Quality, and ſo ſoon as the Entertainment was over, the Room cleared, and the Company gone, the Roof of the Eating-Room fell flat down to the Ground. He took this remarkable Eſcape for ſo auſpicious a Prefage, with reſpect to the War he was engaged in, that he decamped next Morning early. The Enemy in a Body of about ſix thouſand came down the Mountains, and had a Skirmiſh with his Van-Guard; but they did not much preſs to any Action with  
the

the Romans: Only they assaulted them with Darts and Stones at a Distance, and Herod himself, as he had passed by, received a Wound in his Side.

Antigonus, that valued himself upon being thought Herod's Superior, both for Number and Courage, sent a familiar Friend of his, one Pappus, with a Body of Men into Samaria to try an Encounter with Machærus. Herod, in the mean Time, takes five Towns, and ravages the Enemy's Country; destroys two thousand of the Inhabitants; lays their Houses in Ashes, and so returns to the Army not far from a Village called Cana. There came to him every Day a World of Jews: Some from Jericho; some from elsewhere; others for Spite to Antigonus, and some again in Respect to Herod: Nay, some there were so senseless, that they loved Change purely for Change-sake. Now the Thing that Herod's Heart was most set upon, was to put it to a Battle; and Pappus, with his Men, on the other Hand, was as ready to put it to an issue: So that his Troops, without any Dread, either of Force or Numbers, marched fiercely up to the Combat. When they came to charge, Pappus's Men upon the Main, made a tolerable Resistance; but wherever Herod came, he was so transported with the Spirit of Revenge for his Brother's Death, that his Enemies fled before him. It was his Method, wherever he saw them in a Body, to break them into a Disorder, and by that Means he put them all to Flight.

There was a terrible Slaughter: Some beaten back into the Place when they came; and some running one Way, some another: Herod still pressing and pursuing them, till at last he fell in with them pell-mell into the Town. The Houses were presently crowded with Fugitives, and the very Roofs covered with them. But those were easily destroyed; and then, upon beating down the Buildings, several perished under the Ruins, and others by the Sword; and they that escaped the one, were destroyed by the other. The Streets, in fine, were so blocked up with Piles of Carcasses, that they found some Difficulty to march over the dead Bodies. The Spectacle was so frightful, that the People were not able to stand the very Sight of it. In the Flush of this Success, Herod had certainly marched directly to Jerusalem, if the extreme Rigour of the Season had not made the Ways impassable. This was the only thing that hindered the perfecting of his Victory, and the irreparable Ruin of Antigonus; who was now disposing of himself to quit the City.

Herod, in the Evening, having discharged his Friends to refresh themselves after the Fatigue of the Day, went to wash himself, as is usual in such Cases, being hot and sweaty, with only one Servant to attend him. As he was in his Way to the Bath, one of Antigonus's Soldiers met him with a Sword drawn; and, after him, another and another, and still more. Now these were Men that fled thither with their Arms out of the Battle for Sanctuary. Upon the Sight of the King, they fell into such a Dread and Trembling, that they minded nothing but the saving of themselves, and so passed by him. It so happened that no body being at hand to seize them, they all got off; and as Providence would have it, Herod escaped untouched. On the Day following he ordered the Head of Pappus (Antigonus's General,) to be struck off, and sent it to his Brother Pheroras, in Revenge for the Blood of Joseph; for it was Pappus that killed

When the Winter was well over, Herod advanced to Jerusalem; drew his Men to the Walls; and, for the Advantage of the Attack, encamped before the Temple: being the Quarter from whence Ptolemy took it formerly. This was the third Year after Herod's being declared King at Rome. He assigned all his Troops their Offices and Stations, and every Man his Post in the Suburbs. He ordered the casting up of three Ramparts, and the building of Turrets over them: And when he had given these Commissions in Charge to his Friends and Officers that he could best confide in, he went himself to Samaria, to consummate a Marriage with Mariamne (the Daughter of Aristobulus the Son of Alexander,) to whom he had been contracted some Time before: So that the Siege and the Match went on together, in Contempt of his Enemies; as who should say, I have Time enough for both.

Upon his Marriage, he came back again to Jerusalem with several additional Troops; besides a strong Body of Horse and Foot under Sosius the Roman General, that was sent to join him: The greater Part of them took their March by the Way of the Midland, and he himself by Phœnicia. The whole Army, upon the Muster, amounted to eleven Regiments, and six thousand Horse; besides a strong Inforcement of Syrian Auxiliaries. They ordered the Assault upon the North Side. Herod founded his Right upon the Decree of Senate that made him King; and Sosius pleaded the Commission of Anthony, for the Assistance of Herod with the Troops under his Command.

The Jews within the City were now in a very great Confusion and Distress; the meaner sort of them gathering about the Temple, and passing their Judgment upon the Times in a Kind of enthusiastical Way of fore-boding Calamities to come. The bolder Part of this Rabble went trooping up and down, and pillaging whatever they could come at; especially near the Town, where they left no Necessaries, neither for Horse, nor Man. The Soldiery, all this while, omitted nothing for the Defence of the Place. They kept the Besiegers off from their Walls, and still opposed one Instrument and one Stratagem to another: But their greatest Excellency lay in mining and breaking in upon the Enemy before they were aware. The King, on the other hand, took Care to provide against the Excursions of the Robbers, and for a Supply of Provisions by Convoys and Transportations from abroad, to answer the Necessities of the People. The Jews must be allowed to have been bold and daring in Battle, even to the highest Degree. But yet when it came to military Skill and Address, they were constantly outdone by the Romans: But maintaining the Dispute, however, though they were in a Manner sure to die for it. And in Case of any surprizing Attempt of the Enemy from their Trenches, by Sally, or Attack, they found some Way or other in an Instant, to make all good. And, in one Word, they spared neither for Art nor Labour, in the Resolution they had taken to defend it to the last. But after a five Months Defence against so vast an Army, a select Party of Herod's Men were so hardy at last as to mount the Wall, with some of Sosius's Centurions to second them, and so they brake into the City. The first Thing they did, after their Entrance, was to post themselves round the Temple, and as near it as they could get; while the Army dispersed itself, and carried Death and Desolation along with it, in the most hideous Forms, wherever it moved. The Romans were outrageous in Revenge for the Hard-

ships



ships they had endured in the Siege; and the Cruelty of the Herodian Jews was an implacable Spite, for fear any of their Adversaries should escape. The narrow Passages, and the Houses, were all filled, and pestered with Heaps of dead Bodies. They spared neither Age nor Sex, and the Temple itself was no longer a Sanctuary. Nay, though the King himself commanded them every where, upon their Allegiance, to hold their Hands, they went on nevertheless with the Butchery, to the Degree of an inhuman Madness.

Antigonus, in this Hurry and Confusion, was so mean and heartless, that without any Regard to his Quality, or to his past or present Fortune, he came down from Baris, and cast himself at the Feet of Sosius; who, without any Sort of Pity for his Calamity, received him with this Taunt, that his Name should be no longer Antigonus, but Antigona. But though he behaved himself like a Woman, he was not used like one; for he was laid in Chains, and kept a Prisoner. Herod's Enemies were now at his Mercy, but his Friends were yet so troublesome, that he had much ado to keep his Auxiliaries and Strangers quiet; for the Multitude pressed so violently into the Temple, out of a rude Curiosity to see Things and Fashions, that Herod had enough to do, by fair Means and foul, as Menaces, Intreaties, nay, and sometimes with Blows, to keep them in Order: Accounting upon it that his Victory would be worse than a Defeat, if he should suffer those sacred Privacies to be exposed to common Eyes, which the Law had kept in Reserve.

He proceeded then to the Regulation of the Soldiery in the Matter of Pillage; telling Sosius, that at that Rate of leaving neither Men nor Money, the Romans would render him a King of a Desert, rather than of a City and People; and that to gain the whole World, he would not be a Governor upon those Terms. Sosius made this Reply, that he thought the Soldiers, after what they had done and suffered, might be allowed some sort of Right to the Advantage of the Booty. You speak Reason, says Herod, and take my Word and Honour for it, that I will see Justice done to every Man of them out of my own Fortune. By this Way of Proceeding, Herod preserved the Remainder of his Country, and afterward made good his Promise to the Army: For there was not a common Soldier that had not his Donative, and the Officers were all rewarded in Proportion, even to Sosius himself; and to such a Degree, that every Creature was abundantly satisfied. Sosius, after this, dedicated a golden Crown to God; and, leaving Jerusalem, carried Antigonus away bound to Anthony, flattering himself all the Way with the Hope of Life, to the very Minute of his Execution: When his Head was cut off for not deservng to live.

The Multitude of the City were divided, and Herod distinguished Party from Party accordingly; treating his Friends with great Honour and Kindness, to make the surer of them: But the Antigonians he put to Death. When he fell short of Money, he divided what he had that was precious, betwixt Anthony and those about him that he had the most value for; but all this was not enough to secure him yet; for Anthony was at this Time besotted with the Love of Cleopatra, and so abandoned to his Passion, that he could deny her nothing. Now Cleopatra had already fallen so bloodily upon her own Relations, that when she had not left one near Kinsman living, she turned

the Point of her Rage against Strangers; by calumniating Men of Honour and Quality, to Anthony, and prevailing with him to have them put to Death, as the ready Way to make her Mistress of their Estates. Her Avarice transported her so far after this against the Jews and Arabians, that she entered into a secret Practice against the Lives of their Kings themselves; Herod and Malichus. Anthony held her in Hand upon it with fair Words, and seeming Compliances: But for taking away the Lives of two good Men, and two such Princes, it was so execrable a Proposition, he could not but have a Horror for it. He went so far, however, as to break Friendship with them, and to put her in Possession of a considerable Part of their Territories: As for Instance, the Lands in Jericho, so famous for Palm-trees and Balsam, and all the Cities upon the River Eleutherus, except Tyre and Sidon. When he had gratified her with this Present, she accompanied him as far as the Euphrates in his Expedition against the Parthians, and so he took her away into Judæa by Apamia and Damascus.

Herod had already parted with large Sums toward the mollifying of Cleopatra; but her Ill-nature was so implacable, and so insatiable was her Avarice, that all this would not do, without extorting an Annuity of two hundred Talents out of the Revenue of Judæa; and so, with great Obsequiousness and Respect, he conducted her to Pclusium. It was not long before Anthony came back from the Parthian War, with Artabazes the Son of Tigranes his Prisoner; whom he made a Present of to Cleopatra, with the whole Booty.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*The Craft and Treachery of Cleopatra. Herod would have assisted Anthony against Augustus, and she hindred him. Herod gains one Battle, and loses another. A prodigious Earthquake in Judæa. The Jews in a Consternation, and several of their Ambassadors put to Death upon it. A generous Speech of Herod's to encourage his Soldiers. The Army takes Heart upon Herod's Exhortation. Herod forces the Arabians to a Battle; and gives them a total Overthrow. The Arabians render themselves at Discretion; and petition Herod to take them into his Protection.*

UPON the breaking out of the War at Actium, Herod was now at Liberty, and proposed to himself to accompany Anthony in that Expedition; for he had gotten Hyrcania into his Hands, from the Sister of Antigonus; and all Things were now composed and easy at Home. But Cleopatra, for fear of Herod's being Companion in the Dangers with Anthony, craftily diverted him from his Design. This Princess, having a mortal Hatred for both the Kings, persuaded Anthony to commit the Parthian War to Herod; for, says she to herself, if he get the better of it, I shall be Queen of Arabia; and if he be worsted, of Judæa: Propounding only the dashing of the one  
against

against the other. This Advice happened well enough for Herod; who, having gotten together a mighty Body of Horse, sent them against the Syrians near Diospolis, where he fell upon them; they made a handsome Resistance, for a while, but in the End were beaten out of the Field. Upon this Defeat, the Arabians drew out a prodigious Army, and posted themselves at Canatha in Cœle-Syria, there to expect the coming up of the Jews. Herod was now advancing toward them; but, upon Sight of their Numbers and Disposition, he found it convenient to keep himself upon a more than ordinary Guard, and therefore ordered the running of a Wall about the Camp. But the People were so puffed up with one Victory, that Herod's Precaution would be Time lost, they thought, to make them wait for another: So that without any more Ceremony they fell on, and routed the Arabians at the very first Push: But Herod escaped very narrowly himself upon the Pursuit, by a Body of Canathenes that were sent in by Athenion to the Relief of the Arabians. Now this Athenion was an Officer of Cleopatra's, and ever a deadly Enemy to Herod. Upon the Encouragement of this Relief, the Arabians took Heart, and came on again; scattered the Herodians; and following them close through Crags and Woods, they killed a World of them in the Chace. They that escaped the Battle, fled to a Village there at Hand called Ormiza; where they were cooped up and surrounded; and the Arabians made themselves Masters of their Camp, and the Men that were in it. A very little while after the Blow was given, Herod came up with Succours; but the Mischief being first done, there was no Remedy. This Disaster was all along of the Contumacy and Disobedience of his Officers: For if they had not been so hasty and hot-headed, Athenion could never have had an Opportunity to put his Plot in Execution. But Herod revenged himself afterwards on the Arabians by Surprizes, and Incursions, over and over; and atoned by several little Victories for one great Defeat.

While Herod was in the Course of his Successes, there befel him a most judicial Calamity. This was in the seventh Year of his Reign, and in the Beginning of the Spring, when the War at Actium was at the hottest. There happened at this Time so dreadful an Earthquake, that it swallowed up Cattle innumerable, and a matter of thirty thousand People; but the Army that lay in the Field, suffered nothing. It was, in Truth, a dismal Accident; but Report (as it is usual) making it much greater than effectually it was, the Arabians took it for granted that Judæa was totally sunk and lost; and flattered themselves with an Opinion that they might have the whole Province now for the asking. In this Confidence they put certain Jewish Ambassadors that were then with them to Death, and without any more ado, advanced into the Country to take Possession of it. This formidable Inroad of the Arabians struck the Jews with such a Terror (especially considering the heart-broken Condition they were in at that Time, with one Calamity upon the Neck of another) that Herod was fain to try if he could reason a distracted, spiritless People into their Resolutions and Wits again.

“ You are here, in my Opinion, says Herod, under a most unreasonable Apprehension. I will allow you, says he, to indulge your Sorrows under the Hand of an offended God; but to subject yourselves to the same Dependancies and Passions, for Fear of the Power of Men, is a Meanness of Soul below the ordinary Pitch of your  
Courage.

“ Courage. Nay, so far am I from any Dread of an Enemy, after this Earthquake,  
 “ that it looks to me rather as if Providence had ordered the ensnaring of your Adver-  
 “ saries by this Temptation, into a Vengeance for the Injuries they have done you:  
 “ Neither do they lay so much stress upon the Force of their own Arms or Valour, as  
 “ upon the Opinion they have of our Abjection and Misery. But those are false Hopes,  
 “ when Men support themselves upon the Infirmities of other People rather than upon  
 “ their own Virtue: Nor is their any certainty, either in prosperous, or adverse For-  
 “ tune; but they are both unsteady, and take their Turns: And for a Confirmation  
 “ of this Doctrine, you need go no farther than to the late Battle; where we were Mas-  
 “ ters one Hour, and at Mercy the next. This is the very Case of our Enemies at pre-  
 “ sent, or I am much deceived. They think they take, and they are taken. People  
 “ that are over confident are unwary: But a considerate Fear makes Men provident;  
 “ so that the very Ground of your Apprehension is the Foundation of my Assurance.  
 “ You would needs be charging the Enemy contrary to Order, and forwarder than you  
 “ should have been; and Athenion, you see, made Advantage of your Error. But you  
 “ yourselves are now upon the Reserve: Your Deliberations are sober, and not fantasti-  
 “ cal; which is a Disposition that I look upon as an Omen of a certain Victory. This  
 “ is the right Temper of a brave Man, before he comes into Action: But let him keep  
 “ his Fire and Heat to himself till he has Occasion for it, in the Field. And so let it  
 “ be your Business now to convince your wicked Enemies, by Force of Arms, that  
 “ the Jews will sooner part with their Lives than their Reputation; and stand firm at  
 “ last under all Judgments and Misfortunes; and never own the Arabians for their  
 “ Masters, who have so often been their Slaves.

“ But why this Fear at last for Things inanimate? How comes an Earthquake to  
 “ be a Portent; or a Presage of Things to come? Is there any Thing more natural  
 “ than the Agitations and Disorders of the Elements? They do not foretel calamiti-  
 “ ties; but they actually bring and create them. 'Tis possible that there may be some  
 “ forerunning Signs of Plagues, Famine, and Earthquakes, to come: But when they  
 “ are once come, the greater they are, the sooner will they be over. Or put the  
 “ Case we should be conquered now, pray which is worse, the War, or the Earth-  
 “ quake? But here's a Destination of these People to Ruin, even by their own Hands,  
 “ without the Help of Enemies, that could be so impious and inhuman, as, contrary  
 “ to the Laws of Nature and Nations, to dip their Hands in the Blood of our Am-  
 “ bassadors, and dedicate the Sacrifice to God for the Success of the War. Can  
 “ they ever think to escape the All-seeing Eye, and the Almighty Power of a vindic-  
 “ tive God, whenever we shall but rouse in us the Courage and Zeal of our Forefa-  
 “ thers, and call these perfidious Violaters of Leagues and public Faith to a severe  
 “ and just Account! Wherefore stand up, my brave Fellow-Soldiers, not for your  
 “ Wives, Children, or Country; but to revenge the Murder of your Ambassadors;  
 “ whose very Blood will consecrate the Cause, and those Heroes, dead as they are,  
 “ will do you more good in the Head of your Army, than the living Commanders of  
 “ it. Do you but follow where I'll lead you, and I'll ask no more. Only one Word  
 of

“ of Caution; be not over hot and rash; and when it comes to the Push, they will  
 “ not dare to look you in the Face.

This Exhortation put the Soldiers in such a Heart, that Herod closed with the good Humour, and sacrificed: And so without any Delay passed his Army over the River Jordan. He pitched his Camp at Philadelphia, not far from the Enemy, with a Castle between them; which looked as if that Castle were to be the subject of the Dispute. Herod, at that Distance, provoked the Enemy to a Battle; desiring nothing more than to bring it to a speedy Trial. The Enemy had already sent People before to take Possession of this Castle; but the Herodians, without much Difficulty, beat them back, and gained the Hill. Herod drew out every Day in Order of Battle, to dare the Arabians to a Combat: But when he saw they would not answer the Challenge (for they were all in a Consternation, and Altemus their General above the rest,) Herod attacked them in their Trenches, and so forced them to a Battle: But in such a Huddle they were, Horse and Foot marching out together, that it was all Hurry and Confusion. They did indeed out-number the Jews; but fell much short of them in Valour, though one would have thought their very Desperation should have made them bolder. The Slaughter was not great so long as they stood; but when they turned their Backs once, betwixt those that fell in the Pursuit, and those that were trampled to Death by their own People, there were five thousand missing, and the rest were driven into their Camp; where Herod presently hemmed them in, and besieged them: And this was not all neither; for the Pinch they were in for Want of Water, was a Misery equal to all the rest. In this Streight they sent Ambassadors to Herod, with an Offer of fifty Talents for a Composition; but he treated them with Contempt, and would not so much as give them the Hearing. They came out after this in Troops, in the Torment of a raging, burning Thirst, and delivered themselves up to the Jews, at Discretion: So that in five Days the Jews had four thousand of them in Bonds. Upon the sixth Day, the Remainder of them in a Transport of Despair provoked the Jews to a Battle; where about seven thousand more were killed upon the Place. This Blow finished Herod's Revenge upon the Arabians: for it brought down their Stomachs to that Degree, that they chose him afterwards for their Protector.

#### C H A P. XV.

*Herod's generous Address to Augustus at Rhodes, upon the Defeat of Anthony at Actium. Cæsar's Goodness and Humanity to Herod in Return. Herod's magnificent Entertainment of Cæsar in Syria. Herod confirmed in his Government, with large Additions. Herod made Governor of all Syria. Herod's Character, and the Greatness of his Mind.*

**H**EROD's Matters went well enough at present; but the News of Anthony's Defeat at Actium (for whom he had the greatest Friendship in the World,) put him

him quite out of his easy Humour: Tho' his Fear was, in some Respect, more than needed; for Cæsar could never think Anthony absolutely suppressed, so long as Herod was living. Upon this Turn of Fortune, Herod bethought himself how he might obviate all Difficulties, and so went to Rhodes; where Cæsar was at that Time. He presented himself without any Ensigns of Royalty about him, and in the Habit of a private Man; but with a Mein of Majesty: Behaving himself with great Candor and Frankness, and this was his Declaration.

“ I must confess, mighty Cæsar, says he, that as Anthony made me a King, I was not wanting to employ the kingly Powers he gave me, to the Service of my Benefactor, from whom I received them: And, if I may speak freely, you yourself, Sir, would have found the Effects of that Justice, if I had not been diverted by the Arabian War; but this did not hinder me yet from sending him what Supplies I could, both of Troops and Provisions: Neither hath this last fatal Blow at Actium, staggered me one jot in my Gratitude and Justice to my Patron. I could not furnish him, 'tis true, with Men and Arms, nor attend him in my Person; but I gave him a Piece of good Counsel that would have been more worth to him, if he had followed it: Which was, to rid his Hands of Cleopatra; for so long as she lived, he could never be safe: And that being done, I promised him Monies, strong Holds, Troops; nay, and myself too for a Party to the War against you: But betwixt the Love of Cleopatra that hindered him on the one Side, and the secret Appointments of Providence that gave you Victory on the other, it came all to nothing. Now so it is, great Prince, that Anthony's Fate and mine are wrapt up in one. We both fell on the same Day, and with his Fortune I have now laid down my Crown. I have no Pretence, Sir, to your Clemency and Favour, but under the Character of an honest Man, and a true Friend.”

“ Well Herod, says Cæsar, be safe and happy, and a King still; and depend upon it, that your Crown shall sit surer on your Head than ever. So good a Friend cannot but make a good Governor. Pray be as faithful to the Fortunate as you have been to the contrary; and I cannot but promise myself great Things from the Dignity of so great a Mind. As to Anthony's hearkening to Cleopatra rather than to you, his Folly has made us all Gainers; for we had never had Herod else. I must not forget the Enforcements you sent to Ventidius against Anthony's Gladiators, and that you were before-hand with me in that Obligation. Wherefore, content yourself at present with the Confirmation of the Kingdom to you, and I shall take such further Care for the future, that you may have no Miss of Anthony.

Cæsar, after this Speech, with great Humanity adjured Herod not to doubt of his Friendship; and so placing the Crown upon his Head, confirmed his Title to it by an Act of State, with glorious Expressions in it much to his Honour. When Herod had prepared his Way by fair Words and large Presents, he made Intercession to Cæsar on the Behalf of one Alexander a Friend of Anthony's to get his Pardon; but Cæsar cut him short with a Refusal; telling him, that the Affronts he suffered for were wholly unpardonable.

As Cæsar was afterward passing through Syria into Ægypt, Herod received him upon  
the

the Way with a most incredible Magnificence, and while Cæsar was taking a Review of his Troops he caused Herod to ride about Ptolemais along with him; where he treated Augustus, and all his Friends and his Troops, with all imaginable Splendor, Order, and Plenty. He took Care also for the Supply of Water at Pelusium, and other dry Places, for Goers and Comers, with all Sorts of Utensils and Necessaries even for common Use. This illustrious Expence gave Occasion to Cæsar, and his Train, to say, that the Kingdom of Judæa was too little for the Mind of so great a Prince.

Cleopatra and Anthony being both dead when Cæsar came into Ægypt, Cæsar did not only confer new Honours upon Herod, but annexed to his Kingdom that Part of the Borders which Cleopatra had taken from him, with Gadara, Hippon, Samaria, and the maritime Cities Gaza and Anthedon; Joppa, and the Tower of Straton: He gave him also four hundred Gauls, which had been formerly of the Guards to Cleopatra. Now Cæsar proportioned all his Bounties to the Merit and Virtue of the Receiver. After the first Actias, he gave him also the Province of Trachon, annexing it to his Command; and so likewise Batanæa, and Auranitis, upon this Account.

It was a common and a constant Practice of Zenodorus, who lived in a House he had hired of Lysanias, to send Thieves out of Trachon to Damascus. The Inhabitants applied themselves to Varus (at that Time Governor of Syria) for Relief; begging him to possess Cæsar with the Misery of their Condition. Varus did it accordingly, and Cæsar's Answer was, that he should utterly suppress all Robbers, and Robberies. Varus sent Parties abroad into all suspected Places, and so cleared the Land of that Pest. Varus having taken away Part of Zenodorus's Estate, upon this Order, Cæsar bestowed it upon Herod, to secure it from being any longer a Receptacle for this Sort of Vermin; making him Governor of all Syria, over and above.

Augustus coming into that Province again some ten Years after, cautioned the Governors in all Matters of Importance to consult Herod; and Zenodorus being then dead, he gave Herod likewise all the Land betwixt Trachon and Galilee. But the Thing at last that Herod valued himself upon, above all the rest, was this; that Herod was beloved by Cæsar, above all Men living, next to Agrippa; and by Agrippa, next to Cæsar. From these Circumstances he was advanced to the highest State of human Felicity, and his Mind grew more and more illustrious with his Fortune; for he employed the greatest Part of his Acquisitions, in Works and Offices of Piety and Religion.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Several famous Works of Herod's, both at Home and Abroad. The Temple repaired. The Castle of Antonia alluding to Anthony. Cæsarion and Agrippion, to Cæsar and Agrippa. Herod's glorious Dedications. Sebaste in Samaria. Cæsar's Royal Bounties to Herod. Antipatris to*

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*the Honour of Antipater. Cypros in Memory of Cypris; and Herodion, of Herod. Straton's Tower repaired, and a stately Palace erected. A wonderful Port betwixt Dora and Joppa; and an exact Description of it. Herod's Bounties to Strangers, as well as to his own People, and in common for the Good of Mankind. He was a great Soldier, in fine, and an excellent Sword-man, with a Strength of Body answerable to the Dignity of his Mind.*

**I**N the fifteenth Year of Herod's Reign, he applied himself to the repairing and rebuilding of the Temple; which he did with a splendid Magnificence, and at a vast Charge: Witness the stately Galleries round about it, that were all raised up intire from the very Foundation, and the Castle on the North-side adjoining to it; which, for Majesty and Beauty, was not inferior to the Royal Palace itself; calling it by the Name of Antonia, alluding to Anthony. He made the Inclosure about the Temple, twice as large as it was before. He raised also upon an Eminence that overlooked the City, two rich and spacious Structures; no Temple upon the Face of the Earth to be compared with them; and these he called Cæsarion and Agrippion, in Honour of his two noble Friends, Cæsar and Agrippa.

Neither did Herod restrain the Zeal and Passion he had for the eternizing of these great Mens Names, and Memories, to Palaces and particular Fabrics; but he dedicated whole Cities also to the immortalizing of their Fame to Posterity; as Sebaste in Samaria, for Example; a City of twenty Furlongs in Compass, with a fair Wall about it; a Colony of six thousand Inhabitants planted in it, and an Endowment of excellent Lands belonging to it, with peculiar Franchises and Immunities, in proportion to the People. Among other eminent Buildings, he did likewise erect a majestic Temple, with an Area about it of three Furlongs and a Half; and this Temple he dedicated to Augustus.

Cæsar after this, gave Herod an additional Donative of Lands; and Herod, in Acknowledgment, built another Temple also of white polished Marble, near the Head of the River Jordan, at a Place called Panium; and this was also dedicated to Cæsar. Not far from hence stands a Mountain of a most prodigious Height, that looks down among the Crags and Rocks into a deep Valley; and at the Bottom, a dark hideous Cavern, that's worn and hollowed to such a Depth, by the constant Fall of Waters upon it from above, that there's no sounding of it. From the Foot of this Cavern, there comes bubbling forth an Issue of several Springs: And this by Tradition passes for the Source of the River Jordan. But we shall speak farther to the Matter of Fact hereafter.

It was much after the same Manner also at Jericho; where Herod caused to be erected, betwixt the Castle of Cypros and the old Palaces, some other Buildings more commodious; and these he called by the Names of the same Persons. Herod, in fine, did not leave one considerable Place in the whole Kingdom, without some monumental Memorial to the Fame of Cæsar. When he had garnished the Borders with Temples, he did the like in the Provinces, distinguishing several of them by the Name of Cælareæ.

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As Herod was in his Progress along the Coast, he took Notice of one maritime City among the rest, with all the Decays upon it of Time and Antiquity. It is known by the Name of Straton's Tower; and a Place, for the Quality and Situation of it, worthy of Herod's Royal Care and Bounty. This Castle he did not only repair with beautiful white Stone, but erected also a princely Palace there, and never gave a clearer Proof of the natural Dignity of his Mind than upon this Instance. It lies betwixt Dora and Joppa, where the Coast is hardly abordable, and the Passage so dangerous, that whoever takes his Course that Way toward Ægypt from Phœnicia, runs a great Risk of a Miscarriage; especially with the least Breath of a South-West-Wind; which sets so hard upon the Rocks, that it breaks back again in Eddies, and makes a troubled Sea for a good while after. But the King's Liberality and Resolution, in Spite of Charge and of Nature itself, surmounted all Opposition; and he built a Port there, larger than the Pyræneum itself, with Stations for the fairest Ships to ride safe in, against Wind and Weather. It was so fortified, in fine, against the impetuous Violences of the Sea; and the Ornament of it so agreeable to the Eye, that nothing could be added, either to the Strength, or to the Beauty of the Contrivance. Upon Herod's taking his Measures for the Dimensions of the Port, he ordered mighty Stones to be cast into the Sea, at twenty Fathom Water: The greater Part of them fifty Feet in Length, nine Feet deep, and ten over; and some bigger than these. When they had filled up the Space to the Surface of the Water, they carried on a Wall of two hundred Feet: The one half to break the Force of the Sea, in the Nature of a Mole, from whence they took the Name of Procymœa; and the other, for the Support of the Turrets that were planted upon it; which were great and graceful, and he gave the fairest of them the Name of Drufion, in a Compliment to Drusus, Cæsar's Kinsman. There were also a great Number of Vaults for Stores, and before, and about these Vaults, a Paving of large Stones, that served Passengers, both for a Landing-place and for a Walk. It fronted toward the North; which upon that Quarter is the gentlest Wind that blows. On each Side of the Entrance, there stood three Colossies mounted upon Pillars: Those on the left Hand, at the going in, were supported by a strong Tower of one entire Stone: And those on the right, were borne up by two large Stones, Column-wise, and joined together; overtopping the other. The buildings next the Port were all of white Stone: And the Streets that led from the City to the Key, uniform and answering one another. Upon a Hill over against the Port-Gate, stood Cæsar's Temple, a Piece incomparable, both for Majesty and Beauty: And in that Temple Cæsar's Statue, a Work not inferior, either for Curiosity or Bulk, to that of the Olympian Jupiter, and made after that Model; as also another of Rome, that did not fall short of Juno's at Argos. Herod's Design in the Building of this stately Town and Port, was the Advantage of the Province, and the Security of Travellers that Way: But Cæsar all this while was to be reputed the Founder of it, and it was called Cæsarea after his Name.

There were also several famous Works and Bounties of Herod not to be forgotten; as a famous Market-Place, a Theatre, an Amphitheatre, and the Institution of the Ludi Quinquennales to be celebrated every fifth Year, which he dedicated to the Honour of Augustus. He was the first also, who in the hundred ninety and second Olympiad, pro-

pounded honourable Rewards, not only to him that should carry the Prize in the first Place, but to the second and the third also, in their Course, one after another. He repaired Anhedon, that had been ruined by the War, and called it Agrippion; and out of a generous Excess of Tendernefs for his Friend, he inscribed Agrippa's Name upon the Gate of the Temple that he had built there.

He was as dutiful a Son also, as a generous Friend and Patriot; for he erected a City to the Honour of his Father, in the most pleasant and fruitful Part of his Dominions, and most deliciously wooded and watered; which he called Antipatris. There was a Castle also over Jericho; which, by Situation, was both strong and delightful. This Place he walled in, and gave it the Name Cypros, after his Mother. Neither did he forget his Brother Phasaël, upon several Occasions; as in a Tower he built at Jerusalem; which he called by that Name (I shall say somewhat of the Compass, and the Glory of it elsewhere) and so likewise another City in the Country, to the North of Jericho; which he called also by the same Name.

When he had done Honour to his Friends and Relations, he did not at last absolutely forget himself; for he built and fortified a Castle upon a Mountain of Arabia, Which he called by his own Name, Herodion. And he gave the same Name also to a Hill that he cast up, in the Form of a Woman's Breast, at about sixty Furlongs from Jerusalem; which was set out with great Care and Expence: And this Mount was encompassed, at the Top, with round Turrets: The Circuit of it was filled with Royal Palaces; as rich and sparkling both within and without, as Art, Care, and Cost could make them. He supplied it with Water from a very great Distance, and at a mighty Charge. The Stairs were all of pure white Marble, and two hundred Steps up to the Top. This Eminence was all forced by the Hand, and of a wonderful Height. Now at the Foot of it, he built a princely Palace, and provided for Inns also, and Houses of Entertainment; where he might dispose of his Friends and their Luggage: Insomuch, that, considering the Provision that was made for all Manner of Conveniencies, it seemed to be a City rather than a Castle; but upon the main, it was all no more than the King's House.

But after these glorious Structures, Herod could not yet be satisfied, unless he made Strangers also Partakers of his Generosity and Good-will to Mankind; for at Tripolis, Damascus, and Ptolemais, he caused public Baths to be set up: Strong Walls at Byblis; Galleries, Council-Chambers, public Magazines, Market-places, and Temples at Berytas and Tyre: Theatres at Sidon and Damascus; an Aqueduct at Laodicea, upon the Coast; Water-Works and Baths at Ascalon, with Cloisters and Piazza's, every Way admirable both for the Work and Size: In some Cafes he gave Woods and Harbours; and upon other Cities he bestowed Lands; as if he had made them Sharers in his Kingdom. In some Places again (as at Coos,) he gave an everlasting Revenue toward the maintaining of Baths: And the Donative was to Perpetuity, that they might never forget the Benefit. He gave Corn to all that wanted it; and furnished the Rhodians many and many a Time with Monies for the Setting out of a Navy, when they had Occasion for it. He repaired the Temple of Apollo (called Pythium,) out of the very Ashes, at his own Cost, and made it better than it was at first. What shall I say of his Liberality to the Lycians and the Samians? His Largeffes all over Ionia, to every one that asked him? Are not the Athenians,

Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, Nicopolitans, and those of Pergamus in Lycia, are they not all sensible Witnesses of Herod's Bounty? In what a Condition was Antioch the Capital of Syria, that stood in such a Bog for twenty Furlongs together, that there was hardly any coming near it, till Herod caused the Passage to be paved all along with white Marble, and set up Contrivances upon the Way for a Shelter against foul Weather!

But it will be said perhaps that these were all private Cases, and only concerned some few Particulars that were the better for them. What shall we say then to his Obligations upon the Elians; wherein not only Greece, but the whole Body of Mankind are engaged: At least so many of them as have heard the Fame of the Olympic Games? For when he found upon his coming to Rome, that these Games were all that now remained of antient Greece; and that the Solemnity itself was now falling for want of Money to maintain it, he did not only take the Charge upon himself, of being President over the Games, but settled an annual Allowance toward the Upholding of it for ever. It would be an endless Work to run through the Debts and Tributes that he remitted; and particularly those of Phasaelites and Balameotes; Beside several Towns in Cilicia; where he discharged their Pensions. He did great Things, in fine, and would have done greater; but the Apprehension he had of drawing Envy upon himself, as if he had some farther Design in his Head, kept him in awe: For why should he do more, they cried, for other Princes Subjects, than their own Master would do for them?

This Prince had a Strength of Body answerable to the Greatness of his Mind. He was a great Master of the Chace, and gained his Point in it; for no Man was better on Horseback than himself. He killed forty Beasts once in one Day. That Country breeds a great many Boars, but more Deer and Wild Asses. He was a Soldier and a Sword-man not to be resisted. He was terrible in his very Exercises; the surest Marks-man living, either with Dart, or Arrow: And, beside the Excellencies of his Body and Mind, he had Fortune a Friend too; for the Fate of the War went very seldom against him: Or, when it did, it was either by Treachery somewhere or other, or by the Rashness of his Soldiers; and not by his own Fault.

## C H A P. XVII.

*The Disorders of Herod's Family. He puts away his Wife Doris, and takes Mariamne, who had five Children by him. Antipater expelled. Hyrcanus put to death. Aristobulus dethroned by Herod's Order. Herod jealous of his Wife and Sister; and upon what Ground. Joseph and Mariamne put to Death. Herod marries his two Sons. Herod takes Antipater home to him. The Craft of Antipater. Herod charges Alexander to Cæsar. Alexander's Defence. Herod and his Son made Friends. Herod entertained by Archelaus. He calls an Assembly, and discourses the Case.*  
Antipater's

*Antipater's Character. Antipater's Mother manages the Plot, Salome picks up Informations. Herod's Advice to his Sons. Pheroras and Salome, their mortal Enemies. A Plot pretended upon Herod's Life. Herod's Cruelty and Injustice. Antipater the Occasion of all. Alexander taken up, and his Friends tortured. He feigns a Plot, and pretends to confess it. Archelaus debates the Case with Herod. Pheroras confesses and obtains his Pardon. Herod an Advocate for Alexander. Archelaus brings Alexander to his Father. Eurycles, the confidant of Herod; and the Death of Alexander. An Accusation against Alexander and Aristobulus. Several put to the Torture. A Forgery of Diophantus. Salome an incendiary, Herod in a Rage, and the Brothers in Chains. A Council meets at Berytus about it. The King opens the Cause. A Sentence of Death upon them. The Bravery of Tyro, and the Baseness of Tryphon. The Death of Alexander. The Son strangled at Sebaste.*

**T**HE Felicity of Herod's Reign was mightily disordered by Troubles in his Family; and the Creature that he loved above all earthly Things, was the Cause of it: For being now possessed of the Kingdom, he turned off Doris his first Wife that was a Jew, and took Mariamne, the Daughter of Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus; which caused miserable Divisions in his House, especially after his Return from Rome.

He did, in the first Place, banish out of the City Antipater, whom he had by Doris, for the Sake of Children he had by Mariamne, allowing him only the Liberty of the Town upon Festivals. And then he put to Death Hyrcanus, his Wife's Grandfather (who was now come back from the Parthians,) on Suspicion of a Plot upon his Life. For Barzepharnes having brought him away Prisoner to the King of Parthia, after the taking of Syria; the Jews on the other Side of the Euphrates, out of pure Compassion, set him at Liberty, and paid his Ransom: At which Time, if he had followed their Counsel, and not come to Herod, he might have lived safe and happy. But betwixt the Snare of a Match, and the passionate Desire he had to see his own Country again, he was inveigled to his Ruin. The Thing all this while that wrought upon Herod, was not that he had any Design upon the Government, but that he had a rightful Title to it.

Mariamne had five Children by Herod, two Daughters, and three Sons; and the youngest of the three died in the Course of his Studies and Exercises at Rome. The two elder were trained up in a royal Education, in Regard both of the Nobility of the Mother, and that they were born while he was in Possession of the Crown. But nothing moved Herod so powerfully in their Favour, as the wonderful Ascendant that Mariamne had upon the Spirit of her Husband; whose Fondness so far increased upon him, that it made him utterly insensible of all Indignities and Affronts: While Mariamne requited this  
infinite

infinite Tenderness of his with an equal Degree of Aversion. She did not want Matter of Pretence for a Disgust; and then presuming upon the extravagant Passion he had for her, she did not stick to charge him, point-blank, with the Murder of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and to load her Reproaches with Aggravations: The latter an innocent Youth, she said, but seventeen Years of Age when he was created High-Priest, and cut off so soon as he had received the Order. The first Time that he appeared in his holy Robes, upon a Festival Day, to officiate at the Altar, it was so moving a Spectacle, that the People wept with Joy at the Sight of him. But the very same Night was Aristobulus sent away to Jericho, and there drowned in a Lake by the Gauls, and by Herod's Order.

Mariamne did not yet content herself with these Outrages against Herod; but she fell fouler also upon his Sister and his Mother: Which he heard without one word speaking, for love had tied up his Tongue. This nettled the Women to that Degree, that they laid their Heads together how they might touch Herod more to the Quick; and so they let fall some Words of Reflection upon his Wife's Honour and Virtue: And among other Things plausible enough, they told him a Story of his Wife's sending her Picture to Anthony; and what Pains she took to make herself known to him, out of the heat of an ungovernable Appetite; For Anthony was the greatest Libertine in Nature, and a Man that would stick at nothing for the gaining of his Ends, though it should be the very Life of Herod himself. What betwixt the Rage of an implacable Jealousy, the Consideration of Cleopatra's Avarice and Cruelty, and the Power she had over Anthony, in the Instance of Lyfanius, and Malichus the King of Arabia, who were both put to death at her Instigation, Herod was as if he had been Thunder-struck; for he found himself in Danger of losing not only his Wife, but his own Life also.

In this Perplexity of thought, Herod resolved to go to Anthony, and so recommended the Care of his Wife, during his Absence, to Joseph, the Husband of his Sister Salome, whom he had ever found kind and faithful to him; but with this secret Instruction over and above, that if Anthony killed him, he should destroy Mariamne. Now Joseph innocently gave a hint of this to the Queen, with an Intent to possess her how wonderful a Kindness the King had for her, that he could not endure the thought of a Separation even in Death itself. Herod, upon his Return, in the Course of his Gaieties and Love Stories, fell to swearing and protesting, that in his whole Life he never had a Passion for any other Woman. No, says Mariamne, that I perceive by the Order you left with Joseph to see me dispatched. The Bolting of this Privacy made Herod stark mad; for it ran strongly in his Head, that Joseph would never have blabbed such a Secret, but in the Confidence of an Amour. In this Distraction he leaped off from his Bed, and took a Walk in the Court; and whom should he meet there but Salome? Who would not lose so fair an Opportunity of calumniating Mariamne; and she did it in such a Manner too, that it served to confirm Herod in his Suspicion: So that he presently gave Order, in a furious Fit of Jealousy, to have them both put to Death. So soon as the Word was out, he repented of it; but the Execution was done first: His Love and his Madness governing him by Turns. Nay, such  
was

was the Transport of his Extravagance, that he would not believe her to be dead, when he did as good as know she was so; but like a Madman he went on talking to her as if she had been yet alive. In a short Time the funeral Solemnities put that Point out of Dispute; and Herod's Grief for his dead Wife, was not inferior to the Love he had for his living one.

The passionate Violences of the Mother were now exercised upon the Sons; and such was the horrid Barbarity of the proceeding, that they looked no otherwise upon their Father than as a common Enemy. They had been of the same Opinion a long Time, even when they were at Rome together; but much more confirmed in it since their coming back into Judæa; for the Strength of their Minds grew up with that of their Bodies. They were now of Age to think of Marriage; and one of them married the Daughter of his Aunt Salome, who was a mortal Enemy of their Mother: The other took the Daughter of Archelaus, the King of Cappadocia. In the Liberty of this Condition they talked more at Freedom than formerly, and that Confidence betrayed them to the Malice of Informers; insomuch that their Enemies made no Difficulty of telling the King bare-faced, that his Sons were in a Conspiracy against him, and that the Son-in-Law of Archelaus had a Design to slip away to his Father-in-Law, and thence to Rome, with a Complaint against Herod himself to Cæsar. When these Fancies were buzzed into Herod's Head, he takes Antipater home to him, that he had by Doris, proposing to make use of him as a Countermine against the Brothers; and so begun with a remarkable Preference of Antipater before the rest.

The Brothers found this Change so intolerable for Men of their Blood to be subjected to the Son of an obscure private Woman, that their Stomachs were too big to bear the Indignity, without declaring their Resentment of it; which they did very frankly upon all Occasions: But they lost Ground daily by it, which turned to Antipater's Advantage; for he played his Game so artificially with his Father, that by the Help of Flatteries and Calumnies, (which Calumnies were managed, partly by himself, partly by his Instruments and Friends) he brought it to this Issue at last, that his Brothers were not only put out of all hope of the Succession, but himself publicly and formally intitled to it by his Father's Testament. He was sent after this to Cæsar, in a kind of a Royal State and Character; for he had the Robes and the Train of a King, only he wanted the Crown. He was so puffed up with the Vanity of this Pomp, that he got his Mother introduced into Mariamne's Bed-chamber, by the Help of Insinuations and Slanders; which was his Way of Practice against his Brothers, insomuch that he wrought his Father, by Degrees, into a Design upon their Lives.

Upon this Subject Herod took Alexander to Rome with him, and there charged him before Cæsar as a Confederate toward the poisoning of his Father. When Alexander was admitted to his Defence, and before a Judge that was not to be imposed upon by Antipater and Herod, he softened his Father's Mistakes all that was possible; spake home and substantially to the Points charged upon himself; acquitted his Brother Aristobulus, who was involved in the same Accusation; and from thence proceeded to lay open the Impostures, Frauds and Contrivances of Antipater; and all this with so good

a Grace, that the Innocency of his Conscience was yet farther illustrated by the Force of his Eloquence, being a sharp and a ready Speaker: Concluding in fine with this modest Resignation, that it is no Crime for a Father to punish his Children, if they be guilty. This Farewel drew Tears from the whole Audience; and had also such an Effect upon Cæsar, that all Disputes and Accusations apart, he made them all Friends; provided that for the future the Sons shall be obedient to their Father, and the Father at Liberty to leave the Kingdom to whom he pleased.

Herod, at his return from Rome, could not but acquit his Sons of the Crime charged upon them; yet the Suspicion stuck by him still; for Antipater plied him so hard upon that Topic, that he kept his Jealousies waking: Though he did not dare to say or do any thing publicly that might clash with the Sense, or the Authority of the Reconciler. Herod took his Passage by Cilicia, and so to Eleusa; where he was received by Archelaus with great Pomp and Respect, who gave him a thousand Thanks upon his Son-in-Law's Account, wishing him much Joy of the Accommodation. Archelaus in the mean Time had not been wanting himself, by Letters and other Instances to his Friends at Rome, to get Voices, and make an Interest for Alexander. He conducted Herod in fine as far as Zephyrium, where he made him a Present of thirty Talents, and so departed.

When Herod came to Jerusalem, he called an assembly, and in the Presence and Hearing of his three Sons, gave the People an Account of his Journey and Business, with Thanks innumerable to G.O.D and to Cæsar, for composing the Breaches in his Family, and settling his Sons in Unity and Peace: " A Blessing, says he, which I  
 " shall ever value incomparable above the Glories of a Crown, and which I shall en-  
 " deavour to preserve and improve accordingly. It is to Cæsar that I stand Indebted  
 " for my Dignity and Estate; and to Cæsar again, that I owe the Liberty and Privi-  
 " lege of appointing my own Successor. It is to him also that I am to pay my Ac-  
 " knowledgements, with this Declaration, that I design them all three, both for the  
 " Sovereignty and the Succession, if it may be agreeable to the Will of God and your  
 " good Liking. The eldest of them has the Title of Seniority; the other two may  
 " pretend to the Dignity by their Extraction, and the Command at last is large  
 " enough for all three.

" As for those that Cæsar hath united, and the Father set up, you must be sure to  
 " pay them all due Respect; that is to say, it must be impartial, equal, and just,  
 " with a Regard to a Precedency of Birth-right; for the advancing of one Man before  
 " his Time, will not be near so great an Obligation upon him that is preferred, as  
 " a Heart-breaking to the other that is postponed. But now, for fear of evil Counsel  
 " or Examble, (as there is no Danger like that of ill Instruments under a Man's  
 " own Roof) it shall be my care to place wise and sober People about them, such as  
 " I can depend upon, and such as shall be answerable for their Order and good Agreement.

" Now I do further expect also from these Ministers; as well as from the Officers of  
 " my Army, that for the present they shall own no other Master than myself; for it is  
 " not the Government, but the honorary Part of it, that I have transmitted to my Sons;  
 " so that they shall have the Pleasure of a Kind of Regency in the Administration,

“ but the Burden of it is to rest upon my Shoulders, and the last result of Matters in  
 “ the Judgment and Determination of Things, must be my Province, even whether I  
 “ will or no. If you consider my Age, the Course of my Life, or the Piety of my  
 “ Manners, I am not yet so far gone upon the first Point, but by the Course of Nature  
 “ I may be allowed many a fair Day to live yet: Neither have I done any thing to shor-  
 “ ten my Life by intemperate Pleasures; and then for my Duty to God, I have been so  
 “ true to his holy Worship, that I will not despair of the Blessing of a longer Time yet  
 “ in this World, even in Consideration of that Zeal and Devotion. But if any of you  
 “ shall take upon him to advance the Sons while I am yet living, in Contempt of the  
 “ Father, let him expect to be severely punished for it: Not but that I should be glad  
 “ to have my Children honourably treated in the World; but young Men are hot and  
 “ pragmatical, and it is but throwing a Temptation in their Way to make them more  
 “ meddling than becomes them. People should do well to consider, before they make  
 “ these Applications; for it is my Part, as Men do well or ill, to see them rewarded or  
 “ punished; and I will not be wanting to that Article of my Duty. The best Way will  
 “ be for the Sons and Father to be all of a Mind; for it is their Interest to have me go-  
 “ vern, and it is mine for them to agree among themselves.

“ And now, my dear Children, says Herod, consult, in the first Place, that natural  
 “ Affection which Providence hath made common even to Beasts with Men, and acquit  
 “ yourselves like dutiful Children to your Father. Bless Cæsar in the next Place for the  
 “ good Office of his Mediation: And pray take it kindly from me in the third Place,  
 “ that I only desire what I have a Right to command; that is to say, let me intreat  
 “ you to live amicably, as Brethren. I shall now take Care to provide you such a  
 “ Train and Equipage, as may be suitable to your Quality. Be sure you live peacea-  
 “ bly one with another; and I beseech God to keep me steady in the same Mind.”

When he had made an end of Speaking, he embraced his Children, and discharged  
 the Meeting. Some Malcontents went away muttering, and pretending that they  
 could not hear one Word he said: Others were descanting upon this and that; and  
 wishing upon the whole that they might find him as good as his Word.

The Brother's were still divided among themselves, and so jealous one of another,  
 that they were glad to part for fear of worse. Alexander and Aristobulus took it  
 heniously that Antipater should have the Preference: Antipater, on the other hand,  
 was as much troubled that the other Brothers should be allowed any Share at all in  
 the Government. Now Antipater being a False Man, close and Malicious, and one  
 that could keep his Thoughts to himself, had a Mortal Hatred for the Brothers, but  
 made no Shew of it: Whereas the other two, that were frank and open, made a  
 Point of Honour of it not to disguise or dissemble any Thing. Their Enemies, in the  
 mean time, had Instruments every where at work to make Advantage of Words and  
 Discourses; some, by provoking them to bold and dangerous Liberties; others, to gain  
 upon them by Insinuations, under the Mask of Confidence and Friendship, inso-  
 much, that not a Syllable passed at Alexander's, but it was presently carried to Antipater, and  
 from him to Herod, with Additions and Descant. There was nothing so innocent,  
 but



but by Interpretation it was made criminal; and wheresoever there was the least Ground for a Calumny, that Mole-hill was made a Mountain.

Antipater all this while was never without his Agents about Alexander, to pump Things out of him, and one possible Circumstance was enough to countenance a thousand palpable Impostures; and so one Truth in a whole Mass of Lies was sufficient to make the whole Story current. It was remarkable again, that Antipater's Tools, as well as himself, were all upon the Reverse: Whether this was a natural Closeness, or their Mouths were stopped with Money, it matters not: But so it was, that this Man's whole Life was but one Mystery of Iniquity. Antipater in short so ordered the Matter, that Alexander's Friends, Servants and Acquaintance were all corrupted, either by Flatteries or Rewards, into the betraying of him in whatsoever he said or did. But Antipater's Master-piece after all was this, instead of declaring himself an open Enemy, he had his Confidants at hand to accuse the Brothers; and still as any Thing came in against Alexander, he seemed to take his Part at first, and afterward with a Side-wind turned all against him, with such sly, glancing, Intimations, that they made Herod stark-mad, in a full Persuasion that the whole Story of Alexander's Plot upon his Life was true: Neither did any Thing give more Credit to the Calumny, than Antipater's artificial Way of mincing the Matter.

Herod was mortally incensed against the two Brother's by these Practices of Antipater: And just as much as they lost in the good Opinion of the King, Antipater got; and those that were for the Government fell in with him: Some of their own Accord; others for Fashion sake: as Ptolemy, the most considerable of his Friends; the King's Brothers, and effectually the whole Family; for Antipater was all in all; and nothing went so near Alexander's Heart, as to consider that this Wickedness was altogether managed by the Counsel and Conduct of Antipater's Mother; who was worse than a Step-Mother, in the hatred she bare to the Queen's Children. Now though great Court was made to Antipater, with an Eye to the Credit he had with Herod; the Order of the King himself went yet a great deal farther, in forbidding all People effectually, upon their Peril, to entertain any Intercourse with Alexander, or his Brother; or to make any Sort of Application to either of them. This Interdiction struck a Dread not only into the King's Household, but to their Friends abroad; for Herod had Privileges conferred upon him by Augustus, that he never granted to any other; as the Liberty of fetching Deserters out of other Princes Jurisdictions, where he himself had nothing to do. The Brothers knew nothing at this Time of their Fault; for Herod had not as yet exhibited any public Charge against them, which made the Danger so much the greater, for want of Precaution how to defend themselves. They collected the State of their own Case however, from the cooling of the King's Kindness towards them, and their Troubles consequently increased.

Antipater did his Business the same Way too, with his Brother Pheroras and Salome his Aunt, and talked as freely to them against his Brothers, as he could have done to his own Wife. The Feud went very high already, but it was mightily enflamed by Glaphyra the Wife of Alexander; who upon all Occasions would be vaunting of the Nobility of her Extraction, and setting up herself above all others. She was derived from

Themenus, she said, on the Father's Side, and from Darius the Son of Hyftafpes, on the Mother's: Reflecting at the same Time upon Herod's Wife and Sister, as Upstarts; and treating them, in fine, with all imaginable Contempt. Herod did not marry for Quality, she said, but for Beauty. We have taken Notice already that Herod had several Wives, and that he was well enough pleased with Polygamy, being allowed by the Jewish Law; and they were all exasperated against Alexander for the Pride and Stomach of Glaphyra.

Aristobulus made Salome his Enemy too, though his Mother-in-Law; and she was so, in Truth, before: Being piqued sufficiently at the outrageous Haughtiness of Glaphyra, who would be still casting her in the Teeth with the Meanness of her Birth, and telling him, that his Wife was only a private Woman, but his Brother Alexander had married a Queen. The Daughter of Salome carried the Story presently to her Mother, with Tears in her Eyes: And then another at the End of it, how Alexander and Aristobulus had threatened all Herod's Wives, if ever they came to the Crown, and would make the Mothers and the Daughters spin for their Living; and for the Boys, they might serve well enough, they cried, for Parish-Clerks; which was only a Jest put upon them for their Love of Letters. This Discourse put Salome in such a Fret, that away she went with it immediately to the King; and for the Credit of the Accusation, it was the Evidence of a Mother against a Son-in-Law. And there was yet another Report besides, that stung Herod more than all the rest. It was given out, that Alexander and Aristobulus would be often bemoaning the miserable Condition of their Mother, with Sighs and Groans; and cursing the Father. It was suggested further, that upon Herod's dividing Mariamne's Wearing-Cloths among the rest of his Wives, the Brothers would be foreboding still, how soon that Gaudry would be turned into Mourning.

Herod, upon these Insinuations, knowing his Sons to be bold and vigorous young Men, was not without some Apprehension of Violence from them; but unwilling however to force Things beyond Recovery. So that being upon the very Point of going away to Rome, he ordered his Sons to be called; and betwixt the Severity of a King, and the Tenderness of a Father, he gave them good Counsel, and Advice to agree among themselves, and to love one another; with the Promise of an absolute Pardon for what they had done amiss, upon Condition of their Repentance and Amendment. The Answer they returned was a flat Denial of the Charge; which they undertook to prove, not only false, but impossible, if they might be allowed the Hearing: Giving their Father to understand, that so long as his Ears was open to Tale-bearers, there would be no End of Calumnies.

When the Brothers had pacified Herod, and set their own Hearts at rest from any further Apprehension of Danger, they fell into new Anxieties for the future. Pheroras and Salome, they knew very well, were their deadly Enemies, and two Persons harsh enough, and very considerable: Pheroras especially; for he did as good as share with Herod in all the Regalities of the Government, saving only the Crown itself. He had a hundred Talents of his own proper Revenue; besides the Profit of all the Lands beyond Jordan, which he enjoyed by the Bounty of Herod: At whose Request, Cæsar was

was prevailed with to make him a Tetrarch. Herod honoured him also with a Royal Match; bestowing upon him his Wife's Sister in Marriage, and after her Death, he offered him his eldest Daughter with three hundred Talents for her Portion. But Pheroras was so captivated with a Passion for an ordinary Person, that he declined the Proposal. Herod took this in such Indignation, that he gave her to the Son of his Brother; who was afterwards slain by the Parthians. He was mightily incensed for the present; but upon second Thoughts he imputed the Refusal to the Violence of his Passion, and so pardoned his Folly.

There had been a Rumour, it seems, of a long Standing; that Pheroras had a Design, even in the Life of Mariamne, to poison his Brother. This was a Time so favourable to Spies and Informers, that Herod, though one of the kindest of Brothers, was yet startled at the Report; though he could not altogether believe it. There were a great many seized upon Suspicion, and several put to the Question; passing from one to another, 'till they came at last to the Friends of Pheroras. They confessed nothing of the Poison; but Pheroras, they said, had some Thoughts of slipping away with his Mistress into Parthia; and that Costobarus, Salome's second Husband, was privy to the Purpose and Design. It was this Costobarus, to whom Herod delivered her up, after her former Husband was put to Death for her Adultery. And Salome did not come off without an Accusation neither; for her Brother Pheroras laid it to her Charge, that she had been treating a Match with Syllæus, Governor of Arabia under King Obodas, and the bitterest Enemy that Herod had in the World. Salome was found guilty of every Article that her Brother Pheroras charged upon her; but Herod, however, pardoned them both.

The Storm of the Faction fell now wholly upon the Head of Alexander. As for Instance: There were three Eunuchs in the House, that were all in the good Graces of the King, and well known by the Offices they had in the Family, that is to say, a Cup-bearer, a Sewer, and a Valet de Chambre: One of them to fill his Master's Wine, the second to provide his Supper, and the third to put him to Bed, and supply the Office of a Bed-fellow. Now these were all Alexander's Creatures, as far as Flatteries and Rewards could make them. Herod took up a Jealousy, and putting them to the Torture, out came the whole Business; the Practice, the Promise, and the Instrument; together with Alexander's Way of Imposing upon them. "There was no Hope of  
" Herod, he said, a wicked old Man, that had his Hair dyed like a Fop to make him  
" look young: The Respect you pay to him, says he, belongs to me, that am to be  
" his Successor to the Kingdom, and he cannot hinder it. I shall have it in my Power  
" then, says he, to revenge myself of my Enemies, and to reward my Friends; your-  
" selves in the first Place." The Informers added this further, that the great Ministers and Officers were all for Alexander in their Hearts, and managed their Matters together in their private Meetings and Cabals.

This was such a Thunderbolt to Herod, that he durst not be too quick in publishing the very Discovery; but his Tale-bearers and Agents were at Work Night and Day, to spy up and down in all Families and Places what was said and done; and it was certain Death to be but so much as suspected. There was nothing to be heard of in this Part  
of

of Herod's History, but Cruelty and Injustice. Every Disgust made Way for a Calumny, and that Calumny was made a mortal Crime; for Herod did but execute the Malice that other People put in his Head: No Witness so infamous, no Imposture so gross and ridiculous, but it found Credit, and the Punishment was so quick, that it scarce waited for the Offence, but the Accused and the Accuser went off together; for Herod reckoned all Formalities of Law to be but Fooleries, where the Life of a Prince was in Danger.

Nay, he was now distempered to such a Degree of Outrage, that it was not enough for a Man to be innocent, or to escape an Accusation; but his very Friends fared the worst of all others: Some he banished the Kingdom; and where he could not exercise his Power, he wreaked his Spite upon them in foul Words. But Antipater was the Source of all this Mischief, and betwixt himself, his Friends, and his Rabble, there was nothing omitted to inflame the Accusation. Nay, he had so frightened the King with a Company of idle foolish Stories, that he fancied Alexander still before him with a Sword drawn to destroy him. In this Dread he caused him immediately to be taken up, and bound; and so proceeded to the tormenting of his Friends. Many of them died mute, and sacrificed their Lives to a good Conscience. Others that had not the Heart to stand the Torment, patched up a Lie, and brought the two Brothers into a Plot upon the Life of the King: That Plot to be put in Execution one Day as they were a hunting, and they themselves, in the mean Time, to slip away for Rome. This was a very unlikely Story; but the Invention passed, upon this Pinch, for want of a better; for Herod did not only believe it, but made Use of it in his own Justification for committing his Son to Prison.

Herod being now under the Judgment of so incurable and implacable a Jealousy, Alexander troubled his Head no longer with the unprofitable Way of Argument and Excuse, in his own Defence; but bethinking himself of another Expedient, he resolved for the future to say as they said, and by confessing himself guilty to involve his Enemies in the same Condemnation. So that he drew up four Papers, owning himself a Confederate against the Life of his Father; with the Names of divers of the Conspirators; but Pheroras and Salome in the first Place, charging Salome with the Impudence of forcing herself into his Bed one Night, whether he would or no. The Papers being in Herod's Hands, and a World of bloody Reflections in them upon several of the Nobility, it so fell out by Providence, that Archelaus, in this very Nick of Time came into Judæa, in a thousand Frights for his Son-in-Law and Daughter, and with a Design to serve them all he could. And he did it effectually; for it was his Conduct and Address, that in some Degree brought Herod to his Wits again.

Upon their coming together, Archelaus brake out into an Outrage of passionate Exclamations, "Why, where's this execrable Son of mine? says he: Why does he not shew his paricidal treacherous Head, that I may tear him to Pieces with my own Fingers, and provide a new Husband and a better Man for my poor Daughter? But alas! She is tainted with the very Memory of the Relation she had to this Wretch, and consequently fit for no body, though as innocent as she was born of his Practices and Counsels; but the greatest Miracle of all, as it appears to me here, is your Pa-  
" tience,

“ tience, in sparing the Life of a Conspirator, to the Hazard of your own. Little did  
 “ I think, when I made such Haſte out of Cappadocia, to have found Alexander yet  
 “ alive; ſo that my Buſineſs was rather to have had ſome Diſcourſe with you about my  
 “ Daughter, whom I parted with to this wicked Man, only out of a Reſpect to you;  
 “ but, as the Caſe ſtands at preſent, ſomewhat may be ſaid upon both Accounts. Now  
 “ you are too much a Father, and perhaps too much a Man too, to puniſh a rebellious,  
 “ treacherous Son, as he deſerves; wherefore let us only change Hands, and leave it  
 “ to me to do right upon your Son, as I ſhall recommend to your Generoſity the Care  
 “ of my Daughter.”

This Diſcourſe of Archelaus, as it put Herod in a better Humour toward Alexander, ſo it ſet him yet more and more againſt Pheroras; for this was the chief Argument of the four Papers which Herod gave him to read; and ſo from End to End they ran quite through them from one Article to another. Archelaus was now Maſter of an Opportunity to his own Wiſh, and inſinuated himſelf by little and little into the Merits of the Cauſe, laying the Blame upon the Ring-leaders, as they were marked out in the Papers; and chiefly upon Pheroras. Archelaus finding by this Time, that he had ſome Sort of Credit with the King, made Advantage of the Occaſion, and ſo took another Bias.

“ In my Opinion, ſays he, your Son is in more Danger of being undone by a Faction,  
 “ than you are in of being deſtroyed by a Son. Why, Alexander muſt be a ſtark Mad-  
 “ man to enter into any ſuch Practice of his own Head; he does, in a Manner, divide  
 “ the Government already with his Father, and a fair Pretence he has likewiſe to the  
 “ Succeſſion: And what would he more, if it were not for the Importunity of ſome  
 “ violent Spirits at hand to debauch and ſeducer him? Youth, alas! is raſh and ſlippery,  
 “ and eaſily impoſed upon by ill Company and corrupt Counſels, for want of Con-  
 “ ſideration and Experience. Now, there are a Sort of Inſtruments that neither young  
 “ nor old are able to reſiſt; ſuch a Cabal of Makebates and Incendiaries, that wherever  
 “ they appear, Men, Families, and whole Kingdoms fall before them.”

Herod began now to be of Archelaus's Opinion, and to think more favourably of Alexander, and worſe of Pheroras than he had done; this being the Argument of the four Papers. When Pheroras came to find Herod in a more tractable Temper than uſual, and that Archelaus was the Man that he moſt depended upon, he ſet a bold Face upon it, and with a ſhameleſs Impudence to ſupply all other Defects, he quitted Alexander, and betook himſelf to Archelaus, who told him plainly how impoſſible a Thing it was for him ever to come off from an Accuſation ſo manifeſtly proved againſt him; for the Sun was not clearer than the Evidence of his being in a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of his Brother; beſide, that the Ruin of Alexander was alſo of his Contrivance. “ Now, ſays Archelaus, why cannot you give over this Way of ſhuffling and out-facing  
 “ Things, and rather make a frank Confeſſion of what your very Soul knows you to  
 “ be guilty of? Your Brother has a natural Tenderneſs for you, and I am perſuaded he  
 “ might be prevailed upon for your Pardon. If you like the Propoſal, make the Ex-  
 “ periment, and you may be ſure of my Help to do you the beſt Offices I can.”

Pheroras bethought himſelf, and took the Hint, and with a rueful mourning Dress,  
 and

and Countenance dismal and sad, on Purpose to move Compassion, he went and cast himself at Herod's Feet, made his Confession, and begged Forgiveness, acknowledging his Faults; but, at the same Time, casting them all upon the transport of a foolish Passion he had for a Woman, that made him idle-headed, so that he knew not what he said or did. So soon as Pheroras had given this Evidence against himself, Archelaus's next Work was to qualify Matters with Herod, and to bring him into a more conversable Humour. "Well says Archelaus, this is a very ill Thing from so near a Relation, and yet I myself have suffered a great deal more from a Brother than this comes to; but in that Case I thought it Prudent to sacrifice my Revenge to a natural Affection and Duty. It is in Kingdoms as it is in Bodies; when an ill Humour falls down into any one Part, it is more adviseable to try Remedies than to cut it off."

Archelaus had now sweetened Herod towards Pheroras, and treated Alexander, in Semblance at least, with Reproaches and Menaces, and, in Conclusion, "he would even take away his Daughter, he said, without any more ado." This seeming Fierceness of Archelaus wrought so sensibly upon the Spirit of Herod, that he became an Advocate for his Son upon it, and made it his Suit to Archelaus not to make void the Marriage. His Answer was, "that out of the Reverence he had for the Rights of Alliance, he was content to leave his Daughter absolutely at Herod's Disposal, provided only that he should not give her to Alexander. But this was all Counterfeit and Disguise. Herod was for the continuing of the young Couple together. "They had Children, he said, and so great a Kindness one for the other, that it would be Death to part them. If she stays, says Herod, we will have an Act of Oblivion; if she goes away, the Case is desperate; for there is nothing puts Relations in better Order than the Comfort of a Family Conversation." This Deliberation was scarce over, but Archelaus went out, and came back again in a Trice, and brought in Alexander along with him, whom he presently reconciled to his Father. Archelaus was much of Opinion for Herod's going to Rome, with an Account to Cæsar of all the late Transactions; for, says he, I have written at large already upon this Subject.

This was a crafty and a healing Counsel of Archelaus's, to deliver his Son from Danger, and at the same Time to celebrate the Festival of the Reconciliation, with all Instances of Humanity and Respect. Archelaus was now upon his Departure, and Herod made him a Present of seventy Talents, a Throne set with precious Stones, with a Train of Eunuchs, and a Concubine called Pannychis. All the King's great Ministers, Friends and Relations were likewise treated by Herod's express Order with rich Presents, every Man in his Proportion, Herod himself and his Nobility conducting Archelaus on his Way as far as Antioch.

There came a Person into Judæa not long after this, a Man of Policy, that outdid Archelaus himself; one that did not only overthrow the Project of Alexander's Reconciliation to his Father, but so ordered the Matter, that he brought Alexander himself to his End; his Name was Eurycles, a Native of Lacedæmon, corrupted by the Love of Money into an Affectation of Power, and so lavish in his Expences, that the Revenue of a Prince would not answer his Profusions. He made Herod several Presents of great Value, that looked like Baits to draw on more; for Herod sent him greater presently in  
Return.

Return. He set little Value upon any Bounty that was not the Price of royal Blood; so that he made his Way to Herod's good Graces, one while by crafty insnaring Discourses, and another while by the grossest of hyperbolical Flatteries, till, in the End, he got so perfect a Measure of the King's weak Side and Humour, that whatever he said or did, was all to Herod's Liking. By this parasitical Way of Complaisance, he made himself a very considerable Interest at Court; beside, that being a Spartan, they had an honour for his Country, as well as for his Person.

When Eurycles came to discover the Weaknesses of the Family, with the Factions and Divisions of the Children, and to see how Herod stood affected to them in particular, he took up his Lodging with Antipater, and pretending a wonderful Kindness to Alexander, told him a long Tale of his Friend Archelaus, and what a Greatness had ever been betwixt them, which was as good as a Letter of Recommendation to Alexander, who not only swallowed it himself, but possessed his Brother Aristobulus also with the Belief of the same Story. When Eurycles had sounded all the People he had to do withall, he put on several Shapes and Forms, and went several Ways to Work, as the Case required, his Business being upon the main to get Antipater's Money and to betray Alexander. "Tis an admirable thing to me, says Eurycles to Antipater, how you, that are the eldest Son, and next Heir to the Crown, can suffer yourself to be imposed upon by Pretenders to your Right! And then to Alexander, How can you, says he, that are both the Son and the Husband of a great Princess, endure to see the Son of a private Woman interpose betwixt you and the Crown, especially having such a Friend to second you as Archelaus?" All this went down now with the young Man for good Faith, upon the Credit of professing a Friendship for Archelaus. Alexander was so far from distrusting any Thing, that he took Eurycles into a closer Confidence, and opened his very Heart to him in the Matter of Antipater. "It is no wonder, says he, for Herod, that took away the Life of the Mother, to take away the Kingdom from the Son." Eurycles, at the Hearing of this, blessing himself at the Barbarity of the Practice, and with a Countenance of Pity and Condoling, he engaged Aristobulus likewise in the Discourse, and consequently hampered him in the Same Snare. When Eurycles had furnished out Matter enough against them both, away goes he to Antipater with the Story, and some additional Circumstances to it of his own making, as if the Conspiracy were just upon the Point of Execution, and the King's Life every Moment more and more in Danger. Antipater made Eurycles a Present of a vast Sum of Money for this Service, and his good Word to his Father over and above. And so to the very Death of Alexander and Aristobulus, Eurycles offered himself for an Evidence against the Brothers.

Eurycles went now to Herod with this Speech in his Mouth;

"I am here come in Gratitude, says he, to acknowledge all your Favours, and to give you your very Life in Requital. It is now a long Time that your Death has been resolved upon: insomuch that Alexander had a drawn Sword in his Hand once with a full Determination to have done the Deed. And let me tell you, Sir, this horrid Wickedness had been completed, If I had not put a Respite to the Dispatch by seeming to approve of the Thing, and offering myself to join in the Exploit. What!

NUMB. 5.

K

" says

“ says Alexander, cannot Herod content himself with the Usurpation of a Kingdom,  
 “ the Death of my Mother, and the tearing of the Government to Pieces, without  
 “ declaring that pitiful Wretch Antipater his Successor, to the Scandal of all crowned  
 “ Heads? But it belongs to me to do justice to the Ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne:  
 “ Neither would it be congruous that the Government should descend from such a  
 “ Father to such a Son without Blood. There is not a Day passes over my Head with-  
 “ out fresh Arguments and Provocations, to confirm me in my Purpose. There is not  
 “ a Word passes my Lips, but it is made a Snare to me, Drop but one Syllable  
 “ upon the Subject of honourable Families and Extraction, and Herod casts it in my  
 “ Teeth as an Affront that struck at him. No, no, says he, Alexander is the only Man  
 “ of Honour I warrant you, and his Father no better than a Scoundrel. When I am a  
 “ hunting with him, if I say nothing, Why do not you talk, he cries; or if I talk,  
 “ Why do I not hold my Tongue? Nay, I cannot so much as commend him, but  
 “ he calls it picking of a Thank. I can do nothing, in fine, to his liking; and it is  
 “ only Antipater that has the good Fortune to please him. So that (says Alexander) if  
 “ this Plot should miscary, I had rather be in my Grave than outlive the Disaster: If it  
 “ succeeds, I can easily get off to my Father-in-Law, and thence to Cæsar, who knows  
 “ but little, alas! of this History, or of the Temper of Herod. I shall not now stand  
 “ trembling when I come to Rome, as formerly, under the Awe of a severe Father;  
 “ who was then present: Nor shall I much insist upon private Injuries done to myself,  
 “ but rather turn my Discourse to public Grievances; as horrible Corruptions and Op-  
 “ pressions, and the squandering away of unmerciful Impositions in Luxury and Pleasure.  
 “ I shall shew which way they went, into what Hands; the miserable Slavery of the  
 “ Cities, and the true Reasons of it: And to conclude, I shall deliver such a History  
 “ of the Death of my Grandfather Hyrcanus and my Mother Mariamne, and make such  
 “ a Discovery of the Wickedness of that Prince, that no Man living, after these neces-  
 “ sary Truths, shall ever take me for a Murderer of my Father.”

When Eurycles had finished this Invective against Alexander, he turned the Remainder  
 of his Discourse into a Panegyric to the Honour of Antipater: The only Son, he said,  
 that truly loved his Father, and put a reasonable Stop to the Progress of the Design. The  
 King being still labouring under his former Jealousies, broke out upon this Hint into the  
 Impatience of a most intolerable Rage; and it was now Antipater's Time and Master-piece  
 to inflame his Extravagance, by trumping up new Matters and Witnesses against the Bro-  
 thers. The Evidence was this, That Alexander and Aristobulus held a private Corres-  
 pondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two Horse-Officers, that for some Misdemeanour  
 were discharged of their Command. This Information put Herod into such a Fury, that  
 he ordered them immediately to the Torture. But they knew nothing, they said, of the  
 Matter in Question; only there was a certain Letter, it seems, sent from Alexander, as to  
 the Governor of Alexandria, desiring him to receive himself and Aristobulus into the  
 Castle, in Case of their Father's Death; and to furnish them both with Arms and other  
 Necessaries, if such a Thing should happen. Alexander charged this Letter as a Forgery  
 of Diophantus; a bold Man, and wonderfully dexterous at counterfeiting Hands; and be-  
 side all this, he was the King's Secretary. And it is to be noted, that he was at last put



to Death for Forgery. The Governor of the Castle was also tortured; and there was nothing gotten out of him neither. The Sons were effectually quitted: But for Eurycles, that Pest of Mankind, and the Projector of this whole Business, how was he celebrated by Herod for his Friend and Preserver, and complimented at last with a Present of Fifty Talents for his Pains! This abandoned Wretch, before Archelaus could have a Certainty of the Imprisonment of the two Brothers, made a Journey to him by Stealth, and had the Face to tell Archelaus, that all was well betwixt Herod and Alexander, and that he himself had made them Friends. From thence he went into Achaia with his Treasure; where he spent it as lewdly as he got it. In the End, he was arraigned by Cæsar, for seditious Practices, Broils, and Oppressions. He was in the Conclusion, banished; and this was the Punishment he suffered for his lewd Practices against Alexander and Aristobulus.

It may do well enough in this Place to oppose Evaratus of Coos, in the contrary Extreme to Eurycles the Spartan. He was much a Friend of Alexander's, and in Herod's Court at the same Time when the Spartan was there. The King put him to it very strictly what Credit he gave to that Report of the Conspiracy, and to the Accusations that were given out upon it. Evaratus declared upon his Oath, that he never knew the young Men guilty of any Thing like it. But the miserable Prisoners were never the better for it; for Herod's Ears were only open to Calumnies; and People were more or less in his Favour, according to the Degree of being more or less infamous; and there was no other Way to please him but by saying, doing, and believing as he did.

Salome in the mean Time was a terrible Incendiary to Herod against his Sons, for the securing of herself. Aristobulus gave her a Caution, both as a Mother-in-Law, and as an Aunt, to have a Care of herself; intimating that she was in as much Danger from Herod now, as any Body else, lying under a second Charge for the same Crime she was accused of before, that is to say, that she had contracted a League with Syllæus the Arabian, with a Design to marry him, though she knew him to be the King's Enemy; and that she gave him a secret Account, from Time to Time, of the King's Councils. Aristobulus gave her this Warning on Purpose to involve her in the same common Fate with his Brother and himself: But it fell out unhappily; for this was the Rock, they split upon, and the very Tempest that sunk them both. For Salome in that Moment went to the King, and told him what Aristobulus had done; which transported him to that Degree of an impetuous Rage, that he caused the Brothers to be immediately taken apart, and laid in Chains.

Herod in this Heat sent Volumnius, a Colonel of Horse, and Olympus, one of his particular Friends, to Cæsar, with Copies of the Proceedings. Upon their Arrival at Rome they delivered their Letters, and Cæsar was in great Trouble for the young Men upon the reading of them; but he was tender however of exerting his civil Power to the Prejudice of the natural Power of a Father over his Children: So that he returned Herod an Answer to this Effect; "That he was Master of himself, and of those that belonged to him." But Cæsar thought it yet adviseable to call an Assembly of his Friends and Relations, and the Governors of the Province, to inquire into the Conspiracy: And so proceed to do Justice upon those that should be found guilty of prepen-  
lice:

lice: But if there were no more than a Thought of withdrawing or flying in the Case, a slender Punishment, he thought, might serve the Turn.

The Emperor had marked out Berytus for the Place of Meeting; and Herod, in Conformity to Cæsar's Direction, called a Council there. The Presidents were of Cæsar's Appointment in writing; Saturninus and Pedanius, Ambassadors, with Volumnius the Governor of the Province, the Friend's and Relations of Herod, not omitting Salome and Pheroras: And after these, the principal Men of Syria, King Archelaus only excepted; for Herod had a Jealousy of him, being the Father-in-Law of Alexander. The Council was against bringing the Sons into Court, and prudentially enough too; for the very Sight of them would have endangered the moving of a troublesome Compassion; and then if they had been heard to speak for themselves, Alexander would with great Ease have baffled all their Objections: so that they were rather kept under Custody at a Distance in Platane, a Village of Sidonia.

When the King stood up to speak, he behaved himself passionately, and vented his Displeasure against his Sons, as if they had been present. When he was upon the Subject of the Conspiracy, his Voice was low and faint, and he did not care for bearing too hard upon that Topic, because his Proofs were weak; but when he came to muster up malicious Expressions, Indignities, Injuries, and Disobediences committed against himself, his Voice was heard all over the Court, giving the Assembly to understand, that those Reproaches were worse to him than Death: And finally, when he saw that all passed without Contradiction, he only lamented the Misery of his Condition in the gaining of so ruinous a Victory; and upon this, ordered the Court to proceed to a Sentence.

Saturninus gave his Opinion first, that they deserved to be punished; but not with Death: For it would not look well, having three Sons present in the Assembly, to pass a Sentence upon those that were absent. The two Legates were of the same Mind; and so were others that came after. The first Man that gave Sentence of Death was Volumnius, and others followed him, as they were influenced by the Passions and Interest of Herod; but not a Man of them, out of any ill Will to the Prisoners. Judæa and Syria was all in Dread and Suspence, what would be the Issue of this Affair; though at the same Time no Body thought that Herod could ever have the Heart to murder his own Children. But he had yet so little Tenderness of Nature, as to send his Sons to Tyre in Chains, and thence by Sea to Cæsarea, deliberating in the mean Time what Death to put them to.

In the mean Time, up comes one Tyro, an old Soldier of the King's, and a great Lover of the young Princes: He had a Son too that was much in Favour with Alexander. This Tyro, in a Horror of Indignation for what Herod was a doing, went about raving and crying out like a Madman, (as in Truth he was no better.) "Justice, says he, is trampled upon; Truth is lost; and there is nothing but Villainy and Iniquity left in this World. There is no such Thing as Humanity and natural Affection upon the Face of the Earth." At this Rate he went on, raging and exclaiming like a Man weary of his Life. Nay, he had the Courage at last to advance to the King himself. "Of all Men living, says he to Herod, you yourself are certainly the  
" most

“ most miserable : A Man given over to the Judgment of believing the falsest and the  
 “ worst of People, to the Prejudice of the best Friends you have. As for Instance :  
 “ There is Salome and Pheroras, two Persons that you yourself know deserve to suffer  
 “ Death, and you have declared as much ; and yet these are the People, upon whose  
 “ Testimony you are about to take away the Lives of your Sons. You never consider  
 “ what an Ease it will be to Antipater, when the right Heirs are removed, and you  
 “ two alone ; for their Business is to have a King they may govern as they please. But  
 “ let him have a Care then of the Soldiers too ; for if they come to take Fire at this  
 “ Butchery, who knows how far it may go ? For there is not a Soul but pities the  
 “ Brothers ; and Men of Quality grumble publicly at it, to see how Things are ma-  
 “ naged.” Tyro, upon this Occasion, named several of the Malecontents, which in  
 the same Minute were taken up by Herod’s Order, together with Tyro and his Son.

There was one Tryphon by, at that Time, a kind of Madman, and the King’s  
 Barber. This Tryphon leaped out, to shew himself to the Company, and so set up for  
 a Witness. “ That same Tyro, says he to Herod, offered me a considerable Reward,  
 “ in the Name of Alexander, if I would but undertake to cut your Throat in the  
 “ Shaving.” Upon this Information, Tyro and his Son, and the Barber, were pre-  
 sently ordered to be put to the Question. Tyro and his Son denied all, and the Barber  
 was wholly silent : Whereupon Herod commanded Tyro’s Torments to be increased,  
 when his Son out of pure Tenderness and Pity to his Father, promised the King a Dis-  
 covery of the whole Transaction, if he might have his Pardon. Upon this, he was  
 taken off the Torture, and then declared that his Father was put upon it by Alexander  
 to kill the King. This was taken by some only for a Shift in the Boy, to get himself  
 eased ; but there were others again that gave more Credit to it.

Herod, after this, made a bitter Speech against some great Officers of the Army, to-  
 gether with Tyro ; which so exasperated the common People, that they fell upon these  
 Officers, Tyro, and the Barber, with Stones and Cudgels, and put them all to Death.  
 As for the Sons that were now at Sebaste, not far from Cæsaria, Herod caused them to  
 be strangled, and the dead Bodies to be carried afterwards to Alexandrion, and laid by  
 Alexander there, the Mother’s Uncle. This was the End of Aristobulus and Alexander.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*Antipater in a Plot against his Father. The Children of Alexander and  
 Aristobulus. Herod’s plausible Pretence of Piety and good Nature. He  
 calls a Council, and propounds convenient Alliances. Antipater prevails  
 with Herod to undo what he had done. The Case of Salome and Syl-  
 læus The Insolence of Antipater. A Court Cabal of Women. Salome  
 informs the King of it. Foul Practices charged upon her. Antipater for-  
 bidden the Conversation of Pheroras, or his Wife. Herod sends Antipater*

*to Rome, and his last Will along with him, declaring Antipater his next Successor, and his Son Herod by Mariamne, next after him. Syllæus takes another Journey to Rome, to try his old Cause with Antipater over again. Corruption and Subornation proved against Syllæus, with a Design upon the Life of Herod.*

**A**NTIPATER by this Time reckoned himself sure of the Kingdom; but never was any Man so universally odious to the People; for they well enough understood the whole Train of this Wickedness to be of his Contrivance. But he was as uneasy on the one Hand, as he thought himself unsafe on the other, for fear the Children of the slaughtered Brothers should rise up to revenge the Death of their Fathers. Alexander had by Glaphyra two Sons, Tigranes and Alexander: Aristobulus had likewise by Berenice, the Daughter of Salome, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and two Daughters, Herodias and Mariamne. Glaphyra was now sent away with her Portion into Cappadocia, after the Death of Alexander; and Berenice, the Widow of Aristobulus, was married to the Uncle of Antipater; who bethought himself of this Match to make Friends again with Salome, and put an End to all Quarrels. Antipater plied Pheroras with Compliments and Presents; making Court at the same Time to Cæsar's Friends, and sending vast Sums of Money to Rome to engage them. Neither was he less bountiful to Saturninus and the rest of his Friends in Syria. But all this would not yet do his Work, for the more he gave, the less they valued him; and so far was this Expence from any Appearance of a generous Bounty, that it was looked upon to be only a Squandering out of Fear. So it was, in fine, that he was never the better for what he gave; and where he gave nothing, he made People so much the more his Enemies. He was the larger in his Liberalities, because he saw, contrary to all People's Expectation, that Herod took such Care of the poor Orphans; which gave to understand, by the Commiseration he had for the Children, the penitent Sense and Regret he had for the Death of the Fathers.

Herod, having now called his Friends and Kindred together, sent for the young Princes, and so addressed himself to the Company, with Tears in his Eyes, upon this Occasion.

“ You have here before you, says Herod, the Children of an unfortunate Family.  
 “ Their Fathers have been taken from me by a sad Fate; and I find myself bound in  
 “ Humanity and good Nature to do the best I can for the Orphans, in discharging the  
 “ Part of a Grandfather, more to my Satisfaction, than I did that of a Father. In  
 “ Pursuance of this Purpose, I shall make it my Care, in the first Place, to leave these  
 “ Children in good Hands, and under the Charge of the best Friends I shall leave be-  
 “ hind me when I am gone. To begin with you, Pheroras, says he, I would have  
 “ you marry your Daughter to Alexander's eldest Son, and to supply the Place to him  
 “ of a Father, and a necessary Guardian. As for your Part, Antipater, says he, I  
 “ would have your Son to take one of the Daughters of Aristobulus: Under which  
 “ Relation you will be as good as a Parent to the Orphan. And so for my Son Herod,  
 “ the Grandchild of Simon the High Priest by the Mother's Side, let him marry the  
 “ other

“ other Sister. This is my Will and Desire; and no Creature that has any Regard or Kindness for me will dispute it. Thus I would have it; and I beseech God to prosper these Alliances to the Comfort of my Kingdom and my Family, and grant in Mercy that the Children may be looked upon with a more favourable Eye than their Fathers.”

With this Benediction Herod concluded; and joining the Hands of the Princes, and weeping over them, he took a particular Leave of the whole Assembly one by one, and so dismissed the Council.

Antipater, upon the hearing of this stood like a Statue, insomuch that every Body took Notice of the Surprise; for he looked upon all the Respects his Father paid the Children, to be no other than a Derogation from himself. This was a Way, he thought, to put all Things into Confusion again; at least, if Pheroras the Tetrarch should join Interest with Archelaus, in Favour of Alexander's Sons. It ran in his Head again, the universal Hatred he had drawn upon himself; the Compassion of the People for those fatherless Children; and, in fine, the Concern the whole Nation had in the Matter, betwixt a Tenderness for the living Children, and a Reverence for the Memory of the dead. In which Case Antipater was looked upon as neither better nor worse than the Murderer. These Things well considered, Antipater had nothing else to do, but to dissolve the Contracts; and how to gain that Point was now the Question; for Herod being fierce and suspicious, was not to be dealt withal by Craft and Circumvention, so that he went rather a frank bare-faced Way to Work, and openly desired of him (but with all Modesty and Deference) that he would only make good the Honour he had thought him worthy of, and bestowed upon him; for all the rest was but the Shadow of a Kingdom, without the Substance, which would be certainly the Case, if Alexander's Son should not only have Archelaus for his Grandfather, but Pheroras also for his Father-in-Law. Antipater pressed Herod with violent Importunities to change the Disposition of the Marriage, having a numerous Family, he said, and the Thing would be easily done.

Herod had nine Wives, and Children by seven of them; Antipater by Doris; Herod by Mariamne the Daughter of the High-Priest; Antipas and Archelaus by Malthace a Samaritan; and a Daughter, Olympias, whom his Brother Joseph married; Herod and Philip by Cleopatra of Jerusalem; and Phasaël by Pallas. He had also other Daughters, Roxane and Salome; the one by Phædra, the other by Elpis; and two Wives that had no Children; the one was the Daughter of his Brother, the other his Cousin German: And over and above these, he had by Mariamne, the two Sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus; “ so that here is Choice enough, says Antipater, for the ordering of the Matches some other Way.

The King perceived, by this Time, what Thoughts Antipater had of the Children, and what Purposes and Intentions towards them, and was very much disturbed at it; for fear he should serve the Survivors, as he had done their Predecessors, whom he himself had murdered before. Herod was so very angry with him for this Expostulation, that he gave him hard Words; and made him quit the Room; but with a little Flattery and Cajolling, he was quickly wrought upon to make some Alteration in his Project;

Project; so that he gave to Antipater himself the Daughter of Aristobulus, and married the Son to the Daughter of Pheroras. This was enough to shew what an Ascendant the glozing Way of Antipater had over the Spirit of Herod; but this would not do yet in the Case of Salome, though his own Sister, and a Sister seconded also with the Interest of the Empress Julia in her Favour. Salome had a Mind to marry Syllæus the Arabian, and engaged Julia in the Request; which Herod did not only oppose in the Thing itself, and all Intercessions for it, but bound himself with an Oath to treat her as the greatest Enemy he had in the World, if she did not give over the Thought of it. After this, he forced her upon a Match with Alexas, a Friend of his, and so to marry one of her Daughters to the Son of Alexas, and the other to the Uncle of Antipater by the Mother's Side. He gave also one of the Daughters of Mariamne to Antipater, the Son of his Sister, and the other to Phasaël the Son of his Brother.

When Matters were thus shuffled and altered, and every thing settled to the Humour and Convenience of Antipater, and consequently to the manifest Exclusion of the Orphans, his Malignity was now bolstered up with so audacious a Confidence, that it made him wholly insupportable. He found that all People hated him, and that he could not be safe, unless he made them fear him too; beside, that Pheroras treated him as a Prince established in his Sovereignty.

There brake out at the same Time new Broils at Court, upon a Faction among the Women; for the Wife, the Mother, and the Sister of Pheroras, together with the Mother of Antipater, behaved themselves insolently and contemptuously, even toward the King's Daughters, which Antipater was well enough pleased withal, for he hated them mortally: And, for the rest of the Women, they stood all in Awe of the Cabal, save only Salome, who gave the King plainly to understand the Truth of the Matter, and that their secret Meetings and Consultations were not for his Service. When the Women came to understand, that the King had Notice of these Conventicles, and took great Offence at them, they gave over that open Way of caballing, and on the contrary would still be jangling and thwarting one another in the King's Hearing, as if they were rather Enemies than Conspirators. Antipater under the Cloke of this Disguise, made direct Sport with Pheroras, and betwixt Jest and Earnest bantered and abused him; but then they kept up their Night-Clubs and Collations, and the more they were observed, the more they stuck together; but nothing of all this escaped Salome, and from her it went immediately to the King. This put Herod into a Rage, especially against the Wife of Pheroras, upon whom Salome laid the greatest Stress. Herod, upon this, called a Council of his Friends and Relations, and among other foul Practices, exhibited a Complaint against her for affronting his Daughters, engaging the Pharisees against him, and giving his Brother a Potion to make him hate him. "And now, says Herod turning to Pheroras, which of the two would you part with, your Brother or your Wife, if it were put to your Choice?" I would rather part with my Life itself, says Pheroras, than with my dear Wife. This answer put Herod to a Stand, and thereupon he gave Antipater in Charge, that he should never entertain any Discourse, or have any Thing more to do with either Pheroras or his Wife, or any Body else that belonged to them. Antipater made a shew of Readiness

to

to comply with his Order; but this notwithstanding, they spent several whole Nights together, for fear of Discovery; however he so ordered the Matter with some Friends he had in Italy, that Letters were written to Herod, by any Means to send Antipater over to Rome, to make his Court awhile to Cæsar. Upon this Invitation, Herod immediately provided him a princely Equipage, with Money and all Necessaries, and so dispatched him away for Rome with his Will and Testament along with him; wherein Herod declared Antipater himself his Successor, and Herod after Antipater, whom he had by Mariamne the Daughter of the High-Priest.

Syllæus, the Arabian, made at this Time, another Journey to Rome (without any Regard to Cæsar's Command) to dispute the same Cause over again with Antipater, that he had formerly defended against Nicholas. It was a Controversy of great Moment also that he had with his Sovereign Aretas, having put several of his Friends to Death, and Sohemus for one, the most eminent Person, both for Power and Wealth, in the whole City of Petra. He likewise corrupted Tabatus, one of Cæsar's Governors, with a Sum of Money, to assist him against Herod; but Herod, afterward out-bidding him, drew Tabatus off again from Syllæus, and made him Receiver of Herod's Duties. Now Syllæus finding that he came to no Account, gave Augustus to understand by Way of Complaint, that Tabatus was not Cæsar's Governor, but Herod's. This Provocation transported Tabatus to such a Degree, that being as yet in great Credit with Herod, he went and betrayed Syllæus to him, telling the King, that he had engaged Corinthus, one of the Guards, with a Sum of Money, to join with him in a Conspiracy, advising withal, that he might forthwith be taken into Custody. The King made no Difficulty of doing it at first Word; for this same Corinthus, though he had his Education in the Court, was nevertheless by Birth an Arabian; so that in a short Time Corinthus was not only taken up himself, but two Arabians more that were found with him, the one of them a Friend of Syllæus, and the Name of the other was Phylarchus, who being put to the Question, confessed upon the Torture, that they had prevailed upon Corinthus for a mighty Sum of Money, to undertake the killing of the King. Saturninus, the Governor of Syria, took the Examinations, and sent them away to Rome.

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#### C H A P. XIX.

*Herod banishes Pheroras the Court, for refusing to turn away his Wife; who vows never to return while Herod lives. Herod falls sick, and sends for him; but he refuses to come. Herod recovers and Pheroras falls sick. Herod visits him; and he dies some few Days after. Proofs of Pheroras's being poisoned, and by the Advice of Syllæus. The witnesses all agree. Antipater's coarse way of treating his Father. The Discovery clear and certain. Herod's unmerciful Rigour. The Testimony of Pheroras's Widow: His Confession at his Death. Mariamne proved to be in the Plot.*

NUMB. 5.

L

HEROD

**H**EROD pressed every Day harder and harder Pheroras to turn away his Wife. He found Matter in abundance to hate her for; but no Way to punish her, till in a frantic Outrage, he banished both herself and her Husband the Court. Pheroras bore the Affliction well enough; and so went straight away to his Tetrarchy, with an Oath never to return again while Herod lived; and that nothing but his Death should put an End to his Banishment. Herod fell now into a Fit of Sickneſs, and ſent ſeveral Times for Pheroras to come to him, as having ſomewhat to communicate to him before he died: But Pheroras would not be prevailed upon to go; and Herod on the other hand, beyond all Expectation recovered. Pheroras, after this, fell ill himſelf; and Herod upon that Occaſion gave a ſingular Inſtance of his Humanity and Patience; for he gave him a Viſit, and treated him with all the Care and Affection imaginable: But that Diſeaſe took him off in a ſhort Time. It was generally thought that Herod had a very particular Kindneſs for Pheroras, to the laſt Hour of his Life: And yet there goes a Report for all this, that he made him away by Poiſon. The Body however was carried away to Jeruſalem; a public Mourning appointed for him, and a moſt magnificent Funeral. This was the End of one of the Murderers of Alexander and Ariſtobulus. But the Punishment of this Wickedneſs fell afterwards upon the Head of Antipater, the Author of it: And his Ruin took its Riſe from the Death of Pheroras; for ſome of his freed Men, in the Agony of their Paſſion for ſo irreparable a Loſs, went boldly to the King, and told him that his Brother was poiſoned, for his Wife had given him ſomething to eat, that was neither dreſſed nor ſeaſoned after the uſual Manner; and that, upon the ſwallowing of it, he was immediately ſick at Heart. It was obſerved, that two Days before, there was a cunning Woman brought out of Arabia, at the Inſtance of the Mother and Siſter, to prepare a Philtre for Pheroras; but inſtead of a Love-Potion, it proved to be a deadly Poiſon, and given by the Advice of Syllæus, to whom this Woman was well known.

Here were ſo many Suſpicions ſtarted, and the Preſumptions ſo ſtrong, that the King ordered the putting of ſeveral Perſons, bound and free, to the Queſtion: One of them crying out in the Extremitie of her Torments, “ God, (ſays ſhe) the Ruler of Heaven and Earth, avenge thyſelf and us upon the Mother of Antipater, for all the Miſeries we ſuffer here for her Sake.” When the King had gotten this Light, he followed it as far as it would lead him; and a Woman laid open the whole Story of the Familiarity betwixt the Mother of Antipater, and Pheroras, and his Women; the clandestine Meetings; and how Pheroras and Antipater, when they came from Court, ſat up and made merry with them all Night, and not a Servant admitted into the Chamber. It was one of the freed Women that gave this Evidence.

When they came to be examined apart, there was ſuch an Agreement in their Informations, that the Truth of the Charge was no longer to be doubted. It came now into Herod’s Head that Antipater’s withdrawing to Rome, and Pheroras’s (in Effect) procuring his own Banishment, were only Conſpirances to get out of the Way: For they were often heard to ſay, that Herod would never ſtop at Alexander and Ariſtobulus; but that they themſelves and their Wives, muſt prepare to take their Turns: For why ſhould any Body hope to fare better at Herod’s Hand, after the execrable Murder



Murder of his Wife and Children? So that there is no Fence against this Monster, but getting out of his Reach.

The Women deposed further, that Antipater would be often complaining to his Mother, “ that when I (says he) am grey-headed, my Father grows every Day younger and younger; and who knows but I may die before I come to govern? Or what if my Father should die before me, (as that may be a long Time first) I shall have lost the very Relish of the Pleasure of a Crown: Beside the Hydra’s Heads that are now shooting out again in the Children of Alexander and Aristobulus: And as for my own Children, they are cut off by my Father’s Will from any Pretence of claiming to the Succession; for he has made the Son of Mariamne his Heir; at least, if the Will of a Dotard may pass for any Thing. But he will take Care to put a Stop to this Dispute, by not leaving one Soul of his Family alive to pretend to it. He is certainly of all Fathers that ever lived, the most unnatural and malicious to his Sons; and yet worse, if it be possible, to his Brothers: Witness the hundred Talents he gave Antipater, never to have any Thing more to do with Pheroras: And then when Pheroras cried out, what hurt have we done him? Nay, for that, says Antipater, I wish he would but content himself to strip us naked, and then leave us alive. But what can a Body hope for from so very a Brute, that makes the open Profession of Friendship intolerable and dangerous? But, says he, here do we content ourselves to meet and enjoy one another by Stealth: Whereas if we had but the Hearts and Hands of Men, we might find Means to assert our Rights and Liberties in another Way.”

This was the Woman’s Confession; and that Pheroras had some Thoughts of getting away with them to Petra. It was a clear Discovery; but the greatest evidence of all to Herod, was the hundred Talents: For he had only mentioned that Particular to Antipater. So that he began with Doris, Antipater’s Mother, as the first Object of his fury; took away all the Ornaments, and precious Things he had given her, to the Value of many Talents: And, after the rifling of her, he banished her. After this, upon the cooling of his Choler, he caused Pheroras’s Women to be taken off the Torture: But trembling all the while, and distracted betwixt Jealousies and Fears. Nay, he was so strict and cautious in his Cruelties, that he put the Innocent to the Torture without Distinction, for fear any of the Guilty should escape.

The next that took his Turn was Antipater, the Samaritan, the Deputy of the other Antipater: And it appeared by his Evidence, that Antipater sent for Poison into Ægypt, by a certain Friend of Antiphilus, with a Design upon the King’s Life; which he received from Theudion, the Uncle of Antipater, and upon his Order delivered it to Pheroras; who had taken upon him the doing of the Deed, while he himself should be at Rome, and out of Distance to be suspected: Pheroras committing the Care of the Poison to his Wife, to lay it up.

The King sent presently, upon this, for the Widow of Pheroras, and commanded her without any Delay to shew him the Secret she had received. She went out in that Moment with a Pretence to fetch it; but cast herself head long from the Top of the House, to prevent both the Torture and the Discovery: But God’s Providence

would not suffer Antipater to escape thus; for her Fall was not mortal. She was taken up, and carried to the King; and so soon as ever she came to herself; (for her Head was troubled) the King put her to it to tell him what made her to take that desperate Leap: Assuring her upon his Oath, that if she spake the truth she should have no further Punishment; but if she falsified, she should die upon the Torture, without allowing her so much as the Rites of a Burial.

By this Time she was come a little to her Senses, and bolted out this Ejaculation: "Am I, says she, to keep Secrets, now Pheroras is dead and gone, in favour of Antipater that has been the Destruction of us all? Great Prince! Give me the Hearing, and I call that God that cannot be deceived to bear Witness to the Truth of what I say. When you (speaking to Herod) were upon a visit to Pheroras in his Sickness, and weeping over him, my Husband called me to him. See, my dear Wife, says he, how much I have been mistaken in my Opinion of my Brother's Kindness to me; for in plain Terms, I hated him, and meditated the Death of this Man, that shews so generous a Pity for me in my Distress (though yet among the Living); but I have the just reward of my Iniquity. And now fetch me immediately the Remainder of the Poison that Antipater gave you to keep, and burn it before my Face: I shall carry the Vengeance of a troubled Conscience into the other World else. I brought it as I was bid, and threw the greater Part of the Poison into the Fire before his Eyes: The rest I reserved for a Time of Need in Case of the worst." With these Words, she produced a Box, with a little of the Poison in it. The Brother and the Mother of Antiphilus were then put to the Question: And their Information was, "that Antiphilus brought that Box out of Ægypt; and that he received the Poison itself from a Brother of his at Alexandria, that practised Physic." It looked as if the very Ghosts of Alexander and Aristobolus had been every where at Work to make Discoveries, and to draw Proofs from the most unlucky Persons and Circumstances. It was now evident that Mariamne, the Daughter of the High-Priest, had a Hand in the Plot; as was made appear by her Brothers upon the Question: But Herod punished the Mother in the Son; for he struck Herod, the Son of Mariamne, out of his Will, having formerly declared him in his Testament the Successor of Antipater.

## C H A P. XX.

*Bathyllus, a stabbing Witness against Antipater: A Counterfeit of Letters, and a notorious Hypocrite. Pheroras's Death startles him. He goes his Way to Sebaste, where, to his Wonder, no Body owns him. He addresses himself to his Father, who bids him prepare for his Trial next Day. The Court meets; and the Witnesses are produced. A plausible Discourse of Herod's to Varus. Nicolaus enters upon the Proofs. Antipater's Defence. Nicolaus sharp upon him. The Evidences of the Poison brought in Order.*

*Order. Antipater in a Plot with Acme against Salome. A Resolution taken to put Antipater to Death; but Herod's falling sick prevents Execution. Herod strikes Antipater out of his Will, and puts Antipas in his Place; and settles his Legacies.*

THE last and the stabbing Witness, in Confirmation of all the rest, was Bathyllus, one of Antipater's Freemen, that was just now come back from Rome, and brought with him a supplemental Poison; that is to say, the Poison of an Asp and of other Serpents, for Pheroras and his Wife to finish the Work withal, if the other should fail; beside another Invention, over and above; which was, the counterfeiting of several Letters against the Brothers, which were of Antipater's Composition.

Archelaus and Philip were at that Time at Rome, in the Course of their Studies. They were now grown up, and young Men of great Hope and Courage; and to all that, the Sons of the King, and so dangerous a Rub in the Way of Antipater, that he had little Hope of gaining his Point, unless he could get them removed: And in order to that End, he got Letters forged against them in the Name of several of his Friends then living at Rome; some of them altogether upon the Subject of their irreverend Discourses upon their Father; openly and violently exclaiming against the Death of Alexander and Aristobulus; taking it very ill that they should be now sent for away (as their Father had ordered them to return:) And this was the Thing that troubled Antipater more than all the rest. Nay, Antipater was in a Practice of Forgery, and secret Intelligence, even before he left Judæa, and procured Letters from Rome to Herod upon the same Subject; while he himself for the avoiding of Suspicion, applied himself to his Father as a kind of Advocate for his Brothers. "He hoped they were not so bad, he said; some Things might be false, and others might have more of Heat and Rashness in them than of Malice." It was a vast Expence he was at all this while upon his Intelligencers, toward the Destruction of his Brothers: And to confound the Account, he bought a great many rich Garments, Carpets, Gold and Silver Plate, and several other Curiosities of great Price, to the Value of two hundred Talents, upon the whole, which he placed to the Account of the Suit they had with Syllæus, as a Blind to the Subornation.

Thus it went, but the greater Evil swallowed up the less: For when the whole Country rung of the Parricide, and all Letters and Witnesses agreed in the Proof and Detection of a repeated Design upon the Lives of the Brothers, there was not so much as one Word mentioned upon the Road out of Judæa, of the present State of Herod's Family; though it was now full seven Months betwixt the Proof of the Fact and Antipater's Return. But all the World hated him, or who knows but it might be a peculiar Providence that stopped People's Mouths, that would otherwise have been blabbing, in order to the Execution of a divine Vengeance upon so many horrid Murders?

Antipater wrote Herod Word now, that he was just entering upon his Journey, and how honourably Cæsar had treated him, and dismissed him. But the King was still in Pain till he had him sure; so that for fear of having him diverted by any Precaution, he wrote him the kindest Letters, in Pretence, imaginable; and, in a familiar Way,

*desired*

desired him to be with him as soon as possible: For if he made haste, he might compound for his Mother's Fault; whom Antipater knew to be banished already. The first Notice he had of the Death of Pheroras was by a Letter he received at Tarentum; which wounded him to the very Heart. Some looked upon it as a Matter of Decency and Good-nature in so near a Relation, but others again imputed this Excess of Sorrow, not so much for his Tenderness to Pheroras, as for the Loss of a wicked and so necessary an Instrument, and for the Disappointment of the Plot: Beside that he was in some Apprehension too of being detected in what he had done, and for fear the Story of the Poison should come out. Upon his coming into Cilicia, he received his Father's Letter above mentioned; and then hastened away presently.

At his coming to Celendris, he had a kind of superstitious Foreboding upon him: And, in particular, his Mother's Condition ran mightily in his Head. The wiser and the more cautious Part of his Friends were absolutely against going to his Father, till he were certainly informed upon what Pretence his Mother was turned away, for fear he himself should come to be involved in his Mother's Crime. But the short-sighted People about him, that were altogether for being at Home again, without any Regard to Antipater's Interest, were absolutely for making what haste they could, for fear his Delay might make him suspected, and suggest Matter for Calumny to work upon. For if any Thing should be moved against him, it would be done in his Absence; and no Man would dare to open his Mouth against him, if he were upon the Place. Beside that it would be a Madness to hazard a certain Advantage upon a wild Fancy: Whereas he was rather immediately to post away to his Father, to be within Distance of receiving a Kingdom that could be no Body's but his. Antipater was over-ruled by the Fatality of an Impulse, and so he prosecuted his Voyage to Sebaste, a Port of Cæsarea.

But upon his Arrival, to his great Admiration, the People all avoided him, and not a Creature durst come near him. They hated him as much before, 'tis true; but they were not so much at Liberty to shew it. Some were afraid of the King; for all the Talk was now of Antipater: and Antipater the only Man all this while that knew the least of himself. Never was any Man more glorious at his going outward for Rome, or so abject and contemptible as he was upon his Return. He was no Stranger to the Broils and Confusions of the Family; but he had the Wit to keep his Fears as much as possible to himself, and with a chearful Countenance to cover an aching Heart. There was no Possibility of making an Escape, or of any other Way of relieving himself in this Extremity. He had no Certainty of the Affairs of the very House; for no Body durst come at him to inform him: So that he had now and then some Intervals of Hope, either that Things were not discovered, or in case of the worst, he did not despair of bringing himself off by Confidence and Imposture; which were the only two Friends he had to trust to.

Being thus armed and prepared, he advanced without his Friends into the Palace; for his Train was repulsed with Contempt at the first Gate. It so fell out that Varus, the Governor of Syria, was then present. Upon his Entrance, he had the Impudence to address himself to his Father, as in a Way of Duty and Respect: But as he came nearer  
him,

him, Herod put out his Hand to stop him, and with a down Look cried out to him. "What! says he, shall a Parricide presume to embrace me? A Curse upon the impious Soul of thee, for daring to come near me till thou hast cleared thyself of all thy Crimes! And you have here your judge before you, Varus; who shall pass Sentence upon you according to your Demerit. Wherefore be gone, and prepare against to-morrow for your Defence; which is all the Time I shall allow you." Antipater stood mute, and without one Word in Return, went his Way back again. His Mother and his Wife came to him afterwards, and informed him of the whole Proceeding. This brought him to himself again, and to consider what he had to say in his own Justification.

Herod, having a Council next Day of his Friends and Relations, called likewise the Friends of Antipater to be there present; himself and Varus sitting President. He caused all the Witnesses to be brought in: Of which Number there were certain Servants of Doris, the Mother of Antipater, that had been long since Prisoners. These Servants brought Letters from the Mother to the Son, to this Purpose. "Your Father knows all; and therefore have a Care of coming near him, unless you can depend upon Cæsar, for his Protection. After the introducing of the Witnesses, Antipater entered the Court; and casting himself at the Feet of his Father, "I beseech you, Sir, says he, grant me an impartial Hearing, without prejudging my Cause, and I make no doubt of clearing myself to be an innocent Person.

Herod called out to him aloud to hold his Tongue, and so directed his Discourse to Varus. "I do certainly know, says he, that you, Varus, or any other unbiassed Judge, will be fully satisfied that Antipater deserves to die: But I am afraid, in the mean Time, what Opinion you may conceive of my invidious Fortune; as if this Calamity were justly befallen me for being the Father of such Children. But I have some Right however to your Humanity and Compassion, for having been so indulgent a Father to such profligate Wretches. As for the young Men that are now dead and gone, I designed them for the Government, and trained them up at Rome, in the Court and Favour of Cæsar, the better to prepare them for the Exercise of royal Dignity: And none at last so great Enemies of my Peace and Safety, as those that I had raised in the World, even to be the Envy of Princes. But Antipater made his Profit of their Ruin; for he found his Account in it, as a Security to himself in the Succession. And what is the Requital now that this Monster designs me for all these Tenderneffes, but the entering into a Practice against the Life of his Maker? I was likely to live too long, he thought: Nay, I had lived too long already; and that was his Grievance. The Crown alone would not content him, it seems, unless he made his Way to it through the Blood of his Father.. And in this truly he seemed to have some Colour of Reason, for my bringing him back to Court out of a private Condition, to the Exclusion of the Sons I had by the Queen, in declaring him my Successor.

"Now to confess myself to you, Varus, I am convinced of my Error. I did not do well to provoke my Sons by cutting off the Succession to their Wrong, and in Favour of Antipater: For what did I ever do for them comparable to what I did for him. He had a great Part of the Administration in his Hands while I was living; and the Succession actually settled upon him after my Death: And beside other Gratifications, a  
 " separate

“ separate Revenue of fifty Talents, and his Expences every where upon my Charge:  
 “ Three hundred Talents upon his Voyage to Rome; and the only Person of my whole  
 “ Family that I recommended to Cæsar as my Preserver. Take them all together, they  
 “ had not half the Wickedness in them of Antipater; and the Proofs against them were  
 “ infinitely short of what I have against him; and yet this bloody Wretch has the Face  
 “ to plead innocent, and does not despair, I perceive, of baffling the truth with a Trick.  
 “ Varus, look to yourself; for he will tell his Tale well enough; but I know the Beast  
 “ through all his Disguises and Impostures, and that he is false at the Bottom.

“ This is the Man that was so earnest with me, in Time past, to have a Care of Alex-  
 “ ander, and how I exposed my Person. How often would he come into my Bed-  
 “ Chamber, and look about, and hunt, for Fear of Treachery? This Man was my  
 “ Guardian, and my Security, while I slept; my Comforter in my Mourning for the  
 “ dead Brothers; and one that would undertake for the Duty of those that were living:  
 “ My Champion, in fine, and my Guard. When I call to Mind, and consider the Ad-  
 “ dress, and the Hypocrisy of this Man, how artificially he laid his Snares, and covered  
 “ his Designs; I can hardly think myself alive at this Day, or how it was possible for  
 “ me to escape the Noose. But since my Fate will it so, and that my greatest Enemies  
 “ are to be those of my own Family, and those I have been the kindest to, I shall only  
 “ deplore the Hardship of my inevitable Destiny, and keep my Sorrows to myself; but  
 “ with this Resolution, that not one Man comes off that shall be found guilty of thirst-  
 “ ing after my Blood, though the whole House should fall in the Condemnation.

Herod brake off upon this period in a Confusion of Thought, and gave order to Ni-  
 colaus, one of his Friends, to enter upon the Proofs. Antipater, that had lain pro-  
 strate all this while at Herod's Feet, now raised his Head, and with a little Exclamation  
 addressed himself to his Father. “ You have had the Goodness, Sir, says he, to plead  
 “ my Cause: For how can I be a Parricide, and yet recorded by yourself for your Pre-  
 “ server? If my Piety be only Imposture and Pretence, as you are pleased to say it is,  
 “ how come I to be so crafty in one Case, and so besotted in another, as not to under-  
 “ stand, that though Men may be imposed upon, yet the all-searching and all-seeing  
 “ Eye of God, that knows our Hearts, will not suffer so great a Wickedness to pass  
 “ unpunished! God's Vengeance overtook my Brothers because of their Undutifulness to  
 “ you. But what Temptation had I now to practise upon your Life? The Hope of a  
 “ Kingdom? Why, I did as good as reign already. Or was it that I thought you hated  
 “ me? That was impossible, after so many Demonstrations to the contrary. Was I  
 “ afraid of you? When quite on the other hand, others stood in awe of me, in Consi-  
 “ deration of the Zeal I had for your Safety. Or was it that I wanted any Thing?  
 “ So far from it, that all my Profusions were supplied out of your Treasure. So that  
 “ certainly I must be the worst, even of Men, and of Brutes, to be wanting in good  
 “ Offices towards so kind a Father; being a Person that you yourself, as you say, received  
 “ into your Favour, preferred before so many of your other Sons, and whom you de-  
 “ clared King while you yourself were yet living; beside other Benefits, in Proporti-  
 “ on, to make me the Envy of other Men.

“ Wretch, that I am! And this fatal Journey of mine, to give so much Time and  
 “ Matter

“ Matter for Envy and Treachery to work upon. But it was, Sir, for the Service of  
 “ yourself, and of your Affairs, that I undertook this Voyage; and to keep Syllæus from  
 “ putting Affronts upon your old Age. Rome is the Witness of my Loyalty; and so  
 “ is the Prince of Rome, and of the World, Cæsar himself; that as so often celebrated  
 “ me for my Reverence to my Father. Be pleased, I beseech you, to receive these  
 “ Letters that have more Truth in them than all the Forgeries that have been trumped  
 “ up against me: These Letters are my Justification, and the infallible Arguments of a  
 “ sincere Affection for you. You may remember, Sir, how unwillingly I took that  
 “ Journey, to lay myself at the Mercy of all the Enemies I left behind me. It was  
 “ your Command, Sir, that ruined me, how unwillingly soever, in forcing me to give  
 “ my Adversaries Time for concerting their Malice against me.

“ If I had been a Parricide, Divine Justice, either by Sea or Land, would have  
 “ found me out. But I shall not lay the Stress of my Innocence upon that Argument;  
 “ for I know very well that, with God’s Permission, you have condemned me in your  
 “ Heart already. All that I beg, even in this State, is only that I may not suffer upon  
 “ the Credit of Proofs extorted by Torment: But let me rather be put to the Test, ei-  
 “ ther of Fire, Screws, or what other Instruments of Cruelty you shall think fit, with-  
 “ out any Mercy to a miserable Carcass: For if I am a Parricide, no Pain can be too  
 “ much for me.” Antipater delivered these Words with such a Passion of Tears and  
 Outcries, that the whole Court, Varus and all, were softened at it. Herod alone  
 was so transported with a Sense of the Wickedness, and the Clearness of the Evidence,  
 that all Antipater’s Tears and Ejaculations passed with him only for Matters of Course.

This Declamation of Antipater’s was followed by Nicolaus; who prefaced what he  
 had to say, with a Discourse upon the Craft of Antipater, as the King had ordered;  
 which, upon the Main, amounted to a mortal Accusation, without leaving any Hope  
 of Mercy. For all the Iniquities of the Kingdom were imputed to Antipater; especi-  
 ally the Destruction of the Brothers, which was manifestly the Effect of his Calum-  
 nies; besides his Practices upon the Survivors, as standing in the Way of his Prefer-  
 ment. And it could not be expected, that he that could think of poisoning his Father,  
 would ever spare his Brothers. When he came to the Proof of the Poison, the Evidences  
 were produced in Order; with Aggravations upon the Crime of Pheroras, and Antipa-  
 ter all this while the Promoter of the Wickedness; the King’s best Friends corrupted,  
 and the whole Palace filled with Lewdness. This he said, with a great deal more to  
 the same Purpose, and so concluded.

In the next Place, Varus called upon Antipater to answer for himself; who said no  
 more than that “God was Witness of his Innocence,” and so laid himself down in  
 Silence. Varus then called for the Poison, and gave a draught of it to a condemned  
 Person, who died immediately. He had afterward some private Discourse with He-  
 rod, transmitted the Proceeding to Cæsar, and so departed the next Day. The King  
 kept Antipater in Chains, and gave Cæsar an Account of the Prosecution.

Antipater was charged, after this, with a treacherous Design upon Salome: For a  
 Servant of Antiphilus, at his Return from Rome, brought the King a Letter from one  
 Acme that waited upon the Empress; wherein she gave him to understand that find-

ing several Letters from Salome to Julia, among her Mistress's Papers, she thought it might be a good Office privately to send him the Papers. Now these Letters were stuffed with the most virulent Scandals and Reproaches upon her King, that could be invented, and all of Antipater's Contrivance; and Acme only employed as an Instrument, for a Sum of Money, to convey them to Herod. And the Thing was made yet more evident, by another Letter to Antipater from the same Woman, in these very Words: "I have written to your Father, according to your Direction; and I have likewise sent him other Letters. You may depend upon it, that the King will never forgive his Sister after the reading of them. Pray take Care, when I have done my Part, that you do not forget your Promise."

Upon the detecting of this Forgery, and other Subordinations against Salome, Herod grew extremely sad and pensive, to think how narrowly Salome had escaped the Snare of Antipater: And it would not out of his Head, but that Alexander himself, for ought he knew, might be taken off too by such another Imposture: So that he took up a peremptory Resolution, without any more Delay, to do Justice upon Antipater in the Name of the whole Family. But in this very Nick of Time, Herod was diverted by a sudden Fit of Sickness from the Execution of it. He sent Cæsar, however, an Account of Acme's Part in the Intrigue, and the treacherous Practices against Salome. He altered his Will upon it, struck Antipater out of it, and substituted Antipas, in his Place, taking no Notice of Archelaus and Phillip, though the elder Brothers, upon the Suggestions of Antipater. He bequeathed to Cæsar, beside other Considerations in Money by-the-by, a thousand Talents; and to the Empress, her Sons, Friends, and Freemen, about fifty Talents more, with Lands and considerable Bounties to others. He gave also to his Sister Salome Legacies to a mighty Value. Thus was all settled accordingly by his last Will.

## C H A P. XXI.

*Herod's Misery, both in Body and Mind. A Tumult about Herod's Golden Eagle; Judas and Matthias the Heads of it. Upon a Report of Herod's being given over, the Rabble cut the Eagle to Pieces. The Guards master the Faction; and the People reason the Case with Herod. The two Ring-leaders are put to Death. Herod worse and worse, and attempts a Violence upon himself. Antipater put to Death by Herod's Order. Archelaus declared Successor instead of Antipas. The Death of Herod. A bloody Order disappointed. - Herod's Will read. Archelaus received as Successor to Herod with Acclamations. The Funeral Solemnity.*

**H**EROD, betwixt Age, Sickness, and Grief, grew every Day weaker and weaker. He was now threescore and ten, and so inconsolably afflicted about the Death of his



his Sons, that in his best Health he had no Joy even in Life itself. He was at this Time very ill; but the Thought of Antipater's being still alive, was yet the most sensible Part of his Trouble: For his Head ran upon nothing so much as the Appointment of Antipater's Execution, so soon as ever he should find himself in Condition to order it.

Upon the Necks of these Calamities, there happened a new Broil upon a popular Tumult: And the two Heads of it were Judas the Son of Sephoræus, and Matthias the Son of Margalus; two Sophists, famous for their Skill in the Laws, and consequently of great Reputation among the People. They were mightily followed by the younger Sort, and their Lectures daily thronged and crouded with numerous Congregations. When these Rabbies found the King languishing, betwixt Anguish of Thought and Distemper, they brake it one to another, how fit a Time that might be to vindicate the Honour of God in the demolishing of all Works whatsoever erected contrary to his holy Laws: And to take this along with them, that the setting up of Images in the Temple, or the Likeness of any living Creature, was absolutely forbidden. Now this was understood to point at the Golden Eagle that Herod had placed upon the great Gate; and so set the Multitude at Work presently to pluck it down, as the most glorious Hazard they could run, for their Laws and their Country, even if they should die in the Attempt; for such an End would be followed with everlasting Life and Happiness, and with immortal Honour: Whereas none but narrow groveling Souls, and pitiful short-sighted Creatures, would rather choose to die in their Beds of a Disease, than fall a Sacrifice to Religion and Virtue. While this Humour was a working, came the surprizing News all on a sudden, that the King was just upon the Point of Death. This made the Rabble bolder, and more outrageous than before: Insomuch that they mounted the Temple at Noon-day; and letting down themselves with Ropes and Axes, cut the Golden Eagle to Pieces; a huge Multitude of People in the Temple looking on. The Captain of the Guards had no sooner Notice of this Uproar, but he fell in among them presently with a Party: seized about forty of the forwardest, and carried them away to the King. "Are you so insolent, says Herod, as to break the golden Eagle?" They told him Yes, they had done it. "By what Order, says Herod again?" By the Laws of our own Country, they cried. "Well! says he, and what makes you so chearful now when you are sure to die?" We are chearful, said they, in the Assurance of a better Life after this. The King was so moved at this Behaviour, that his Anger put new Life into him, and made him in some Measure forget his Disease. He called them over and over sacriligious and seditious Miscreants, under a Colour of Law to attempt the over-turning of the Government! But, says he, like a Company of wicked Creatures you have behaved yourselves, and like such you shall be punished. The People were afraid the Severity might go too far; and therefore made it their request to Herod, that he would content himself with Justice upon the Ring-leaders and the Prisoners, and shew Mercy to the rest. The King was at last prevailed upon, and ordered those that came down by the Ropes, and the two Heads of the Faction, to be burnt alive: And those that were taken together, to have their Heads struck off by the common Hangman.

Herod by this Time was all over in Pain from Head to Foot: A violent Fever; an intolerable Itching all over his Body; Gripes of the Chollic; dropical Humours; windy

Pains in his Stomach; his private Parts putrified, and crawling with Worms; Difficulty of Breathing; broken Sighs; Contraction of the Nerves and Convulsions all over. Some were superstitious enough to make this Calamity a judgment upon him, in Revenge for the two Rabbits: But yet notwithstanding all the Torments and Diseases he had to struggle with, he was still so desirous of Life, that in this very Extremity he sought for new Remedies, and cherished some Hope yet of his Recovery. He crossed the Jordan, and tried the warm Baths of Callirrhoe that run into the Lake Asphaltitis; a Water not only medicinal, but pleasant to the Taste. His Physicians then advised him to a Bath of warm Oil; but upon dipping into the Vessel, he lost his Senses, and his Eyes were set in his Head. This last Fit was so ghastly, that his keepers brake all out into a Clamour at the Fright; so that the very Outcry brought him a little to himself again. But at last when he found that there was no hope, he ordered the Soldiers fifty Drachma's a Man, and Money to a great Value to be divided betwixt his Governors and his Friends.

When he came back to Jericho, and found his Case desperate, he did in a Manner threaten Death itself by one of the most dreadful Resolutions that ever was heard of; the raging Violence of his Choler having put him directly into a Flame. He sent out an Order quite through Judæa, for the seizing of all the Nobility, and shutting them up in the Circus, or Hippodrome. Upon this, he speak to Salome, and her Husband Alexas: "I know very well, says he, that the Jews will make Holiday on the Day of my Death; but I shall take care not to want Mourners, or a splendid Pomp of Funeral Solemnities, if you two will but follow my Direction. Let it be your Care then, so soon as ever the Breath is out of my Body, to see Soldiers turned loose upon the Persons in the Circus, and put every Man of them to the Sword. Now this will be a certain Way to make the whole Province of Judæa, and every particular Family in it, true Mourners for my Death."

Just upon the Dispatch of this Order, Herod's Deputies brought him Letters from Rome, that Cæsar had ordered Acme, the Servant of Julia, to be put to Death; and that Antipater was also condemned to die: But the Letters said withal, that if his Father should think fit to content himself with Banishment, Cæsar would not be against it. Herod for the present, was somewhat relieved by this Message: but then relapsing into his Pains, (as he was at that Time afflicted with a tearing Cough,) he had some Thought of laying violent Hands upon himself: And so took an Apple, and called for a Knife, as if he had been only to cut or to pare it. After he had looked a little about him for fear of being taken notice of, he raised his Hand with the Action of a Man about to stab himself: But his Nephew Achiab perceiving it, ran up to him, and catching hold of him, prevented the Mischiefs.

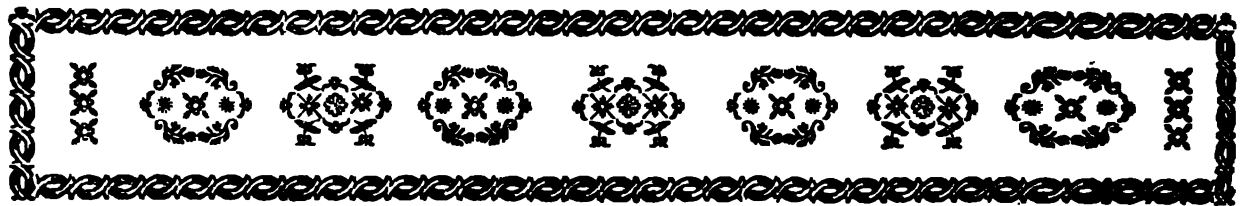
There was presently, upon this, a Hubbub raised in the Place, on a Report that the King was dead. Antipater was overjoyed at the Hearing of it, and had the Confidence to treat with his Keepers for a Sum of Money to let him go; but the Head Officer did not only refuse to comply with the Proposal, but went in that Instant to the King with the Story: Who, upon the hearing of it, burst out into an Exclamation stronger than one would have expected from a Man in his Condition: And thereupon ordered his

his Guards to go out that Moment, and dispatch him, and to see his Body deposited in the Castle of Hyrcanion. Upon this he altered his Testament once more, and declared the eldest Brother Archelaus his Successor in the Place of Antipas, and made Antipas a Tetrarch.

The Father died five Days after the Son, thirty-four Years from the Death of Antigonus, and thirty-seven Years after he was declared King by the Romans. He was a fortunate Man as ever lived, saving the Troubles in his own Family. He was advanced to the Crown out of a private State. He kept it a long Time, and at last left it to his Sons.

The Soldiers knew nothing as yet of the King's Death: So that Salome went beforehand with her Husband to the Hippodrome, and ordered all the People to be set at Liberty that were shut up there (though appointed for Death;) and every Man dismissed to his own Home. This was upon a Pretence that Herod had changed his Mind: So soon as the Company was gone, Publication was made of the King's Death to the Soldiers: Who being then drawn together into a Body at the Amphitheatre of Jericho: Ptolemy, the Keeper of the Royal Signet, entertained them with a Speech in Honour of the deceased; whom he celebrated for a fortunate Prince, condoling at the same Time with the People for so sensible a Loss. After this he read over a Letter to them that Herod had left for the Soldiers, being a passionate Recommendation of his Successor to the Tenderness and Good-will of the People. After this Letter, he read the Will: Wherein Philip was declared Heir of Trachon, and the Neighbourhood to it: Antipas, Tetrarch, (as I said before) and Archelaus to inherit the Kingdom. Herod gave Order for the Delivery of his Ring also to Cæsar; and to present him with the Knowledge of the whole Matter: For there was nothing to be done, disposed of, or confirmed, but by Cæsar's Authority and Direction: And for the rest, the former Testament to stand as it was.

This was followed by an unanimous Shout of Gratulations and Acclamations, with a Long live Archelaus. Both Soldiers and People pressing in with their good Wishes and Prayers. The next Work was to be the interring of the Body: Wherein Archelaus spared neither for Cost nor Care; and all the Ensigns of Royalty were made use of for the Pomp and Ornament of the Funeral. The Hearse was covered all over with an Embroidery of Gold and precious Stones, and an Intermixture of Purple: And upon this was the Body laid, and covered with Purple too: A Diadem upon the Head: A Crown of Gold over that: A Scepter in his Right-hand, and his Children and near Relations round about him: The Guards and the Thracian Troops, Germans, and Gauls, marched at the Head of this Solemnity; in a Form and Order of Battle. All the rest of the Troops following their Leaders also in very good Order. And now to close up the Pomp; five hundred Officers, Domestics, and Freemen, brought up the Train. The Body was carried 200 Stadia to the Castle of Herodian; where it was buried according to the King's Mandate. And this was the End of Herod.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
WARS of the JEWS.

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B O O K II.

*From the Death of Herod, till Vespasian was sent to subdue the Jews by Nero; containing the interval of 69 Years.*

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C H A P. I.

*The Ceremony of Mourning and Feasting. The new King's gracious Declaration to his People. The Multitude clamorous upon the Subject of Grievances. An Uproar little short of a Rebellion. The Guards worsted, till the Army fell in with the whole Body. Archelaus takes Shipping for Rome, and Phillip acts in his Absence. Sabinus advances to Cæsarea in his Way for Judæa. Varus puts a Stop to his Journey. Sabinus goes to Jerusalem, and demands Possession of some Castles and Monies. The Officers civilly refuse him. Antipas set up against Archelaus. Sabinus and Salome bring in a Charge against him. Archelaus' Defence. Cæsar hears both Sides, and proceeds to a Trial. Antipater opens the Case against Archelaus. Nicolaus for the Defendant: Archelaus graciously received by Cæsar, and so the Court is adjourned.*

T H E

**T**HE Necessity of Archelaus's going to Rome upon the Death of Herod proved the Occasion of new Troubles. For after the Ceremony of the seven Days Mourning was over, and the People magnificently feasted, a Custom among the Jews that ruins many a Man with the Expence, for fear of being thought impious in the Neglect; Archelaus, I say, after this Solemnity advanced all in White up to the Temple; where the People joyed him with large Expressions of Reverence and Respect: And he himself from a stately Tribunal, and his Throne of Gold, shewed as much Grace and Humanity to the People.

He gave them Thanks for the Care they had taken of his Father's Funeral, and for the Royal Honours they had now paid to himself, as to an anointed King. "But yet, says he, till Cæsar, the declared Lord and Master of all, shall have confirmed the Succession, I shall not intitle myself so much as to the Name, and much less to the Power and Authority of a King. This was it, that when the Army would have set the Crown upon my Head at Jericho, made me refuse it at their Hands: Though, says he, I shall never forget the Kindness and the hearty good Will, both of the Soldiers, and of the People, whenever I shall come to be possessed of regal Power from him that hath a Right to confer it: And let them depend upon it, says he, that they shall find me upon all Occasions readier to oblige them than ever they found my Father."

The Multitude was mightily pleased with this Declaration, and in the same Instant put him to some sort of Trial how far he would be as good as his Word. They plied him with several Petitions: Some to have their Taxes eased; others to have them wholly taken off; and some again for a Discharge of Prisoners: But upon the whole matter, Archelaus denied them nothing. This being over, he sacrificed and feasted with his Friends.

A little after Noon, there were gotten together a Rabble of Malecontents; and not one Word more upon the Subject of the common Mourning for the Death of the King: But they began now to open upon the Peoples Grievances. "It was hard, they said, for Herod to put People to Death for cutting down the Golden Eagle from the Gate of the Temple;" and this was not a Discontent in Secret neither; but what with beating of Breasts, Lamentations, and impetuous Outcries for the Loss of so many good Men that effectually died Martyrs for the Religion and Laws of their Country, the whole City rang of the Clamour. "We demand Justice, they cried, upon Herod's Mercenaries, the accursed Instruments that executed his Wickedness. Wherefore, in the first Place, let Herod's High-priest be turned out, and a Man of more Piety and Integrity put in his Place."

Archelaus was transported at this to the uttermost Degree of Indignation; but being in Haste upon his Journey, he was not at Leisure then to wait for a Revenge: So that for Fear of losing his Opportunity one Way, and leaving a Tumult behind him the other, he thought it more advisable to deal with them by Admonition and fair Words, than by Violence. Upon this, he sent his Master of the Horse to desire them to be quiet; but the Heads of the Sedition, so soon as ever he came up to the Temple, fell to pelting him with Stones, without hearing him speak one Word. Archelaus sent, after  
him,

him, several other Messengers upon the same Errand, and they all fared alike : Inasmuch that they wanted but Number to make it a downright Rebellion.

The Feast of unleavened Bread was now at Hand ; the Jews call it their Passover. This Festival gave an Occasion for Sacrifices in Abundance, and brought a World of People up to the City upon the Account of Religion : Divers of the Faction of the two Sophists among the rest, who came thither to lament the Death of those pretended Patriots, there stood their Ground, waiting for Matter to inflame their Party, and would not be got out of the Temple.

Archelaus had the Foresight to send a Band of Soldiers and a Tribune, with Orders to seize their Principals, if they should be troublesome : And this he did to obviate the Danger of a general Tumult. The Multitude made Head against this Part : Some they killed with Stones, and the Tribune himself came off sorely wounded ; the Mutineers going as innocently back again to their Devotions, as if nothing had been done. Archelaus finding to his Cost that this Tumult was not to be composed without Blood, turned the whole Army loose upon them ; the Foot in the City, and the Horse before the Walls. The Foot fell upon them, even in the Act of Sacrificing, and killed near three thousand of their Men at the very Altar. The Remainder fled to the Mountains ; and Archelaus causing Proclamation to be made for all People to depart to their own Homes, put an End to the Festival.

This Sedition being suppressed, Archelaus with his Mother and his three Particular Friends, Poplas, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, took shipping together for Rome ; leaving Philip behind him, both as his Viceroy, and as a Trustee to manage his particular Estate. Salome with her Children went along with him, together with the Sons of the King's Brothers, and others of the Kindred, under a Pretext of assisting Archelaus toward the gaining of the Succession : But upon the Truth of the Matter, their Business was to call him to an Account for the Violation of the holy Temple.

As they were upon the Way, they met with Sabinus the Governor of Syria, at Cæsarea, who was then going into Judæa, to take Possession of the Monies that Herod had left behind him ; but Varus, at the Instance of Archelaus, and upon the Mediation of Ptolemy, put a stop to his journey : So that Sabinus, for Varus's Sake, neither meddled with the Castles, nor with the Money, to the Prejudice of Archelaus ; and Passed his Promise, that he would do nothing in it, but with Cæsar's Approbation ; and upon that Account staid at Cæsarea. But yet so soon as Varus was gone for Antioch, and Archelaus for Rome, Sabinus upon the removing of these Obstacles, took his Time to go to Jerusalem, where he lodged himself in the Palace, and sent from thence to the Governors of the Castles, and the Officers of the Treasury, to put the one into his Hands, and to give him an Account of the other. But the Officers were so just to the Orders and Instructions of Archelaus, that they kept Touch with him to a Tittle, and put off Sabinus with this Answer, That they were Cæsar's Officers, not Archelaus's. Antipas, at the same Time, put in for the Kingdom too ; insisting upon it, that the former Testament was the better Will of the two ; and the Succession in that Testament was settled upon Antipas : And he was sure to have the Interest of Salome and others of their Relations that failed with Archelaus, toward  
the

the supporting of that Pretence. He carried his Mother with him, and Ptolemy, the Brother of Nicolaus, and a tried Friend of Herod's, which went a great Way in that Case; for there were no two men dearer than they: But the Person that he chiefly depended upon was Irenæus, a sharp Man, and an excellent Orator. Antipas reckoned himself so sure in the Strength of these Seconds, that whoever advised him to any Sort of Deference, either to the Seniority of Archelaus, or to the Authority of his Father in his second Testament, he would scarce afford him the Hearing. When they came to Rome all the Enemies of Archelaus were sure to join with Antipas: Those especially that had a Mind to shake off the Yoke of Government, or at least to be under a Roman Magistracy; and in Case they could not obtain that, they would have Antipas for their King.

Antipas laid a great Stress also upon the Help of Sabinus; who had already exhibited an Accusation against Archelaus, by Letters to Cæsar; with a Character on the other Hand, much to the Advantage of Antipas. Salome and her Companions stated the very Case of the Charge against Archelaus, and presented it to Cæsar; while Archelaus did as much, on the other Side, for himself, in a Memorial under several Heads for his own Justification: Beside his Father's Seal-Ring, and an Account of what Treasure he left behind him; which was all transmitted to Cæsar by the Hand of Ptolemy. Cæsar computing with himself what he had heard on both Sides; considering also the Greatness of the Kingdom, and the Variety of large Revenues; the numerous Family of Herod, together with the Letters of Varus and Sabinus, called the Roman Nobility to meet in Council; where Caius Cæsar, the Son of Agrippa and his Daughter Julia, was the first Time commanded to take his Place at the Board: And so they proceeded to the Trial.

Antipater, the Son of Salome, (a nimble Orator, and a bitter Enemy to Archelaus) opened the Cause, suggesting, in the first Place, " That Archelaus had long since exercised sovereign Authority in Effect, and that it was now but Matter of Form to contend about the Name. For what signifies a Hearing before Cæsar, to him that has already refused him for a Judge? For Herod was no sooner dead, but People were immediately engaged, and suborned to set the Crown upon his Head: While he himself did not only sit like a King in a royal State and upon a golden Throne, but acted like one too; as in changing the Order of the Militia; disposing of Charges; receiving and granting Petitions; exercising the Power of Life and Death in public Crimes; setting his Father's Prisoners at Liberty, &c. which are all regal Privileges. Now for this Person that has already engrossed to himself the Powers and Ensigns of Royalty, to come to Cæsar only for the Title of it, makes Augustus but a Shadow of a Prince, and a King in Sound, not in Effect.

" And then farther, says Antipater, what is all the Clutter Archelaus makes, with the Solemnity of his mourning Weeds, and his sour Faces, for his dead Father, more than a Part in a Play? He looks sorrowfully all Day, and then sits up fuddling and feasting, and making merry all Night. And what was it at last, but the Detestation the People had for this Hypocrisy, that raised the late Sedition! But the main Stress of the Charge was yet to come; which was, an horrible Slaughter about

“ the Temple. It was a festival Day; the People gathered together to worship, and  
 “ pay their Devotions, and they themselves were made the Sacrifice. Their Throats,  
 “ in short, were cut, and such Heaps of dead Bodies piled up in the Temple, as in  
 “ the most implacable and merciless of foreign Wars was hardly ever heard of. Now  
 “ Herod was so well acquainted with the Cruelty of this Man’s Nature, that it was  
 “ almost impossible for him ever to give him the least Hope of a Crown, so long as he  
 “ was in his right Senses. And that, alas! was the King’s Case in the latter Testa-  
 “ ment: His Mind was more out of Order than his Body; and he did not know what  
 “ he did. Beside, that after all this, there was no Disability or Defect charged upon An-  
 “ tipas the Successor by the former Will; but People gave him the Character of a  
 “ Prince very well qualified for the royal Function. Or what if it should be supposed  
 “ now, that Herod was, in Truth, sound and in his right Senses? Archelaus has as  
 “ good as abdicated the royal Dignity by acting against the Laws of the Constitution.  
 “ What Havock would this young Man make now, if he had Cæsar’s Authority to  
 “ cover him in his Cruelties, that does all this upon his own Account without any  
 “ Power at all?”

Antipater spake abundantly to this Effect, and a great many near Relations of Arche-  
 laus gave Evidence against him to the several Points. When Antipater had now  
 finished his Plea for the Plaintiff, up stood Nicolaus for the Defendant: Who, in the  
 first Place made it appear, “ that the Slaughter committed in the Temple was not only  
 “ of absolute Necessity, but the People that were killed were Cæsar’s Enemies.” He  
 shewed likewise, “ that for the other pretended Crimes, the present Opposers of Arche-  
 “ laus were themselves the Advisers of them.” As to the Validity of the second Testa-  
 ment, he argued, “ that it ought to stand, in regard that Herod had at that Time the  
 “ Consideration and Respect to refer the Confirmation of it to Cæsar. Now he that  
 “ had the Judgment to know the right Lord and Master, had certainly Sense enough  
 “ to appoint the right Heir.”

With these Words Nicolaus concluded his Argument, and Archelaus then stepped  
 out on a sudden, and cast himself at Cæsar’s Feet; who took him presently up again  
 with so singular a Grace of Benignity and Respect, that he gave to understand by it, he  
 thought him worthy to succeed his Father; but no positive Resolution was taken at  
 that Time.

This being done Cæsar dismissed the Council for that Day, and entered into a De-  
 liberation with his Friends what was to be done in the Case: Whether to choose any  
 of those that were in the Will, for a Successor, or to make an equal Partition of the  
 Principality among the whole Family: For they were numerous, and it would require  
 a great Expence to maintain them all with Honour.



## C H A P. II.

*The Death of Malthace the Mother of Archelaus. The Jews in an Uproar. Sabinus inflames the Quarrel. The Feast of Pentecost. The People come flocking up to it from all Quarters. The Manner of the Jews drawing up. Sabinus presses Varus for Relief; and takes Sanctuary in the Tower of Phasael. An Assault given to the Temple, and a bloody Fight upon it. The Jews gall the Romans from the Galleries above. The Romans set Fire to the Galleries, with a great Slaughter. The Soldiers pillage the holy Treasure. The Jews summon the Palace, and sit down before it. They offer Sabinus Conditions, which he refuses for fear of a Snare. Rufus and Gratus two eminent Officers. Judæa all over in Fractions and Broils. The Person and Exploits of Judas the Son of Hezekias the great Robber. Simon formerly a Servant of Herod's Athronges a Shepherd, and his four Brothers: Men of Ambition and Courage.*

**B**EFORE Cæsar came to any Resolution upon the Succession, Malthace, the Mother of Archelaus, sickened and died. At this Time there came Letters from Varus, out of Syria, of a Revolt among the Jews; which Varus foreseeing, went up to Jerusalem upon Archelaus's Journey to Rome, to restrain the Incendiaries, and to keep Things quiet. When he found this would not do, and that the Multitude was still unruly, he quartered one of the three Legions he brought out of Syria, in the City; and so went back again to Antioch.

But when Sabinus came afterward to Jerusalem, he furnished the Jews with new Matter to work upon. For finding himself enforced with Varus's Troops, beside a Band of his Domestics that were all armed, and within Call, to serve the Turn of his Violence and Avarice; his Design was to get the Castles, and Herod's Monies into his Hands, by Force and Menace, upon the Governors, and other Officers that had them in Charge. It was now the Feast of Pentecost, or the fiftieth Day; so called from the Term of the Revolution after seven Times seven Days. The People gathered together in prodigious Number, not so much for Religion, as for Spite and Indignation; a World out of Galilee, Idumæa, Jericho, and the Country beyond Jordan, with the Inhabitants of Judæa; that for Number and Courage were more considerable than the rest. They divided into three Bodies, and pitched their Tents in three Quarters: One upon the North of the Temple; another upon the South, toward the Hippodrome; and the third to the Westward of the Palace. So that the Romans were now beset.

Sabinus's Heart began now to fail him, betwixt the Courage, and the Number of the Enemies: So that he pressed Varus, by one Messenger upon the Heel of another, to bring him Relief immediately, or all would be lost else. He shifts for himself, how-

ever, and gets into the Tower of the Castle that commands all the rest; which takes its Name from Phasaël the Brother of Herod, that was slain by the Parthians. Sabinus, from this Tower, gave a Signal to the Legionaries to break in upon the Enemy: But he had not the Heart himself to lead on the very Men that he was to command. The Romans, according to their Order, made a desperate Attempt upon the Temple, and it came to a very bloody Fight: But so long as the Jews had no Help from above, either with Darts or Arrows, the Romans, being the better Soldiers, had the Advantage of the Jews. But when the Jews afterward came to get Possession of the Galleries, and to gall the Romans from over Head, there were Abundance of them killed, and at the same Time out of Distance to take their Revenge: But Hand to Hand, they would have been much too hard for them.

Upon this Pinch, the Romans put Fire to the Galleries; which, for the Workmanship, Proportions, and Ornament, were every way incomparable. There were Abundance of the Jews that perished in the Fire: Some cut off by the Enemy upon their Fall; others pushed off from the Battlements; and some again, in Despair, chose rather to die by the Sword, than by the Fire, and laid violent Hands upon themselves. Those that made any Attempt upon the Romans from the Walls, were destroyed without any Difficulty; 'till at last, when they were either killed or scattered, the Soldiers made a Booty of the holy Treasure, carrying off four hundred Talents, and leaving the Remainder to Sabinus, all but what was carried away by Stealth.

This loss of Men and of Treasure brought on an Inforcement of a more dangerous body of Jews upon the Romans than the other, both for Valour and Number. They summoned the Palace, and set down before it, with a Menace of giving no Quarter unless they immediately quitted it, and offering Sabinus Liberty to depart with his Legion, and what other Troops he had about him, if he thought fit; as there were a great many Court-Volunteers; and three thousand Men of Sebaste; (the bravest Fellows Herod had in his Army.) These were commanded by Rufus and Gratus: Rufus a Horse Officer; Gratus a Foot; both of them Men of Mettle and Conduct, and a considerable Advantage to the Parties they sided with, even in their single Persons. The Jews still pressed the Siege, and attempted the Walls of the Castle; calling out to Sabinus all the while to quit and begone, without opposing himself any longer to the Resolution they had taken of recovering their Liberties. Sabinus would willingly have gone off, if he durst have trusted them; but their Civility looked so like a Snare, that he suspected it: And therefore, in the Hope of Relief from Varus, he stood the Siege.

Judæa was at that Time all over in Tumults, and Pretenders of all Sorts waiting for an Opportunity to break in upon the Government; as there were gotten together a Band of two thousand Veterans in Idumæa, that had formerly served under Herod. They were well armed and appointed, and had several Encounters with the King's Troops, with Achiah, Herod's Kinsman, in particular; who had often to do with them upon Sallies out of walled Towns, but in the plain Field he was not able to deal with them.

In Sepphoris of Galilee, there was one Judas, the Son of Hezekias (the famous Captain of the Robbers that was formerly taken by Herod.) This Judas had at that

Time

Time gathered together a considerable Body of Men, forcing the King's Magazines, and arming himself and his Companions out of those Stores, setting himself against all Opposers, and extremely harrassing the Country.

There was then also on the other Side of the River, one Simon, formerly a Domestic of Herod's. He was a Man of a huge Size and Stature; a robust Body; and of so exact a Symmetry, that nothing could be more graceful in the Proportions of one Part to another. He had at his Heels a Parcel of Thieves, and went up and down roving with a Crown upon his Head, burning and laying waste wherever he came, as at Jericho, he set Fire to the King's Palace there, and laid several glorious Buildings in Ashes round about it: Where, with much Ease, he made himself Master of a very rich Booty. He was in a fair Way to have gone through with his Work, and made a clear Country of it; if Gratus that commanded the King's Foot had not brought his Bowman from Trachon, and a brave Body of Sebastens, seasonably in to their Relief. In short, they fought, and Simon was worsted; a great Part of his Foot cut off, and himself put to the Rout; but as he was upon his Flight across a steep Bottom, Gratus gain-coped him, and with a Blow athwart the Neck and Shoulders cut him down. This was the End of Simon. But there was another Gang yet of the same Sort of People that were gotten together about Amathus and the Borders of Jordan; which laid all the Palaces in Rubbish thereabouts.

There was also at that Time a certain Shepherd, whose Name was Athronges; who had the Confidence to set up for a King. He had a Body to execute any Thing, and so daring a Resolution, that he feared neither Danger nor Death itself: So that in the Strength of this Impulse he would run all Hazards. He had for his Seconds four Brothers like himself, that served him for his Officers, both of War and Council. They had every Man his Troop, and with these Parties he made his Incurfions. When he was upon any Business of Moment, he sat mounted on his Throne, with a Crown upon his Head; pronouncing Judgment, and giving his Orders like a very King indeed. At this Rate the five Brothers went on for some Time, spoiling the Country, and destroying whatever stood in their Way: The Romans in the first Place, and the King's Troops; nay, and the Jews themselves, wherever they could make a Booty of them. There was a Convoy one Day with Corn and Arms that the Romans were carrying to one of their Legions. These Freebooters met them by Emmaus, and fought them; they killed Arrius the Centurion, and some forty of his best Men, and they had been all lost, if Gratus with his Sebastens had not come in the Nick of Time to bring them off. This Ravage went on a good while with great Spoil and Havock; and nothing came amiss to them, either Natives or Strangers. But in the End, three of the Brothers were taken; the eldest, by Archelaus; and the two next, by Gratus and Ptolemy; a fourth rendered himself to Archelaus, upon Conditions. This was the End of the Adventure of these five Men. But Judæa was at this Time all over-run with a pillaging, plundering War.

## C H A P. III.

*Varus joins with the Romans against the Jews. Sepphoris burnt to the Ground. Sappho taken and pillaged. Emmaus laid in Ashes. Upon the Approach of Varus, the Jews quit the Siege in a Confusion. The Citizens wash their Hands of the Sedition, and compliment Varus into the Town. Near two thousand of the Ring-leaders crucified. Varus discharges the Arabians for their Misbehaviour. The Generosity of Varus towards the Idumæan Jews.*

**V**ARUS being given to understand from Sabinus and the chief Officers at Jerusalem, that the Legion there was in Danger to be lost, he hastened away all that was possible to their Succour, and so marched with the two other Legions he had under his Command, and four Wings of Horse, to Ptolemais; ordering the King's and the Prince's Auxiliaries to join him there at the Rendezvous. The People of Berytus brought him an Inforcement of fifteen hundred Men well armed, in his Passage. Upon his coming to Ptolemais, Aretas the King of Arabia (being a bitter Enemy of Herod's) joined him with a considerable Body of Horse and Foot. When he had drawn up his Troops near Ptolemais, he sent Part of his Army into Galilee, under the Command of his Friend Gallus; who soon after encountered a Party, and gave them a total Rout; entered the City of Sepphoris, burnt it to the Ground, and made all the Inhabitants Slaves.

Varus carried his Army after this into Samaria; but spared the City, because they had not intermeddled in the Revolt. He encamped at Arus, a Village belonging to Ptolemy; which the Arabians destroyed for no other Reason but that he was a Friend to Herod: The Army advanced next to Sappho, a strong Place; which they took, rifled, and pillaged. The Arabians carried all before them with Fire and Sword: Emmaus was abandoned, and that they burnt by the Command of Varus, in Revenge for the Death of Arius and his Companions.

He advanced from hence with his Army to Jerusalem; where the Jews quitted the Siege upon the very Tidings of his Approach. Some shifted away into the Fields and the Woods; but the Citizens, on the contrary, carried it fair, and welcomed him into the Town. They had nothing to do, they said, in the Sedition, but laid the Blame upon others; and they were so far from joining with the Mutineers, that they were as much blocked up in the Town themselves as the Romans. But it was a great Day, and they could not hinder People from coming into the City. Joseph the Nephew of Archelaus, with Rufus and Gratus, the King's Generals, the Sebastens, and the Roman Soldiers also in the military Habit: These, in the first Place, marched all out of the Town to meet him. Sabinus durst not look Varus in the Face, and had slipt away some Time before out of the Town to the Sea-Side. Varus in the mean Time dispersed his Troops up and down all over the Country, in Search of the principal Authors of this Tumult.

Tumult. They took up great Numbers of them: And for those Stricklers that Varus found to be most malicious, he ordered them to be kept in Custody; and for the rest that were more criminal, he caused near two thousand of them to be crucified.

Varus had Intelligence yet once again of ten thousand Jews in Arms about Idumæa; so that he immediately discharged the Arabians, and sent them Home: For they did not act as Men of Honour and Soldiers, but gave themselves wholly up to Spoil and Rapine, laying the Country waste wherever they came, which was much against his Liking. Upon the receiving of this News, he put himself at the Head of his own Troops, and marched directly against the Enemy: But before it came to Blows, they bethought themselves, and upon the Advice of Achiah, rendered and laid down their Arms. Varus was easy to the Multitude, but sent the Officers to answer for themselves to Cæsar. After he had pardoned some, finding some Kinsmen of Herod's in the Number, he proceeded against them as Traitors for taking up Arms against their King. By this Means, Varus accommodated Matters at Jerusalem; and leaving the same Legion again in the City that he made Use of before for their Guard, he returned to Antioch.

## C H A P. IV.

*The Jews petition Cæsar for a free Exercise of their Religion: Cæsar calls a Council of Noblemen and Friends, to advise upon it. The Jews and their Deputies on the one Hand; Archelaus and his Friends on the other. A bloody Invektive of the Jews against Herod and his Sons. Nicolaus stands up in the Defence of Archelaus. Cæsar bears the Cause; and soon after settles the Government; and sees Herod's Will executed.*

WHILE this passed in Judea, there happened another Wrangle with the Jews at Rome, that put a further Delay to the Pretensions of Archelaus. There were fifty Deputies that had been sent to Rome from their Principals at Jerusalem, before this Confusion brake out (and it was with Varus's Licence too.) Their Business was to petition Cæsar in the Name of the rest, for a free Liberty and Exercise of their Profession: And there were eight thousand Jews, Inhabitants of Rome, that went along with them in their Request. Cæsar called a Council of the Roman Nobility, and of his own particular Friends, to meet in the Temple of Apollo upon the Mount Palatine; a Structure of his own erecting, and as rich or curious as Cost and Ornament could make it. The Council being assembled, there was a Multitude of Jews and their Ambassadors ranged on the one Hand, and Archelaus with his Friends on the other. The Kindred kept themselves upon the Guard of a kind of discreet Neutrality: The Envy and Hatred they had for Archelaus would not suffer them to side with him, and then they were ashamed on the other Hand to take Part with the Enemies of a Prince of the Blood. Among others, there was Philip the Brother of Archelaus.

Archelaus, whom Varus sent before, upon two friendly Accounts: The one, that he might be within Distance of assisting his Brother upon Occasion; the other, in case Augustus should think fit to divide the Government among the Children of Herod, he himself might come in for his Share.

The Accusers were now to be heard; and the first Point in Question was this: "What had Herod done contrary to the Law?" It was then urged, "That he never demeaned himself like a King; but on the contrary, as the most intolerable Tyrant upon the Face of the Earth. And his Cruelty did not stop neither at the Profusion of innocent Blood, and the Violence of Justice: But he made the very Living with themselves dead. And he did not only tear the Bodies of his Subjects to Pieces with Torments, but stript his Towns and Cities of all that was choice and precious, and gave it away in Ostentation to Foreigners; sacrificing the very Lives also of the Jews to Strangers. Instead of the Blessings of our ancient Laws and Liberties, he hath left his People nothing but Beggary and Iniquity in Exchange: Insomuch that they have suffered more Plagues since his coming to the Crown, than their Forefathers ever felt since their Deliverance from Xerxes, out of the Captivity of Babylon.

"But the Jews have been now so wonted to Slavery, that they are grown modest and patient under the Yoke, even to the Degree of entailing a voluntary Servitude upon their Posterity, in the Person of Archelaus, the Son of the late Tyrant; whom they saluted as King immediately upon the Death of his Father. They mourned for Herod together, and offered up their joint Vows for the long and prosperous Reign of his Successor. And then to put it out of Doubt that he was the true Son of this bloody Father, he made his auspicious Entrance upon the Government, with the Slaughter of three thousand Citizens: And the better to intitle himself to the Succession, this Butchery was his Oblation to God of three thousand Victims: And all this upon a Holy Day, and the Carcasses piled up in the Holy Temple.

"What Wonder is it now for Men that have outlived so many Miseries, and escaped so dangerous a Rock, to own their Aversion to this Man, and to fall (if perish they must) like Men of Honour with their Faces to the Enemy! All that the Jews desire at the Hands of the Romans, is only that Cæsar will judge the wretched Remainder of them so far worthy of Pity, as not to expose them to the Rigour of their merciless Oppressors; but rather to annex Judæa to Syria, and range them under the Laws and Rules of the Roman Government. It will then be seen whether the Jews are in Truth so turbulent and seditious a Sort of People as they are given out to be, when they fall once into the Hands of humane and temperate Governors." With this Prayer the Deputies closed their Charge.

Nicolaus, in his Reply, cleared the Kings in the first Place of the Crimes suggested against them, and so proceeded to a Character of the very Nation of the Jews: Setting them forth to be a People uneasy under any Government, but naturally averse to Kingship; concluding his Discourse with some Remarks upon the Relations of Archelaus that joined with his Accusers.

When Cæsar had heard both Sides, he dissolved the Court; and after some few Days

Days bestowed upon Archelaus one Half of the Kingdom under the Name of an Ethnarchy, and with a Promise to make him KING in a short Time, if he found he deserved it. The other Half he divided in two Tetrarchies; which he gave to two other Sons of Herod: One to Philip; the other, to Antipas; who had had a Dispute with Archelaus about the Sovereignty. There fell to his Share the Country beyond the River; and Galilee of two hundred Talents yearly Value. But Batanæa, Trachon, and Auranitis, and some Part of the Land of Zenon, about Jamnia, this was assigned to Philip, and yielded a Revenue of a hundred Talents. There fell into Archelaus's Ethnarchy, Idumæa, all Judæa, and Samaria; which last was eased of a fourth Part of their Tribute, as a Reward for not joining in the Rebellion with their Neighbours. Straton's Tower, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem, were all cast into Archelaus's Lot: But Gaza, Gadara, and Hyppon, (Greek Cities,) were detached from the Kingdom, and annexed to Syria. The Income, upon the whole, to Archelaus, amounted to four hundred Talents. Cæsar bestowed upon Salome, beside what was left her by the King's Will, Jamnia, Asotus, and Phasaelis: He gave her a Palace also at Askelon; which were valued in all at sixty Talents: But her Palace was subjected to the Jurisdiction of the Ethnarchy. When Cæsar had discharged all Herod's Legacies to his Kindred, he gave to his two Virgin-Daughters five hundred thousand Pieces of minted Money over and above, and married them to the Sons of Pheroras. But, in the End, upon the Division of Herod's Patrimony, Cæsar made a generous Distribution of a thousand Talents more, that were bequeathed to himself: Reserving only some particular Things of little Value, to keep by him in Memory of the Deceased.

## C H A P. V.

*A Counterfeit Alexander. The Manner of the Contrivance. The Method and Menage of the Cheat. The Impostor detected, and condemned to the Gallies. The first Projector put to Death.*

**A**T this Time there started up a certain young Man, by Nation a Jew, and brought up in Sidon, with the free Man of a Roman Citizen. This Man took upon him to personate Alexander, whom Herod put to Death; and went to Rome on Purpose to set up the Impostor. He had with him, for Countenance, and Counsel, another Jew, that was perfectly well informed in the Train and Intrigues of Herod's Court. This Jew gave his Companion his Lesson; which was, That the People that were employed by his Father to put himself and Aristobulus to Death, had so great a Compassion for them, that they substituted other Bodies in their Places, and conveyed the Brothers out of the Way. This passed for current with many Jews in Crete; who furnished the Pretender there with plentiful Supplies. He went from thence to Melos: Where he was received again with still more Honour and Bounty. Nay, and he carried the Matter so fair too, that he took several of his Friends along with him to Rome. Upon his Arrival at Puteoli, the Jews of the Place made him magnificent

Present: And his Father's Friends treated him all the while as a sovereign Prince. The wonderful Likeness, in fine, had got him such Credit, that as many as had seen Alexander would not stick to swear that this was the Man. The Story made such a Noise in the World, that the Jews at Rome came all flocking in to see him: Nay, the very Streets and Ways were thronged where he was to pass. In short, this Conceit ran so strong in their Heads, that they carried him up and down in a Chair of State, and spared for nothing either of Cost or Respect that might sort with his Pretence.

Now Cæsar calling to Mind the Lines and Air of Alexander's Face, (whom he remembered ever since he was before him upon Herod's Accusation,) bethought himself of sending one Celadus (who knew him as well as any Man) to fetch the young Man to him; not but that Cæsar gave it for a Cheat all along; but, however, for the Humour's sake, something was to be done in Form. Celadus found him out; and upon the first Sight of him, concluded him to be a Counterfeit: But when he came to consider the Coarseness of his Skin, Shape, and Manner of Address, his Suspicion was confirmed beyond all Peradventure. The Thing indeed that moved Celadus the most, was his bold Way of out-facing People. Asking about Aristobulus, "he was very well, he said; but lived on Purpose at Cyprus, to be out of Harm's Way: For if they kept together, there would be more Danger of Mischief by a Surprize." When Celadus had kept his Countenance thus far, he took him aside, and told him plainly; "This is all a Juggle, says he; do you but discover the Author of this Contrivance, and Cæsar will give you your own Life for your Pains." He promised him that he would; and so followed him to Cæsar: Where he named the Jew that had put him upon it to get Money by it. And, in Effect, the Sums that he raised from the Cities upon this Fancy, were more than Alexander himself could have procured, if he had been alive. The Menage was so ridiculous, that Cæsar could not but smile at it: And yet however in the End, he condemned the false Alexander to a Galley, (as a Service that his Body was made for) and commanded the Adviser to be put to Death: But for the foolish People of Melos, they had paid dear enough for their Madness, he thought, in the Expence; and so that Charge was their Punishment.

## C H A P VI.

*Archelaus banished for his Oppression, and his Goods seized. A foreboding Dream. The Dream expounded and made good. Another Dream of the Princess Glaphyra. Glaphyra's Vision of her first Husband. She tells her Dream, and dies within two Days.*

WHEN Archelaus came to be settled in his Ethnarchy, he did not forget old Grudges, but pressed bloodily hard upon both Jews and Samaritans: And upon an Embassy from both to Cæsar against him, in the ninth Year of his Government, he was banished to Vienne, a City of Gaul, and his Estate confiscated.

There



There goes a Story of a strange Dream Archelaus had before his Summons to attend Cæsar. He had a Dream of nine large full Ears of Corn, and Oxen eating them. Upon this he applied himself to several of the Magicians and Chaldæans to unriddle this Dream. Some said one Thing; some another; but Simon, an Essene, gave it this Interpretation. These Ears of Corn, says he, are Years: By Oxen, is to be understood Changes, and Overturning of Things; as the Earth is overturned with the Plough. So many Years as there were Ears of Corn you are to reign; and after many strange Revolutions, to die. Within the Compass of five Days after this Resolution, Archelaus was called upon to plead his Cause before Cæsar.

There was another memorable Dream also of the Princess Glaphyra, the Daughter of Archelaus, the King of Cappadocia, and the Wife of this Archelaus: Whose first Husband was Alexander, the Brother of him we are now speaking of, and the Son of Herod; by whom he was afterwards put to Death. This Princess, after his Death, married Juba the King of Lybia: And upon his Decease went Home again, and lived with her Father in her Widowhood. Archelaus the Ethnarch fell so desperately in Love with her at first Sight, that he presently put away Mariamne, and took her to his Wife. In some short Time after this, she went back into Judæa, and had there a Vision of her first Husband Alexander appearing to her: "Audacious Creature! says he, was not one Husband enough for thee, after me? But hast thou the Face now to take a third, and this under my Roof? And which is yet worst of all, my own Brother? These are Injuries not to be put up. But this will not do: For I will have you again in spite of your Heart." She told this Dream to her Friends, and died within two Days.

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## C H A P. VII.

*Three Sorts of Jews: Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. Of the Essenes; their Temperance, and Opinion of Marriage; their Goods in common; their Apparel, Charity, and Way of Living; their Scruples of Conscience: Men of Peace and good Faith; and against all Oaths. The Method of entering into the Society. Their Way of punishing Offenders. The justest People alive. They have a Veneration for Antiquity. Strict Observers of the Sabbath. They are commonly long lived; and firm in the Contempt of Death itself. Their Opinion of the Soul. Some of them pretend to the Spirit of Prophecy. Another Sort of Essenes. Of the Pharisees. Of the Sadducees. They are severe, even to one another; but inhuman to Strangers.*

**T**HE Estate of Archelaus being now reduced into a Province, Cæsar sent down Caponius, a Roman Knight, with a full Commission to govern it. In his Days,

one Judas a Galilean, stirred up the People to a Revolt; upon a Suggestion, that in owning the Romans for their Masters, and in paying them Tribute, they served God and Man both alike. Now this Man was of a Sect by himself, and, in Truth, without a Fellow. There are among the Jews three Sects of Religion: As Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes: The last is the fairest of the three for the Exercise of Holiness and Severity.

These Essenes are by Nation, Jews; the most united and friendly People one with another under the Sun. They have the same Aversion to Pleasure that they have to Vice, and reckon upon Continnence, and the Command of the Passions, as a Virtue of the first Rate. They have no great Reverence for Marriage; but for other People's Children, that they take under their Care while they are young and tender, they value them as their own Flesh and Blood, and train them up accordingly. They are not yet against Marriage; as Enemies to the Race and Succession of Mankind; but they have an Opinion that the fair Sex is frail and intemperate, and hardly to be kept within the Compass of Fidelity to one single Man.

As to the Matter of Wealth, and the Goods of this World, they have it all in Contempt; and do not so much as know what it is to be rich or poor; for it lies all in common, as a Condition of the Society. By this Means, no Man shall be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich: But the whole Party shall live like Brethren, being all equal Sharers in one common Patrimony.

They will not suffer any Oil to come upon their Bodies; or if such a Thing should happen, they are never quiet till they get it out again. They value themselves upon the plain Simplicity of their Appearance, though never so coarse; provided only that their Garments be white and clean.

They choose their Stewards for the Receipt and Menage of the Revenues, out of the best Men they have, and leave it to their Discretion to make a Distribution of them to every Man in Proportion, according to his Need.

They have no one certain Place of Abode, but disperse themselves up and down into several Cities; where they are ever ready and open to entertain all Comers of their own Sect, and as free as if they were at Home, though they never saw one another in their Lives before.

They carry nothing about them when they Travel, but Arms for their Security upon the High-Way. They have some Body or other in every City to take Care of their Friends, that they want neither Lodging, Food, Garments, nor other Necessaries. The Dress they wear, resembles that of Children when they are under the Charge of Masters and Governors.

They never change either their Garments or their Shoes, but when the one is torn, or the other worn out. They never buy or sell among themselves; but help one another with what they want, and what one wants, the other supplies: Not by the Way of Exchange; but the one is obliged to give, and the other at Liberty to receive.

They are the strictest People to God-ward of all Men Living. They make Conscience of speaking one Word of common Business before the Sun rises; but they have certain traditional Forms of Prayer for that Occasion, imploring particularly from God, that the Sun may shine upon them. After this Act of Devotion, they are all dismissed

to their several Tasks and Employments: And when they have studied, and wrought hard till Eleven at Noon, they meet again with Linen Cloths thrown over them, and so wash themselves all over with cold Water. Upon this Purification, they retire to their Cells; where no Mortal of any other Profession, is allowed so much as to breath upon them. From thence they enter into a Refectory, which they account little less holy than the Temple itself. When they have staid there a while without a Word speaking, the Baker brings up every Man his Loaf, and the Cook every Man his Plate, or Mefs of Soup, and sets it before him. The Priest then blesses the Meat, and not a Creature dares so much as touch it till the Grace be over. And so after Dinner, another Grace again; for they never fail to give God Thanks, both before and after Meat, as the Author of the Blessing. This Duty being over, they quit their Habits, as in some Measure sacred; and so to their ordinary Work again till Evening. They go next to Supper as before; where they sit together, Guests and all, if they have any at the same Table.

There's no Manner of Noise or Disorder in those Houses. They speak by Turns: And this Way of Gravity and Silence gives Strangers a great Veneration for them. This is the Effect of a constant Course of Sobriety, in their Moderation of eating and drinking only to suffice Nature.

They are not allowed to do any Thing without the Advice of their Superiors; saving only in Offices of Assistance and Compassion, and there they are left at Liberty; for every Man is free to help the Virtuous, and to relieve good Men in Want. 'Tis true they are not allowed to give any Thing to their Relations without Leave of their Governors.

They are great Masters of their Passions; Men of good Faith; Lovers of Peace; and their Word at least as sacred as their Oath: For they do effectually look upon the taking of an Oath worse than Perjury, and account of him for a Liar and a Man of no Credit, that cannot be believed without bringing in God for a Witness.

They have a mighty Reverence for the Works and Writings of Antiquity; especially in what concerns the good either of Soul or Body: As in the Case of Remedies for Diseases; the Virtues of Plants, Metals, Stones, Minerals, and the like.

When any Man has a Mind to come into the Society, they do not presently admit him Hand over Head; but keep him out of the Pale for one whole Year; admitting all of the same Class to the same Order or Diet: Giving every Man also a Pick-Ax, a Girdle, and a white Garment (as aforesaid.) When a Man has been long enough among them to give some competent Proofs of his Continnence and Virtue, they change his Course of Diet, and allow him the Benefit of purifying Waters to wash himself: But he is not yet admitted to the Table in the Refectory, till he has stood a two Years Probation for his Integrity and good Manners; and upon that Trial he is taken into the Society, that is to say, upon these further Conditions, before he can be established a Member of the Community:

He is first to bind himself by solemn Execrations and Professions, to love and worship God; to do Justice toward Men; to wrong no Creature willingly; no, nor to do it, though commanded; to declare himself an Enemy to all wicked Men; to join with all the Lovers of Right and Equity; to keep Faith with all Men; but with Princes especially.

pecially, as they are of God's Appointment and his Ministers. He is likewise to declare, that if ever he comes to be advanced above his Companions, he will never abuse that Power to the Injury of his Subjects, nor distinguish himself from his Inferiors by any Ornament of Dress or Apparel: But that he will love and embrace the Truth, and bring false Speakers to Justice. He binds himself likewise to keep his Hands clear from Theft and fraudulent Dealing, and his Soul as untainted with the Desire of unjust Gain: That he will not conceal from his Fellow-Professors any of the Mysteries of his Religion; nor communicate any of them to the profane, though it shall be to save his Life. And then for the Matter of his Doctrine: that he shall deliver nothing but what he hath received; that he will endeavour to preserve the Doctrine itself that he professes; the Books that are written of it, and the Names of those from whom he had it.

These Protestations are made use of as a Test for new Comers, and as a Security to keep them fast to their Duty.

Upon the taking of any Man in a notorious Wickedness, he is excluded the Congregation; and whoever incurs that Sentence, comes probably to a miserable End. For he that is tied up by these Rites and Sacraments, is not allowed so much as to receive a Bit of Bread from the Hand of a Stranger, though his Life itself were in Hazard; so that Men are driven to graze like Beasts, till the Flesh rots from the Bone. In this Distress, the Society hath sometime had the Charity and Compassion to receive some of them again, when they were at the very Point of Death; computing that the Punishment they suffered might in some Degree atone for the Offence.

In the Administration of Justice, they are the most regular and exact People alive. They determine nothing but what is carried by a hundred Voices at least; and when the Judgment is once past, there is no recalling it.

Next to the supreme Authority of God himself, they reckon that of their Legislators; making it Death to speak ill of them, or to blaspheme them. They ascribe great Honour to their Elders and to the Majority of the People; and think it very reasonable to obey the one, and to hearken to the other. When there are ten together in Council, no particular Person is to speak, if the other nine be against it.

They make it a Matter of Immorality to spit toward the Middle of the Company, or upon the Right-Hand.

They are the strictest Observers of the Sabbath of all Sorts of Jews; for they do not only make ready their Sabbath-Day's Meal the Night before, to avoid kindling a Fire on that Day; but they dare not so much as remove a Pot or a Dish from one Place to another, or ease themselves of the Necessities of Nature.

Upon other Days, when they are pressed at any Time to step aside, they take a Pick-Ax, (as I said before) and open the Ground a Matter of a Foot deep: When they have discharged themselves, they fill up the Hole again, out of a superstitious Scruple not to pollute the Beams of the Sun with such an Object. And though there be no more in it than a natural Purgation, it is yet followed with the Solemnity of a formal Purification.

The People that make Profession of this Manner of Life, are divided into four Sorts, according to their respective Obligations; and the younger are reputed so much inferior

to their Elders, that if they do but touch one another they are fain to purify, as if it were upon the Contract of a Stranger. They live to a great Age; a hundred Years and upwards many of them; which I ascribe in a great Measure to the Simplicity of their Way of Feeding, and to the Temperance of their Manners.

They are firm and hardy against all Dangers too, and resolute to the Contempt of Torments; insomuch that they account an honourable Death much more desirable than Life itself. We need go no farther for the Proof of this Assertion, than to the War betwixt the Jews and Romans. And upon several Occasions, what Torments did the Jews endure! As Burning, breaking of Bones, and all Manner of Pains, rather than let fall one irreverent Word of their Legislator, or but touch one Morfel of forbidden Meat. And all this, not only without Supplications and Tears, or any Abjection of Mind, but with a Chearfulness of Countenance in the very Anguish of their Pains, defying and triumphing over their very Tormentors, and delivering up their Souls with a serene Constancy of Courage, in the Assurance of exchanging a present Life for a better to come.

They firmly believe the Mortality of the Body; and that the Soul, being of the same Substance with the subtilest Air, is incorruptible and immortal; and, by a kind of natural Inclination, or Attraction, shut up in the Flesh as in a Prison. But when it shall be freed from these corporeal Bonds, as out of a long Slavery, it shall then chearfully mount up to the Region of endless Bliss. This Opinion suits well enough with some Conceits of the Greeks, who fancy a Place beyond the Ocean, where there is neither Rain, nor Snow, nor raging Heats, but only gentle refreshing Gales: And this do they make to be the Seat of the blessed Souls. As for the wicked Souls, on the other hand, they stand condemned to impetuous Tempests, killing Frosts, and everlasting Pains and Groans, World without End.

This is much after the Grecian Story of the Fortunate-Islands: Which are the Places set apart for the Entertainment of those glorious Spirits they call Heroes and Demi-Gods: And then they have their Hell too, in the Description of an infernal Pit, with Plagues and Punishments for such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, Tityus, and the like; computing all this while the Soul to be immortal, from the natural Disposition it hath to the Love of Virtue, and to the Detestation of Vice; for good Men are made better even in this World by the Hope of better Things yet to come in another; besides the Check that it puts to Impiety and Lewdness; when Men shall come to consider, that though they may escape the Eye and the Stroke of human Justice in this World, divine Vengeance will yet find them out in that to come, and punish them with Pains everlasting. This is the Essenes Philosophy upon the Subject of the Soul: And we find very few, when they have once imbibed this Doctrine, that ever depart from it.

There are among the Essenes also, that take upon themselves to foretel Things to come; building their Confidence upon ancient Prophecies and Holy Writ; and not without preparatory sanctifications to fit them for the Work. But be it as it will, they seldom fail in their Predictions.

There is now another Sort of Essenes, agreeing with the former in the same Meats, Manners, and Laws; but they are yet divided upon the Point of Wedlock; for they  
look

look upon those that are directly against Marriage, as the profest Enemies of Mankind: That is to say, in cutting off the Succession, and so extinguishing the Race. Now if all People were of the same Mind, the World would quickly be at an End. But they proceed with this Caution yet, that the Woman must be subjected to a Three Years-Probation, and if she shall be found in a Condition of Health fit for Child-Bearing, she shall be reputed after that Tryal qualified for Marriage. The Women are likewise to be covered when they wash, as the Men are; and this is enough said of the Essenes.

To come now to the two former Sects, the Pharisees, and the Sadducees: The Pharisees are, in the first Place, the great Doctors of the Law, and the best read Men in the Jewish Rites and Ceremonies. It is, in effect, the first Article of their Creed, that Fate and God do all; and yet that whether we do well or ill, it is much in our own Power, which of the two; only that Destiny interposes sometimes in this or that Particular. They believe the Soul to be immortal, and they believe likewise a Transmigration of the Souls of good Men into other Bodies; but at the same Time, that the Souls of the Wicked are transmitted into a State of everlasting Woe.

The Sadducees, on the other hand, absolutely deny Fate. "God can do no ill, they say, himself; and he leaves Men at Liberty to do what they list." They have Good and Evil before them, and they take their Choice. But for Reward or Punishment in another World, they understand nothing of it. The Pharisees, in fine, are sociable and live in a good Intelligence one with another; but the Sadducees, are harsh and ill-natured even among themselves, but directly inhuman and intolerable to Strangers, This is all I have to say of the Philosophy of the Jews: And I shall now return to my Text.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Augustus dies, and Tiberius succeeds him. Pilate made Governor of Judæa. A Tumult upon conveying Cæsar's Ensigns into Jerusalem. Pilate summons the Jews under Colour of a Hearing. The generous Behaviour of the Jews prevailed with Pilate to remove the Ensigns. Another Broil about a Tax upon the holy Treasure. Agrippa complains of Herod to Tiberius. A dangerous Expression of Agrippa's to Caius, and he was kept Prisoner for it till the Death of Tiberius. Caius Cæsar succeeds Tiberius, and advances Agrippa to the Grief of Herod and his Wife. Herod at the Instance of Herodias, addresses himself to Caius for his Favour. Caius checks him for it. Herod and Herodias die in Spain.*

**T**HE Ethnarchy of Archelaus, being now reduced into a Province, the two Brethren, Herod and Philip, (called Antipas) continued in the Command of their Tetrarchies. Salome dies, and bequeaths her Toparchy to the Empress Livia; together with Jamnia and a Nursery of Palm-Trees at Phasaelis.

Augustus

Augustus being now dead also, after a Reign of seven and Fifty Years, six Months and two Days, Tiberius, the Son of Livia, succeeded to the Roman Empire. Philip, the Tetrarch, built a City in Paneas, which he called Cæsarea: It was erected at the very Head of the River Jordan: And he raised another also in Gaulanitis; which he called Julias. Tiberias in Galilee was built by Herod; and so was Julias also in Pærea.

Pilate was now Governor of Judæa; and being sent thither by Tiberius to take Charge of his Command, he secretly conveyed late one Night into the City certain Ensigns of Cæsar's, with his Image upon them. This put the Jews into so outrageous a Tumult the next Day, that they were all at their Wit's End, to think what would become of their Liberties and Religion, if their Laws were trampled upon, and profaned at this Rate: For the bringing of Images into the City was a Thing absolutely forbidden. This Disorder in the Town was quickly seconded and inflamed by a vast Confluence of People from all Parts of the Province. The Jews, upon this, went in a great Body to Cæsarea, to move Pilate for Relief; and there they earnestly besought him to be tender of their Laws, and to order the removing of the Images out of the City. Pilate gave no heed at all to what they said; so that the Jews threw themselves flat upon the Ground round about his House, and in that Posture they continued five Days and five Nights, without so much as moving from the Place.

On the sixth Day, Pilate mounted the Tribunal which was in the great Court, and gave the Jews a Summons, as if it had been only to receive his Answer: When all on a sudden, the Design was so laid, and a Signal given, the Jews were immediately surrounded with armed Troops, three Deep, quite round about them. This was such a Surprise, that the Jews might well be amazed at it; and in that Instant Pilate declared that they should die every Man of them, unless they received the Colours into the City: And upon that Word he ordered the Soldiers to draw their Swords. The Jews, in this Confusion, cast themselves prostrate, one and all before them, stretched out their Necks, and offered themselves to the Execution; crying out with one Voice, That they would rather die, than see the Profanation of their Laws. Pilate was so astonished at the daring Zeal of these People in the Defence of their Religion, that he gave Order presently to have the Statues removed.

This Broil was followed with another. The Jews have a holy Treasure, which they call Corban; and Pilate laid a Tax upon it towards the Charge of Aquæducts, for the bringing in of Water at the Distance of three hundred Furlongs. The common People were so transported at this Imposition, that they came open-mouth to Pilate about it, as he was upon the very Tribunal. But he had the Fore-sight to provide for a Tumult, by intermixing Soldiers in Disguise with the Multitude, to be in Readiness to fall on, whenever Pilate should give the Word: But with this Caution, however, in Case of an Uproar, to make Use only of Cudgels without drawing their Swords. The People grew clamorous and unquiet: And upon that Provocation, Pilate gave the Soldiers the Signal; who did Execution according to their Orders. There was a great Number of Jews destroyed; what with those that died by blows, some crowded and trampled to Death, others that perished upon the Pursuit. The Rabble took this Rebuke for a Warning, and gave over Muttering: So that this Severity put an End to the Riot.

Agrippa, the Son of Aristobulus, who was put to Death by his Father Herod, went some Time after to Tiberius, with a Complaint against Herod the Tetrarch. Tiberius never minded the Accufation: So that Agrippa was easy and quiet at Rome, in the Condition of a private Man; and made his Court the mean while to Persons of the first Quality, and in particular to Caius, the Son of Germanicus. Agrippa was treating him one Day with the Compliment of a Collation; and when he was well warm in his Cups, and the good Humour upon him, Agrippa stretching out his Arm with an Exclamation, " Ah, says he, how glad should I be to see Caius Master of the World instead of Tiberius." This was carried to Tiberius by one of the Company, where he was kept in great Misery till the Death of the Emperor, some six Months after: Which was when he had reigned two and twenty Years, six Months, and three Days.

Caius Cæsar upon coming afterward to the Empire, discharged Agrippa, and gave him Philip's Tetrarchy, (who was now dead) and the Title of King too. This Advancement of Agrippa went to the envious Heart of Herod the Tetrarch: And his Wife Herodias was not wanting neither to the inflaming of his ambitious Mind into the Hope of the Kingdom; and at this Rate she twitted him, " You were lazy, says she, and " might have had it for asking, if you had but thought it worth a Journey to Cæsar. " If Caius was prevailed upon to make Agrippa a King, of a private Man, he would " never have stuck certainly at making Herod a King, of a Tetrarch." Herod was now prevailed upon by his Wife to go to Caius, and Agrippa his Accuser followed him upon the Heel. But so far was the Emperor from gratifying his Ambition, that on the contrary, he checked him severely for his Avarice, and gave away his Tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod, upon this Disappointment, slipped away for Spain, and his Wife along with him; where he died in Exile.

## C H A P. IX.

*Caius Cæsar sets up for a God. His barbarous Cruelties. Petronius orders Cæsar's Statues to be set up in the Temple. Death without Mercy to all Opposers. Petronius marches with an Army from Antioch towards Judæa. The Situation and Description of Ptolemais. Memnon's Sepulchre. The Jews petition Petronius at Ptolemais for Relief: Who summons them to Tiberias, and there reasons the Case with them. Petronius relents; and dissolves the Court once again without coming to any Resolution. He promises his Mediation to Cæsar: Dismisses the Multitude, and draws off to Antioch. Petronius writes to Cæsar what had passed; who, in return, orders the putting of Petronius to Death; but the Death of Caius prevented the Execution.*

CAIUS



**C**AIUS Cæsar had the blasphemous Vanity, in this Tide of his Fortune, to set up for a God, and to assume to himself both the Name and the Worship. He struck off the Heads of such Numbers of the Roman Nobility, that the very Order was in a Manner suppressed, and his Country disabled, by those frequent Executions. And his impious Cruelty did not stop here neither, but he carried it into Judæa too; sending Petronius with a Commission, and a Charge to set up his Statues in the Temple, and to put every Soul to the Sword, that should dare to refuse them: And for the rest of the Jews to make them all Slaves. But God in his Mercy ordered Matters otherwise. Petronius marched away all in Haste from Antioch towards Judæa, with three Legions and a considerable Number of Auxiliaries out of Syria. The Report of this Expedition was such a Surprize to the Jews, that the greater Part of them could not believe it; and those that did, were not in a Condition to provide for a Defence: But the Army being now advanced as far as Ptolemais, they were all seized with a mortal Terror.

This Ptolemais is a City upon the Coast of Galilee, situated on a large Plain, and surrounded with Mountains to the Eastward at the Distance of some sixty Furlongs; but belonging to Galilee to the Southward with Carmel, at about a hundred and twenty Stadia to the North, and a very high Mountain, called the Tyrian Ladder, at a hundred and twenty also. Some two Stadia from the Town itself, there was a little River called Belus, and not far from it stands Memnon's Sepulchre, bordering upon a Prospect of near a hundred Cubits over; which has somewhat in it that is very remarkable. There is the Appearance of a round Valley that yields a kind of a glassy Sand. The Ships meet it, and carry it off; and as fast as they fetch it away, the Winds from the Top of the Mountains fill up the Place again. It is the Nature of the Place to turn any Thing to Glass that comes into it. But the most wonderful Thing of all, to me, is this, That after those Sands are vetrified, it is but casting any Part of them upon the Skirts of that Place to make it common Sand again; such is the Nature and Condition of the Soil.

In this Consternation the Jews, with their Wives and Children, went to Petronius at Ptolemais, and there besought him as well for their Country's sake, as their own, not to press the Violation of their Laws to the Ruin of so many miserable People. The Petitioners were so many, and so earnest, and their Case so deplorable, that Petronius was prevailed upon to leave his Army and the Emperor's Statues at Ptolemais; and so advancing toward Galilee, he summoned the Jews of all Sorts to attend him at Tiberias. Being come to Tiberias, he entered upon a Discourse to them of the Strength and Power of Rome, and the Menaces of Cæsar: Adding withal, that the Jews Request was in Truth but a tacit Affront: For why should they take upon them to dispute those Orders that all the Subjects of the Roman Empire beside themselves submitted to, that is to say, the placing of the Emperor's Statues in the Temples among their other Gods. This Expostulation he told them, was within a little of a Revolt: And next after Cæsar, he himself was concerned in the Matter.

They had nothing to say for themselves, but that the Laws and Customs of their Country would not allow them to set up any Images whatsoever, either of God or

Man; or in any Place whatsoever, either sacred or profane. Well, says Petronius, and am not I to keep my Master's Laws as well as you are to keep yours? Or in Case I should transgress them in your Favour, should not I deserve to be punished? Neither is it Petronius that opposes you, but Cæsar: For I am as much under Command as you are yourselves. The whole Multitude upon this, brake out into an unanimous Outcry, that if they were sure to die for it, they would never yield to the Violation of their Laws.

When the Hubbub was a little laid: What! says Petronius, you are resolved to take up Arms against Cæsar then, are you not? No, said they, there is not a Day goes over our Heads, but we offer up Vows and Sacrifices to God for his Prosperity, and for the whole People of Rome; but if he goes about to impose Images upon us in the Temple, he goes the Way to work to make the whole People of the Jews but one Sacrifice, and in that Case, we ourselves, with our Wives and Children, are all ready to give our Lives for the Asking. Petronius was so divided upon this, betwixt Admiration and Pity, to see the invincible Force of such a Zeal for Religion, and such a Multitude of People united in the same Resolution, that the Meeting broke up once again without any Thing done.

But Petronius went the next Day, and so from Time to Time in private, and Man by Man, to some of the most eminent Persons among them, and spake in Public also at the same Time to the common People; one while advising them as a Friend, and then minding them of the insuperable Courage of the Romans, and the Danger of incurring Cæsar's displeasure; beside, says he, that I am under an absolute Necessity of obeying my Orders. But when he saw that nothing of this would work upon them, and that they had already lost their Seed-time to attend this Controversy; having been already near fifty Days about it, Petronius told them at last that for their Sakes he was resolved to expose himself to a desperate Hazard. I will either satisfy Cæsar, says he, and save you and myself both at once; or, if nothing will serve him but Extremities, I will lay down my Life for you. And so he dismissed the Multitude with a thousand Vows and Prayers for him, and drew off his Army from Ptolemais to Antioch. From Antioch he sent immediately to Cæsar, with an Account of the Manner of his entering into Judæa: How the whole Nation were joined in one common Petition; which he was afraid could not be opposed or denied without the Hazard of the whole Province. They desired nothing more, he said, than the Maintenance of their Laws against all Innovations. The Answer that Caius gave to this Letter, was an Order for the putting of Petronius to Death for not executing his Command. But it so fell out that the Bearers of this Order were kept three whole Months upon the Way by contrary Winds; and in the mean Time comes the Tidings of the Death of Caius by a quicker Passage, and seven and twenty Days before the other.

## C H A P X.

*The Army declares Claudius the Successor of Caius; and the Consuls meet about it. Agrippa in Favour both with Claudius and the Senate. He sides with Claudius, and is sent upon an Embassy to the Senate. Agrippa, in Justification of Claudius, and the Army. The Senate's Answer to Agrippa, and Claudius's Return to the Senate. A Soldier stands up for the Honour of Claudius. The Soldiers desert, and the Senate follows their Example. Claudius's Party had been lost if Agrippa had not prevented it. Claudius makes himself popular. He pays his Vows and Sacrifices in Form. His royal Bounties to Agrippa and Herod. The vast Wealth and Power of Agrippa. The walling in of Jerusalem. Agrippa reigned three Years, and died at Cæsarea. The Family of Alexander and Aristobulus.*

**C**AIUS being cut off by Treachery, when he had reigned three Years and six Months, Claudius was advanced to the Government by the Army which was then at Rome. The Consuls, Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, appointed, according to the Resolution of the Senate, three Companies for the Guard of the City, and so they met in the Capitol; where they determined to oppose Claudius in Spite, for the Barbarities of Caius, out of a Design to bring the Government again to an Aristocracy, as it was of old, when the worthiest Men were taken into the Administration. It so happened that Agrippa came, while this past, and was invited both into the Council by the Senate, and into the Army of Claudius; as a considerable Addition to what Party soever he espoused. Now Agrippa, finding Claudius to be as good as Emperor already, went over into his Interest without much Difficulty, and was immediately employed upon an Embassy to the Senate: Giving them to understand, that the Armies setting of him up for Emperor, was an absolute Force upon him, and in Truth, purely their Act, whether he would or no: But that now since the Thing was done, he could not recede, either with Honour or Safety; for it would look like an undervaluing of the Good-will of the Soldiers, to decline the Dignity; as it would provoke them to a Revenge, if he should seem insensible of the Obligation; telling them over and above, that now he was brought on, there was no coming off; for the Envy of the Choice would stick by him still, even if he should lay down the Sovereignty. But however, since the first Point was over, and that he was in Possession of the Government, he had determined with himself to attend and execute the office; not as a Tyrant to domineer at Will and Pleasure; but as a Prince of Tenderness for his People. He should content himself with the Honour of the Name of Emperor, and in Cases of State to hearken to the Advice of the Senate; for, says he, if Claudius were not modest and temperate in his own Nature, the exemplary Fate of Caius was enough to make him so.

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When Agrippa had gone thus far, the Senate (depending upon their Credit with the Army, and the Prudence of their own Conduct) made him this short Reply: "That they were not a People to be made voluntary Slaves." Agrippa carried this Answer to Claudius, and was presently sent back again to tell the Senate that Claudius was not a Man to betray his Friends that promoted him to the Empire. He was very much troubled at the Thought of having a Quarrel with the Senate: But if it must come to a Decision by Arms, Claudius desired them only to appoint some Spot of Ground without the City for the Place of Battle; for it would be a thousand Pities to have Rome itself laid in Blood and Ashes, only to gratify the Humour of a few hot-headed People. This was it that Agrippa had in Charge from Claudius, and he delivered it accordingly to the Senate.

While Things were in this Disposition and posture, one of the Soldiers who was there present stood forth, and drawing his Sword; "My fellow Companions, says he, "what's the Matter here that we are now at Daggers-drawing with the best Friends we have, and upon the very Brink of a Civil War, only for adhering to Claudius? An Emperor without a Blemish, and a Prince that we should rather treat with Duty and Respect, as our Protector, than with Arms, as an Enemy." With these Words he marched off through the Middle of the Court, and the rest of the Soldiers followed him. This Desertion put the Nobles into such a Fright for fear of the Consequences, that when they found Huffing would do no Good, they very fairly did as the military Man had done before them; they went their Way, and declared for Claudius. In the Interim, divers of the officious pick-thank Soldiers lay upon the Watch, with their Swords drawn, under the Walls, to dispatch them at their coming out; and they had been killed every Man of them, before Cæsar could have known any Thing of the Matter, if Agrippa had not given timely Notice to prevent it, telling Cæsar plainly, that if he did not put a Check to the Licence of the Army; especially toward the Nobility, there would be nothing but cutting of Throats, in a short Time, and instead of making him the Master of a glorious Empire, they would leave him only the Prince of a Desert.

Claudius took Agrippa's Advice, and put the Soldiers in better Order, treated the Senators in his Camp with all Honour and Kindness; and then went out with them according to Custom, to offer Vows and Sacrifices for the Prosperity of the Empire. He bestowed upon Agrippa, not only his Father's Kingdom intire, but those Places over and above that Augustus had conferred upon Herod; as Trachonitis, and Auranitis, with a Command also that was called the Kingdom of Lyfania; appointing the Particulars of this Grant to be notified by Proclamation to the People; and giving it likewise in Charge to the Senate, to have it cut in Brass, and set up in the Capitol. He gave the Kingdom of Chalcis also to Herod, the Brother of Agrippa; who was become his Son-in law too, by matching him to Berenice his Daughter.

Agrippa was now grown great in Wealth and Power, beyond all Thought or Imagination; and the Treasure that he got, he did not squander away neither, upon Vanities or Trifles. His first Enterprize was the walling in of Jerusalem; and if it had been carried on answerable to the Beginning, the Romans would never have done any Good upon

upon it. But after a three Years Reign as King, he died at Cæsarea, and left the Work unfinished; having governed three Years before, in the Quality of Tetrarch. He left three Daughters that he had by Cypris; Berenice, Mariamne, and Drufilla; and one Son, whose Name was Agrippa. He was very young when his Father died; so that Claudius reduced the Kingdom into a Province, and made Cuspius Fadus Governor; after whom came Tiberius Alexander; who, making no Alteration in the Laws and Customs of the Country, kept the People in Peace. A little after this, died Herod that governed in Chalcis, and left by Berenice, the Daughter of his Brother, two Sons; Berenicianus, and Hyrcanus: And by Mariamne his former Wife, Aristobulus. There was another Brother Aristobulus also that died a private Man, and left a Daughter whose Name was Jotapa. These, as we have said before, were the Children of Aristobulus, the Son of Herod. But Alexander and Aristobulus were the Sons of Herod by Mariamne, whom the Father himself put to death. The Children of Alexander governed afterward in the greater Armenia.

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 C H A P. XI.

*Herod of Chalcis dies and Agrippa succeeds him. Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander. A beastly affront upon the Jews; and a horrible Up-roar upon it. Another Tumult occasioned by a Robbery. A Soldier tears and burns the Books of Moses. The offender put to Death. A Quarrel betwixt the Jews of Galilee and those of Samaria; with the Occasion of it. Jerusalem all in a Flame about it. The Ringleaders of these Outrages. Cumanus marches to their Relief. The Rabble reasoned into their Wits again. The Countries infested with Robbers; and complain of them to Quadratus. The Rise of the Tumults charged upon the Samaritans, and the Consequences upon Cumanus. Quadratus goes to Jerusalem to be farther informed. Cæsar gives Cumanus and the Samaritans an Hearing at Rome. He passes Judgment against them, and orders the Execution of it. Cæsar's Bounties. Claudius dies, and Nero succeeds him. Nero, the worst, and the weakest of Princes.*

**A**FTER the Death of Herod, that governed in Chalcis, Claudius introduced Agrippa the Son of Agrippa, into his Uncle's Kingdom: And Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander in the Kingdom of Judæa. During the Time of his Administration, the Jews fell into new and grievous Troubles. The People being gathered together at Jerusalem in vast Numbers to celebrate the Feast of unleavened Bread, and a Band of Soldiers standing at the Gate of the Temple (as it was customary upon these Meetings), for Fear of Tumults. There was one Soldier among the rest that turned up his Back-Side naked in the Face of the Congregation, and made a beastly Noise.

Noise with it answerable to the Brutality of the Action. This put the whole Multitude into such a Rage, that they pressed in Throngs up to Cumanus for Justice upon the Soldier for that Affront: And some hot mutinous young Men, among the rest, made a direct Brawl and Quarrel of it; falling on with hard Words and Stones, and striking the Soldiers. Cumanus, for fear of further Mischief by a popular Uproar, sent an Inforcement of fresh Men to support the former. This put the Jews in such a Fright, that they shifted for themselves to get out of the Temple as soon as they could; but the Passages were so crowded and wedged up, that a Matter of ten thousand were trod and squeezed to Death in the Press. This Encounter made it a dismal Festival to the whole Nation: Tears and wringing of Hands in every House; and not a Family but had a Share in the Mourning.

This Calamity was scarce over, but another followed upon the Back of it. One Stephen, a Domestic of Cæsar's, was travelling upon the High-way, with some Household-Stuff of his Master's. He was set upon near Bethoron, and robbed, by a Band of Thieves. Cumanus sent a Party to take up the People in the Neighbouring-Villages, and bring them to him bound; making them answerable for not taking the Highwayman. While they were upon this Enquiry, a common Soldier, happening in the Search, to lay his Hands upon the Books of Moses, tore them to Pieces, and threw them into the Fire. This brought the Jews together in Throngs, as if their whole Country had been in a Flame. They all met in the same Instant, as if they had been moved by a Machine, and then in the Heat of a superstitious Zeal, they repaired immediately to Cumanus at Cæsarea: Where they pressed him with violent Importunities, not to let that Wretch escape unpunished, that had put so audacious an Affront upon God and his Law. Cumanus found there was no quieting the People without some Sort of Satisfaction: So that he commanded the Soldier to be brought out, and put to Death in the Sight of the whole Field. And that put an End to the Tumult.

There happened at the same Time an unfortunate Difference betwixt the Jews of Galilee and those of Samaria. There was a certain Jew of Galilee, passing through a Village called Geman, in the great Plain of Samaria, that was there killed as he was going up to Jerusalem to worship at a solemn Festival. The People of Galilee presently drew out a Body to Revenge themselves of the Samaritans by Arms: The better Sort of them applying themselves to Cumanus; and advising him by all Means, before it went too far, to go over to Galilee; and upon a strict Inquiring into this Matter, to see Justice done upon the Murderers. Cumanus, it seems, had somewhat else to do, and so dismissed the Petitioners without Interfering into the Cause. The Story of this Outrage coming soon after to Jerusalem, put the whole Multitude into such a Flame, that they left the Business of the Day; and in a Confusion, without either Officer or Order resolved to fall upon Samaria, in Spite of all their Officers could do to restrain them. The Heads, both of the Robbery and the Tumults, were Eleazar the Son of Dinæas, and Alexander; who breaking into the Borders of Acrabatena, burned all before them, and put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword.

Cumanus, upon the News of this Ravage, came with a Sebastene Party of Horse to the Relief of the Country; took a great many of Eleazar's Followers, and cut off  
many

many more. As to the Remainder of this Rabble that made such Havock in Samaria, the great Officers, and the leading Men of Jerusalem, went out in Sackcloth and Ashes after them; begging of them, and using all Arts and Arguments to make them quit their Design. "Do not destroy Jerusalem, they cryed, to be revenged of Samaria. "Have pity upon your Country, your Temple, your City, your Wives; which are "in Truth all at Stake: And do not sacrifice all that is dear to you in this World, to "be revenged of one poor Galilean." The Jews came at last to themselves again, and the Fit went off.

There was about that Time notable Robbing and Stealing: (as Peace breeds Villainy.) The Countries were all over-run with Men of Prey: And upon the whole Matter, it was but the greater Thieves robbing the less. Numidius Quadratus being then Governor of Syria, several of the Heads of the Samaritans addressed to him at Tyre, with a heavy Complaint against the Robbers that infested their Country. There were divers of the Jewish Nobility then present, and there was Jonathan also, the Son of Ananus the High-Priest. Now this Jonathan baffled all Objections with turning the Blame upon the Samaritans, as the first Authors of the Tumult, in the Death of the Galilean. He charged the Consequences also upon Cumanus, for want of doing Justice in Time upon the Offender.

Quadratus, when he had heard the Cause, put off the further Consideration of it till he came into Judæa: Where he might have a more particular Information. He went after that to Cæsarea, and there caused all those that Cumanus had taken alive, to be put to Death. Thence to Lydda, where he heard the Samaritans Cause once over again, and cut off the Heads of eighteen principal Men of the Jews, that he certainly knew were dipped in the Tumults. As to the two High-Priests, Jonathan and Ananias, with Ananus the Son of Ananias, and some other Jews of the first Quality, he sent them all to Cæsar; beside some noble Samaritans also. He ordered Cumanus, and Celer the Tribune, away to Rome to answer for themselves to Claudius. Things being thus settled, he went forward from Lydda to Jerusalem; where finding the People in the Middle of their Festival of unleavened Bread, all in Peace, he went back for Antioch.

When Cæsar had heard at Rome what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say for themselves; (Agrippa being there too, a zealous Advocate for the Jews: And Cumanus had great Friends there also upon his own Account) he gave Sentence against the Samaritans; condemning three of the best of them to be beheaded; Cumanus to be banished: Celer, the Tribune, to be sent bound to Jerusalem, and delivered to the Jews to see the Sentence executed: His Body to be drawn through the City, and his Head to be struck off. He made Felix, the Brother of Pallas, Governor of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee and Peræa. He preferred Agrippa from the Kingdom of Chalcis to a greater Command. He gave him also the Province that had been Philip's; which was Trachonitis, Batanæa, and Gaulanitis: Superadding to all these, the Kingdom of Lyfania, and the Tetrarchy that had been Varus's.

When Claudius had reigned thirteen Years, eight Months, and twenty Days, he departed this Life, and left the Succession to Nero; whom his Wife Agrippina had arti-

tificially introduced into the Government: Notwithstanding that he had at that Time a legitimate Son, Britannicus, by his first Wife Messalina; and a Daughter Octavia, whom he married to Nero. He had also by Æl. Petina another Daughter, called Antonia.

No Man ever made a worse Use perhaps of the Advantages of a great Power and Fortune, than Nero did; witness the washing of his Hands in the Blood of his Brother, his Wife, and his Mother; and then the Prosecution of that inhuman Cruelty toward his nearest Relations; the Folly and Madness of turning a Prince into a Player, and subjecting the imperial Dignity to the Buffooneries of the Stage. But these Stories are so generally known already, and so little to my Purpose, that I shall rather pass them over in Silence, and so return to my Business.

## C H A P. XII.

*Nero's Grants and Commissions. Felix defeats the Robbers, and takes their Captain Prisoner. A new sort of cut Throats, called Sicarii. Jonathan the High-Priest, the first that fell by their Hands. The City in a Confusion at it. The Danger of Enthusiasts. A Magician sets up for a Prophet, and marches at the Head of 30,000 Men toward Jerusalem. Felix meets him, and gives him a total Overthrow. The Robbers set up for absolute Liberty. A Tumult betwixt the Jews and the Syrians, about the City of Cæsarea. The Elders do all they can to pacify them. The Cause at last comes to be heard before Cæsar. Festus succeeds Felix.*

**T**O come now to that Part of Nero's History that concerns the Jews. He gave Aristobulus the Son of Herod the Government of the less Armenia, and annexed four Cities more to the Territory of Agrippa: That is to say, Abila, and Julias in Peræa; and in Galilee, Tarichee, and Tiberias, with their Dependencies. The Remainder of Judæa he gave to Felix; who no sooner had his Commission, but he made War upon the Robbers; took Eleazar their Captain, with several others, and sent them all bound to Rome; after they had harassed the Country at Pleasure for twenty Years together. In fine, what with the Thieves that were kept Prisoners, or put to Death, and the Country People that joined with them, the Number of the killed and taken was almost incredible.

So soon as the Land was well cleared of these Ruffians, up started another Sort of cut Throats, under the Name of Sicarii; from Sica, the Weapon they used. Now these People made no Difficulty of doing their Work even at Noon-Day, in the very Streets of Jerusalem, and in the Face of the Sun: Especially upon great Days, when the Town was crowded with People. Their Way was to carry short Daggers under their Coats; and mixing with the Multitude, privily to stab their Enemies: And then



as any Man fell, who so forward as they themselves to wonder at the Villany. This Practice went on a good while, not only without Discovery, but the Actors of it not so much as suspected. The first Man that fell by these Affassins was Jonathan the High-Priest: After which, not a Day passed for a good while, without several Executions of the same Kind. This so startled the City, that the very Fear was in some Respect worse than the Mischief; for it was as dangerous to walk the Streets, as to be in a Battle. They suspected every Man for an Enemy at a Distance; and durst not trust their Friends when they came near them. And after all, this Watchfulness and Guard was not enough to secure them: So bold and dextrous were these Bravo's in the Exercise of their Profession.

There was another sort of Miscreants now that did yet more Mischief with their Tongues than the other did with their Weapons. 'Tis True, they spilt no Blood, but they destroyed more with their Doctrines, than the other did with their Daggers; and utterly corrupted the happy and the orderly State of the City. These were Imposters and Seducers, that under the Colour of Religion, set Men a madding after strange Opinions and Innovations. They withdrew the People into Woods and Solitudes, upon Pretence that God had a Work in Hand to set them at perfect Liberty; and that he would reveal himself further to them by Tokens from Heaven that would give them an infallible Assurance of it. Felix saw manifestly what they were a doing, and found it necessary to nip the Design of a Rebellion in the Bud: So that he sent out a Body of Horse and Foot after these Enthusiasts, and destroyed a great Number of their Disciples.

This Plague was followed with that of an Ægyptian Pretender, that fell heavier upon the Jews than the other. This Ægyptian was a Magician, but passed for a Prophet, with about thirty thousand Men at his Heels, that he had inveigled into his Congregation. He led them about by the Way of the Wilderness, and so to mount Olivet; proposing to march thence to Jerusalem; beat out the Roman Garrison, and make himself Master of the Place and Country: With his Friends and Guards about him all this while to assist in the Enterprize. Felix, finding it to be a growing Evil, advanced up to the Egyptian with his Roman Legions, and a considerable Body of the Jews to join him. Felix gave him Battle, and totally defeated him; the Ægyptian himself, with some few of his Followers, saving themselves by Flight. There were great Numbers of his People killed; others taken and put in Chains; and the rest dispersed to their own Homes.

It is with a distempered Nation as in the Case of an ill Habit of Body, one Trouble is no sooner removed but another comes on. For the Magicians and the Robbers were now laying their Heads together, how they might set up for absolute Liberty, and engage the Multitude in a Resolution to shake off the Roman Yoke. This they attempted, both by Argument and Menace; threatening Death without Mercy for any Man to own that Jurisdiction: Proposing to reduce those by Terror, that would otherwise subject themselves to a voluntary Slavery. This Party dispersed itself all over the Country; plundering great Mens Houses; cutting Throats, and burning wherever they came: So that Judæa was brought to the last Extremity of Desperation with Dread and Trouble; the War growing every Day more cruel than other.

There was at this Time another Tumult also that brake out about Cæsarea, upon a

Commotion that was started there betwixt the Jews and the Syrians living promiscuously together. The Jews would have it to be their City; arguing that a Jew was the Founder of it, meaning King Herod. Their Competitors could not deny a Jew to have been the Builder of it; but insisted upon it on the other hand, that it belonged to the Gentiles: For if it were the Jews City, they would never suffer Temples and Statues, to be erected in it. They fell into such Heats upon this Dispute, that they betook themselves to their Arms; and not a Day passed but there was Mischief done, more or less, betwixt the forward Men of the two Parties. The Elders did all that was possible to be done by Authority and Advice, to quiet the Jews on the one hand, but they were wholly ungovernable; and the Greeks, on the other hand, thought themselves too good to truckle to the Jews. They were looked upon, it is true, to have more Wealth and Courage; but the Greeks had a much greater Interest in the Soldiery: For a great Part of the Roman Army being drawn out of Syria, they were the readier to assist them, both as their Countrymen and Kindred. The Magistrates and Officers did all that was to be done too, by the uttermost Severity of Discipline to quash the Tumult; as taking the incorrigible and obstinate into Custody; whipping and chaining them up, and the like. But the exemplary Sufferings of some wrought nothing upon the Spirits of others that were more hardened; nay, on the contrary, that which they thought would have discouraged or over-awed them, made them still worse and worse.

Felix, at last, when he saw nothing would bring them to Reason, commanded the Faction away out of the City by Proclamation, upon their uttermost Peril. But divers staying behind in Contempt of Authority, the Governor sent a Party of Soldiers in among them that killed several of them and seized their Goods. But the Sedition going on still, the Governor dispatched away Commissioners to Nero; (some of the principal Men of both Parties) to plead their Cause before Cæsar. Festus succeeded Felix, and fell very hard upon the Highwaymen that were most troublesome to the Province; taking and killing a great many of the Thieves.

### C H A P. XIII.

*Albinus succeeds Festus. A corrupt and tyrannical Governor. Albinus a lewd Man, but nothing to Gessius Florus that came after him. Albinus and Florus compared. Cestius Gallus Governor of Syria. A heavy Complaint to Gallus against Florus. Florus does what he can to make the Jews rebel. Cæsar's Decree in Favour of the Cæfarean Greeks. The Rise of the Jewish War.*

**A**LBINUS succeeded Festus; but he did not govern like his Predecessor. He was a Man so universally wicked, that there was no ill he stood out at: As Corruption, Avarice, Extortion, Oppression; and this in all Cases too, as well private as public: Bribery in civil Causes; Bribery again in personal; and the Nation squeezed to Death under

under the Burden of arbitrary Tribute. Was any Man in the Hand of the Law for Rapine and Violence, either upon Conviction before the present Magistrate, or upon the Sentence of former Judges? There needed but a Friend and a Piece of Money to set him at Liberty: And no Man was ever found guilty by this Governor, that had but Money to make him innocent and purchase his Freedom.

There was at this Time a Faction at Jerusalem, that had set their Hearts upon a Change of Government; and those of the Party that had wherewithal, compounded with Albinus before-hand to be easy to them in Case of a Broil. But there was a popular Mixture of Men also, that could not be quiet themselves, so long as the State was at Peace: And these People were taken into the Interest of Albinus. The Heads of this mutinous Medley had every one of them a Troop of good Fellows at his Heels, of his own Complexion, while the Governor himself was only the most illustrious Thief of the Band; with his Guards about him to do Execution at Pleasure upon those that were not in a Condition either for Resistance or Defence. It came to this upon the Main, that the Losers durst not open their Mouths to complain; and those that escaped, were glad to give Part of what they had for the saving of the rest; and the Receivers themselves worse at last than the Thieves. In fine, "There was no Faith left upon the Earth;" and the Multiplicity of Tyrants was evidently the Foundation of a Slavery to come

These were the Manners, and this the Character of Albinus: But Gessius Florus that came after him, was such a Foil to him, that the former looked like an Angel upon the Comparison. Albinus indeed was false, but yet close and secret in his Iniquities; which had something like Modesty in it: But Gessius made an open Profession of his Lewdness; insomuch that he valued himself upon the Merit of his Crime, and made it his Glory to declare himself a professed Enemy to the whole Nation. He behaved himself in the Province, liker an Executioner, than a Governor; for he treated the whole Body of the People like common Criminals, without setting any Bounds, either to his Rapine or to his Tyranny. He had neither Pity in him, nor Sense of Honour; but merciless to the miserable, and utterly void of Shame in Cases so foul, that Impudence itself would have blushed at. No Man ever put Truth out of Countenance with Paradox and Imposture as this Man did: Neither did ever any Man find out such artificial Ways of Address for the doing of Mischief. The destroying of a whole Nation, Man by Man, would not serve his Turn neither, without sweeping away whole Cities intire, and cutting off the Neck of the common Body of the People at a Blow. He gave such Liberty and Encouragement to Spoil and Pillage, that it fell little short of a Proclamation of Allowance to all People to take what they could get; provided he might but go a Share in the Booty. And then for his Avarice, he drained the Province into so starving a Degree of Poverty, that the Inhabitants left it, in effect, a Desert, for Want of Bread to put in their Mouths.

Cestius Gallus was at that Time Governor of Syria; and in his Days there was not a Jew that durst so much as open his Mouth to him in a Complaint against Florus. But however upon his coming up to Jerusalem, upon "the Feast of unleavened Bread," the Multitude, to the Number of three hundred thousand, made their Application to Gallus to take Pity of a miserable People, and deliver the Province out of the Hands of Florus;

Florus; that Pest of a Governor. Florus was within hearing of this Outrage; but so far from being moved, or out of Countenance at it, that he turned it all to Ridicule. Cestius, in the mean Time, did what he could to pacify the People, by telling them that Florus should deal better with them for the future; and so he went back again to Antioch. Florus brought Gallus on-ward of his Way as far as Cæsarea; telling him a thousand Flams and false Stories, as they passed: But, at the same Time, casting within himself the Necessity of a War with the Jews, as the only Way to lie undiscovered and bring himself off. In the Case of a Peace, the Jews, he thought, would lay hold of such an Opportunity to bring the Cause before Cæsar; which would be dangerous: Whereas if he could but once work them to a Revolt, the greater Mischief would take off the Envy of the less: And therefore he had no Way, he saw, but to force them by Degrees into a Rebellion in his own Defence.

The Cæsarean Greeks had at this Time carried their Cause against the Jews before Cæsar, and obtained a Decree in their Favour: Which Sentence gave a Rise to the Jewish War. It bare Date the twelfth Year of Nero, and the seventeenth of Agrippa, in the Month Artemisius.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Cæsarea was the Occasion of the Jewish War. The Jews affronted in their Synagogue. The Bribery and Perfidy of Florus. A mock Sacrifice. A violent Commotion. Jucundus endeavours to compose it, but in vain. The Jews remove the Books of their Law. They petition for Relief, and are punished for it. Florus makes Matters worse and worse. The Jews fall heavily upon him for so doing: But with the Face however of a seeming Respect. Florus turns them off with Scorn. The barbarous Proceedings of Florus. The Sobriety and Moderation of the Jews. Florus the worse for good Advice. His bloody Orders and Executions. Several of the Nobility whipt and crucified. Six hundred and thirty Jews murdered by Florus's Men in one Day.*

**T**HE Tyranny of Florus was indeed a dangerous Temptation to a Rebellion: But the Jews stood firm against that Provocation, and afterward it was the Business of Cæsarea that did the Work.

There was a certain Greek had a House in Cæsarea, close upon the Place where the Jews had their Synagogue. They would fain have made a Purchase of this House, and treated with the Master several Times about it, offering him much more for it than it was worth: But so far was he from complying with the Proposal, that out of pure Crossness, instead of giving them more Ease, he fell to blocking of the Way in a Manner quite up, by crowding so many little Shops into the Passage, that there was hardly  
Room

Room left for one single Body to get into the Synagogue. Upon this, some of the hot young Men of the Jews went out presently to the Workmen, and cautioned them not to go on, at their Peril. Florus countermanded that Prohibition: So that the Jews had nothing more to do than to try the Governor with a Sum of Money. Several of their principal men met about it, and among the rest, one John, a Farmer of the King's Customs; who Contracted with Florus for eight Talents to forbid the Building. They delivered him the Money, and he promised all Things should be done accordingly; but immediately upon the Receipt of it, away goes he from Cæsarea to Sebaste, as if it had been on Purpose to leave them at Liberty for an Uproar: As who should say, eight Talents is the Price of an Opportunity for you to cut one another's Throats.

The next Day, being the Jews Sabbath, when the People were altogether in the Synagogue, a spiteful Cæsarean set an earthen Vessel just before the Door with a Sacrifice of Birds upon it. This contemptuous Mockery put the Jews out of all Government and Patience, they said, to see their Laws had in Derision, and the Place profaned. The more moderate and substantial Men of the Party, were for appealing to the Men of the Government for Justice and Redress: But for the seditious hot-brained young Fellows of the Faction, nothing would satisfy them but Ribaldry and Blows; and the Cæsarians, on the other hand, were as ready for the Encounter: The Story I told you of the Sacrifice, being purposely designed to draw on a Quarrel. And here began the Action.

Jucundus, a Captain of Horse, and one that was left to keep the Peace, coming in just upon this Nick of Time, ordered the earthen Vessel (above-mentioned) to be taken away: And then applied himself toward the allaying of the Tumult. But the Jews finding Jucundus over-borne by the Cæsareans, presently took up the Books of their Law; and carried them off to Nabarta, a Province of that Name, some sixty Furlongs from Cæsarea. Twelve of their chief Men, with John the Publican, went to Florus at Sebaste; with a Complaint for what had passed, and a Petition for Redress; not forgetting to let fall a Word by the by, (though very tenderly) of the eight Talents. Florus caused them immediately to be taken up and bound, for presuming to remove their Law from Cæsarea. (That was the Pretence.)

This Action of Florus's struck the Jews of Jerusalem with a Horror and Detestation to the last Degree: But they found it convenient for the present to keep it to themselves. Florus went on all this while blowing the Coals: And for a further inflaming of the Quarrel, he sent in Cæsar's Name for seventeen Talents out of the Treasury, and for the Emperor's Service. This put the Jews in such a Confusion, that they ran up and down to the Temple and about like mad Men; crying out all the Way upon Cæsar, Cæsar, as loud as they could roar, to be delivered from the inhuman Barbarities of Florus: Pursuing him with Clamours, Mockeries, and Maledictions of all Sorts. As there was one of the Mutingers had gotten an Alms-Basket at his Back, and went about the Streets begging of broken Meat for the poor miserable Florus in Derision of him. But all these Taunts and Abuses had no other Effect upon him, than that they made his Avarice still more spiteful, as well as more insatiable. And then instead of putting a Check to the first Heat of the Sedition at Cæsarea, and removing the Causes of the Tumult

mult as he ought to have done, both by Duty and Contract; he takes his March with an Army of Horse and Foot to Jerusalem, and makes the Power of Rome only subservient to his private Passions and Lusts, either of Pride, Profit, or Revenge; filling the Hearts of the People wherever he came, with Confusion and Terror.

The Multitude however, after all Manner of Indignities cast upon them, put on the Countenance still of an officious Respect in going out to receive him upon the Way, and preparing to entertain him with all Semblances of Honour and Esteem, usual in such Cases. While they were in this Disposition, to give him a seeming Welcome into the City, Florus quite spoiled the Compliment by sending Capito a Centurion to them with fifty Horse to put a Stop to their Journey; who delivered his Message to them in these Terms. "I am to command you, says he, in the Name of Florus, to go your Ways Home again: And to let you understand that the Man you have made so bold with, both in Earnest and in Jest, is not to be cajoled into a better Opinion of you by a Parcel of fair and false Words. If you are in Truth, as you would be thought to be, Men of Resolution and Courage; call that Man all those scandalous and reproachful Names to his Face, that you did behind his Back: And assert that Liberty by your Arms, that you have made such a Noise with in your Clamours." What with this Rebuke, and the Soldiers breaking in upon the Multitude, the People ran several Ways in a Fright, without Waiting for the Ceremony of saluting Florus, or of paying those Offices to the Soldiers that are customary in such Encounters. They went, in fine, every Man to his own Home; and betwixt Care and Fear, took not much Rest that Night.

Florus lodged at this Time in the Palace, and the next Day he mounted the Tribunal; the High-Priest and the prime Men of the City being there present. He passed bitter Reflections upon some lewd and reviling Speeches that had been thrown out against him; demanding positively that the Authors of them should be found out and produced: Threatening withal, that he would take his Revenge upon those that were there upon the Place, if they did not bring him the Guilty. The Jews made Answer, "That for the Body of the People, they were for Peace and Quiet: And for those that lashed out with their Tongues, they implored a Pardon for them. For it could not be imagined, they said, in so vast a Multitude of People; but there must needs be some rash and unexperienced Men in the Mixture. Neither was it possible to distinguish who were guilty, and who not: For even those that repented of what they had done, would not yet own the doing of it. And therefore they only offered it to Florus's Consideration, whether any Thing could be more for the Service of the Roman Empire, than to consult the Safety of the People and City, by preserving them firm in their Allegiance to Cæsar: And whether it might not be more adviseable (in Case of the worst) to spare some few Criminals, for the Sake of a great many Innocents, than to destroy so great a Number of innocent Men, for the Sake of here and there one that was guilty." This Way of Reasoning blew up Florus into such a Rage that he presently ordered away the Soldiers to the great Market in the Upper Town, to rife the Place, and kill all they met. When the Soldiers found themselves supported in their Claim to the Pillage by the concurring Authority of their Commander, they did

did not only execute their Order upon the Places and People they were sent to; but all Houses were alike to them, and all the Inhabitants put to Death without Distinction: As well those they took upon their Flight, in By-ways, and secret Passages, as those they found in their Houses. No Booty, in short, came amiss to them. Several of the Nobility, that they seized and brought to Florus, were by his Order whipt and crucified. The whole Number of the slain upon that Day, reckoning Women and Children into the Account (as the very Infants at the Breasts of their Mothers did not escape them) was six hundred and thirty. The Calamity was grievous in itself, and yet worse for the very Novelty of it: For it was never heard of before Florus's Time, that ever any of the Equestrian Order were whipt like Slaves, and gibbeted: For though the Persons were by Extraction Jews, the Dignity was yet Roman.

## C H A P. XV.

*Berenice goes to Jerusalem to pay a Vow. The Manner of Performing that Duty. She moves Florus in Favour of the Jews. The People in a Rage against him. They come to themselves again; and Florus is troubled at it. He projects a new Broil. Arguments for a Compliance. Florus's Project succeeds, in a terrible Destruction. He attempts the Castle, and is beaten off. He retires to the Palace. The Communication cut off betwixt Fort-Antonia and the Temple. Florus gives over his Design, and returns to Cæsarca.*

**A**GRIPPA was at this Time gone to Alexandria upon a Visit to Alexander; whom Nero had made Governor of Ægypt. His Sister Berenice was then at Jerusalem, and in extreme Affliction for the barbarous Outrages that were practised there; insomuch, that she sent several Messages to Florus by some of her Horse Officers and Guards; beseeching him earnestly to hold his Hand, and spill no more Blood. But Florus had no Sense at all, either of the Heinousness of the Sin, or of the Honour of the Mediatress: His Heart was set upon Lucre and Pillage, and he looked upon all other Things (Berenice herself not excepted) with Contempt and Neglect. So that the Soldiers did not only go on, massacring and cutting of Throats, before Berenice's Face, but had most certainly killed the Queen herself, if she had not made her Escape into the Palace; where she lay waking all that Night, with a Guard to look to her, for fear of a Surprise. The Occasion of her coming to Jerusalem, was the paying of a Vow to Almighty God, as is usual in Cases of providential Deliverances from Sicknesses and other great Dangers. It is customary for People under those Circumstances, to continue in Prayer for thirty Days before they sacrifice; abstaining from Wine, and shaving the Hair. Berenice was now in her diurnal Course of Devotion; and standing bare-foot before the Tribunal, there was she interceding to Florus for the People, but

without any Success or Respect: Beside that, she ran the Risk of her Life for the Piety of the Office. This was the Sixteenth of the Month Artemisius.

On the next Day, the People gathered together in the Market-Place (in the Upper Town) outrageously exclaiming against the Murderers of their Friends that were killed there the Day before. But the main Stress of their Rage and Ribaldry fell upon Florus. The great Men and the High-Priests were so sensible of the Danger of provoking him the same Way over again, that they tore their Garments, and went about begging from Man to Man, not to talk at that Rate; for the exasperating of Florus was the Way to ruin them all. Upon this Application the Multitude was a little more composed: partly out of Respect to the Intercessors, and partly in Hope that the Governor's Spite was over.

Florus was not at all pleased to see Things so quiet again; and therefore he bethought himself of a Contrivance how to create a new Broil. He sent for the High-Priests and some of the chief Men of the Jews to come to him, and then told them that there were Two Companies coming from Cæsarea; and it would be a convincing Evidence of the People's good Affection to the Government, if they would but go out, and meet them upon the Way. The Thing being promised and agreed upon, Florus gave it in Charge to the Centurions, that in Case the Jews greeted them with any Shew of Compliment or Respect upon their Meeting, they should not pay them any Manner of Civility in Return: And if but one cross Word or Look should follow upon it, they should betake themselves to their Arms. The High-Priests got the People together into the Temple, and there adjured them by all Means to go out and compliment the Romans upon the Way; and to be sure to give them a friendly Salute, for fear any thing should be ill taken. There were several rash Heads in the Croud against it; and the rest of the Multitude, while the Slaughter of their Friends was yet fresh in their Memory, were forward enough to join in Opinion with the Incendiaries. While this was in Agitation, in came all the Priests and Levites, exposing the holy Vessels, and other precious Ornaments of the Temple: The singing Men and Organists with their musical Instruments; addressing themselves to the People with earnest Intreaties to preserve the Honour of the Temple sacred, without provoking the Romans by contumelious Affronts to the rifling of it. There were also divers of the High-Priests with Ashes upon their Heads, their Breasts naked, and their Garments torn; applying themselves to all the Men of Dignity, one by one in particular, and to all together in general, with repeated Importunities not to betray their Country for so small a Matter, to those very People that gaped after the Ruin of it. "For what, say they, will the Romans be the better for it, if you shew the same Respect now that you have done formerly? And what will the Jews now be the better either for the Refusal of it? Nay, on the contrary, if you treat them with Honour, and according to the Forms of good Manners, you will give Florus no Pretence to trouble you; and it will effectually amount to a Redeeming of your Country from the Calamities that you have otherwise to fear. You are also to consider the Disproportion betwixt the peaceable Majority of the Multitude, and a few scattered Mutineers; and that it is all the Reason in the World, that the greater Part should overrule the less." This Way of Discourse had such an Effect upon the People, that betwixt



twixt Authority, Argument, and Menace, the fiercest Men of the Faction were brought over to hear and to do Reason. So soon as Things were brought to this Disposition, the Priests and Princes of the People marched out to meet the Soldiers; and the Multitude in very good Order followed them. When the Jews were advanced within Distance of exchanging a Ceremony, the Jews saluted them with great Humanity: But receiving no Return, the angry Part of them fell immediately to reviling Florus, as the Author and Contriver of all their Miseries. The Soldiers took the Hint, and in the same Instant fell upon the Jews with Clubs and Cudgels; put them into a Confusion, and upon the Pursuit trampled great Numbers of them under their Horses Feet; so that upon the whole, betwixt those that died of Blows and Wounds: those that were crushed to Death in the Croud, or smothered in the Gate by pressing who should get out first, and so hindering one another, it was upon the main a miserable Destruction, and as frightful a Spectacle, for what with Bruises, Maims, and Suffocations, the Bodies were so disfigured, that one Friend did not know the Face of another, to give him decent Burial. In fine, the Enemy killed all they could come at: And the Thing they principally laboured was to get betwixt the Jews and the Gate of Bezeth, being a Pass that led to the Castle Antonia and the Temple. Florus, at the same Time, made a Sally out of the Palace with what Troops he had; upon the Back of the Jews, in a Prospect of forcing the Castle: But upon the people's rallying and making Head against him, his Design failed him. For having now got Possession of the Houses, they annoyed the Romans to such a Degree with Stones and Darts, from the Roofs, that the Enemy finding no Fence against that Way of Attack, nor any Possibility of breaking through the Multitudes of People that thronged up those narrow Streets, Florus was fain to retire with the Remainder of his Army to the Palace. The Jews being now in some Apprehension of Florus's returning to the Assault, and of his making an Attempt upon the Temple by the Way of the Fort Antonia, they went and cut down a certain Gallery of Communication betwixt the Fort and the Temple: Which was such a Mortification to Florus, that finding his Project hopeless, and his Avarice disappointed, (for the holy Treasure was all he aimed at) he gave over the Enterprize. Upon this, he conferred with the High Priest and the Senate; telling them that he was now leaving the City, and ready to assign them what Garrison they should think fit. Their Answer was, in Regard that there were to be no Innovations, One Company would be sufficient; provided it might not be that which the People had had a Quarrel with already; for they were great Sufferers by them, and lay under a Prejudice. Florus changed the Company, as they desired, and went back with the rest of his Army to Cæsarea.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Florus complains of the Jews to Cestius, as Cæsar's Enemies. Cestius is better informed, and advises upon it. Politianus pitched upon to manage the Inquiry. He consults Agrippa; and they are both received with great Respect. They shew Politianus what Havock Florus had made; and the Loyalty of the Jews to other Governors. Politianus goes back to Cestius. The People press for a Complaint to Nero against Florus. A healing Speech of Agrippa's to the Jews. A Dissuasive from Sedition. The Romans are Lords of the Universe: As the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Macedonians, &c. Agrippa touches upon the Conscience and Religion of the War. The whole Body of the Jews is involved in one common Cause. Agrippa brings the People to some Degree of Moderation.*

**F**LORUS was no sooner come to Cæsarea, but he found out new Matter for the inflaming of a War, and sent it in a Letter to Cestius, [the Governor of Syria:] wherein he charged the Jews with a Revolt, which was so impudent a Falsity, that the very Crimes he imputed to the Jews, he was expressly guilty of himself. Now the Queen Berenice, and the Principals of Jerusalem, were so just and candid in this Matter, as to give Cestius the Particulars of the whole Truth, and a punctual Account of Florus's Way of Administration. Upon the Receipt of this Intimation, Cestius presently conferred with the great Men about him, what he were best to do. Some were for his marching with an Army out of Hand into Judæa, and to bring the Offenders to Justice, if the Report should be found to be true; or otherwise, to encourage them in their Loyalty, if they should appear to be falsely accused. Now Cestius himself was rather of Opinion for employing some Person of Honour and Address before Hand, to learn out the Truth of Things, and then for giving him a faithful Information upon the whole Affair. The Man he pitched upon was Politianus, a Tribune; who, meeting King Agrippa near Jamnia, in his Return from Alexandria, told him whence he came; who sent him; and what was his Business. There were at that Time there, several High-Priests of the Jews, Senators, and others of the first Quality to pay their Duty to the King: They had no sooner passed the first Compliment of Respect in Course, but they launched out into a lamentable Remonstrance of the miserable State they were reduced to by the Inhumanities of Florus. Agrippa thought as they did; but it would not have stood with his Dignity to blow the Coal: So that he rather turned the Invektive artificially against the Jews, whom yet he pitied in his Heart; out of a Desire rather to restrain and sweeten, than to exasperate their Passions: For the less they might seem to suffer, the less Provocation could they pretend to a Revenge. They that had most to lose, and certainly most Reason to desire a Peace, could not but take that gentle Reproach for a single Instance of the King's Goodness.

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The People of Jerusalem received Agrippa and Politianus, upon the Way, sixty Furlongs from the City, out of Respect, to attend them up to the Town; the Women all the while bitterly bewailing the Loss of their murdered Husbands; and the whole Multitude, after their Example, bursting out into Tears and Lamentations as by Consent: Some of them imploring Agrippa in Generosity to take Pity of the Nation; and others begging of Politianus but to go into the City, and see what Havock Florus had made there. Upon this, they took him into the Market-Place, and shewed him how every Thing was abandoned there and forlorn, and the Houses all in Rubbish. They prevailed with Politianus after this, by the Means of Agrippa, to take the Tour of the City as far as the Pool of Siloah, and only one Servant along with him; where he should see with his own Eyes how obedient the Jews were to all other Romans in Authority: But for the horrid Cruelties of Florus, they were utterly intolerable. When he had taken a View of the City, and informed himself sufficiently in the loyal Dispositions of the Jews, he called the People together, and went up to the Temple: Where he entered into a declamatory Commendation of their approved Fidelity to the Romans; and then, after enlarging himself in Exhortations and good Counsels, upon the Subject of the common Peace, he gave God Praises and Thanksgiving, with all Veneration for his holy Religion, in Place and Manner according to the Law; and so went back to Cestius.

Politianus had no sooner turned his Back, but the Multitude immediately addressed themselves to the King of the High-Priests, pressing for Leave to send Ambassadors to Nero with a Complaint against Florus: "For if we (said they) should sit still, without bringing so bloody an Outrage to an Examination, and putting the Authors of it to the Test, it would look as if we ourselves were the Criminals, and durst not abide the Tryal." It was clear on the one Hand, that it would be dangerous for Agrippa to refuse them this Liberty; and it had, at the same Time, the Face of an invidious Prosecutor on the other, to turn loose the Multitude against their Governor by such an Invective, under the Name of an Embassy. So that Agrippa, finding himself divided betwixt the bold and martial Humour of the Romans, and the Hazard of transporting the Jews into a Tumult, called an Assembly to meet in a great Gallery; and after the placing of his Sister Berenice upon a Chair of State, in the Almonæan Palace, which overlooks that Gallery from the upper Part of the Town (the Temple and the Gallery being joined by a Bridge) he spake to the People after this Manner:

"If I found you now under any sort of Disposition to make War upon the Romans, as I am at this Time clearly convinced of the contrary, and that the greater Part of your Profession are Men of Peace and Order, I should have saved both you and myself this Trouble. For what would any Application or Advice of mine signify to a Body of Men that labour under an incurable Prejudice? But in Regard that some People are purely unquiet for want of an experimental Knowledge, of the Miseries of War: Some out of a vain and inconsiderate Hope of Liberty; others out of Avarice, for the Advantage of the Booty, and making Profit to themselves out of a general Confusion: In regard, I say, of these Corruptions and Mistakes, I have now thought fit to call you together; and to tell you what I think convenient to be done

" under

“ under your Circumstances, in order to the rectifying of your Errors, and to prevent  
 “ the Ruin of a dutiful Majority by the intemperate Heats of a few desperate Libertines.  
 “ All I desire is only your Patience and Silence, and to be heard without Murmuring  
 “ and Noise, whether you like what I say or not. As for those that are abandoned to  
 “ the Spirit of Disorder and Confusion, and irrecoverably lost; they are still at Liberty  
 “ to go their own Way, let my Opinion be what it will. But it is to no Purpose for  
 “ me to speak at all, unless I may be heard by those that desire to hear me.

“ I know very well that the Faults of Governors and the Blessings of Liberty, are  
 “ two common Topics for Men of Art and Passion to work upon. Now before I  
 “ enter upon the Disquisition of what you yourselves are, and the Force you are pre-  
 “ tending to encounter, I must, in the first Place, divide two Points that you confound,  
 “ by taking them into one. If Revenge upon your Oppressors, (or let it be Justice,  
 “ if you Please) be the Thing you contend for, what's the Meaning of your crying up  
 “ Liberty at such an extravagant Rate? Or, if Subjection be in itself so intolerable,  
 “ what's the Quarrel to your Governors? For let them be the best natured People  
 “ under the Cope of Heaven, Subjection is but Subjection still; and so still as scandalous  
 “ as it was before.

“ Take Things to Pieces now, and consider a little, upon what Ground is it that  
 “ you pretend to calumniate and cavil, and in what Manner you are to behave your-  
 “ selves, even if your Governors should be to blame. It is your Interest, as well as  
 “ your Duty, to sweeten Things with Offices of Tenderness and Respect, and not to  
 “ treat your Superiors with Brawls and coarse Language. When you make Things  
 “ greater than they are, you provoke those that are over you to make Things worse  
 “ than they would otherwise be: And to turn that Male-administration that they were  
 “ half ashamed of before, into a bare-faced raging Tyranny. There is nothing takes  
 “ off the Edge of Oppression, like Patience: Resignation is enough to put Persecution  
 “ out of Countenance, even let it be never so violent and unjust.

“ Make it the Case now, that you are in Truth extremely abused by the Roman  
 “ Government, will you have this to be the Act presently of all the Romans; nay,  
 “ and of Cæsar himself too? And there's your Quarrel. You cannot imagine that  
 “ those Governors have it in their Commission to oppress you; or that Cæsar himself  
 “ can look East and West, and so thorough the four Quarters of the World all at a  
 “ Time; when it is no easy Matter for him to get a faithful Account at Rome, even  
 “ of what is done here. How great a Madness is it then, to run the risk of so dan-  
 “ gerous a War for Trifles; and in very Deed, for we know not what! Beside that,  
 “ Matters may mend in Time; for Governors are neither immortal nor perpetual; but  
 “ they take their Turns: And it is reasonable enough to hope, and to promise our-  
 “ selves, that the next Comer will be better. Now when a War is once commenced,  
 “ it is neither to be let fall, nor to be continued without miserable Inconveniences.  
 “ As for those that set up for Liberty, let them have a Care, in the first Place, not to  
 “ run themselves out of it; for the last Slavery is always the uneasiest, and to avoid  
 “ that Yoke must be acknowledged a just Cause of War: For he that is once a Subject,  
 “ and then falls off, is rather a stubborn Slave, than a generous Advocate of Freedom.

“ If

“ If any thing could have been done against the might of the Romans, why was  
 “ it not done when Pompey brake in upon us? But if your Forefathers and the Prin-  
 “ ces of those Times, (though much your Superiors, in Men, Money, and Conduct)  
 “ were not able to stand before so inconsiderable a Detachment of their Power; with  
 “ what Face or Sense can you pretend now at this Time of the Day, to bid Defiance to the  
 “ whole Body of the Empire? To say nothing of the Obligation of an hereditary Al-  
 “ legiance of so long a Continuance, that hath descended from your Predecessors to  
 “ their Posterity.

“ What do ye think of those brave and generous Athenians, that contested for the  
 “ Liberty of Greece, to the very Extremity of laying their country in Ashes? Those  
 “ People that brought down the proud Heart of the vain and insolent Xerxes: Put  
 “ him to Flight at Salamis; and having broken the whole Power of Asia, forced  
 “ him to shift for himself in a Cock-boat: That haughty Prince that turned the Sea  
 “ into Land, and the Land into Sea, to make room for his Fleets and Armies; that  
 “ looked as if they would have swallowed Europe: and yet the Nation that did all  
 “ this are now Subjects to the Romans; and Greece receives Laws from Italy.

“ The Case is the same with the Lacedemonians too; after all their famous Exploits  
 “ at Thermopylæ and Platea; and Agesilaus’s carrying their victorious Arms into the  
 “ Heart of Asia. And yet at present these Heroes own the same Masters still.

“ To come now to the Macedonians, with their Philips and their Alexanders, still  
 “ running in their Heads: A People that to this very Day propose little less to them-  
 “ selves than the Empire of the Universe: Has not Fortune reduced these People also  
 “ to the same Fate, and of Conquerors made them Subjects? And Subjects also to the  
 “ same Governors. I might reckon up a great many other Nations now, much more  
 “ considerable than yourselves, that in the Vanity of an Ambitious Contention for Li-  
 “ berty, have been forced to submit and to obey: And are you the only Men in the  
 “ World do you think, that are too good to serve the sovereign Lords of all other  
 “ People? Where’s your Militia, or the Arms that you depend upon? Your Fleets to  
 “ scour the Roman Seas? And where’s your Treasure to answer the Expence of this  
 “ Undertaking? You fancy an Ægyptian or an Arabian War perhaps: But you proceed  
 “ altogether upon false Measures, without comparing the Disproportion betwixt your  
 “ Ability and your Undertaking, and the Inequality betwixt a weak and a disorderly  
 “ People, and the Stability of a formidable Empire. ’Tis a common Thing for you  
 “ to be over-run and surpris’d by your next Neighbours; when at the same Time the  
 “ Romans carried the whole World before them.

“ Nay, and the whole World would not content them neither; for though, they were  
 “ possess’d of the Course of the Euphrates to the East; the Danube to the North; the  
 “ Lybian Desert to the South, and as far as Cadiz to the West: Nothing would serve  
 “ them but another World beyond the Ocean, and the carrying of their Arms into  
 “ Britanny; which at that Time was looked upon as inaccessible. But what is it now  
 “ that you pretend to all this while? Would you be thought richer than the Gauls;  
 “ hardier than the Germans, or wiser than the Greeks; or do you take yourselves to  
 “ be hard enough for all Mankind beside? Upon what Ground is it that you are thus  
 bold

“ bold and confident against the Romans? It will be said perhaps that it is an uneasy  
 “ and an irksome Thing to serve: But if it be so to you, what must it be to the  
 “ Greeks? who, over and above a large Extent of Territory, are looked upon as Men,  
 “ of the noblest Extraction of any People under the Sun; and yet these Men, great  
 “ and able as they are, live in obedience to the Romans. And so do the Macedonians  
 “ also; who have undoubtedly more Right to a Claim of Liberty than you can pretend to.  
 “ Or what do you say to the five hundred Cities of Asia that peaceably submit themselves  
 “ to a Consul, without any Guard or Garrison to overawe them. To say nothing of the  
 “ Henicchians; the Colchians; the Nations about the Bosphorus, and the Inhabitants of  
 “ the Coasts of Pontus, and the Lake of Mæotis: People so free in former Times,  
 “ that they never had so much as a Master among themselves; and yet three thousand  
 “ Romans were enough to keep them all in Subjection: And forty Gallies sufficient to  
 “ preserve all those Seas in Peace and Obedience, which no Creature durst venture  
 “ upon before.

“ Had the Bithynians, Cappadocians, Pamphylians, Lydians, and Cicilians, nothing to  
 “ say for themselves upon the Point of Liberty? For they are at present all Tributaries  
 “ and pay their Duties, without Soldiers to compel them. And how is it with the  
 “ Thracians now in a large Country of seven Days Journey in Length, and five over;  
 “ and much more rude, and more defensible than yours: Being almost impassable for  
 “ the bitter Frosts and deep Snows there; and yet a Guard of only two thousand Ro-  
 “ mans keeps them all in Order. And then for the Illyrians from beyond the Danube  
 “ as far as Dalmatia, and so likewise the Dacians: They are all under the Guard only  
 “ of two Legions. Nay, the Dalmatians themselves, after so many Contests for Liberty;  
 “ so many Baffles in the Attempt, and so many Rallies and Reinforcements afterwards,  
 “ in Prosecution of the same Design; how quiet and easy are they under the Command  
 “ of one single Legion!

“ But after all this; if any Pretence whatsoever might justify a Revolt, the Gauls,  
 “ of all Men living, have the greatest Encouragement and Temptation to do it, in the  
 “ very Situation of their Country. For they are naturally fortified; on the East, with  
 “ the Alps; the Rhine, on the North; the Pyrenæan Mountains, on the South; and  
 “ on the West, with the Ocean. But all these Advantages notwithstanding; three hun-  
 “ dred and fifteen Nations in the same Interest; an inexhaustible Source of all good  
 “ Things within themselves both for Use and Commerce, not only for their own, but  
 “ likewise for the common Benefit of Mankind; and yet we find these People under  
 “ the Roman Allegiance; and propounding no other Happiness to themselves than in  
 “ that of their Masters. And this Resignation does not arise from the Want of Courage,  
 “ either natural or acquired; or from the Want of brave Examples in their Ancestors;  
 “ who had stood a Dispute of eighty Years for the Maintenance of their Liberty; but  
 “ finding so admirable a Concurrence of Fortune and Virtue in the Actions of the Ro-  
 “ mans, the Gauls were so surpris'd betwixt the Veneration they had for the one, and  
 “ their Dread of the other, that the Romans gained as much upon them by their  
 “ Goodness as by their Arms; insomuch that at this Day, with only twelve hundred  
 “ Men, they secure almost as many Cities in their Allegiance.

“ What

“ What was Spain the better now for their golden Mines, when they came to contend  
 “ with the Romans for their Freedom? Or I might instance in Nations more remote  
 “ from Rome, both by Sea and Land; as the Lusitanians and Cantabrians; where nei-  
 “ ther Valour, Distance, nor Position, could warrant them against the Power of Rome;  
 “ though bordering upon a Sea so impetuous, that it is not to be so much as named,  
 “ or thought of, without Dread and Horror. And what signified Hercules's Pillars,  
 “ or the Pyrenæan Mountains; so many warlike Nations in the Way, Distance, or  
 “ any other Difficulty, to the obstructing of the Progress of their victorious Arms?  
 “ But they were reduced as well as the rest, and one single Legion served for a Guard  
 “ upon them all.

“ I need not tell you that the Germans are a populous Nation, and that their Coun-  
 “ try is of a vast Extent; the People strong, and big-limbed, their Courage answer-  
 “ able to their Size and Stature, and firm to the very Contempt of Death itself. But  
 “ Part of this, you are Eye-witnesses of; for the Romans have Slaves of that Nation  
 “ all over the Earth. In their Anger they are more outrageous than Brutes; and the  
 “ Rhine is at this Day their Frontier. They have a Guard of eight Roman Legions  
 “ upon them, that make Slaves of as many of them as they take, and the rest save  
 “ themselves by Flight.

“ As for those that place so much Confidence in the Walls of Jerusalem, they  
 “ should do well to consider the Walls of Britain, where the Inhabitants are surrounded  
 “ by the Sea, in a Kind of a new World, not much inferior to the other. They  
 “ have made themselves Masters of this vast Island too, and assigned only four Legions  
 “ for a Guard upon it. And what shall we say of the Parthians now? A powerful  
 “ and a warlike People, that have heretofore given Laws to so many Nations themselves.  
 “ What is the Meaning of sending the Flower of their Nobility for Hostages to Rome,  
 “ but a tacit Acknowledgment of Subjection under the Colour of Peace? Are we the  
 “ only Men in the World to make War upon the Empire, when all other Nations  
 “ tremble under the Apprehension of their Arms?

“ Pray call to mind the Fate of Carthage, a People that valued themselves as  
 “ Branches of the noble Race of the Phœnicians, that had the Honour of the famous  
 “ Hannibal for their Commander. What was the End of that brave People, but to  
 “ fall under the conquering Arms of Scipio?

“ But neither the Cyrenæans, of the Lacedæmonian Race; nor the Marmaridans  
 “ that stretched their Dominions as far as the parched Deserts; nor the Syrtes, so  
 “ frightful to our Apprehensions; nor the Nafamonians; nor the Moors; nor the  
 “ numberless Multitude of the Numidians, were able to put any Check to the Roman  
 “ Courage. They had reduced in fine the third Part of the World to their Subjection,  
 “ so large that the very Nations are hardly to be numbered, beginning from the At-  
 “ lantic Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, to the Red Sea, and comprizing all the  
 “ Æthiopia's. All this they took by Arms, reserving over and above to themselves, a  
 “ yearly Tribute of Corn, sufficient to maintain the People of Rome for eight Months,  
 “ beside other Duties that they pay chearfully and readily, though there be but one  
 “ Legion in Garrison to raise the Contribution.

NUMB. 9.

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“ But

“ But here is no Need of Recourse to remote Examples for Proof of the uncontrollable Power of Rome, when we may have Instances so much nearer Hand. As for the Purpose in Egypt: A Kingdom that stretches out as far as Æthiopia and Arabia-Felix; contiguous to the Indies; and an infinite Multitude of People in it, beside those of Alexandria: And yet this mighty populous Kingdom does not think much to be rated by the Poll toward the Service of the State, and as a Tributary to the Romans; but frankly answers the Imposition, though not without some Ground plausible enough to grumble at.

“ How comes it now that Alexandria does not revolt too? A strong, a large, and an opulent City; thirty Furlongs in Length, and ten in Breadth: Prodigiouſly peopled and fortified round about it, either with desolated Deserts; Seas without Ports; deep Rivers, or boggy Quagmires. But the fortune of Rome surmounted all these Difficulties: For two Legions in the City were enough to secure the Peace of Egypt, and to bridle the Macedonian Nobility. Now this City paid more Tribute in a Month that you do in a Year; and four Months Provision in Corn for the People of Rome, beside Money.

“ If this be the Case, what Deserts do you propound to repair to for Companions in your Undertaking? For all the habitable Part of the World is clearly against you; and in effect, Romans; unless you flatter yourselves with Hopes of Assistance from your Country-Men the Adiabeniens on the other Side of the Euphrates. But supposing now that they could be guilty of so gross an Oversight as to engage in a War so desperate, upon so unreasonable a Ground; the Parthians themselves would never endure such a Disrespect toward the Romans as must inevitably end in a Rupture, by countenancing a War against them. So that you have no Retreat left but a Recourse to God's Power (in Truth) against his Providence; which is most evidently seen in the Advance, Establishment, and Protection of the Roman Empire.

“ Consider again the Conscience and Religion of the War, even if you yourselves were the stronger of the two. How can you pretend to dispense with the Violation both of God's and of your own Laws; or to expect a Blessing from Heaven in the very Act of your Disobedience? If you keep the Sabbath-Day as strictly and religiously as you profess, and as your Laws bind you to do; you will most certainly be caught in the same Snare over again that your Predecessors were hampered in by Pompey heretofore: That is to say, by taking Advantage of your Scruples, and falling upon you on those Days when you dare not so much as move a Hand to defend yourselves. Now if you make no Conscience of breaking the Laws, in fighting one Day as well as another, how do you fight for the maintaining of them, and how can you look for any Favour from God in the deliberate Breach of his own Commandments! Who ever made War but in Hope of Assistance either from God or Man? And when both fail, what can be the Consequence but a voluntary wilful Slavery? If this be your Resolution, what have you more to do but to lay violent Hands upon your Wives and Children, and to lay your glorious Country in Ashes? The extravagant Madness of the Action will be some Sort of Excuse for it: Beside that it will save you the Dishonour of falling by the Hand of an Enemy.

“ 'Tis a high Point of Wisdom, my good Friends, and, upon my Word, a very  
“ necessary



“ necessary Point to foresee and to provide for a Storm while the Ship is yet in the  
 “ Harbour; and it is as dangerous on the other Hand, to put off the Consideration  
 “ of it till the Tempest is upon you, and then to stand trembling, and at your Wits  
 “ End, which Way to turn yourselves. As for those Calamities which threaten us at  
 “ Unawares, and by Surprize; People that fall into them are to be pitied; for there  
 “ is no preventing of Evils not to be foreseen: But for Men that run head-long into  
 “ visible Hazards, they fall not only unlamented, but with Infamy also and Scandal.

“ Your Way of Proceeding in this Affair would almost persuade a Body that you  
 “ are already agreed upon Terms with the Romans, how they are to behave themselves  
 “ in case of gaining their Point. That is to say, with Tendernefs and Moderation,  
 “ and not according to the Practice of other Nations, with Fire and Sword; burning  
 “ your sacred Cities; extirpating your whole Race, and destroying every Man of you,  
 “ upon the Pursuit, that outlives the Dint of the Battle; for which Way can you fly,  
 “ but into the very Mouths of your Enemies; who are either the Subjects of Rome  
 “ already, or such as live in Fear of being quickly made so.

“ And you are not to flatter yourselves that this Calamity will stop here neither;  
 “ but all the Jews upon the Face of the Earth are to expect your Fate; and the whole  
 “ Universe will join as one Man, to the punishing of this Rebellion. You will re-  
 “ member what I tell you now, when you shall see the Streets run Blood, to gratify  
 “ the impetuous Violences of a few turbulent and hot-headed Counsels. And the Ro-  
 “ mans are not to be blamed at last, for doing only that which you yourselves have  
 “ forced them to; and you are to consider, on the other Side, in Case they should spare  
 “ you, what an Impiety you have to answer for, in the Abuse of so much Humanity  
 “ and Good-nature.

“ Or if you have no longer any Sense now of natural Tendernefs for your Wives and  
 “ Children, have at least some Compassion for your capital City, and the sacred Walls  
 “ of it; have mercy even upon the Temple, your Law, and the holy Sanctuary; which  
 “ you yourselves are now about to destroy with your own Hands; for you are never to  
 “ hope for Mercy again from the Romans, after so ungrateful an Abuse of the Indul-  
 “ gencies you have formerly received from them.

“ But to conclude, I do here call God and his holy Angels, and our whole Country,  
 “ and all that is sacred, to witness: That for my own Part, I have done, whatever in  
 “ me lay toward your Preservation. If you will do as you ought to do; and follow  
 “ my Counsel; you may yet live in Peace: But if you go on in this desperate Way of  
 “ Tumult and Outrage, I will have no more to do with you.”

This Discourse of Agrippa was seconded so effectually with the Tears of his Sister  
 Berenice, who was there present, that they both wept, and the People abated somewhat  
 of their Violence, and fell to Muttering one with another, that their Quarrel was not  
 to the Romans; but to Florus, for the Indignities he had put upon them. “ And  
 “ yet,” says Agrippa, “ you do the very same Things that the professed Enemies of  
 “ Rome would do. Have you not broken down the Antonian Galleries? And do you  
 “ not refuse Cæsar his Tribute? Now if you would remove all Pretence of Jealousy,

“ you have no more to do then, without any farther Delay, but to pay the one, and to rebuild the other: For this is none either of Florus’s Fort or Tribune.”

The People were now coming to themselves again, and very orderly waited upon the King and Berenice up to the Temple; where they applied themselves immediately to the re-edifying of the Galleries, and at the same Time sent their Agents and Officers up and down the Province to gather up the Duty that was behind: Which was forthwith collected and paid in; being the just Sum of forty Talents, which was the whole Arrear.

The violent Rage of the Tumult being somewhat abated, Agrippa advised the Multitude to submit to Florus for the Present, till Cæsar should send them another Governor. This put the People in such a Flame, that they did not only give him insolent and reviling Language; but pelted him with Stones, and drove him out of the City. The King was sensible of the Contempt, to the highest Degree, and finding the Rabble to insufferably bold and ungovernable, he sent several Men of Quality to Florus at Cæsarea to make such Choice of them as he thought fit, to serve as Collectors for the whole Province; and so Agrippa departed.

#### C H A P. XVIII.

*Massada surpris'd, and the Garrison put to the Sword. The Jews reject the Romans customary Sacrifices. Eleazar the Head of the Faction: and this Refusal the Ground of the War. Men of the best Quality are for moderate Counsels. The Impiety of the Prohibition. An Affront to Cæsar himself. Presidents and Reports in Favour of the Practices. They apply themselves to Florus and Agrippa for Relief. Agrippa sends Troops to Jerusalem. A War begun in the City. A very great Slaughter. The Festival Xylophoria. The King's Troops worsted. The Faction quits the upper Town, and lays all in Ashes. Men of the best Quality creep into Sinks and Vaults. Antonia taken by Assault. Manahem heads the Jerusalem Rebels. A notable Stratagem defeated. The King's People get Leave to depart.*

**S** OON after this, there was a strong Party of the Faction gotten by Stealth into Massada, a Roman Garrison: Where they surpris'd the Soldiers; put all the Romans to the Sword, and a Guard of their own People into their Places.

There happened at the same Time, another Disorder also, in the Temple at Jerusalem. One Eleazer, the Son of Ananias the High-Priest, a desperate daring young Man, and a military Officer then in Command, press'd some of his Friends among the Priests, not to receive any Offering or Sacrifice but from the Nation of the Jews. Now this was the  
very

very Ground and Foundation of a War with the Romans: For upon this Instance of Eleazar's, Cæsar's Sacrifices came to be rejected that were offered up in Course for the Welfare of the People of Rome. The High-Priests, and the Men of the best Quality declared themselves extremely unsatisfied with the Novelty of that Prohibition; and with great Importunities desired the Continuance of so pious a Custom as the Offering up of Prayers for Princes and Governors: But the Mutineers were stiff and inexorable; depending upon the Strength of their Numbers; for all that were for Innovations were on their Side; Eleazar being looked upon more particularly as the Head of the Sedition, a Person (as I said before) of Courage, and in Command. This Occasion brought together the Princes, the High-Priests, and the Pharisees of the first Quality, to advise what was best to be done upon the present Juncture: For they saw manifestly the mortal Consequences that threatened the City by this Tumult. They debated the Point, and came to this Resolution; to try what they were able to do toward pacifying the Minds of the People. In order to this Experiment, they called the People together in a Body before the brazen Gate, (as they called it) on the Inside of the Temple to the Eastward: And there they began their Discourse with Reflections upon the Rashness of the Enterprize, and of involving their Country in so destructive a War. From thence they proceeded to the unreasonable Ground of the Dispute, and the Injustice of the Cause: For so far were their Predecessors, they said, from prohibiting or refusing Oblations from Strangers, (which would have been a wicked Thing) that they were, in some sort, a Part of their Worship: Their Presents, as appears to this very Day, being preserved in the Temple as Ornaments, and in Honour to the Memory of the Presenters.

But to be now provoking the Romans to a Dangerous War, and to the Scandal, if not the Ruin, of Jerusalem itself; by setting up New Methods of Religion (for this impious Interdiction, to the excluding of all Sorts of People but Jews, from offering up Prayers and Oblations to God in his Holy Temple, imports no less): This has the Face, I say, of so extravagant an Imposition, that the very Inhumanity of it were not to be excused, even in the Case of any private Person: But to make it general, and carry it to the whole People of Rome; and effectually, to the excommunicating of Cæsar himself, the Affront must needs be unpardonable. But what if this Contempt should be turned upon us now, and we that refuse to offer up prayers and Oblations for other People, should not be allowed the Liberty hereafter of worshipping for ourselves? When the City shall be left without all Manner of Discipline, all this we are to expect unless we repent, and make Satisfaction before Cæsar comes to the Knowledge of the uncharitable and foolish Things we have done already.

With these Words several of the best read Men they had in the Jewish Rites and Laws, stood forth with Precedents and Reports of the Practices of former Times, upon the Point in Question; who did all agree and declare, that their Ancestors never refused the Receiving of Oblations from Strangers. But the Innovators, whose Business was War not Peace, gave no heed to what they said: Neither did the Levites so much as shew themselves at the Altar; being wholly intent upon the War.

When the Men of Quality found the Multitude too strong for the Government, and themselves the likeliest Men to fall first under the Lash of the Romans, they laid their Heads together,

together, and agreed upon sending Deputies with Instructions to make Things easier to them: Some to Florus; and Simon, the Son of Ananias, the Chief of them: Others to Agrippa, the Principals being Saul, Antipas and Custobarus: Which last was a Kinsman of Agrippa's. Their Business was to solicit them both, to come with some Troops to Jerusalem to crush the Rebellion in Time.

This was the best News in the World to Florus, that had a Mind to inflame the War, how calamitous soever in itself: As appeared by the Delay of his Answer to the Deputies, on Purpose to give the Rebels Opportunity to gather to a Head. But Agrippa that was for the common Good, had a Mind to save both Parties the best he could; the Guilty as well as the Innocent; and by that Means to secure the Jews to the Romans, and Jerusalem to the Jews. But yet however finding his own Interest at Stake too, he sent two thousand auxiliary Horle: That is to say from Auranitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis; with Darius in the Head of them, and Phillip the Son of Joachin their General.

The Princes of the People, with the High-Priests, and all that were for Peace, received these Deputies into the Upper Town; the lower Part and the Temple, being already in the Hands of the Faction. They began a Skirmish with Darts and Stones, and so to Bows and Arrows on both Sides, without Intermiſſion: And now and then upon Sallies and Excursions, they fought also Hand to Hand. The Rebels seemed to be the more Daring; but the King's Men understood the Art of War the better of the two. The Thing they principally pressed, was the Forcing of the Sacrilegious Faction out of the Temple; while Eleazar and his Accomplices laboured as hard on the other Side to make themselves Masters of the Upper Town. The Dispute lasted seven Days, without any Manner of Advance on either Hand, but with very great Slaughter on both Sides.

The Festival of Xylophoria (as they call it) now drawing on, which had the Name from the Custom of carrying Wood to the Temple, to keep Fire all the Year long, they excluded the Rebels from their Worship. But while a Party of the Jews were abroad upon this Office, a Band of Cut-throats (known by the Name of Sicarii, from the privy Daggers they wore) fell in among these People; and so improved the Advantage, that the King's Troops being overborne, both with Hardiness and Number, quitted the Upper Town; and the Faction immediately took Possession of it. They brake, after this, into the House of Ananias the High Priest, and burnt the Palace of Agrippa and Berenice, to Ashes: Proposing in the next Place, to set Fire to the Offices of Record; and to destroy both together, that Creditors might have nothing to shew for their Money: Not doubting by this Contrivance to draw over all the Beggars and Debtors into their Interest; and so to turn the Squabble into a Direct War of the Poor against the Rich, under the Colour of asserting their Liberties. The Keepers, in fine, that had these Papers and Securities in Charge, abandoned their Trust, and shifted away for themselves: And both Records and Offices were all burnt. After this Maim to the Strength and Credit of the City, they applied themselves more particularly to the Prosecution of the War.

In this deplorable Confusion, several of the Nobility and High-Priests were forced to fly for their Safety into Sinks and Vaults; others got into the upper Palace among the  
King's

King's Troops, bolting the Door after them, and making good the Passage: Ananias the High-Priest, Hezekias his Brother, and Agrippa's Deputies being of the Number.

The Faction contented themselves for the present with the Victory they had gotten, and the Mischief they had done: And so lay Still a while and paused upon it. But the Day following being the fifteenth of the Month Lous, they attacked the Castle of Antonia: And after two Days they carried it by Assault; cut the whole Garrison to Pieces, and burnt the Place: Passing from thence to the Palace, where Agrippa's Troops had taken Sanctuary. They divided themselves into four Bodies, and attempted the Undermining of the Walls; but the Defendants were fain to keep close, as not being strong enough to venture a Sally. The Agressors all this while plied their Works, and several of the Faction, as well as the Sicarii, perished under the Walls. In short, they fought Day and Night without Respite: The Faction, in hope of making the Defendants desperate by starving them; and the Defendants propounding to tire out the Faction with the Fatigue of a continual Duty.

There was among these People, one Manahem, the Son of Judas of Galilee; a crafty Man, and an artificial Orator: This was he that formerly upbraided the Jews under Cyrenius, for professing to worship one God, and yet at the same Time owning the Romans for their Masters. This Manahem had a Design upon Herod's Arsenal at Masfada; so he inveigled several Men of Quality into his Party; took them along with him, and forced the Place; armed a Company of Vagabonds and beggarly Fellows out of it; and with them for his Guard, away he marched like a little King to Jerusalem; sets up for the Head of the Mutineers, and accordingly gives his Orders in Form for the carrying on the Siege of the Palace.

The Thing they most wanted was Machines; for there was no Working at the Foot of the Wall within View of an Enemy over their Heads to gall them from above: So that they began to break Ground at a Distance, and carried on a covered Way to the Foot of one of the Towers; which they undermined at the Foundation, and then propt it up with Timbers to support the Weight. When they had finished the Work, they set Fire to those Timbers, and so withdrew: And those Pillars being consumed, the Turret fell to the Ground. But the King's Troops were aware it seems of this Stratagem, and ran up another Wall immediately behind the Turret to make the Place good. This Discovery, upon the Fall of one of the Towers, and when they reckoned their Work as good as done too, put the Besiegers into the greatest Astonishment and Confusion imaginable. But yet for all this, the King's People in the Palace sent to Manahem, and the other Leaders of the Mis-rule that were with him, for Leave to depart: Which was presently granted; but only to the King's People, and others of his Religion, who forthwith went their Way.

This put the Romans quite out of Heart that staid behind; for they were neither able to deal with so vast a Number, neither could they in Honour descend to treat with Rebels: Beside the Hazard of living at the Mercy of Men that had neither Honour nor Faith. In this Extremity they quitted the Camp as not defensible, and betook themselves to the King's Forts; as Hippon, Phasael, and Mariamne. Manahem's People immediately breaking in as fast as the Soldiers quitted; killing all they could lay their Hands on, stripping the Places of all the Furniture, and in the Conclusion burning the Camp.

This Action bare Date the sixth of the Month Gorpiazus.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The Death of Ananias and Hezekiah. Manahem, a mean scandalous Wretch, sets up for a Prince. He is assaulted in the Temple. The Seizure and Death of Manahem. The two Parties but two Factions one against the other. Metilius, a Roman General, treats upon Terms with Eleazar. The Agreement ratified upon Oath and Articles. The barbarous Perfidy of Eleazar. The Prolgue to the Ruin of the Jews. A Sabbath-Day's Execution.*

**O**N the Day following, Ananias, the High-Priest, was taken up out of one of the Sinks about the Court, where he had hid himself, and his Brother Hezekiah with him; and both put to Death by some of the Sicarii. The Faction set strict Guards also about the Forts; insomuch that none of the Soldiers could make their Escapes. Now what with the ravaging of so many fortified Places, and the Death of Ananias the High-Priest, Manahem was puffed up into so vain and over-weaning a Conceit of himself, that he became the most inhuman and insupportable Tyrant upon the Face of the Earth; as if no Man living had the Spirit of Government but himself. These savage Insolencies gave Occasion to Eleazar, and some few of his Confidants, to enter into a Discourse one with another upon this Subject. "It cannot be for Shame, says one of them that any Man that has lifted up his Hand against the Romans in Vindication of his Liberty, shall betray that Liberty again to a private Man; and truckle to such a Master too; as even if he were not unqualified for Government by his Cruelty, he were yet a Scandal to the Function by the very Meannets of his Extraction. If there be an absolute Necessity of setting up one Man above all the rest, Manahem certainly of all Mortals is not to be that Man." When they had talked themselves into a Resolution, they went together in that Heat up to the Temple: And there was Manahem attending his Devotions, in the Pomp of a Prince, both for his Dress and Train, in his royal Robes, and with his armed Guards about him. While he was priding himself there in a Huff of his Glory, some of Eleazar's People made a violent Assault upon his Person: which set the People presently a stoning him, upon a Fancy that all would be well again if he were but gone. His Guards made a Shew of some slight Resistance, till they saw that the whole Multitude were against him: And then every Man shifted away the best he could. They killed as many as they could take, and hunted out the rest as far as was possible. Some few got privately into Massada; as Eleazar for one, the Son of Jairus, and Manahem's near Kintmen; who afterwards exercised a tyrannical Government in that Place. As for Manahem himself, he was taken pitifully Sculking in a Place called Ophlas; dragged out of his hiding-Hole and exposed; miserably tortured, and then put to Death. His Deputies and Assistants were served likewise after the same Manner, and Abisalom for one, who was the chief Promoter of the Tyranny.

The People struck in all this while with the Opposers of Manahem, fancying to themselves

themselves (as I have said already) that this would be a ready Way to the working of an Accommodation: Whereas that Party, in Truth, was only an Anti-Faction to Manahem, that were setting up for themselves; not so much designing to suppress one Tyranny, as to erect another. The Multitude were at this Time very earnest with the commanding Men of the Faction not to bear so hard upon the Romans; but rather to raise the Siege and let them go: But the more they pressed it on the one Side, the more were they against it on the other. When Metilius, the Roman General, and the People about him, had done all that was to be done for the Defence of the Place, and were now brought to the last Extremity, they offered to capitulate with Eleazar, and to deliver it up with all that was in it, upon Condition only of Quarter for their Lives. The Terms were readily accepted, and Gorion the Son of Nicodemus; Ananias, the Son of Saddaca, and Judas, the Son of Jonathas, were all three employed to ratify the Treaty upon Oath, and so to sign and seal the Articles. So soon as the Agreement was confirmed, and the Formalities over, Metilius drew off his Soldiers without any Manner of Trouble or Interruption, or the least Suspicion of any; so long as the Romans were under their Arms. But when, according to Oath and Compact, they came to deliver up their Swords and Shields, Eleazar's Guards broke in upon them, seized them, and barbarously assassinated them, without either Resistance or Supplication on the Romans Part; or so much as any other Reproach in their Mouths than the bare Syllables of OATHS and ARTICLES. Metilius, at last, was the only Man that escaped with his Life, and the only Man that begged it too; which was, however, granted him upon a Promise of Judaizing, and submitting to be circumcised.

This Outrage was no mortal Blow yet to the Romans; for what signified the Loss of so many Troops out of the vast Armies they were Masters of? But it was evidently a Prologue to the Destruction of the Jews. For here was in Sight a War inevitable; on a just Ground too; and a City (the principal in the Quarrel) so polluted with Perfidy and Rebellion, that even if it should escape the Vengeance of Romans, divine Justice would most certainly find it out. Never so mournful, so universally sad, and so despairing a Face of Things; and the innocent so involved in the Dread of the common Fate, as if they themselves were to be answerable for the Guilty: And the Butchery was so much the more afflicting and grievous, for being a Sabbath-Day's-Execution: Upon which Day, we are not allowed to do any Work whatsoever, let it be never so holy.

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 C H A P. XIX.

*Twenty thousand Jews massacred at Cæsarea, in one Day. Florus sends others in Chains to the Gallies. A miserable Ravage made in Syria and thereabouts. The deplorable State of Syria: Jews against Jews. Thirteen thousand Jews put to death at Scythopolis. Simon's Exploits: A*

NUMB. 9.

T

Man

*Man of Force and Courage. Simon's Confession and Recantation. He puts his Father, Mother, Wife, and Children to Death with his own Hand, and finally himself, rather than submit to the Enemy.*

UPON the very same Day and Hour, as divine Providence would have it, there was a Massacre of the Jews at Cæsarea, to the Number of above twenty thousand in one Day; and not a Jew left in the Town: For Florus picked up those few that fled, and sent them in Chains to the Gallies. This Butchery made the whole Nation Stark-Mad: So the Jews divided into several Bodies, and dispersed themselves. They began with some Villages of Syria, and then laid waste several of the bordering Cities: As Philadelphia, Gebonitis, Gerassa, Pella, and Scythopolis. After this, they brake in upon Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulonitis; laying some Places in Rubbish, and burning others: And so they advanced to the Tyrian Cedasa, Ptolemais, Gaba, and Cæsarea. They over-ran Sebaste also and Askalon, without any Opposition: And when they had reduced these Places to Ashes, they destroyed Anthedon, and Gaza; they rifled also, and laid waste several Villages upon the Frontiers, and put to Death as many of the Men as they could catch. The Syrians, on the other Hand, made their Reprisals upon the Jews, not only in the vast Numbers of them that were put to the Sword; but the Persecution extended to the very Inhabitants of their Cities. And they did this partly out of an old Grudge they bare them, and in Part by Way of Prevention, in the weakening of any Enemy. The State of Syria, was at this Time most deplorable; for every City had effectually two Armies in it, and no Way to preserve either of them, but by destroying the other. The Days were spent actually in Blood-shed, and the visionary Fears of worse, made the Nights yet more uneasy. The Syrians Pre-  
tence was only to remove the Jews: But then they were so divided about others, whom they only suspected to be Jewish, that as they thought it hard to put them to Death only upon a Jealousy; so they were afraid to let them alone, on the other Hand, for Fear they should be Jews.

There were some again, ~~that~~ of moderate and good-natured Men before, were now become hard and cruel, out of mere Avarice, and the Hope of Lucre: For they rifled all they killed, and had the Booty for their Pains, as the Reward for their Virtue; re-  
puting him the bravest Man that got most by his Trade: For Robbery was called Vic-  
tory. It was a horrid Spectacle to see the Streets pestered with the dead Bodies of Men, Women, and Children, that lay there, not only unburied, but uncovered; and not so much as a Rag over their Nakedness. It was the same Case with the rest of the Provinces too: Beside the dreadful Prospect of worse yet to come.

The Jews had hitherto made War only upon Strangers; but drawing toward the Borders of Scythopolis, they found the very Jews of that Quarter their Enemies: So much did they prefer their Interest and Convenience, before either King or Country. For the Scythopolitan Jews joined with the Inhabitants of Scythopolis against the other Jews. But this Agreement was managed with so much Heat, that the very Eagerness created a Jealousy of their good Faith. For what, said they, if these People should  
join



join against them with the other Jews; surprize the Town in the Night, and then throw all at last either upon a Revenge for their Sufferings, or the Necessity of their Condition? The Citizens, upon this Occasion, told the confederate Jews; that if they would prove themselves to be Men of Integrity and Justice towards Strangers, they should withdraw for the Present with their Families into a certain Grove there at Hand. This they did accordingly, and for the two next Days all was quiet at Scythopolis: But upon the third Night, their Scouts bringing them Intelligence how loose they lay; some fast asleep; others careless, and all off their Guard; the Men of Scythopolis fell upon them in this Posture; cut them all off to the Number of thirteen thousand; seized the Pillage of their Camp, and so went their Way.

After this general Account, I must not pass over the Death of one Simon that perished in this barbarous Action. He was the Son of one Saul; a Person of Condition, and a Man famous in his Time, as well for the Strength of his Body, as for the Greatness of his Mind: Both which Faculties he had employed in the Favour of the Scythopolitans, and to the wronging of his own Country. He did daily Executions upon several of the Jews living near that Place; and would frequently put whole Troops to the Rout: In-somuch that his single Person was almost equivalent to an Army. But, in the End, a Vengeance overtook him answerable to his Crime. For when he saw how the Jews were surrounded with the Scythopolitans, and stuck with Arrows and Darts all over the Grove, Simon drew his Sword, and without striking a Blow (for it would have been to no Purpose against such a Multitude) he addressed himself, with Outcries and Exclamations, to the Men of Scythopolis. "How justly am I punished here, says he, for the Ills I have done, and for purchasing your Trust and Good-will with the Lives of so many of my Fellow-Citizens? Why should Strangers be t~~he~~er ma~~n~~ than I have been to my Friends and Country? But I am now to die, and it will not become a Man of Honour to fall by the Hand of an Enemy; but rather to do Justice upon himself: Which will be an End and a Punishment worthy of me, and agreeable to the Reputation of a Hero: That is to say, I will not put it into the Power of an Enemy to glory in my Ruin, and to triumph in my Calamity." Upon the speaking of these Words, he took a View of his wife, his Children, his ancient Parents, and his whole Family that were then about him, with both Tenderness and Rage in his Eyes. While he was thus gazing as in Suspence, he took his Father by the Hair: set Foot upon him, and so ran him through. His Mother's Turn was next, and he killed her too; who seemed willing enough to receive the Stroke. After the Father and the Mother, he did Execution likewise upon his Wife, and his Sons; who appeared rather to meet the Weapon than to avoid it; and by that Means they prevented the Enemy. But when he had put all his Kindred to Death, he piled them up; and then advancing himself upon their Bodies, he stretched out his Right-Hand for all People to take Notice of it, and so plunged the Sword into his own Bowels. This young Man, for the Force of his Body and the Firmness of his Mind, deserves to be remembered with Compassion: But whoever considers his Fidelity to Strangers, and his unnatural Inhumanity to his own Brethren, cannot but confess, that in the End he was rewarded according to his Works.

## C H A P. XX.

*Several other Massacres of the Jews. Agrippa takes a Journey to Antioch, and leaves Varus his Deputy. Batanæa sends seventy Deputies to solicit for a Garrison. Varus cuts them all off upon the Way. Agrippa removes him from his Government. The Rebels make themselves Masters of Cypros. The Romans deliver up Machæras to the Jews.*

**T**HIS Massacre at Scythopolis was followed with several in other Places after that Example: 2500 in Askalon; 2000 in Ptolemais; a great Number of the Jews put to Death at Trye; and more tied in Chains: In Hippon and Gadara, they cut off all that were stirring and active, imprisoning the rest: And at this Rate they were dealt with elsewhere, in Proportion as they were hated or feared. But in Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, they were safe and quiet in the Enjoyment of their Lives and Liberties: Whether it was that they were not strong enough to be dangerous, or out of Compassion to a People that did not seem to have any Design upon the State, which seems to have been the more probable Opinion of the two. And so for the Gerasenes, the Jews that had a Mind to stay with them, might: And then for the rest, they gave them a safe Conduct to the Borders.

There fell out, at the same Time, a very unhappy Business for the Jews in the Kingdom of Agrippa. This Prince having Occasion to give Cestius Gallus a Visit at Antioch, left one Varus, a Friend of his, and a Kinsman of King Sohemus's, to administer in his Absence. At that Time, the Province of Batanæa sent seventy of the best Men they had, for Wisdom and Quality, to desire the Favour of a Garrison; to the End that, in Case of any Commotion or Tumult, they might be in Condition to suppress it. Varus presently sends out a Party of the King's Troops to cut them all off upon the Way. This he had the Audacity to do, not only without the Privity of King Agrippa, but much against his Will. It was his extreme Avarice, that transported him to this impious Outrage upon his Countrymen: And after so flagitious a Beginning, he stopped at no Manner of Tyranny or Iniquity, but went on debauching the whole Kingdom. When Agrippa came to understand, and to consider the Havock Varus had made, he was loth, for Sohemus's Sake, to put him to Death; but removed him immediately however from his Government.

The Rebels, in the mean while, got Possession of the Castle of Cypros, upon the Frontier of Jericho; put the Garrison to the Sword, and demolished the Place. At the same Time, another great Body of Jews treated with the Romans in Machæras to deliver up the Garrison: Who chusing rather to part with it by Agreement, than stay to be beaten out of it, rendered upon Composition.

## C H A P. XXI.

*The Jews much in Favour formerly with Alexander the Great; and no less afterwards with the Cæsars. A desperate Tumult in Alexandria betwixt the Jews and the Greeks; and they had laid all in Ashes, if Tiberius had not compos'd it. Tiberius turns his Army loose upon them, with a Commission to kill, burn, and pillage at Pleasure. Fifty thousand Jews killed upon the Place, and the rest beg their Lives. The implacable Rage of the Alexandrians.*

**T**HE Natives of Alexandria could never endure the Jews there, from the Days of Alexander the Great: Who in Acknowledgment of the Services they had done him against the Ægyptians, made them free of the City; granting them all Manner of Privileges in common with the Greeks themselves: And those Privileges were continued to them by Alexander's Successors; a peculiar Quarter being assigned them apart to themselves; where they lived in a Manner sequestered from the Conversation of other People: Being likewise entitled to the Honour of calling themselves Macedonians. When Ægypt came afterward to fall into the Hands of the Romans, the Jews had their old Privileges still continued by Cæsar and his Successors; but the Jews and the Greeks were perpetually Clashing; And though they suffered Justice on both Sides for their Misdemeanours: All this had no other Effect yet than to inflame the Sedition.

Things were now at this Time extremely out of Order every where; but nothing yet to what they were at Alexandria. The Greeks being met in an Assembly, about an Embassy to Nero, upon some extraordinary Occasion, there came rushing into the Amphitheatre a mixed Croud of Jews and Greeks. The Greeks set up an Outcry, that the Jews were Enemies and Spies; and in the same Instant leapt at them in a Rage, and fell upon them. They took three of the Company, the rest got away: But those three they dragged along, with a Design to burn them alive. This Commotion brought in the whole Body of the Jews to their Rescue: Who began with casting Stones at them at first; and after that, they ran with Flambeaux in their Hands up to the Amphitheatre; threatening the whole Multitude to burn them all to Ashes. This they had certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the Governor of the City, had not a little pacified the Fury. And he did not go a violent Way to Work neither; but employed some of the most popular Men among themselves, to try if they could bring them to Reason by gentle Means and Persuasion: Advising them to Moderation, and to have a Care how they provoked the Roman Soldiers: The Jews all the while turning this formal Gravity into Ridicule, and venting their Conceits and Reproaches upon Tiberius himself.

When Tiberius found that this Uproar was not to be laid without Mischiefs, he presently let loose upon them two Roman Legions that were then in the City, and five thousand Libyan Soldiers, that came by Providence in that Nick of Time to plague the Mutineers, Their Orders were, not only to kill all Opposers; but to seize their

Goods

Goods also; pillage their Houses, and then set Fire to them. The word was no sooner given, but they marched away to a Quarter of the Town that is called Delta: (Where the Jews were then gotten together in a Body) and there put their Orders in Execution to the utmost Extremity. The Jews placed their best armed Men in the Front; who for a while made a stout Resistance: But upon the first Disorder, they were scattered and cut to Pieces; though, in the mean Time, it proved a bloody Victory. Death and Destruction, in fine, never appeared in so many several Shapes: Fire, Sword, Pillage, without either Tenderness for Infants, or Reverence for gray Hairs, or any Distinction of Age or Sex; And the whole Place flowing with Gore. There were fifty thousand dead Bodies piled up in a Heap; and the rest had gone the same Way too, if their Stomachs had not been brought down to beg their Lives. Hereupon, Alexander, in Pity bad the Soldiers hold their Hands: Which they did at the first Word, out of the Deference they paid to Order and Discipline. But the Hatred of the Alexandrians was so implacable, that they had much ado to take them off, even from insulting upon the very Carcasses. This happened at Alexandria.

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#### C H A P. XXII.

*The vast Power of the Romans. The Country comes in to Cestius, upon his March to Ptolemais: Agrippa joins him. Zabulon deserted, plundered and burnt. Cestius returns to Ptolemais. Two thousand Stragglers of the Syrians cut off by the Jews. Cestius removes to Cæsarea. Joppa destroyed; Man, Woman and Child.*

C ESTIUS finding the Jews every where so hateful, made his Advantage of it in a vigorous Prosecution of the War. He drew out his Troops, and marched for Ptolemais. He took along with him the twelfth Legion entire, which he had at Antioch; two thousand chosen Men out of the other Legions, four Wings of Horse; beside the King's Auxiliaries: That is to say, two thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot of Antiochus's, armed all with Bows and Arrows; a thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot of King Agrippa's; a Body of four thousand Men of King Sohemus's: A third Part Horse, and the Remainder of them-Foot, most of them Archers. The People came trooping in to Cestius, out of the Cities all the Way as he passed to Ptolemais: Not so good Soldiers as his own, perhaps; but what they wanted in Conduct and Experience, was supplied with Zeal to the Cause, and Spite to the Jews.

Agrippa assisted Cestius both with his Troops and Counsel, and so the General marched away with Part of his Army to Zabulon, the strongest City of Galilee, (otherwise called Andron) which divides Judæa from Ptolemais. When he came up to the Place, he found all Sorts of Provisions there in Abundance, but not one Man to be seen in the Town; for the People were all fled up to the Mountains: Whereupon Cestius gave his Soldiers the Pillage of the City. The General stood in Admiration at  
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the Beauty and Curiosity of the Buildings; which were much after the Manner of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus: But this, notwithstanding, he burnt, and razed them to the Ground. From thence he over-ran the whole Country, destroying whatever fell in his Way. When he had laid waste the Territory, and set all the neighbouring Villages in a Flame, he left them in Ashes, and so went back again to Ptolemais. The Syrians Hearts were so set upon the Booty, especially those of Berytus, that there was no getting them away; but a great many of their Stragglers staid behind. The Jews took Courage upon the Retreat of Cestius; and falling upon the Plunderers by Surprise, cut them off to the Number of near two thousand.

From Ptolemais, Cestius removed to Cæsarea, and from thence sent a Detachment out of his Army to Joppa, with Orders to preserve the Place, if they could quietly get Possession of it; but in Case the Inhabitants should put themselves in Posture to defend it, they should then wait for the bringing up the rest of the Army. The Romans, in fine, assaulted the Place both by Sea and Land, and mastered it without much Difficulty. For the People were so far from attempting to dispute it by Force, that they had not Room left so much as for an Escape: But they were all put to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children; Masters and Servants, without Distinction: The City plundered and burnt, and the Number of the Slain computed to be some eight thousand four hundred Persons. They made the like Havock with a Body of Horse in the neighbouring Toparchy of Narbatane, near Cæsarea: Where they laid the Country waste, put great Numbers of the Inhabitants to the Sword, seized their Goods and Estates, and buried their Cities in Ashes.

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 C H A P. XXIII.

*Cæsennius Gallus commands in Galilee under Cestius. Sepphoris and that Neighbourhood side with the Romans. The Romans too hard for the Free-Booters upon even Terms. Gallus moves from Galilee to Cæsarea; and Cestius with the Army to Antipatris. Lydda burnt and destroyed. Cestius encamps within fifty Furlongs of Jerusalem. The Jews make a furious Sally upon the Sabbath-Day. Cestius and his whole Army in Danger. The Jews put to a Retreat. The Romans draw off, and the Jews fall upon their Rear.*

**C**ESTIUS sent the twelfth Legion also into Galilee, under the Command of Cæsennius Gallus, with a Conjunction of as many other Troops as he judged sufficient for the subduing of that Province. Sepphoris, which is the strongest City they had, opened their Gates to him, and the rest of the Towns had the Wit to follow their Example: But for the Mutineers and Free-booters, they withdrew themselves to the Mountain of Afamon that crosses Galilee, and lies just opposite to Sepphoris.  
Gallus

Gallus advanced upon them in their own Post; but so long as the vagabond Party kept the upper Ground, they were too hard for the Romans, and killed a matter of two hundred of them upon the Encounter. But when the Romans came to take Compass, and by little and little to gain the Top of the Mountain, and to deal with them upon even Terms; the Fugitives were presently routed. For neither were their ill-armed Men able to stand the Shock; nor they that fled, to escape the Pursuit of the Horse. Some few there were that saved themselves by creeping into Fastnesses and Craggs; but there were upward of two thousand of them cut to Pieces.

Gallus, finding by this Time that there was no more Occasion for him in Galilee, drew off his Troops to Cæsarea; and Cestius with the whole Army went to Antipatris. He was there given to understand; that a great Body of the Jews, was gotten into the Tower of Aphec, and sent a Party thither to bilodge them. But the Jews not being in Condition to stand the Attack, left it to the Romans, who rised it; and then putting Fire to all the adjoining Villages, brake up and went their Way.

Cestius removed from Antipatris to Lydda; where he found only fifty Men in the City: The rest were gone up to Jerusalem to the Feast of Tabernacles. He put that fifty to the Sword; burnt the Town; and so advanced by the Way of Bethoron to a certain Place called Gabaoh, some fifty Furlongs from Jerusalem; and there he pitched his Camp.

The Jews finding now that the War was brought home to their own Door, laid aside the Strictness of a Festival; and stood to their Arms. They reckoned upon it that they had Men enough; and in that Confidence they sallied out upon the Romans, with hideous Clamours, and in a furious Confusion, without any Regard to Seventh-Days-Scruples; (for it was now their Sabbath, which among them most religiously observed.) But the same Rage that made them forget the Conscience of the Action, proved an Advantage to them upon the Execution of their Extravagancies: For they staggered the Romans upon the first Charge; disordered their Front; and made so furious an Impression into their main Body, that if they had not been supported by a Stand of Foot that was yet entire, and a Party of Horse that came in to their Succour in the very critical Minute, Cestius and his whole Army had been in Danger to be lost. There fell five hundred and fifteen of the Roman Soldiers in this Skirmish: Four hundred of them Horse, the rest Foot. There were killed upon the Place two and twenty of the Jews. The two Cavaliers that signalized themselves in this Action to the highest Degree, were Monobasus and Cenedæus, two Kinsmen of Monobasus the King of the Adiabeniens. The next in Reputation to these two Worthies were Niger of Peræa, and Silas the Babylonian, who went over from King Agrippa, whom he had formerly served, into the Interest of the Jews.

The Jews being now forced to a Retreat, made their Way back again into the City; while the Romans, drawing off also to Bethoron, were pressed upon the Rear by Gioras, the Son of Simon; who cut off several of them; seized their Carriages and Baggage that they found upon the Way; and so went off with it to Jerusalem. Cestius continued three Days after this in the Field; for the Jews lay watching for his Re-

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move, upon the Hills that overlooked him: And if the Romans had but stirred, the Enemy, in all Probability, would have fallen upon them.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Agrippa propounds an Alliance with the Romans, and sends Borcæus and Phœbus to manage the Treaty. The People rise upon it; kill Phœbus, and Borcæus gets off wounded. Cestius falls upon them, and pursues them to the Walls of Jerusalem, bringing the whole Army up to the City. He incamps near the Palace, and the Gates are offered him; but he slips his Opportunity. The Jews repair to the Defence of the Walls. The Romans repulsed upon several Assaults. An Invention to secure the Pioneers. A second gross Oversight. Cestius quits the Siege, and the Rebels fall upon his Rear. A dreadful Blow to the Romans, who are not in a Condition either to fight or to fly. Cestius had been lost, but that the Jews wanted Day-light. The Romans steal away to Bethoron, and are beset by the Jews. Cestius saves himself by a Stratagem. The Jews pursue them to Antipatris, and so give over the Chace.*

**W**HEN Agrippa saw how the Jews swarmed every where about, upon the Hills and eminent Places, in such prodigious Numbers; he could not think the very Romans themselves altogether safe within Reach of so formidable an Enemy. So that he resolved to try, if there were any Good to be done upon them by fair Words; flattering himself that they might be reasoned perhaps into a better Understanding one of another: Or however, if he could not perfectly reconcile them, he might possibly be able to divide them, and abate something of the Rancour of the Quarrel. Agrippa, in Pursuance of this Resolution, sent two of his Friends and Officers, Borcæus and Phœbus, who were Men of a known Fame and Integrity, to offer them a League of Alliance with the People of Rome, with an Assurance of Pardon and Indemnity for all that was past; upon Condition only of taking up other Thoughts, and laying down Arms. The Faction, upon the hearing of this Proposal, were so desperately afraid of the People's going over to Agrippa, in Hope of this Amnesty, that they resolved to take off the Heads of the Ambassadors. They killed Phœbus before he could so much as open his Mouth. Borcæus was wounded and got off: But the Multitude were so enraged at the Baseness of so wicked an Action, that they forced the Mutineers with Stones and Cudgels into the Town.

This intestine Division gave Agrippa the fairest Opportunity in the World to break in upon the Faction: So that he advanced up to them with his whole Army, charged and routed them, following the Pursuit up to the very Walls of Jerusalem: And then

marched off again to a Place called Scopus, some seven Furlongs from the City; and there he pitched his Camp: Where he lay three whole Days still and quiet, without so much as attempting any Thing upon the Place; hoping perchance, that, upon second Thoughts, the People within might come to themselves again. He sent into the Neighbourhood indeed for Corn and Necessaries, and that was all he did.

On the fourth Day, being the thirtieth of the Month Hyperberetæus, he advanced with his whole Army in very good Order up to the City: Where the Multitude durst not so much as wag, for fear of the Faction: Nay, and the very Heads of the Sedition were so startled at the Roman Conduct and Discipline in their March, that they themselves quitted the Skirts and Out-works of the City, and withdrew into the Temple. Cestius took his Way by Bezetha: And in his Passage forward burnt Cœnopolis, and a Place called the Wood-market: Whence, advancing to the Upper Town, he pitched his Camp near the Palace. Now if he had but pushed it to an Assault upon that Nick of Time, how easily might he have carried the Place, and put an End to the War! But Tyrannus and Priscus, two of their Generals, and several other great Officers, with the Help of Florus's Money, diverted him from his Purpose: And this false Step proved the absolute Ruin of the Jews, and the Source of all the Calamities that afterward befel them.

Under these Circumstances, Ananus the Son of Jonathas, and divers of the principal Jews, called out to Cestius, and offered to open him the Gates; but he delayed his Resolution so long, whether out of Indignation, or of Diffidence, that the Plot was discovered, and Ananus with his Companions forced, by Stones from the Walls, to fly for Sanctuary to their own Houses.

The Jews dispersed themselves upon this into the Turrets to the Defence of the Walls, which for five Days they made good against the utmost Efforts of the Romans, though pressed with a most impetuous Violence. On the sixth Day Cestius, with the choicest of his Troops and Bowmen, gave an Assault to the North-side of the Temple; but was so bloodily galled with Shot and Stones from the Porch and Galleries, that the Romans were several Times forced, not only to shrink and give way, but in the end directly beaten off. After these Repulses, the Romans at last bethought themselves of this Invention. The Front clapped their Bucklers close to the Wall; and so covering their Heads and Shoulders with them, one after another, they joined them in Order, Buckler to Buckler, till all together they made a Cover like the Figure of a Tortoise; which being Proof against all the Enemy's Darts and Arrows, the Romans were now at Liberty to sap, and work upon the Walls without any further Danger: And the next Thing they did, was to attempt the firing of the Temple Gates. This put the Faction into such an Astonishment, that they gave all for lost; and a great many of them quitted the Town upon it. The honest Party were as much elevated on the one hand, as the Rebels were cast down on the other; insomuch, that they called out to open the Gates to Cestius; whom they looked upon as their Friend and Preserver. Thus far it went; and if the General had but kept up the Siege never so little longer, the Town had certainly been their own; but God, in his just Displeasure, would not suffer this wicked and dreadful War to go off so. For Cestius, with-

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out ever heeding either the good Disposition of the People in general, or the Desperation of the Rebels in the Town, by a kind of judicial Infatuation, drew off his Men all on a sudden, even when their Hopes were at the fairest; and so, against all Justice and Reason, quitted the Siege. This unexpected Departure of Cestius put the Rebels in such Heart again, that they fell upon his Rear, and cut off several of his People, both Horse and Foot. He lodged that Night in a Camp that he had fortified at a Place called Scopus. The next Day he continued his March with the Enemy still at the back of him, as upon a Pursuit, and killing him a great many Men. The Romans had thrown up a Trench with Pallisadoes on both Sides of the Way; where the Jews, with their Darts and Arrows, annoyed the Romans extremely in their March across the Passage, without any Revenge, or so much as turning their Heads to look the Enemy in the Face. This they did, as not being in Condition to secure their Flanks, partly out of an Apprehension of their mighty Numbers, and partly for fear of breaking the Order of their March, being heavy armed themselves, and the Jews on the other hand light, and at Liberty for Excursions and Surprizes upon any Occasion. Upon the whole Matter it was a terrible Blow to the Romans, and cost the Jews nothing. The Ways in fine were covered with dead and wounded Bodies upon this Retreat. Among the slain was Priscus that commanded the sixth Legion; Longinus, the Tribune, and Æmilius Jucundus, a great Horse Officer; beside common Soldiers in abundance; but they got at last, with the Loss of their Baggage, to Gabah, where they had encamped before.

Cestius was now at his Wits End, and took two Days Time to consider what to do next. Upon the third Day he found the Jews to be mightily increased, and the whole Country up and down swarming with them. He was sensible by this Time that his Delay had not only hindered, but endangered him; and that the longer he staid, the worse; for his Enemies grew upon him.

The General upon this ordered the Army to be forthwith discharged of all Incumbrances, for the Ease and Expedition of the March. The Mules, Asses, and other Beasts of Burthen he caused to be all killed, saving only enough to carry Weapons and Machines, which he thought he might have further Occasion for; beside the Mischief of their being employed against him, if they should fall into the Hands of the Enemy. This was the State and Posture of the Army in their Advance to Bethoron, and himself at the Head of them. The Jews gave them no manner of Interruption, so long as they continued in an open Country; but when they came into hollow Ways and Defiles, they charged them Front and Rear to divide them from the Army, and to force them further into the Valley; the Jews in the mean Time, from the Rocks and the Craggs, pouring down their Shot upon the Heads of the Romans. While the Foot was in this miserable Distress, and considering which Way to turn themselves, the Condition of the Horse was much more desperate; for they could neither advance up to the Jews to attack them upon the Mountains, nor secure themselves against them in the Vallies; neither could they keep their Troops in Order against that Shower of Arrows that was poured down among them. To say nothing of those that perished by Precipices and other Misadventures. They were in such a strait, in short, that

they could neither fight nor fly; and in this desponding Extremity the Romans had Recourse to all the passionate Extravagancies of Tears, Groans, and Outcries, that are usual in such Cases; while the Rocks and the Vallies rung on the other Side with Transports of Encouragement, Joy, Insolence, and Triumph. So it was in fine, that if the Jews had had Day-light, the whole Army of Cestius had been totally destroyed; but Night coming on, the Romans made a Shift to steal away to Bethoron; where the Jews immediately secured all Passages thereabouts, to cut off Cestius's Retreat.

When Cestius found how he was beset, and the Impossibility of his getting off in the Face of the Enemy, he bethought himself of a Stratagem to assist him in his Escape; that is to say, he posted betwixt three and four hundred of his bravest Men upon the Tops of the Houses, with Orders to call out as loud as they could bawl, to the Watches and the Guards, like so many Centinels, as if the Army were not as yet decamped. While this was a doing, Cestius shrunk away silently with the rest of his People, and marched a matter of thirty Furlongs that Night. But when the Jews came the next Morning to find the Place quitted, and the Gross of the Army withdrawn, they fell immediately upon the four hundred Romans that had betrayed them into that Mistake, killed every Man of them, and then put themselves upon the Pursuit of Cestius: But Cestius having gotten a long Night's March before them, and losing no Time the next Day neither to get off, there was no overtaking him. The Soldiers, however, fled in such Haste and Confusion, that they dropt all their Machines, their Slings, and other Instruments for Battery and Attack, by the Way; which the Jews took up; and made use of afterwards against the Romans. They followed the Chace as far as Antipatris: But finding that they were got out of their Reach, they took Care of their Engines, stripped the dead, gathered their Booty together, and so returned to Jerusalem with Songs of Triumph in their Mouths for so great a Victory with so very little Loss. There were killed of the Romans, betwixt their own Troops and their Auxiliaries, four thousand Foot, and three hundred eighty Horse. This happened on the eighth Day of the Month *Dius*, and in the twelfth Year of Nero.

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#### C H A P. XXV.

*The Jews quit Jerusalem. Cestius sends Nero Word of the Miscarriage, and lays the Blame upon Florus. A Conspiracy at Damascus against the Jews. Ten thousand of their Throats cut in one Hour. The Jews settle their Officers Civil and Military. Eleazer ingratiates himself with the People. Joseph the Historian Governor of both Galilees. His Principles and Inclinations. His Method and Form of Government. A Council of Seventy. The defensible Cities to be walled in. The Roman Order and Discipline to be established. Joseph Master of an Army to his own Wish.*

UPON

**U**PON this Disaster of Cestius's, the most considerable of the Jews in Jerusalem quitted the City as a sinking Ship in a Storm. Costobarus and Saul (two Brothers) and Phillip the Son of Jacimus, formerly Agrippa's General, slipped away, and withdrew to Cestius; but Antipas, their Fellow-Prisoner in the Palace, scorning to save himself by Flight, was put to Death by the Faction. The Manner of it we shall shew hereafter. Now Cestius sent Saul and his Companions to Nero in Achaia, with an Account of his Misfortunes; but casting the Blame of the whole Miscarriage upon Florus. Cestius went this Way to work, in hope of bringing himself off, and diverting the Storm upon the other.

So soon as the News of this Defeat came to Damascus, the Inhabitants entered into a Confederacy to destroy all the Jews of that Place, computing with themselves, that if they could but take them together in the Baths, or some other public Place, the Design might be easily put in Execution. All their Fear was, lest their Wives, who were most of them Jewish, should come to get Notice of it. The People, in fine, took their Opportunity, when the Jews were at such a Meeting, the Place narrow, and themselves without Arms; and falling upon them, cut the Throats of ten thousand of them in one Hour, without any Difficulty.

The Jews that gave Cestius that terrible Overthrow, being by this Time come back to Jerusalem, made it their Business, both by fair Means and foul, to draw over as many of the Romans as they could engage into their Party. Upon this, they had a Meeting in the Temple about the Election of Officers for the Government of the War. So they declared Joseph the Son of Gorion, and Ananas the High-Priest, their Governors in civil Matters and the Affairs of the City, recommending to their Care, in a more especial Manner, the rebuilding of their Walls. As for Eleazar the Son of Simon, though he had in his Possession a mighty Booty that was taken from the Romans, a considerable Sum of Money from Cestius, and Mass of public Treasure to great Value over and above, they did not think fit yet to confer upon him any Commission at all, looking upon him as a Man of an imperious and tyrannical Humour, and upon his Friends and Confidants also, rather as Guards than Companions. But this did not hinder Eleazar, however, from screwing himself by little and little into the Affections and Esteem of the People: And he so far wrought upon them by popular Arts, Money, and Address, that they thought no Man so well qualified for a Governor as himself.

The Commanders that they sent into Idumæa, were Jesus the Son of Sapphas, one of the High-Priests, and Eleazar the Son of the new High-Priest; therewithal commanding Niger, the present Governor of that Province, to obey their Orders. This Niger came from beyond Jordan, from whence he was called Peraites.

They took the same Care likewise elsewhere. As they sent Joseph the Son of Simon to Jericho, Manesses beyond the River, and John the Effene to Thamna. And to these were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, to be administered in the Form of Toparchies. John the Son of Ananias was made Governor of Gophnitis and Acrabattene; and Joseph the Son of Matthias, Governor of both the Galilees; casting Gamala also into his Command, the strongest Place in the whole Country.

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These Governors discharged their Parts with Chearfulness and Prudence, every Man according to his Commission. As for Joseph, upon his coming into Galilee, the first Thing that he proposed to himself, was to make sure of the Hearts of the People: An Interest which he knew, even in Case of the worst, would atone for small Mistakes. He considered farther, that the certain Way to make great Men his Friends, was to admit great Men into a Share of the Government; and that the Way then to oblige the whole Multitude, would be to employ Natives and popular Instruments in popular Cases. Now Joseph's Method was this: He chose a Council of Seventy out of the Elders and the ablest Men of the Nation. To this Council of Seventy he committed the whole Government of Galilee, under some few Restrictions. He disposed of these seventy Judges, seven into every City, with a Commission to hear and determine all common Causes in such Manner and Form as he had prescribed, reserving to himself the Judgment of capital Causes and Matters of greater Importance.

The Seventy being thus distributed, and Affairs regulated at Home, Joseph took also into Consideration what was to be done to secure them from Abroad. He gave for granted, that the Romans would certainly break into Galilee; and therefore took Care, in the first Place, to wall in all the defensible Cities, as Jotapata, Bersabee, Selamis, Perekcho, Japha, and Sigoh, Tarichee and Tiberias, with the Mountain Itabyr. He fortified also the Caves about the Lake of Genezareth, in the Lower Galilee. And in the Upper Galilee, Petra, of the Achabarians; Seph, Jamnith, and Mero: Seleucir, Soganes, and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. Only the Sepphorites, being a wealthy and naturally a martial People, had Liberty to build their own Walls. John the Son of Levi, by Joseph's Order, walled in Gischala too. As to the rest of the Castles, they were fortified by the Direction and Assistance of Joseph himself.

He got upward of a hundred thousand Men out of Galilee, and furnished them all with old Arms that he had picked up here and there. He fell to bethink himself in the next place of the mighty Power of Rome, and what it might be that made the Romans so invincible; ascribing it in the Conclusion to their Obedience and Discipline. But Precept must give way to Necessity; and in regard that he had no Time at present to train his People up to the latter, he would at least endeavour to inure them to the other. And no better Method could he think of, than the Roman Way of multiplying Officers; dividing and subdividing Offices of Command into several Subordinations, one under another; and that was the Course he took. He had his Officers over tens, hundreds, thousands: And all these subjected still to other Superiors. He taught them the Mystery and Discipline of all Signals; the Points of War in the Voice of the Trumpet; to distinguish an Alarm, a Charge, a Retreat, and one Sounding from another; the Manner of Fighting, and the Forms of Battles; the Order of bringing off or on; or seconding the Weak, or relieving the Wearied. He read Lectures to them upon the Virtues of Fortitude, both of Body and Mind: Arming and fortifying them at the same time against both Dangers and Fatigue. In all his Lessons of War, he still made use of the Roman Discipline, as an Instance of Authority and Example. He told his Soldiers farther, that if they would have him hope well of them upon the Point of Obedience in the Time of War, they should renounce all manner of unlawful Violences, Robberies, Fraud, Pilferings, and the like, beforehand: They should

should do Justice to all People without Exception; and not reckon any thing as a gain to themselves, that accrued from the Damage of a Neighbour. How is it possible, said he, for any War against Conscience to prosper, when it is sure to have both God and Man for declared Enemies! Joseph went on with his Admonitions after this Manner, having gotten by this Time the Complement of an Army to his own Wish. He had sixty thousand Foot, two hundred and fifty Horse, and beside, four thousand five hundred Mercenaries, which he much depended upon, and four hundred select men likewise for the Guard of his Person. These Men were no great Charge to the Country; for all but the Mercenaries were maintained by the Cities: Who still as they sent out one Half of them into the War, employed the other Half to provide Necessaries for their Fellows; so that one Part of them wrought for the other: And those that were in Arms, served for a Protection to their Purveyors.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*John of Gischala an extravagant Impostor. His Character. He makes Joseph his Friend, and then abuses his Kindness. He tampers the Rabble against Joseph. The Honour and Justice of Joseph. A scandalous Uproar raised against him. Joseph stands all Trials with a wonderful Presence of Mind. An artificial Insinuation of his to the Tarichæans. Joseph gains upon the Multitude. He is hard put to it; but brings himself off by a Wile. The People come about; and this Disappointment puts John upon other treacherous Practices. Silas gives Joseph Notice of this. Joseph posts away to Tiberias. John counterfeits Sickness. Joseph set upon, and escapes narrowly. His Moderation. This Treason sets all People against John; and brings Galilee wholly over to Joseph. Joseph proposes Terms of Accommodation. The Conditions accepted and executed. Secret Plots and Practices carried on against Joseph. Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias go over to the Enemy.*

**W**HILE Joseph was in the Course of his Administration in Galilee, (as you have heard) there started up an extravagant kind of Impostor. He came out of Gischala, the Son of one Levi, and his Name John: A Fellow false and crafty to the highest Degree, and so poor formerly, that he had not wherewithal to be so wicked as he had a Mind to be: Never without a Lie in his Mouth: and he was as good at believing false Stories as at spreading of them. Fraud passed for a Virtue with him; and he would cozen his best Friends to choose. He was a great Pretender to Goodnature, and most unmercifully bloody, where there was any thing to be gotten by it. His Ambition had no Bounds: and the Foundation of his Hopes was laid in his Crimes.

Crimes. He was so naturally addicted to Thievery, that he taught himself the Trade; for he began single, and so went on, gathering Companions by Degrees one after another, till he came at last to a Train of four hundred Men: In which Number there was neither a Coward, nor a Man that did not understand the Use of his Arms; so scrupulously careful he was of his Choice, both for Body and Mind. The greatest Part of his Troop was drawn out of the Borders and Villages of the Tyrians. With this Body of Men he laid Galilee waste, and put a great many of those to the Sword that had withdrawn upon the Apprehension of a War. He had far greater Things yet in his Thought, and nothing hindered him, but want of Money, from putting himself at the Head of a formed Army.

When he found that Joseph had a good Opinion of him for a Man of Industry and Business, he employed his Credit with him, in getting him to commit the Rebuilding of the Walls of Gischala to his Care: Upon which Account he drew large Sums of Money in Contribution, from Men of Substance and Estate. And then he had another Invention; which was in Truth his Master-Piece. He got an Order from Joseph to all the Jews in Syria, forbidding them expressly to send any Oil out into the bordering Neighbourhood, but of the Composition of their own Nation. Upon this Prohibition, John engrossed the Oil, and sold it again at eight times the Value it cost him. Now this being a plentiful Year, and Galilee a great Oil Country, the Monopoly of getting it all to himself, and sending so much of it Abroad, where there was great Scarcity of it, brought an incredible Sum of Money into his Coffers: Which Treasure he converted afterwards to the Mischief of his Benefactor. And then computing within himself how fair he stood for next Governor in case Joseph should come to be removed, he gave it in Charge to the Ruffians under his Command, to harass and teize the Inhabitants still more and more; which would either exasperate the People into Practices upon his Person, if he offered to Control them; or else expose him to Accusations and Complaints, if he let them alone. For an Introduction to his Design, he had already put it about, that Joseph was in a Plot to betray the Province to the Romans: And a great deal of that Stuff more, that they mustered up, toward the inflaming of the Rabble against Joseph.

There was at that Time a parcel of young Men of Dabarith, that kept Guard in the great Plain: And as Ptolemy (King Agrippa's and Queen Berenice's Steward) was travelling that Way, these Sparks set upon him; took away all his Boxes and Baggage, to a great Value, in rich Robes and silver Plate, and six hundred Pieces of Gold. This was a Prize not to be concealed, so that they carried the Purchase, whole as it was, to Joseph at Tariche; who checked them for the Violence they had offered to the King's People, and ordered the Booty to be deposited in the Charge of one Aneas, an eminent Man in the City; and to be forthcoming upon Demand. This Punctillo of Honour and Justice had like to have cost Joseph his Life: For when the Pillagers came to understand that they were like to have no Share in the Prey themselves, and giving for granted withal, that Joseph reserved it intire for the King's Use, (as in Truth he did) they ran raging up and down through all the neighbouring Cities and Villages, from Place to Place, with Clamours and Exclamations, that Joseph had betrayed them.

them. This Outcry raised such an Uproar, that by Day-light next Morning, there was a Multitude of a hundred thousand People gotten together, and so to the Circus at Tarichee, roaring against Joseph; some to have him deposed or stoned; others were for burning him as a Traitor; John, and Jesus the Son of Sapphas; who were at that Time Magistrates of Tiberias, all this while encouraging the Tumult. Joseph's Friends and Guards were in such a Fright, upon this monstrous Rage and Concourse of People, that they all abandoned him but four Persons. He was at that Time fast asleep; and as they were just a setting Fire to the House, his four Friends waked him. Joseph was still present to himself through all this Hurry; and not one Jot surpris'd, either at the Number of his Enemies, or at the Desertion of his Friends: But frankly presented himself to the View of the People, in Rags and Ashes; his Hands behind him, and his Sword about his Neck. This generous Constancy moved his Friends, and especially those of Tarichee, to the highest Degree of Tenderness and Compassion: But the brutish Multitude and the Borderers, that thought themselves over-taxed, plied him with Curses and Reproaches for his Treachery and Oppression: And calling upon him over and over to restore the Money, and confess the Fact. They gathered, in fine, from his Behaviour, that he was now in a Disposition to tell the Truth; and by so doing, in a fair Way to acquire both Pardon and Pity. Under these Circumstances, he could not do better, he thought, than to divide his Enemies, and set them at Variance one with another. With this Design in his Head, he promised them a frank Confession of the whole Matter: So they gave him the Hearing; and what he said was to this Effect "It never could enter into my Thought (says he) either to deliver up this Treasure to Agrippa, or to make any Benefit of it to myself. No, no, good People; far be it from me to court the Friendship of any Prince that is your Enemy: Or to propound the Reaping of any Advantage to your Prejudice. But (says he to the Tarichæans) considering how naked your City looks without Walls, and how little able you yourselves are to rebuild them: And then considering again, how the People of Tiberias and several other Cities have set their Hearts upon this Prize, I thought I could not do better than to reserve it for the Raising of your Walls. If you are of the same Mind, you are bound in Honour to justify me in what I have done: But if otherwise, I am ready to lay all that I have taken at your Feet, and to be disposed of at your Pleasure."

The Tarichæans were highly pleas'd with what he said: The Tiberians as much the contrary; as appeared by their Calumnies, Menaces, and Reproaches: Insomuch that their Rage and Animosity was now fiercer than ever. For in the Heat of this Division, the People let fall their Joint-Quarrel to Joseph; while the two Parties entered into as hot a Contest the one with the other.

When Joseph found that he had got the Multitude on his Side (as there were near forty thousand Tarichæans) he took the Liberty to tell them plainly how much they were to blame; and that for his Part, he was absolutely for employing the ready Money they had, toward the fortifying of the Town. "Leave it to me, says he, to take Care of the other Cities too, and to see that you want nothing toward the Charge of the Work: If you will but follow my Direction; and take it where it is to be had, without falling foul upon him that provides it for you." This looked so fair, that Part

of the Mutineers, though uneasy enough, withdrew upon it; but at the same Time, another Party of two thousand armed Men advanced furiously toward Joseph; who presently slipped into the House, and made good the Passage; while the Rioters stood pressing and menacing on the wrong Side of the Door. Joseph was now put to his Wits once again for another Invention, and so he went up Stairs to the Top of the House; and thence made a Sign to the People below for Silence: And when the Uproar was a little laid, he spake somewhat to them to this Purpose. " Good People, says he, what you would have me to do I know not, neither is it possible for us to understand one another in this Confusion of Noises. But this I am sure of, that I am here ready to do whatever you shall command me, if you will but send any Body to me, that we may discourse the Business temperately together." Upon this Proposal, some of the chief Magistrates repaired to Joseph; where they were presently taken into the House; the Doors shut after them, and so carried into a remote Quarter; where they were torn with Rods, 'till their very Ribs and Guts were seen. The Rabble thought the Time long enough to wait all this while at the Door for the Issue of the Debate; imputing the Delay to some Difficulties in the Case: When all on a sudden, the Doors were thrown open, and the Commissioners dismissed all bloody as they were: which struck the People with such a Terror, that those that were highest in their Menaces before, were the first now to cast down their Arms and shift for themselves.

This Disappointment went so to the Heart of John, that it exasperated his Envy against Joseph still more and more, and put him upon other Practices. He counterfeited himself sick, and desired Joseph's Leave to make use of the hot Waters at Tiberias for his Health. Joseph, upon this, gave him recommendatory Letters to the Governors of the City, that they would be assistant to him in what he wanted: Without the least Suspicion of any Treachery that Way. He was no sooner possessed of the Advantages he desired, but within two Days he was tampering with some, and corrupting others with Money and fair Words, to abandon Joseph. This Practice coming to Silas's Ear, who had at that Time the Charge of the City, he sent Advice of it immediately to Joseph: Who, upon the very Instant of receiving the Letter (though late in the Night) hastened away for Tiberias, and got thither early the next Morning. All the People receiving him with great Deference and Respect; save only John, who suspected the Matter, and the Faction which he had debauched. But John however sent him a complimentary Excuse by a Friend, for not doing himself the Honour to wait upon him, being at that Time sick in bed, and in no Condition to attend him. The People of Tiberias were now drawn together in the great Place by Joseph's Order, with an Intent to acquaint them with the Advice he had received. John got notice of it, and sent a Band of his Bravo's to destroy him; but in the Instant of their drawing their Swords (being planted ready for the Execution) the People gave a Shriek: And Joseph taking the Alarm when the Weapons were just at his Throat, leaped down from a Standing of six Cubits high that he had mounted for his Harangue, and so made his Escape to a little Boat upon the Lake, and only two of his Guards along with him.

The Soldiers presently betook themselves to their Arms, to avenge their General upon these Traitors. But Joseph was so afraid of a Civil War and the Consequences of it,  
in



in the Exposure of the City upon a private Quarrel, that he sent a Messenger to his People with a positive Command not to do any Manner of Mischief to the Traitors, but what was of absolute Necessity to to their own Preservation: Wherein they followed their Orders to a Tittle.

So soon as the Rumour of this Treason came to be noised in the Country, with the Contrivance itself, and the Author of it, the Neighbourhood gathered together, and put themselves upon the March to find out John; but he was gone into Gischala, his own Country, before they could come up to him. There was hardly ever a City in Galilee that did not go over to Joseph upon this Occasion, and many thousand of armed Men along with them, who did all offer their Services against John, that Traitor, as they called him, and the common Enemy of Mankind: And towards the Delivering of that treacherous Wretch up to the Flames, with the City that protected him. “ Joseph’s Answer was, That he was highly sensible of their Kindness and Good-will; “ but was however for moderate Councils, where the Case would bear it; and that “ he had rather save an Enemy by Temperance and Prudence, than destroy him by “ Force. But, says Joseph, I should be well enough content to see every Man by Name, “ out of the several Cities, excepted from Pardon, that ever joined with John in the Re- “ bellion; his Goods to be confiscated, his House burnt, and his Family destroyed; “ unless he should, in five Days after the Publication of such a Decree, quit the Party “ and Interest of John, and return to his Allegiance.” The Heads of the several Cities were unanimously forward in the Promoting of these Conditions; a proclamation formally published, and all Things in pursuance of it duly executed. This Declaration brought over three thousand of the Rebels from John; who cast themselves and their Arms at the Feet of Joseph. But John, with the Remainder, which were a matter of a thousand Syrian Fugitives, betook himself to secret Plots and Practices, when he found he could carry his Point no further above Board. He had his Informers privately at work up and down in Jerusalem, to calumniate Joseph for extravagant Levies, upon a Design to make himself Master of the Place, if he were not kept in Order by a stronger Power. They that knew any Thing of the Matter, gave no Heed at all to the Story: But there was yet a spiteful Party, even of the Magistrates themselves, and other principal Members of the Town, that supplied John with Money towards the maintaining a War with Joseph: Nay, they went so far as to draw up an Act in Readiness, for the Removal of him from his Command. And they did not think that enough neither, but sent a Detachment of five and twenty hundred Men of War, and four other Persons famous both for Law and Eloquence; whose Business was to try if they could supplant Joseph in the Credit he had with the People; and with Order, if they could get him to come away by fair Means, to offer him no Violence; but in Case of his Refusal, to treat him as an Enemy. These Commissioners were Joazar, a Lawyer’s Son, Ananias the Son of Saddouc, Simon, and Judas, the Sons of Jonathas.

Joseph’s Friends gave him a general Intelligence of a Party of Soldiers sent toward him: But the Enemy’s Counsels were kept so close, that they could not learn the Meaning of it. So that there was no Place for a particular Precaution; and four Cities went immediately over to the Enemy, that is to say, Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Ti-

berias: But he was quickly Master of them again without Blood. Four of the chief Men that he had taken, both for Arms and Counsel, he sent back to Jerusalem; which transported the People to so violent a Rage against them, that if they had not made their Escapes in Time, they would have been all certainly cut to Picces, as well they themselves that were sent as those that sent them.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*Tiberias revolts; and is recovered by a notable Stratagem: Joseph, with only seven unarmed Men, does the Work. The Tiberians render themselves, and submit. Tiberias sends Hostages for the Performance of Articles. The Blame of all is laid upon Clitus, and they call for Justice upon him. Clitus is sentenced to do Justice upon himself, and to cut off one Hand with the other.*

JOHN was all this while in such a Dread of Joseph, that he durst not so much as shew his Head out of the Walls of Gischala. Some few Days after this, Tiberias revolted, and inviting Agrippa to take Possession of the Town, acknowledged him for their King. The Day being appointed, Agrippa failed of his Time; and only some Roman Cavaliers appearing, they fell off from Joseph. When the News of this Desertion came to Tarichee, Joseph, that had sent his Troops out a foraging, was at a Stand what to do; for he durst not venture himself alone among the whole Body of the Deserters; and he durst not stay in the Town neither, for fear of being surprized by the King's Soldiers; besides that, the next Day being their Sabbath, there was nothing more to be done.

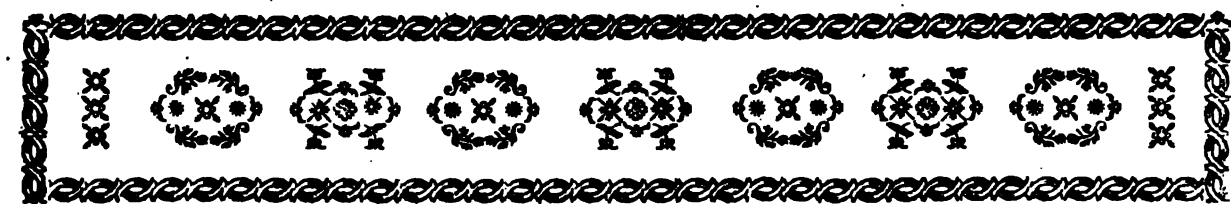
Joseph had no Way now to save himself, but by putting a Trick upon the Deserters, and he happened upon an Invention that succeeded to his Wish. He caused the Gates of Tarichee to be all shut, and guarded, to prevent giving any Intelligence to Tiberias of what he was a doing. Upon this he ordered all the Boats in the Lake to be gotten together, to the Number of two hundred and thirty in the whole, and four Men to every Boat. With these Vessels he set sail early in the Morning for Tiberias: And when he was advanced within such a Distance of the Town, that they might easily discern the Gros of the Fleet, without distinguishing what Men they had aboard he ordered all his empty Vessels to come to an Anchor, and stay behind; while he himself, with only seven of his Guards, and those unarmed too, rowed up towards the Town, within Ken of the Place. People were at this Instant raging and swaggering against him from the Walls, after their usual Manner; but upon Sight of him, under those Circumstances, and taking for granted, that all the Ships they saw were full of Soldiers, they presently cast down their Arms in a Fright; and with all the Actions and Expressions of Submission imaginable, begged of him only to be merciful to a miserable City and People.

Joseph

Priest, and the great Men in Jerusalem, that stood in Opposition to the Romans, hastened all that was possible the rebuilding of their Walls; the procuring of military Instruments and Machines; Weapons of all Sorts, as Darts, Arrows, and the like: And all Hands at Work upon warlike Preparations, training up the Youth also to the Exercise of their Arms. All Things were in Confusion at that Time: Men of Sobriety and Foresight sad at Heart, and could not forbear weeping at the Prospect of Calamities to come. The Countenance of Things was afflicting to any Man that wished for Peace; and for public Incendiaries, the worse the better. The City, in short, had Death in the very Face of it, before ever the Romans came thither. Ananus was altogether against the Formality of these Preparatories for a War, in hope to reclaim the Madness of the Mutineers, (the Zealots of those Days,) and to bring them to Reason: But he miscarried in the Attempt, as will be seen hereafter. Simon, the Son of Gioras, was at this Time in the Head of a Band of Free-booters, that lived upon the Spoil in the Toparchy of Acrabatena; where they not only plundered and pillaged great Men's Houses, but fell foul upon their Bodies too, and treated the Masters themselves with Blows and Cudgels worse than Slaves: At this Rate publicly exercising a bare-faced Tyranny. He went on making this Havock, till he was forced by the Troops of Ananus and the Magistrates to shift for himself, with the small Party he had, among the Thieves of Massada: And there he continued till Ananus and some other of his Enemies were cut off. He made such Ravage at Idumæa, and thereabouts, with his daily Outrages of Blood and Pillage, that for the Security of the Country, the Government was fain to garrison the very Villages. This was the State of Affairs in Judæa upon that Juncture.



FLAVIUS



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
WARS of the JEWS.

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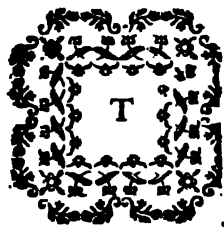
B O O K III.

*From Vespasian's coming to subdue the Jews, to the taking of Gamala, containing the interval of about one Year.*

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C H A P. I.

*Nero's Vanity and Ostentation. The distracted State of the Roman Affairs. Nero gives Vespasian the Government of Syria. Vespasian's Fitness for such a Trust. Vespasian and Titus advance a mighty Army. The Defeat of Cestius makes the Jews rash and bold. They advance towards Ascalon. The Bodies engage, and the Jews totally routed. Ten thousand killed upon the Place. The Jews not a Match for the Romans. Eight thousand Jews more slain upon a second Overthrow. Niger the General preserved by a wonderful Providence. Vespasian hastens away to Ptolemais. And the Sepphorites are very friendly to the Romans.*



HE News of Cestius's Disaster in Judæa struck Nero into a quaking Fit of Fear and Confusion: But he looked big upon it, however, and covered the Faintness of his Heart, with an Affectation of Dignity and Stomach. "This, says he, was the Fault of my own Officer, not the Bravery of the Enemy." And so carried it on at such a huffing Rate, as if it were not for the Honour of the Empire, or of his sovereign Station, above all other Princes, to be so much as touched  
with

with the common Accidents of human Life, or the Iniquities of Fortune. But after all this Ostentation of an invincible Courage, the Cares he had in his Head betrayed the Weakness of his Mind, by the Uneasiness he was in for want of a General equal to the mighty Necessities of the Empire: For the East was at this Time wavering and falling off; the Jews deep in Rebellion already; other Nations staggering, and the Empire all over sick of the same Disease. Now how to keep the one quiet, reduce the other, and to prevent the ill Humour in the third from tainting the whole Body; this was the Question, and the great Work that was now necessary to be attended. Vespasian, in fine, was the Instrument pitched upon, as the only Person that Nero could think competent for the Discharge of such a Trust. He was now in Years, and had spent the whole Course of his Life in Arms, from first to last. This was the Man that settled the Peace of the Empire in the West, upon the Revolt of the Germans: This was he that finished the Conquest of Britany; which before that was neither perfectly subdued, nor known; and he presented his Father Claudius also with the Honour of a Triumph for it, without either Sweat or Blood. Now considering Vespasian under all these Circumstances, his Years, Resolution, Faith, and Conduct; so many Children as he had, so many Hostages for his Fidelity, and in a Vigour of Youth to execute their Father's Orders; beside the Concurrence of God's sacred Providence, with other Incidents for the Good of the Empire: All this together moved Nero to make Vespasian General of his Forces in Syria. And for his further Encouragement, his Commission was accompanied with a great many fair Words, after the Practice of the World, when they have Need of a Man. Vespasian had no sooner received his Commission from Nero in Achaia, but he presently dispatched away his Son Titus for Alexandria, to draw off the fifth and the tenth Legions there; while he himself crossed the Hellespont, and so took his Way by Land into Syria; where he came to a Rendezvous with all the Roman Troops, and the Auxiliaries that were sent in by the Princes bordering upon that Province.

The Jews, in the mean Time, were so transported with the unexpected Advantage they had got over the Romans under Cestius, that they behaved themselves like so many Madmen; pushing on the War beyond all Bounds of Moderation and Prudence. They drew up what Strength they were able to make out of the best Troops they had, and with that Body marched towards Acalon, an ancient City, some five hundred and twenty Furlongs from Jerusalem. The Jews had ever an Aversion to these People; and for that Reason they made Choice of that Place for their first Attack. They had for their Leaders three famous Captains; Niger, of Peræa; Silas, a Babylonian; and John, an Essene; Men eminent for strength of Body, Resolution, and good Government.

Acalon had a Wall of a prodigious Strength, if there had but been Men to defend it: The whole Garrison consisting only of one Company of Foot, and a Troop of Horse, under the Command of Anthony. The Jews thought it long till they could come to Blows with the Romans; and so made a running March of it, to fall upon them by Surprise: But Anthony getting an Inkling of it, had drawn his Horse out of the Town before-hand, to be in Readiness for the Encounter; without much heeding, either their Numbers, or their Courage. Upon their advance, he received their Charge with  
great

the Castle into a deep Vault; and as some of his Friends were searching for his Body, three Days after, to give it Funeral Rites, he presented himself before them yet living; which transported the Jews, out of an Affliction almost inconsolable, into the most surprising Excess of Joy that can be imagined, to find so necessary an Instrument of their well-being delivered by so signal a Providence.

Vespasian being now come with his Army to Antioch, (the Capital of Syria) and without all Dispute, for Beauty and Situation, the third City in the Roman Empire; he found in this City King Agrippa, with all his own Troops, expecting him. He passed from thence to Ptolemais; and there were the Inhabitants of Sepphoris, a Town of Galilee, waiting to receive him. These were a well-meaning People, but so well understanding their own Interest too, and the formidable Power of Rome, that, without staying for the coming of Vespasian, to shew their good Affections to the Government, they had, by Anticipation, promised and protested as much to Cestius-Gallius; receiving a Garrison from him, and acknowledging him for their Governor, and binding themselves to serve him chearfully, even against their own Countrymen. Vespasian did likewise grant them, at their Request, such a Body of Horse and Foot for a Garrison, as might be a sufficient Security against IncurSIONS, if the Jews should make any such Attempt. Now Sepphoris being both the largest and the strongest City of all Galilee, Vespasian judged it a Matter of high Importance to have it in good Hands.

## C H A P. II.

*The Two Galilees, with a Description of them. A Description of Samaria. Jerusalem stands in the Middle of Judæa. A Division or Distribution of Judæa.*

**T**H E R E are Two Galilees, known by the Names of the Upper and the Lower Galilee, which are encompassed by Phœnicia and Syria. They are bounded on the West by the City and Territory of Ptolemais, and by Mount Carmel, formerly belonging to the Galileans, at present to the Tyrians: And next adjoining to Gaba, or the City of the Horsemen, so called, from the Plantation of Herod's Horsemen that were there settled upon their Dismission; on the South with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the River Jordan; on the East with Hippene, Gadaris, and Gaulanitis, together with the Borders of the Kingdom of Agrippa; and on the North with Tyre, and the Frontiers of the Tyrians.

The Lower Galilee stretcheth Length-ways from Tiberias to Zabulon, near Ptolemais on the Sea-Coast. It reaches in Breadth, from Xaloth on the great Plain, as far as Bersabe; and there begins the Breadth of the Upper Galilee, and so goes up to the Village of Baca, which divides it from the Territory of the Syrians. And as to the Length of it, they reckon it from Thella, a Village near Jordan, to Meroth.

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These two Provinces are of a large Extent, and surrounded with neighbouring Princes of several distinct Nations; and yet upon all Occasions of Controversy, they have still made head against them: For over and above that they are mightily peopled, their Inhabitants bold and warlike, and trained up from Children to Exercises of Arms, the Men neither wanted Courage, nor the Country Provisions. Their Lands are fruitful to Admiration; and such Nurseries of ~~all~~ Manner of Plants, that it would make any Man in Love with Husbandry. The Grounds are all over inhabited and dressed, and not one Foot lies idle. There are Cities and Villages in Abundance; which must needs be populous in so plentiful a Country; for they account upon fifteen thousand Inhabitants, and more, in the least of them. So that though Galilee falls short of the Country beyond Jordan, in the Compass of Ground, it is yet much superior to it in Strength and Value; for over and above the Fertility of the Soil, every Spot of it is so improved, that there's no Ground lost: Whereas in that vast Tract of Land beyond Jordan, the greater Part of it is dry and barren, and not so proper for Corn, and several other Necessaries for the Life and Service of Man. Not but that in some particular Places, as Paræa for one, the Soil is better conditioned, and as well stored with excellent Fruits as any other Place; witness the Vines, Olive-Trees, Palm-Trees, and other Plants that we find up and down in the Fields, in great Abundance and Perfection; and they are all watered and refreshed with Torrents from the Mountains, and with quick Springs in the excessive Heats. The Length of this Country lies from Machærus to Pella; the Breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; with Pella on the North, the River Jordan on the West, the Land of the Moabites on the South, and Arabia Silbonitis, Philadelphene, and Gerasa on the East. Samaria is situated betwixt Judæa and Galilee, beginning at a Village called Ginæa, upon the Plain, and extending to the Toparchy of Acrabatane. The Country is much of the Nature with that of Judæa, mountainous and rich, excellent Land, and easily tilled or managed; great Plenty of Fruits, both wild and meliorated, or domestic; it is naturally dry, but abundantly supplied with Showers: Beside the best Water in the World, incomparable Pastures, and Milk no where so plentiful. But the superlative Excellency and Advantage of these two Provinces, is yet behind, that is to say, the incredible Number of Inhabitants. And to conclude, the Boundary to them both is Annath, otherwise called the Village of Borcæus.

The same Village bounds Judæa likewise on the North: And the Length of it runs from the South Side to a Village upon the Borders of Arabia, called Jardan: The Breadth, from the River Jordan to Joppa. In the Middle of it stands Jerusalem; which has been called, aptly enough by some, the Navel, or the Centre of the Province. Judæa, in fine, wants nothing to make it as delicious as it is fruitful: And that by Sea too, (all the Way to Ptolemais) as well as Land. It is divided into eleven Parts; Jerusalem the first, as the sovereign Head of all the rest: The other ten are distributed into as many Toparchies: Gophna the second, and so Acrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Ammaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engadi, Herodion, and Jericho. The neighbouring Countries are under the Jurisdiction of Jamnia and Joppa, as Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, are comprised in the Kingdom of Agrippa, but ex-

cepted out of the Parts first before spoken of. This Country, that is inhabited by the Syrians and the Jews promiscuously, extends itself in Breadth from Mount Libanus and the Sources of Jordan, to the Lake of Tiberias: And in Length from the Village of Arphas to Julias.

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### C H A P. III.

*Vespasian sends Placidus with Relief to the Sepphorites. Galilee at the Mercy of Fire and Sword. Titus comes up to Vespasian at Ptolemais with a vast Army. The Order and Policy of the Roman Discipline. The Roman Way of Incamping. The Trumpet gives every Man his Orders. The Roman Way of Decamping. The Manner of giving the Word for a Battle. The Roman Way of Marching. The Extent of the Roman Empire.*

**W**E have been as brief upon Judæa, with the Boundaries and Confines of it, as the Matter would bear.

The Supplies that Vespasian sent to the Sepphorites, being a thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, under the Command of Placidus the Tribune, were distributed, after the drawing of them up in the great Plain, into two Divisions. The Horse continued in the Camp, and the Foot were quartered within the Walls, for the Security of the City; but not without daily Excursions up and down into the Neighbourhood; which made Joseph and his Companions uneasy enough, though without any Act of Hostility, either by Assault or Surprize: Beside that, they pillaged both City and Country of whatever they could come at; and fell so severely upon the Inhabitants at every Sally they made, that they durst not so much as shew their Heads any more out of their Gates.

Joseph, for all this, put it to the Push, in a bold Attempt upon the City; but finding to his Cost, that he himself, before his going off from the Galileans, had made the Place as good as impregnable against himself, and that it was not to be gained from the Sepphorites either by fair Means or by foul, he let fall his Enterprize. This Practice, however, (out of a natural Aversion the Romans have to Treachery) made the War ten Times fiercer, and the Enemy much more outrageous than before: Depopulating the Country Night and Day with Fire and Sword; pillaging whatever they could lay their Hands on; putting all to Death without Mercy, where they found Resistance; and making Slaves of the rest. Galilee, in fine, was all covered with Fire and Blood; and not a Creature but had their Part in this Calamity, and nothing left them to trust to, but the Towns that Joseph himself had fortified.

Titus was by this Time come up to Vespasian, at Ptolemais, with the Troops he brought from Alexandria: And his Arrival was much sooner than upon a Winter's  
March



March could have been expected. And there he joined the fifteenth, the fifth, and the tenth Legions; which were reputed the bravest Troops of the Empire. They were followed also with Eighteen Companies, and five more to them out of Cæsarea, with one Troop of Horse, and five Troops of Syrian Horse. Ten of these Cohorts had a thousand Men each, and the rest six hundred and thirteen Foot, and six-score Horse, beside a very considerable Inforcement of Auxiliaries from the Neighbouring Princes, as Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, who sent their two thousand Foot a-piece, and a thousand Horse; Malichus, the King of Arabia, five thousand Foot, most of them armed with Bows and Arrows, and a thousand Horse. These Troops all together, made up a Body of sixty thousand Horse and Foot, beside the Train of Baggage, and Servants that followed the Camp; who, for Experience, Courage, military Skill, and Application, (for the most Part,) fell not much short of their Masters themselves.

The Policy and Wisdom of the Romans in this Way of ordering their Servants, can never be sufficiently admired: For it makes them, at the same Time, not only serviceable to private Families, but to the Commonwealth also in Offices of War and Government. And then, whoever considers the Excellency of the Roman Discipline and Conduct in the Matter of military Order and Execution, will find that Fortune had the least Share in the Success of their Arms; and that they advanced themselves to the Command of the World, upon the Foundations of their own Honour and Virtue. They were not then to learn the Art of War, when they came to fall under the Necessity of using it: But they made it their Exercise and Practice in Times of Peace, and handled their Arms as naturally as if they had been born with them: So that Peace or War was, in that Respect, all a Case to them; and they were ever in Readiness, without troubling their Heads about Times or Seasons. Their very Trials of Skill looked like real Combats; and not a Day passed, but every Man went through all his Exercises; which kept them both in Disposition and in Breath. By this Means they were always in Order, without feeling the Inconveniences either of Fear or Fatigue. Now for Men that keep themselves upon the Guard of this Habit and Discipline, a loose Enemy is not able to deal with them. But, as I was saying, their Exercises are effectually but Combats, without drawing Blood, as their fiercest Encounters are but bloody Exercises. To secure themselves from Surprise, upon entering into an Enemy's Country, the first Thing they do, is to pitch and fortify their Camp, not slightly or disorderly, but with a Regard to the Condition of the Place; levelling the Ground where it was uneven, and for the Figure of it, in the Form of a Quadrangle. In order to the Dispatch and the Execution of all this, they have their Smiths, Carpenters, Pioneers, and other Workmen for Fortifications, to attend the Army. The inner Part of the Camp is distributed into Quarters, or Lodgments for the Officers and Soldiers: And the Outside carries the Resemblance of a Wall; where they raise Turrets at an equal Distance one from another: And in the Intervals they have all Sorts of Weapon to be used at a Distance, as Darts, Arrows, Stones, &c. and Instruments or Machines also for the casting of them. This Camp had four large Gates for Horse and Man to pass and repass at Pleasure, as there shall be

be Occasion. On the Inside of it there are several Streets orderly disposed, with Lodgments in the Middle, for the Head Officers; and within them again, a Tent erected for the General, after the Form of a little Temple; a Market-Place with Shops and Standings for Artificers and Tradesmen; Courts of Justice and Tribunals, for the Hearing of Causes, as well military as civil: And taking it altogether, it looks like a City of a matter of one nights Growth; so wonderful is the Dispatch, where there are great Masters to direct, and many Hands to execute. And if this, in fine, be not enough for the securing of the Quarter, 'tis but running a Line of Circumvalation about it at last, with a Trench of some four Cubits deep, and as many over, to finish the Work. The Soldiers have their Arms still about them, and live in a military Kind of Brotherhood, orderly and peaceably one with another. Upon any Occasion of fetching Wood, Water, Forage, &c. they go out in Parties: And so for their Times of Repast, they do not eat now and then by Snaps, as every Man pleases, but altogether; and the Trumpet directs them when to sleep, when to rise, when to set the Watch, &c. So it is, in fine, that they do nothing but by Rule and Command. In the Morning the Soldiers wait upon their Captains, the Captains upon the Tribunes; and then both Captains and Tribunes upon the General: From whom they receive the Word or Signal, and such other orders to be communicated to their Subordinates, as the Occasion requires; to the End that every Man may be instructed in his Duty, and how to behave himself upon Action; how and when to sally out, or to retreat, and to do all Things in Order whatever they do. The Trumpet tells them when they are to decamp; and then they take up their Tents, pack up their Baggage, and prepare to be gone. Upon the second Sounding, they load their Cariages and their Sumpters, and stand ready to move; watching for the Word of Command, as People do for the Sign at a Horse-Race when to start; and at the same Time setting Fire to the Camp; which may be easily repaired by throwing up another; beside, that the Enemy shall make no Benefit of it. Upon the third Sounding, the Army marches, and all possible Care is taken to prevent Stragglers, and to move every man in his Rank.

On the Right-hand of the General stands the Herald, who with a loud Voice puts this Question thrice over to the Army; "Are you ready for a Battle?" The Soldiers, in a martial Tone and Action, return him this Answer as often over; "We are ready for a Battle." Nay, many Times they prevent the very Demand, by stretching forth their Right-hand, and other Signs of Joy and Satisfaction, in hope of coming to that Issue. After this, the Army advances with as much manly Gravity and Composure as if it were in the Face of an Enemy.

The Foot-Arms are Pot and Brest; two Swords, one on each Side, and the Left much longer than the other; which is about the Size of a Dagger. The General's Guards carry Javelins and Targets; and all the rest Pikes, and long Bucklers; a Saw, a Basket, a Pick-Ax, a Hatchet, a Rein, a Scythe, a Chain, and Bread for three Days: So that the Men carried little less Burden than the Beasts. The Horse-Men wear long Swords girt to their Right-sides. They carry a Lance in their Hand, a Buckler in a Scarf hanging a-cross the Horse-side, a Quiver with three Darts or more in it, broad-pointed,

pointed, and about the Length of a short Javelin; their Helmets and Corplets like those of the Foot. And for the Cavaliers that attend the Person of the General, their Arms are the very same with the rest, only being chosen by Lot, the Troop that has the Luck to be so pitched upon has a Right of Precedence.

This is the Roman Way of marching and encamping, with the various Manner of their arming. They do nothing in their military Enterprizes and Combats that is rash and inconsiderate; but their Actions are the Result of deliberate Counsels: By which Means, either their Failings will be fewer, or those that happen will be more easily redressed; for provided that Matters be well weighed and digested, they had rather suffer a Disappointment by the ill Success of a well grounded Enterprize, than become indebted to Fortune for an Advantage contrary to Reason. For these blind Events give People an ill Habit of abandoning all to Chance, without any Precaution or Foresight; whereas Men are the wiser and the better for instructive Examples, though in cases of Miscarriage; beside the Comfort of falling with Honour and a good Conscience, by a Calamity which human Prudence could not prevent.

This continual Use and Exercise of Arms does not only harden and strengthen the Bodies of Men, but elevates their very Minds also into Resolutions more courageous and firm: Beside that, People are kept in Awe under the Apprehension of Penalties and Rigour. It is Death by the martial Law, for a Soldier not only to desert his Station or betray his Trust, but for the very least Neglect of his Duty. Now this is a terrible Rigour, and yet the Officers are still more inexorable than the Laws themselves; for they make amends, they think, in the Honours and Rewards that they confer upon Men of Merit for the Cruelty of punishing Criminals. And such is the Reverence they have for the Authority of military Order and Discipline, that a Roman Army is certainly the most glorious Spectacle under the Sun, in a Time of Peace; and in a State of War, the most dreadful; for every individual of the whole Army moves but as a Member of the same Body, and, at the same Time, in such a Harmony of Motion, as if they were all governed by the same Mind. Their Ears are always open to attend the Word of Command, their Eyes watching to receive the Signal, and their Hands ever in Readiness to execute the Orders of their Superiors, in Contempt of all Difficulties and Dangers. When they come to the Encounter, and that the Battle is once resolved upon, they never trouble their Heads with the Enemies Numbers, or Conduct; the Difficulties or Dangers of Passes; nay, or with the Malice of Fortune itself; but break through all Obstacles, and make themselves as good as sure of the Victory before they strike a Stroke. Now if their Counsels and Deliberations be governed altogether by political Prudence, and sound Advice, and followed with an answerable Vigour of Execution; what wonder is it to see the Roman Empire Mistress of the Universe, and stretching itself as far as the Euphrates, on the East; the Ocean on the West: and the fruitful Country of Africa, on the South; and the Rhine and Danube, on the North! And yet, when all is said, the Dominion seems still too narrow for the great Souls of the Possessors of it.

It is not my Purpose in what I have here delivered, to write a Panegyric to the Honour of the Romans; but rather for the Comfort of those that are overcome, to  
these

shew they have no reason to be ashamed of their Masters, and to divert rash Innovators and Malecontents from attempting Impossibilities. Besides that this Discourse may perhaps be of some Service to the Curious in the Light it will give them toward a better understanding of the Roman Methods of Government and Discipline.

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## C H A P. IV.

*Placidus breaks into Galilee. He assaults Jotapata, and is beaten off.*

**W**HILE Vespasian was with his Son Titus at Ptolemais, he gave all necessary Orders for the Supply and Government of the Army; and in this Interim, Placidus made an Introad into Galilee, over-ran the whole Country, took a World of Prisoners, and put the greater Part of them to the Sword. Now these were only a timorous faint-hearted Sort of People; but the more daring Part of the Galileans were observed to take Sanctuary still in Cities and other Strong Holds that Joseph had fortified; which when Placidus took Notice of, he resolved to set upon them by Assault, and to begin with Jotapata; which was the most defensible Place they had, making no Doubt at all of carrying it upon the first Attack by Surprize, beside the Reputation it would give him among the rest of the Generals, and open a Way to the taking of other Places: For the very Example of Jotapata, being the toughest Piece in all Galilee, would probably draw the Remainder after it. But Placidus was much mistaken in his Conjecture, for the Inhabitants being precautioned of his Design; and that he was already upon his March, went out of the City to encounter him; and falling upon the Romans at unawares, with a considerable Body, and in good Heart, (their Country, Wives, and Children, being all at Stake) they put them to the Rout, but killed only seven of them, being well armed, and making an orderly Retreat. Of the Jews there were only three slain, and some few wounded; for being ill armed, they were fain to content themselves with Darts and Lances at a Distance, without venturing a Dispute Hand to Hand. Upon this Repulse, Placidus left the Place.

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## C H A P. V.

*Vespasian marches from Ptolemais into Galilee. The Order of his March. Upon Vespasian's Advance, Joseph's People desert. Joseph gives over the War, and withdraws to Tiberias.*

**V**ESPASIAN, being now resolved upon an Incurfion into Galilee, leaves Ptolemais, and gives the Army their marching Orders, according to the Institution of the Roman Discipline: the Auxiliaries being light-armed, and the Bowmen advancing before the rest to keep the Enemy at a Distance; and, by scouting out into the  
Woods,

Woods, and other suspected Passages, for Discovery of their Ambushes, to prevent Surprizes. These were followed with a Party of Roman Horse and Foot; and after them a Detachment of ten Men out of every Company, with their Arms and necessary Provisions for the forming of a Camp. The next in Course were the Pioneers, to level and mend the Ways, and cut down the Trees and Bushes that incommoded them in their March. After these, came the General's Baggage, with that of his great Officers, and a strong Party of Horse for their Convoy. Vespasian himself marching next, with a select Body of Horse and Foot, some Troops of Lances, and sixscore of his own Men, were drawn out of so many gross Squadrons. The Engineers with their Machines and Instruments for Battery and Assault took their Place next, and then followed the Tribunes and other Officers, with a choice Body of Troops about them. Next came the Imperial Eagle, in the Head of all the rest of the Roman Ensigns, as the Prince of the Birds for Authority and Power; an Emblem of Government, and a good Omen of Success in Arms. After the sacred Ensigns, followed the Trumpets; and after the Trumpets, the Body of the Army, six in Front, with the proper Officers to keep them in Rank and File, according to Order and good Discipline. The Servants of every Legion marched along with the Infantry, and took Care of the Carriages and Baggage. In the last Place were the Purveyors, and other Mercenaries, for the Service of the Army, under a Convoy of Horse and Foot.

In this Order Vespasian advanced to the Frontiers of Galilee, and there encamped with his Soldiers about him, earnestly pressing for Action; but partly in Confidence that the Enemies Hearts would fail them upon the very Approach of the Army; or otherwise, that they might change their Minds yet before it came to a Battle, he gave them Time to bethink themselves; and in the Interim, went in Hand with his Preparations for a Siege.

This great General was so far in the right, that the Jews fell into such a Consternation with Dread and Terror upon the very Report of his coming, that Joseph's People, who were then encamped near Sepphoris, abandoned their Captain, not only without a Blow striking, but without so much as a Sight of the Enemy. Joseph finding himself thus deserted, and out of Condition to encounter the Romans; the Hearts of the Jews quite sunk; the greater Part of them gone over to the Enemy, and the Remainder in all Appearance ready to follow; quite gave over any farther Thought of the War; and so, consulting his own Security, with some few that stood by him, he withdrew to Tiberias.

## C H A P. VI.

*Vespasian takes Gadara by Assault. The Romans put all to the Sword. Joseph puts it to the Council of Jerusalem, whether to fight, or treat.*

**T**HE first Place that Vespasian attacked, was Gadara: And he carried it, without any Difficulty, for want of Men in it to make a considerable Defence. The

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Romans,

Romans, upon forcing the Town, put all to Death without Distinction, betwixt Hatred to the Jews, and Revenge for the Overthrow of Cestius. They set Fire, not only to the City itself, but to the little Towns and Villages about it. Laying them utterly waste, and making the Inhabitants Slaves.

Joseph's retiring for Sanctuary put the Tiberians all to their Wits End, to consider, that if the Case had not been desperate, he would never have fled for it. And they were not mistaken neither in their Opinion; for Joseph was by this Time sensible of the hopeless State of the War; and that the Jews had no Way in the World to come off but by Submission and Repentance. As for his own Part, he made no Doubt of obtaining fair Quarter from the Romans if he should desire it: But rather than betray his Country and his Trust, he would suffer a thousand Deaths; without endeavouring to make a particular Friend of a public Enemy. He wrote, upon this, to the principal and leading Men of Jerusalem, a naked State of the Case; without making the Romans either greater or less than in Truth they were, for fear of puffing them up into Insolence upon the Jews for Cowardice one Way; or provoking the Jews to be rash and inconsiderate in the Ostentation of their Power, another. Joseph, in fine, remitted the Matter to the Council to consider of; desiring them either to send him Word immediately if they had a Mind to treat: Or, if they were resolved to prosecute the War, they had no more to do, than to send him an Army without Delay to give Battle to the Romans. This was Joseph's Letter; which he sent forthwith by an Express to Jerusalem.

#### C H A P. VII.

*Joseph slips away out of Tiberias into Jotapata. A Deserter gives Vespasian Notice of it, and that Joseph was in a Trap. The Siege of Jotapata. A desperate Fight all Day 'till Night parts them. A Combat of five Days successively. The Situation of Jotapata. Vespasian plies the Siege with all possible Vigour. The Manner of the Attack and Defence. Joseph's Invention to keep off Stones and Fire. The Romans under a great Disappointment.*

**J**OTAPATA was generally looked upon as the strongest Place in all Galilee; and Vespasian taking Notice of it, and finding how the Jews in all their Difficulties fled thither for Sanctuary, he resolved the next Thing he did to attempt the Place; and so sent Horse, Foot, and Pioneers across the Mountains to clear the Ways; which were at that Time craggy, and extremely difficult even for Foot; but for Horse utterly impassable. These Pioneers, in four Days, cut out a Passage for the whole Army to march without any Trouble.

On the 5th Day, being the 21st of the Month Artemisius, Joseph slipped out of Tiberias, and conveyed himself into Jotapata: Which in some Measure revived the Spirits of the

the Jews. A certain Defenter presently carried away the News to Vespasian of Joseph's being come into the Town: Advising him by all means to make haste and fall on; for Joseph was now in a Trap, and if he were but sure once, the War with the Jews would quickly be at an End. Vespasian was so transported at the Tidings, that he looked upon it as an immediate Providence from Heaven; so far to blind and infatuate the most considerable Enemy they had, as to inveigle him into the Noose of a voluntary Bondage. Vespasian, upon this, commanded Placidus away with a thousand Horse; and Æbutins along with him, (one of the greatest Captains for Counsel and Execution in the whole Army) Giving them Orders, without Delay, to invest the City, and to look to Joseph that he should not make his Escape.

Vespasian followed the next Morning with the whole Army, and got up to Jotapata in the Afternoon: Where he drew up his Army on the North-side of the City, some seven Furlongs from the Town; incamping upon a Hill within View of the Enemy, on Purpose to startle them with so dreadful a Sight. This was done accordingly; and the People all seized with such an Astonishment, that not one Creature durst so much as look out of the Walls. The Romans had so hard a March that Day, that they attempted nothing farther at present. But Vespasian however ordered the begirthing of the Town with two great Bodies, and a third Troop of Horse to be posted at a Distance, to cut off all Communication with the Place. When the Jews saw how they were straitened and cooped up, their very Despairs enflamed their Courage: As there is no Daring like that which arises from Necessity.

The next Morning the Romans began to batter the Walls; and the Jews at first made a generous Resistance: But when Vespasian let loose his Bowmen and Slingers upon them, with all other Weapons of the same kind, to force them from the Walls; and when he himself, at the same Time, with a Body of Foot assaulted the Wall upon a Hill over against the other, which lay more exposed to the Danger of a Battery; this put Joseph into such a Fright for Fear of the Town, that he himself, in the Head of the whole Body of the Jews, fell outrageously upon the Romans; beat them from the Walls, and followed the Advantage with a desperate Resolution. And yet the Mischief they suffered was not inferior to what they did; being both Sides equally provoked and enflamed: The Jews, by Desperation; and the Romans, by Indignation and Shame, to find the others so near their Match. There was Skill and Valour on the one Side, against a brutal Rage on the other. The Fight was maintained all the Day, 'till Night parted them. Of the Romans there were several wounded and thirteen slain: And a matter of six hundred of the Jews wounded, and seventeen killed upon the Place.

The Besiegers fell on next Day again; and in this Encounter, did both Sides out-do themselves: The Jews took Courage from the Repulse they had given the Enemy already beyond all Expectation, and the Romans from the Shame of being held so long in Play: For the very Delay of a Victory was little less to them than an Overthrow. They fought it out five Days at this Rate, the Besiegers pressing still harder and harder upon them: And the Jews, on the other Hand, not only supporting the Defence, but at the same Time making Sallies over and above; without so much as minding the prodigious

Numbers they were to encounter. Neither did the Romans abate any Thing of the Vigour of their Attacks, for the Difficulty and Hazard of the Enterprize.

As to the Situation of Jotapata, it stands upon a Rock utterly inaccessible; saving only upon one Quarter: And it is encompassed on three Sides of it with such Precipices of steep and profound Vallies, that it is enough to turn a Man's Brain and dazzle him, but to look down from Top to Bottom. There is no coming at it but upon the North; where Part of the City is built upon the Brow of the Mountain: And that Way it might be approached. But then Joseph had caused this Place to be fortified and taken into the Town, to secure a Mountain that overlooks and commands it: Which, with other Mountains thereabout, kept the Place so close, that there was no seeing of it 'till one was juit upon it. This was the Situation and Strength of Jotapata.

Vespasian finding that he had the natural Difficulties of the Place, and the rugged Surlinefs of the People to contend withal, took up a Resolution of pushing the Siege forward with more Vigour, and called a Council of his Officers together to advise in what Manner to carry on his Attack. The Debate came to this Issue, that there should be erected a huge Terras on the weakest Part of the Town. The Resolve being taken, Vespasian presently set his whole Army at work to provide Necessaries and Materials for the raising of such a Mount, as vast Quantities of Stone and Timber from the neighbouring Mountains, with Provisions for Hurdles to shelter the Besiegers against Darts and Shot from the Town. Under the Cover of those Defences, they advanced their Design, though the Weapons from above fell down as thick as Hail upon them. As for the Earth they made use of, they had it out of the Neighbourhood; and so handed it from one to another: Insomuch, that what with the vast Number of Hands to assist them, (for the whole Army was engaged) and the Attempt going on still without Intermiffion, the Work could not but advance exceedingly. The Jews, in the mean while, did all that was possible by Darts and Arrows from the Walls, and by heavy Stones upon their Wattles, to divert them from their Business: But all they were able to do, was only to make a Noise and interrupt the Proceeding, but no Way to defeat or to disappoint it.

Vespasian had by this Time sixty Engines at Work, casting Lances at the Defendants, beside larger Machines to throw Stones and Javelins, artificial Fires, Arrows, &c. which were all managed by Arabians, and other Masters of that lancing Faculty; and made not only the Wall itself, but the whole Space also betwixt that and the Terras, too hot for the Defendants. This did not hinder the Jews yet from Sallying out upon the Romans, in Troops like Thieves; stripping them of all their Defences, and then sallying upon them as so many naked Men, and setting Fire to every Thing about them that was combustible, and by this Means undoing all they had done. Vespasian finding the Mischief of the Jews breaking in upon them; and that there was no Way to prevent it, but by making their Work all of a Piece, and filling up the Intervals, that there might be no Room for them to pass, went that Way to work, and joining his Troops in a close Body, put a final End to their Excursions.

The Mount being now brought up almost to the Height of the Town-Wall, Joseph did not think it honourable to have more done on the one Side, to destroy the Town,  
than



than on the other to defend it. So that he called the Work-men together, and gave Order for the Raising of the Wall, and keeping it up still above the Height of the Terras. But they excusing themselves upon the Impossibility of advancing any Work under all that Shot, Joseph bethought himself of a Contrivance to fence both against Stones and Fire: Which was by driving several great Stakes fast into the Ground; and stretching up so many raw Hides against them: And these to be interposed betwixt the Enemy and the Bodies of the Besieged; the Moisture of the Skins would resist and damp the Flame, and the yielding Disposition of them would shoot off the Stones or Lances with little or no Impression. Under the Protection of this Cover, the Workmen followed it so hard Day and Night, without either Fear or Danger, that in a short Time they raised a Wall of twenty Cubits, and fortified it with Turrets and strong Embattlements. The Romans looked upon themselves by this Time to be as good as Masters of the Town; and it was therefore the greater Surprise to meet with so confounding a Policy, and so invincible an Obstinacy at the same Time.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Vespasian attempts, by Starving, what he could not get by Force. No Provisions wanting in Jotapata but Water The Garrison stinted. The Pit-Water near spent. An Invention to conceal their Want of it. Vespasian betakes himself to his Arms again. Joseph finds out a Way for a Supply. He propounds an Escape: The Jews beg of him to stand by them. Joseph reasons the Matter with them. The Jews continue their Importunities. Joseph deliberates, and enters into Action. Vespasian bids his Men give over the Assault. The invincible Courage and Resolution of the Jews.*

THE Jews took such Heart upon this Stratagem and the Success of it, that they passed not a Day without IncurSIONS, Skirmishes, and all Sorts of Violences, by Fire, Sword and Pillage. Vespasian was equally troubled at the Disgrace, and at the Disappointment: And therefore, upon second Thoughts, gave over the Assault, and contented himself to endeavour the Starving of the Place instead of Storming it; reasoning the Matter with himself, either that Want would bring them to their Knees, or if they stood it out, that Famine in the mean Time would do the Business of the Sword; either by weakening, or by wasting them, and putting them out of Condition of Defence. Vespasian, upon this, blocked them up so close, that there was no passing in or out.

They had in this Town, Corn, and all Manner of Necessaries in Abundance, save only Salt. As for Water, it is true, they had not so much as one Fountain about the City, and only Rain Water for their common Use: Which, in that hot and dry Coun-

try, was very scarce; especially in Summer; and this was their present Case. It was a great Affliction to them, the very Thought of a Drought; and the Distress they were already fallen into for want of Water. The Place being plentifully stored with all other Provisions, and the Men in good Heart, Joseph put the Garrison to their Allowance, to husband the little Water they had, and make the Stock hold out so much the longer. This Order for the stinting of their Drink, put the People out of all Patience; for it looked as if they were almost drawn dry: And they began to be froward upon it, and would work no longer. This peevish Humour of the Jews could not be well kept from the Knowledge of the Romans; who were within Distance of observing from another Hill near hand there, whatever passed among the Jews: As the tumultuary Thronging together; the Measuring of their Portions, and their Uneasiness about it: Several of the Jews being cut off too, upon the Place, at that very Instant, by the Roman Shot. The Pit-Water being by this Time well nigh spent, and Vespasian in an hourly Expectancy of the Town falling into his Hand; Joseph put this Amusement upon him. He caused a great many Parcels of Cloths to be hung up dropping-wet, upon the Battlements of the Walls within View of the Romans; wherein he gained his End of inducing them to believe that there could not be such a Scarcity of Water in a Place where they were so lavish of it: And upon that Presumption, they fell into a direct Despondency of ever taking the Place for want of Water. Nay, Vespasian himself gave over all Hope of carrying it by a Siege; and so had Recourse once again to Arms. The Jews, on the other Side, were heartily glad of it; for they themselves, and their City, were both brought to the last Extremity; and desired nothing more than to exchange a starving Calamity, for want of Bread and Water, for an honourable Death in the Field. While Joseph was beating his Brains about some Expedient, it came into his Head, that, on the West Side of the Town, there was a forlorn hollow Gutter that lay quite out of the Way, so as no Body heeded it. Joseph propounded by the Convenience of this Passage to get Relief into the Town, as Water, and whatever else they wanted: And to that End he wrote to some of the out-lying Jews that lived toward that Quarter, to send him from Time to Time what Supplies he had Occasion for; together with express Instructions to cover the Messengers with Hair-Skins, and then to have them creep upon all-four: So that if the Watch should get any Glimpse of them, they might pass for Dogs, or some other four-footed Animals. This Way of Intelligence went on till the Correspondence was discovered, and the Communication cut off.

Joseph saw by this Time that it was a Thing utterly impossible to defend the City; and that it would be certain Death to him if he staid: So that he himself, and several other great Men, met presently in Council upon it, and laid their Heads together how to make an Escape. The People had already a Jealousy of what they were about; and so came trooping to Joseph in Throngs, begging him above all Things in this World to take care of them: For they had no other Friend to trust to but himself. They could never be lost, they said, so long as he was safe; nor their Lives better spent than at his Feet: Or, if they should be all seized upon, it would be recorded to his eternal Honour, that he was too brave either to fly from his Enemies, or to abandon his Friends: Which would be much the Case they said, as if a Man should leap out of

a Ship in a Storm, which he had taken Charge of in a Calm: Telling him, that this Case of a Vessel was the very same with that of their City; for, said they, who shall stand up to defend us and our Country, when we have lost the single Man, whom we look upon as the only Means and Hope of our Safety?

Joseph was not willing to have it thought that he consulted altogether his particular Security: And so gave them to understand in a plausible Discourse, that it was more for their Sakes than his own, that he had any Thought of withdrawing; for either you will be made Prisoners, says he, or you will not: And now take it which Way you will. If the latter, what will you be the better for my staying with you? If the other, what will you be the better for my dying with you? Whereas, if I were then at Liberty and abroad, I might bring an Army into the Field out of Galilee Time enough to raise the Siege: Now so long as I lie cooped up here in the Town, I shall certainly do you a great deal of Mischief without any sort of Good; for it will make the Romans sharper upon the Siege, so long as they are sure of Joseph for a Prize; but if I were out of the Way once, they would look no farther after you perhaps.

The People were so far from coming over to him upon this Discourse, that they came still pressing upon him with more and more Importunity: Men, Women, and Children; Mothers, with their Infants at their Breasts all in Tears, embracing his Knees, and casting themselves at his Feet; begging of him with Outcries and Supplications, not to forsake them in their Distress. And this they did not, I presume, out of Envy to his being at Ease; but upon some secret Impulse, as if the very Presence of Joseph would be a Kind of Protection to his Friends.

Joseph's Heart was so far softened toward this People, betwixt Gratitude and Compassion, that he put it to a Question within himself, whether to stay or go? "If I appear to stay willingly, says he, it will be taken as the Power of the Ascendant they have over me. But what if I should refuse, and then be forced to do it at last by being made a Prisoner?" Upon this Deliberation, Joseph resolved to stand it out with them, and bear his Part in the common Desperation of the City. "This, my good Friends and Countrymen, (says he) is the true Time to shew themselves brave in, when there is no Hope of Safety but in their Arms: When they are sure to receive Honour in Exchange for their Lives; and for acting like good Patriots, have their Memories celebrated to Posterity for their Country's Devotees."

From these Words Joseph advanced to Action, and putting himself in the Head of the bravest Men he had, charged the Enemy's Guards, beat them from their Trenches, and pushed them up to the very Camp: One while tearing their Skins to Pieces that covered them in their Works; another while setting Fire to the Works themselves: And this they did Time after Time, for three or four Days and Nights together, with an insuperable Boldness, and an indefatigable Labour.

When Vespasian saw how hard it went with the Romans upon these Encounters; for when they were worsted, they were ashamed to turn their Backs; and when they got the better of it at any Time, they were too heavy armed to pursue the Advantage: So that the Jews never sallied, but they did some Mischief or other before they went back again: When Vespasian, I say, found upon what Terms they were, he command-

ed his Troops to give over the Attack, and not cast away their Lives against Men that did but desire to die, under the Provocation of an incurable Despair. Their Rage, he said, was but like a Blaze that would go out of itself, if it wanted but Matter to entertain it: Beside, that the Case of the Romans was quite a different Thing from that of the Jews; the former fought only for Dominion; the other, for Life and Liberty; and the one had a great deal more Need of Victory than the other. But in the mean Time, the Arabian and the Syrian Slingers, Archers, Engineers, &c. were all at Work with their Stones, Arrows and Lances: (And nothing, in fine, of that Kind was idle, as the Jews found to their Cost.) But all this was so far from staggering the Jews, that on the clear contrary, they pressed through all Difficulties to single out the Romans, Body to Body; and there fought it out, without Quarter on either Hand; and the Living, on both Sides, stepping up to supply the Place of the Dead.

## C H A P. IX.

*A Description of the Battering Engine the Ram. The Manner of ordering it. A Contrivance to defeat the Force of it. The Jews have Recourse to Fire. A brave Action of one Samæas. Two glorious Heroes. Vespasian receives a slight Wound on the Ankle. The strange Force of Battery. A bloody Night, for the Loss of brave Men. The Jews stand firm to the last.*

**B**ETWIXT the Length of the Siege, and the perpetual Excursions of the besieged, Vespasian was as good as besieged himself: But having now carried up his Works near the Height of the Walls, he resolved to bring it then to an Issue by the Dint of Battery, and ordered a Ram to be brought up to the Place of Action. This Ram is a Machine of a prodigious Bulk and Size, like the Mast of a Ship, fortified with a strong Piece of Iron at the Top of it, like the Head of a Ram: From whence, and from the Manner of pushing in the Use of it, like the butting of that Creature, it took the Name. This Engine is hung up by the Middle, with great Cables or Ropes, fastened to cross Timbers, well cramped together and strongly supported. There it lies upon a Poise, like the Beam of a Pair of Scales: And as it hangs balancing thus in the Air, it is moved backward and forward by the Force of many Hands, and falls with such a Violence upon the Place where it is to batter, that no Wall is able to stand the continued Repetitions of that Attack.

Delay was now Death to Vespasian, and the Siege a Kind of Idleness to the Romans: Whereas the Jews at the same Time were still doing of Mischief; so that the General's Heart was now set altogether upon Dispatch. The first Thing he did in Order to it, was to bring his Slingers, Archers and ordinary Machines, closer up to the Town, to beat the Defendants from the Walls, and to make Way for the Ram; which was then immediately brought on: That is to say; so soon as the Bow-men, and their Companions,

nions, had made the Wall too hot for the Jews to shew their Heads upon. It was covered with Hurdles and wrapt up in Hair-Skins, for the Security both of the Managers and of the Machine. The very first Stroke of it put the People into an Uproar, as if the Town had been taken; and Joseph finding that their battering still in the same Place, would bring down the Wall over their Heads in a very short Time, ordered several Sacks of Chaff to be provided, and let down by Ropes from the Battlement against the Place where the Engine played: And still as the Romans changed their Battery, the Jews encountered them with their Sacks; by which Means they did generally either miss their Mark, or fail of the Effect.

This Invention was a mighty Hindrance to the Romans; for which Way soever they pointed the Engine, the Jews would be sure to meet them with their Chaff-Bags, and the Wall never the worse for the Blow; till the Romans found out another Way to defeat the Contrivance: That is to say, they got a Provision of long Poles, with sharp Iron Hooks fastened to the Ends of them, like Paring-Knives; and with these they immediately cut the Strings of the Bags; and upon this Disappointment, the Machine did its Office again; and the Wall being but newly repaired and not yet settled, could not possibly hold out any longer. Joseph and his Companions had now nothing left them to trust to but Fire; so that getting together all the combustible Matter they could lay Hand on, beside Pitch, Sulphur, and the like; they divided it severally into three Parcels, and set Fire to the Roman Machines, Huts, and all Materials that would take it, in three several Places at the same Time. The Rage of the Flames and of the Jews was so terrible, that there was no Place for Relief, and the Danger equal of perishing both Ways. The Conflagration, in fine, was so dreadful, that it destroyed all in a Moment that the Romans had been so long a doing, and with so much Labour and Hazard.

There was one Samæas of Paab in Galilee, and the Son of Eleazar, who signalized himself upon this Occasion by an Action never to be forgotten, and hath consequently a Right to a Part in this History. He took up a mighty Stone, and cast it down from the Wall upon the Machine with so prodigious a Force, that he brake off the Iron Head of it: And then leaping down into the middle of his Enemies, carried it off, without any Apprehension of Danger, to the Foot of the Wall; where he stood a while, unarmed as he was, a common Mark for the Enemy, till he had five Arrows stuck in his Body. In this Condition, he remounted the Wall; where he stood for a short Time a glorious Spectacle, without any Change either of Countenance or Behaviour, till at last he dropped down dead with the Anguish of his Wounds; and the Head of the Machine in his Arms, which he would never quit to the last.

There were also two Brothers of Ruma in Galilee, Netiras and Philip, that were as brave as it was possible for Men to be. They fell once upon the Soldiers of the tenth Legion with such an impetuous Fury, that they brake into the Roman Army, and drove all before them that made Head against them: While Joseph, in the Head of a Troop of Men with Firebrands, burnt the Machines, Huts, and Works of the fifth, and likewise of the tenth Legion; and those that followed, made the same Havock with what was left.

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By the Evening of the same Day, the Romans were at work with the same Engine again, upon that Part of the Wall that had been shattered and broken before: Vespasian at the same Time received a Shot upon the Ankle by an Arrow out of the Town; but it proved a slight Wound however, for the Arrow was spent. They that were within Distance of seeing their General's Blood, put the whole Army into such a Fright with the Alarum, that the very Commanders themselves quitted their Posts, and came thronging to the head Quarter to learn the Truth of the Matter; Titus himself, in the first Place, out of an impatient Tenderneſs for his Father: But this generous Zeal caſt the Multitude into a Conſternation. Vespasian, however, put them all quickly out of their Pain, both Titus and the Army, by ſhewing himſelf frankly, and upon the main making little or nothing of the Diſaſter. So that the Anxiety and Sorrow they laboured under before, for fear of a mortal Calamity, was now turned only into the Transport of an honourable Revenge: Vespasian encouraging the Soldiers, and they one another, to fall on and renew the Aſſault, in Deſiance of all Oppoſition. The Enemies Stones and Arrows deſtroyed great Numbers of the Jews; but Joſeph and his People made good the Wall ſtill; and with Fire, Sword, and other Inſtruments of Miſchief, lay galling the People that had the Government of the battering Engine. The Jews now, with all their Bravery, advanced little yet; in regard that they were forced to fight in Sight of the Enemy; and the Fire they made uſe of againſt the Romans, gave the Enemy Light againſt themſelves: So that they ſtood ſo fair a Mark, that there was no miſſing it on the one Side, and no avoiding it on the other; for they could not ſo much as ſee the very Machines from whence the Weapons came. By the Force of Stones from thoſe Engines, the very Battlements and the Corners of the Towers were broken down; and where they fell into a Body, they carried away whole Files before them. But whoever would be informed of the wonderful Effect of theſe Machines, needs never look farther than into the Hiſtory of that Night.

There was a Friend of Joſeph's, that as he was upon the Walls of Jotapata with him, had his Head ſtruck off with a Stone from one of theſe Engines; which was carried three Furlongs from the Place, as if it had been thrown out of a Sling. And another, coming croſs a big-bellied Woman, carried the Child within her half a Furlong from the Body. Now taking all this together; the prodigious Violence and the terrible Clattering of theſe Machines, and of the Weapons they caſt, the frequent Noiſes of the Dead and Wounded falling from the Walls; the Shrieks and Groans of Women within the Town, answered by other miſerable Creatures from without; the Town-Ditch flowing with Blood, and filled with Piles of Carcaſſes, ſufficient to mount an Enemy to the Aſſault; and the Echos from the Mountains, after all this, doubling the miſerable Story: There was nothing wanting that ſorrowful Night, in ſine, that might ſtrike the Eye or the Ear with an unexpreſſible Horror. There was a huge Slaughter of brave Men in that Night's Action, in a moſt heroic Defence of the Liberty of their Country; which they maintained all Night againſt the uttermoſt Efforts of the Enemy's Machines, till Break of Day; and then the Wall fell to Pieces. But the Jews, even in this diſmal Extremity, made the Breach good yet, with their  
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Bodies and their Arms, before the Romans could pass their Men over the Ditch to the Attack.

## C H A P. X.

*Vespasian makes ready to renew the Assault. Joseph prepares for the Encounter, and gives his People their Lesson. A horrid Confusion of Outcries upon the Approach of the Army. Joseph's Men keep to their Orders. A bloody Conflict. The Romans advance up to the Wall under Cover of their Bucklers. The Jews pour scalding Oil among them. The strange Courage and Constancy of the Romans. Vespasian orders the Raising of his Platforms. The Jews are forced to quit the Breach.*

WHEN the Roman Army had a little refreshed themselves next Morning after the Fatigue of so severe a Night, Vespasian put every Thing in Readiness for an Assault; taking Care in the first Place to keep the Jews from daring to shew themselves in the Breach. To this End, he dismounted a Party of the best Horse he had; armed them at all Points, and so ranged them in three Divisions, with Pikes in their Hands, to make good the Breach: And they themselves, upon the Advance of the Bridges, to be the first to enter the Town. These Horse were to be seconded by a Body of choice Foot; and the Remainder of the Horse to be distributed quite round the mountainous Parts of the City, to make sure that, upon the taking of it, no Creature should escape. The next in Order, were the Archers, with their Bows and Arrows fixed and at Hand; and so for the Slingers and Engineers. Others were employed with Ladders to attempt the Scaling of some Parts of the Wall that were intire; which was intended only for an Amusement, and to draw off Assistance from other Places that more needed it, and to force them by this Diversion to abandon the Attack.

Joseph was so well informed of the Romans Purposes and Designs, that he employed only Men that were either over-wrought or superanuated, for the Guard of those Parts of the Wall that were sound; as, who should say, "there is no Danger upon this Quarter." But wherever there was the least Crack or Flaw, not a Man was made use of for that Duty but of a tried Integrity and Courage: And he himself, with five more, in the Head of them to receive the first shock of the Enemy; giving them in Charge, not so much as to mind the Outcries of insulting Clamours, but rather to shut their Ears against them: For they were all but Noise. As for their Archers, the Shields over their Heads were the best Defence against their Arrows: Or they might withdraw a little till they had emptied their Quivers. But, says Joseph, if they come once to lay over their Bridges, there is nothing to be thought of but Fighting; And not as People in Defence of a Country that is to be preserved, but for the Honour and Vindi-

Vindication of a Country that is already lost, and to make the Authors of your Ruin pay dear for their Purchase. For what can you expect, upon the subduing of your City, but that your Adversaries will gratify their Cruelty with the Blood of your Fathers, your Wives and your Children? After this Manner Joseph divided himself.

When the common People, the Women, and the Children, saw the Town surrounded by three Armies; (and no Force sent out to encounter them) the Enemy marching up with their drawn Swords towards the weak Side of the Wall; the Mountains round about glittering with Arms; and the Arabians ready with their Arrows; they set up such a Howl, as if the City were not only in Danger of Ruin, but already taken. These Clamours were so moving, that Joseph presently ordered the Women to their Houses, and to Silence at their Peril, for fear of disheartening the Soldiers; while he himself went away to that Part of the Town that fell to his Lot; passing by the scaling Ladders without so much as minding them: His Thoughts being altogether taken up with the Enemies Way of Attack by their Darts and their Arrows.

Upon the sounding of their Trumpets, the giving of the Signal, and the military Shout of the Army, the very Sky was darkened with a Cloud of Arrows. Joseph's Companions did not forget their Lesson, but stopt their Ears against the Clamours, and covered themselves with their Shields against their Shot. But upon the least Advance of the Bridges, they flew upon the Romans like Lightning, to put a Stop to the Design, either by keeping them off, or by beating them off, and disputing every Inch of the Possession. For as fast as the Romans endeavoured to mount the Bridge, the Jews violently pushed them down again, with signal Instances both of their Skill and Courage, in the Conduct and Execution; shewing themselves as bold and fearless in the Extremity of Danger, as the Romans were where there was none at all; nay, the greater the Hazard, the firmer was their Resolution. And when they were once engaged, there was no parting them without the Death of the one or the other. But the Jews being kept upon perpetual Duty, and no Enforcements to relieve them; whereas the Romans had their Men fresh and fresh still; and as one Party was wearied, or worsted, another at Hand to supply the Place: Numbers of Necessity carry it at the long Run. The Romans were sensible of the Advantage they had; and so pressing as close together as one could stand to another, they threw their long Bucklers over their Backs; and making an impenetrable Figure, they drove the Jews before them; as if the Strength of the whole Army had been united into one entire Body: And so advanced up to the very Wall.

In this Distress, Joseph, upon Advice with his Necessities and Despairs, resolved upon a Trial of this Experiment. The Jews having a great deal of Oil by them, Joseph ordered the boiling a considerable Quantity of it; and so to cast it down scalding hot upon the Soldiers under the Wall, together with the very Pots and Vessels it was boiled in. This was done accordingly, and passing between the Bucklers, and over the Bodies of the Romans, it utterly broke their Order, and destroyed the Men; by forcing them down from the Wall in their extreme Misery. For the Oil, flowing under their Arms from Head to Foot, and so all over the Body, consumed the Flesh like Fire itself; being naturally apt to take Heat, and long a cooling. And then their Armour being braced and buckled to their Bodies, there was no getting clear of the Torment.



Torment: Some of them leaping and springing in their Pains; others drawn double, and all falling from the Bridge down to the Ground. And for those that attempted to get off to their own People, they were easily mastered by the Jews at their Backs.

In the whole Course of these calamitous Circumstances, there was no falling either of Courage in the Romans, or of Prudence in the Jews. For the Romans, notwithstanding the Misery they endured by the scalding Oil, had the Heart yet to press upon those that poured it among them, and not without a Competition who should be foremost. The Jews after this, put another Check to the Progress of the Romans, by casting boiled Fenugreek upon the Boards of the Bridge; which made them so slippery, that the Romans could not keep their Feet upon them: So that they could neither fight nor fly. Some fell at their Length upon the Planches, where they were trampled upon by their own People: Others fell lower, where they lay at the Mercy of the Jews Shot. Vespasian found his People so harrassed out by this Way of Fighting, that toward Evening he called them off; having lost several Men, and more wounded. Of Jotapata there were only six Men slain, and upwards of three hundred hurt. This Action passed the twentieth of the Month Desius.

Vespasian was so sensible of the Miscarriage of this Assault, that he treated the Army with an excusatory Compliment upon that Occasion: But finding the Soldiery so far from being dejected, that they were rather inflamed, and that they had more Mind to be doing than talking; he ordered the raising of his Platforms, and the erecting of three wooden Towers upon them, of fifty Foot a-piece; covered all over with Iron, to keep them steady with the Weight, and make them Proof against Fire. In these Turrets were the choicest of his Marksmen and Engineers, with their Machines, Instruments and Arms. The People in them had this Advantage of the Besieged, that they were out of Sight and Reach of the others: Whereas those upon the Wall were easily seen and wounded from the Turrets. So that the Jews being neither able to avoid the Arrows from above, nor so much as to see who hurt them, quitted the Breach; but still upon all Attacks made a vigorous and a brave Resistance. At this Rate did Jotapata defend itself, though with daily Loss of Men, and with much more Hazard and Mischief to themselves than to the Enemy.

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#### C H A P. XI.

Trajan sent to reduce Japha. *The People meet him on the Way to give him Battle. The Jews put to Flight, and driven into the first Enclosure. The Misery of those that were cooped up there. A prodigious Slaughter. Trajan desires Vespasian to send Titus to the Finishing of the Work. Titus brings his Troops to Japha. The Romans mount the Walls, and enter the Town. A bloody Street-fight of six Hours. Not a Creature spared but Women and Children.*

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**V**ESPASIAN being given to understand, that Japha, a neighbouring City to Jotapata, after the Example of the other, was grumbling toward a Revolt; especially encouraged by the famous Defence of that Place, that held out beyond all Expectation; sent Trajan, the Commander of the tenth Legion, with two thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, to reduce them. But finding the Town impregably fortified, (for beside the natural Strength of the Situation, it was encompassed with a double Wall) he was encountered upon the Way, by the Inhabitants of the Place, in a Posture to give him Battle. The Bodies joined; and after a slight Resistance, Trajan put them to Flight, and pursued them so close upon the Heel to the out-Wall, (which was the Place they made to) that they fell with them pell-mell into the first Enclosure; but upon pressing up to the second Wall, the Townsmen shut the Gates upon them, for fear of taking in both Friend and Foe one with another. This extraordinary Way of delivering up the Galileans into the Hands of the Romans, was a most judicial Providence of Heaven, for these Men to be shut out of their own Gates by their own People, and given up for a Sacrifice to an Enemy that thirsted for their Blood. They crowded in Throngs up to the Gates; called to the Officers by their Names, and begged Admittance; having their Throats cut at the same Time, with their very Prayers betwixt their Lips. The Romans kept one Gate, and the Citizens the other; and of those that were cooped up in this Enclosure, some laid violent Hands upon themselves; others fell by the Swords of their Companions; and those not to be numbered, that fell by the Hands of the Romans: And not one Creature of all these at last that had the Heart to lift up a Hand, or so much as offer at a Revenge: For over and above the Dread of an Enemy, their Spirits were taken down with a Sense of Treachery among themselves. They died, in fine, to the Number of twelve thousand Persons; and all cursing the Jews, not the Romans.

Trajan gave it now for granted, that their martial Men were in a Manner all cut off; and for those that were left, they would take Warning by their Companions: So that he sent away presently to desire Vespasian, that his Son Titus might have the Honour of finishing the Work. Vespasian understood it of somewhat considerable that was yet to be done; and so Titus was dispatched away accordingly, with an Inforcement of five hundred Horse and a thousand Foot; which he divided immediately upon his Arrival into two Attacks: That on the Left-hand he gave to Trajan, and the Right-hand Division he commanded himself. The first Thing that the Romans did after this, was to plant Scaling Ladders, and then to mount the Wall upon all Quarters at the same Time. The Galileans made some faint Resistance for a while; but soon quitting the Wall, Titus with his Party presently leaped down after them, and entered the Town. It came now to a desperate Street-Fight; which, betwixt Ambushes, and Sallies from Nooks and narrow Passes, where a great Number of sturdy Fellows were got together, and Annoyances of all Sorts that they received from the very Women upon the Tops of the Houses, lasted a matter of six Hours. But the daring Men being by this Time cut off, the Remainder of the Multitude, whether at Home or in the Field, young Men and old, were all destroyed indifferently, and not a Male left alive but Infants, who were carried away Captives with the Women. The Number of the Slain is  
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the City, and in the first Encounter, was fifteen thousand, and two thousand one hundred and thirty Prisoners. This Judgment befel the Galileans on the twentieth of the Month Desius.

## C H A P. XII.

*The Samaritans upon Mount Gerizzim meditating a Rebellion, Vespasian sends Cerealis to take Care of it. The Samaritans in a formidable Body. A mortal Drought for Want of Water. An Indemnity offered by Cerealis, and rejected. The People put to Death every Man of them.*

THE Samaritans had their Part also in the publick Calamity. They had their Meeting upon Mount Gerizzim; the holy Mountain, as they counted it; and there they waited in their Places for the event of things: But in the mean Time, the very Air of the Assembly, and the Manner of their Behaviour, was menacing and unquiet, and gave to understand what they would be at. For they were never the wiser for Example and Experience; but without considering either their own Weakness, or the mighty and prosperous Power of the Romans, they were at that Time running headlong into a Rebellion; but Vespasian took an early Care to prevent the Mischief. For though the whole Province of Samaria was in a manner beset with Garrisons, he was not yet without some Apprehension of what such a Multitude of People, and such a Conspiracy of ill Affections might produce; so that for Fear of the worst, he sent away Cerealis, a Tribune of the fifth Legion, with six hundred Horse and three thousand Foot, to take Care of the Publick.

When Cerealis came up with his Troops to this Mountain, he found the Samaritans gathered together there in so vast a Body, that he did not think fit to attack them upon that Post; but rather intrenched himself round about them at the Foot of the Mountain; where for that Day they were as good as besieged. It so fell out, that being now in the Height of Summer, and a very hot Season, the Samaritans were in great Want of Water (the Country having made no Provision to supply it;) insomuch, that there died some or other of them daily of a parching Drought; others went over to the Romans, chusing rather to suffer the Slavery, than so miserable a Death. Cerealis being informed by Deserters, that they that staid behind were as much broken and out of Heart as their Fellows, he advanced up the Mountain, and drawing out his Army round the Enemy, did not only offer them Life and Liberty, upon Condition of laying down their Arms; but besought them with all the Courtesy imaginable, to accept of the Indemnity that was offered, upon an Assurance that it should be made good. But they were not to be prevailed upon; and so they were all put to the Sword, to the Number of eleven thousand six hundred Persons. There escaped not so much as one Man of them; And this happened the 27th of the Month Desius.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Romans Works are now finished. A Defterter gives Vespasian Intelligence of the State of the Town: With Advice to fall on about Break of Day. Vespasian considers of it, takes his Time, and carries it. The Particulars of the Action. An inhumane Cruelty. A base and a treacherous Murder. Forty thousand Men killed in the Siege; the City razed, and the Castles burnt.*

THE People of Jotapata held out a long Time, and stood firm against all Extremities with a Constancy to Admiration. But upon the forty seventh Day, when the Romans had carried up their Works to over-top the Walls, Vespasian had an Account brought him by a Defterter, of the State of the Town: Which was, that what with the Loss of Men, Watching, and hard Duty, the Garrison was so weakened, that with one sharp Assault more, the Romans might certainly carry the Place; or, which would be the easier Way, it was but taking the right Opportunity to surprize them. So the Defterter advised Vespasian to take his Time about Break of Day, when he might be sure to find them supine and careless; and the Guard so drowsy and tired, that he could hardly fail of carrying his Point.

Vespasian was so well acquainted with the obstinate Fidelity of the Jews one to another, and with the Greatness of their Stomachs in case of Force or Torments; that he gave little or no Credit to this Fugitive; for the Sake of an Instance he had seen of a wonderful Constancy of Mind in one of that City already. He was a Prisoner of Jotapata; and being put to the Question about the Condition of the Town, he stood all Manner of Tortures, even to Fire and the Cross itself, to the Contempt of Death in all Forms, rather than make the least Discovery. But the Thing not being very unlikely, Vespasian thought with himself that it might yet possibly be true: Or, at the worst, that he should run no Risk at all in seeming to believe it. Upon this Consideration, he ordered the Informer to be taken into Custody, and every Thing to be made ready for the Assault.

At the Hour assigned, the Army made a silent March up to the Walls: Titus in the Head of it, with Domitius Sabinas, and some pickt Men out of the fifteenth Legion. They killed the Centinels; cut the Throats of the Guards; entered the City; and after them followed Sextus Cerealis the Tribune, and Placidus, with the Troops under their Command. The Romans were now in Possession of the Fort; Matters of the Town; broad Day-light. and yet the Garrison so spent and moped with Labour and Overwatching, that to this Instant they did not so much as know the Town was taken. Nay, those that were awake, were almost as much to seek too as the rest: For there fell such a Mist in that very Instant, that either they saw nothing at all, or they did not know what they saw. This Fog continued till the whole Army were entered the Place: The People never waking till they felt the Danger, and till they were convinced by dying that they were undone. The Romans had suffered too much in the Siege, to have any Sense of Mercy or Tenderness upon the Storm. Some were thrown Headlong down, in the Scuffle,  
from

from the Top of the Fort to the Bottom; others, that wanted neither Good-will nor Resolution to revenge themselves, were either pressed to Death in Crowds, or forced down Precipices, or dashed to Pieces with Ruins from over their Heads. This was the Case of several of Joseph's select Friends; who chose rather to die by their own Hands, than by the Hand of an Enemy; and to kill themselves in private, when they could not have the Satisfaction of taking a Roman along with them. This was it that moved divers of them to withdraw together into a remote Part of the City, and there to do the last Office one for another.

Those of the Guard that took the first Notice of the Town's being lost, got into a certain Turret toward the North; where they were assaulted, and for a while made it good: But being overborn with Numbers, they offered to treat; and finding no Terms would be allowed them, they were cut to Pieces upon the Place, and fell like Men of Bravery and Honour. This Action closed the Siege; and the Day had passed without one Drop of Roman Blood, if it had not been for the Death of Anthony, a Centurion, who was basely and treacherously killed. There were several of the Jews that fled into Caves; and one of them called out to Anthony for Quarter, and his Right-hand upon it, as an Obligation of Honour for the Performance of the Condition. Anthony, unwarily stretching forth his Right-hand for the Jew's Satisfaction, ~~the other~~ stabbed him into the Groin with a Dagger, and so destroyed him.

The Romans killed all they met that Day, without sparing so much as one Man: And for some Days following, they searched all the Hiding-Places, Vaults, and Cellars they could hear of for Fugitives; putting all to Death they could lay Hands on, saving only Women and Children. There were twelve hundred Prisoners, and forty thousand Men slain, from one End of the Siege to the other. Vespasian ordered the City to be razed, and the Castles to be all burnt. Jotapata, in fine, was taken the first of the Month Panemus, in the thirteenth Year of Nero: And this was the Manner of taking it.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*A strict Search for Joseph, dead or alive. He and forty more found concealed in a Vault. Joseph betrayed by a Woman. The General offers him Quarter. He pauses upon it. Nicanor prevails with him to comply. The Soldiers enraged at his Refusal. Joseph calls to mind Dreams and Revelations long since passed. Joseph delivers himself up to the Romans. A general Exclamation against Joseph. The desperate Resolution of the Jews. Joseph deliberates with his Companions. The horrid Impiety of Self-Murder. The Jews not to be reclaimed. They draw Lots for their Lives. Joseph, and one Jew more, submit to live. Joseph conducted*

*conducted by Nicanor to Vespasian: Who orders him to be kept close. Vespasian speaks to Joseph in private. Joseph highly in Favour with Titus. Joseph foretels the Succession of Vespasian and Titus to the Empire. Vespasian seems not to heed it at first, till the Truth of the Prediction comes afterward to be confirmed. Vespasian returns to Ptolemais, and so to Cæsarea.*

**T**HE Romans were every where hunting up and down for Joseph, partly out of a personal Animosity to him, and in Part out of an officious Forwardness to pick a Thank with Vespasian; who looked upon him as the main Support of the War. They searched for him among the Dead and among the Living, and in all Places where the Body of a Man might be concealed. But it was his good Hap, upon the taking of the Town, to make his Escape through the very middle of his Enemies, and to get at last into an old deep Pit, with a Passage that led out of it into a large Cavern; which was not to be discerned from above. In this Cave, Joseph found forty eminent Persons under his own Circumstances, with Provisions about them for several Days. Now the Enemy being Master of the whole Country thereabouts, Joseph was fain to keep close in the Day-time; but went abroad still in the Night, to observe the Enemies Guards, and see what Possibility of making an Escape. The Watches, it seems, were so strict and vigilant, that there was no getting away; and that it was for his Sake too that they made this Scrutiny. Upon this, he went back again to his Retreat, and there lay still a while. On the third Day after this, he was betrayed by a Woman that was taken up; and Vespasian immediately upon this Discovery sent two Tribunes to him, Paulinus and Gallicanus, to invite him out of his Hole; with an Assurance, upon the General's Word and Honour, that he should be fairly treated. Joseph durst not trust so far to the Roman Generosity, as to venture himself upon the General's Parole; but being conscious to himself of the Mischief he had done them, he had more Reason, he thought, to expect a Revenge than a Favour; and so excused himself from complying with the Proposal. Vespasian, after this, sent him a third Tribune, one Nicanor, Joseph's old Friend and Acquaintance. This Nicanor treated Joseph at large, upon the generous Humanity of the victorious Romans towards those they have subdued: Assuring him moreover, that they were so far from bearing him any Ill-will for the Hurt he had done them, by the Bravery and Conduct of a gallant Man; that, on the contrary, they had a high Esteem of him for his Virtues. And besides, says Nicanor, why should Vespasian need to stand expostulating with Joseph upon Conditions, when he has it absolutely in his Power to do whatever he will with him already? Vespasian loves a worthy Man, and he has a Mind to oblige Joseph, as a Person of that Character. Or can you imagine now, that if the General had any mean false Thing to do, he would ever have employed a Friend in the Office of a Rascal; or have wrapt up so black a Villainy under so illustrious a Cover? Or do you think again, that even I myself, if I had been put upon it, would ever have submitted to be an Instrument in so foul a Treachery: The Case was so clear, and Joseph made such Difficulties of coming over to the Reason of it, that the Roman  
Soldiers

Soldiers had certainly set Fire to the Cave, if Vespasian had not taken them off by a suggestion, that he was resolved to get Joseph alive into his Hands. Nicanor all this while lay pressing Joseph to a Compliance, with Instances more and more: The Rage and Menaces of the Soldiers still increasing with the Number. This brought to Joseph's Mind certain Dreams he had; wherein God had revealed to him the miserable Calamities that were to betide the Jews, and the Prosperity and Greatness of the Romans. For Joseph had an extraordinary Gift of expounding Dreams, and the Faculty of unriddling many of those Secrets that God had been pleased to couch under Veil and Mystery. As he was a Priest himself, and of the sacerdotal Race, he was a Person perfectly well skilled in the Writings of the holy Prophets: And in this very Instant, as if the Spirit of God had taken Possession of him, the whole Course and Order of his Visions came into his Head; and particularly those horrid Images that he had lately seen, as well as the rest. And in this Rapture, he addressed himself in a Prayer to Almighty God to this Effect. "Great God! says he, since it is thy blessed Will to depress the Jews, and to exalt the Romans; and to make me the Instrument to foretel thy Purpose: I submit myself to thy Providence, and to the Acceptance of my Life, upon Condition of rendering myself to the Romans: But in the Presence of thy sacred Majesty, I do likewise declare, that I do it as the Minister of thy good Pleasure, and not as a Betrayer of my Country."

Joseph had no sooner given himself up to Nicanor, but all his Companions in the Cave came ruffling up to him with clamorous Invectives and Exclamations. "What is become of the Laws of our Country, they cried, or of the Honour of our Profession? The Spirit of our Ancestors, and that primitive Vigour of the Jews, that with the first Breath of Life drew in a Contempt of Death? And can Joseph be so fond of that Life too, as ever to think of looking the Sun in the Face, and see himself a Slave? Why does he not act according to his Doctrine, and Practice as he teaches? He preaches and recommends Liberty to others, and renounces it himself. You were certainly very much mistaken, they cried, in the Measures you took of true Wisdom and Courage; either if you could hope for Quarter where you have so little deserved it, or if you can sink so low as to accept of Life upon dishonourable Terms. But however the Fortune of Rome may fright you into a Forgetfulness of yourself, it shall never make us depart from the Duty we owe to the Good of our Nation: And we have yet Hearts and Swords ready to stand by you in that Quarrel. Or if you are otherwise resolved, you have it now at your Choice: whether you will die a General of the Jews, or the Death of a Coward and a Traitor. Fall upon your own Sword, and you do the former; or leave it to us, and it will be the latter: For the Work is to be done however."

The Word was no sooner out, but they all drew upon him, and threatened to kill him that Instant, if he submitted to the Romans. Joseph had so scrupulous a Fear upon him, lest he should be taken off before he could acquit himself of what he had in Charge from Almighty God to communicate to the Nation of the Jews, that he entered into a Reasoning of the Case in Words to this Effect.

"What can be the Meaning, my good Friends and Companions, of this desperate

“ Fancy you have taken up, of laying violent Hands upon yourselves, and in setting the  
 “ two dearest Friends in Nature at Variance, the Soul and the Body? But am I changed,  
 “ do you say? Ask the Romans. Is it a glorious Fate to die in War? It is so undoubt-  
 “ edly, if it be in a War that is managed according to the Law of Arms: That is to  
 “ say, where a Man falls by the Hand of a Conqueror. Neither should I make any  
 “ more Conscience of killing myself than of desiring a Roman to do it; but yet if  
 “ Romans have a Mind to spare an Enemy, shall that Enemy, on the other Hand, be  
 “ so cruel as not to spare himself? Or so foolish, as to be more rigorous in his own  
 “ Case, than he would have an Enemy to be. No Man dies so great, 'tis true, as he  
 “ that sacrifices his Life to his Liberty: But then it must be in Arms, and in the Act  
 “ of contending for it; and that Life taken away, in the Contest, by the Competitor  
 “ that would take away that Liberty. But we have to do with an Enemy at present,  
 “ that neither kills us, nor fights with us, for the Quarrel is over. Now he is as  
 “ faint-hearted a Wretch that presses to die, when he should not; as he that is afraid  
 “ to die, when his Honour calls him to it. And pray, what is it at last but the Fear  
 “ of Death, that keeps us from going up to the Romans? And shall we cast ourselves  
 “ into a certain Death one Way, for Fear of an uncertain Death another? But it is,  
 “ you will say perhaps, to avoid Slavery: And do you reckon yourselves now to be at  
 “ Liberty? But it is looked upon as the Part of a brave Man, to take away his own  
 “ Life with his own Hand. And what would you think of the Master of a Vessel now,  
 “ that for Fear of a Storm a coming, should sink the Boat before it comes? Would  
 “ you account that Man a brave Captain? To say nothing of the Affront that is  
 “ offered to the common Instinct of Providence in the Nature of Things; for the De-  
 “ sire of Self-Preservation is a Principle implanted in all living Creatures; and for any  
 “ Thing to destroy itself, is contrary to Nature, and consequently a sacrilegious  
 “ Wickedness against God himself. There is no Creature that seeks or covets its own  
 “ Death, in Opposition to the universal Impulse of a Desire to live: And therefore we  
 “ pronounce those People our Enemies, that would take away our Lives, and punish  
 “ those that lie in wait to destroy us. It is from God that we have received Life,  
 “ and it is to him again, in his good Time, that we are to render it: And what can be  
 “ more provoking and ungrateful now, than the Despising of his Gifts? Our Bo-  
 “ dies are all mortal, and so are the Materials of which they are compounded: But the  
 “ Soul is a divine Particle, infused into the Flesh by God himself, and it can never die.  
 “ If any Man shall imbezzle or abuse a Depositum betwixt Man and Man, we can  
 “ say nothing bad enough of him: Now the Soul is effectually but God's Depositum;  
 “ and shall we presume to rob the divine Majesty, and think to come off at last with-  
 “ out either Discovery or Punishment? We find it reasonable enough to punish run-  
 “ away Servants, though it be from the worst of Masters: And shall we, at the same  
 “ Time, that forsake a gracious and a righteous God, pretend to justify ourselves? As  
 “ for those that govern themselves according to the Instinct of Nature, and pay the  
 “ Debt of Life back again to him that gave it, whenever he commands it; do you not  
 “ know, that everlasting Honours attend the Memory of those blessed Souls from Gene-  
 “ ration to Generation: Which, after a certain Number of Ages in the heavenly Man-  
 “ fions.



“ fions provided for them, shall return and animate Bodies, pure like themselves? Whereas  
 “ the deepest Pit of Hell is reserved for Self-Murderers; and God will revenge the Ini-  
 “ quities of the Fathers upon the Children in after Ages. They are hateful to God,  
 “ and the Wisdom of our great Law-giver hath been so severe upon them, that he that  
 “ kills himself is not allowed Burial till after Sun-set; though a Privilege never denied  
 “ to an Enemy. In other Places, the Right-hand is cut off from the Body of the  
 “ Dead, as armed against himself: For it was reasonable that the Hand that parted the  
 “ Soul and the Body, should be divided from the Body itself. It is a great Blessing, my  
 “ good Friends, to make a right Judgment of Things, and not to render our Condition  
 “ worse than it is, by blaspheming and incensing our Maker. If we have a Mind to  
 “ live, what hinders us; for Life can be no Dishonour to us, where we have given so  
 “ many signal Proofs of our Virtue. But if nothing will serve us but dying, let us fall  
 “ by the Hands of those that have mastered us. I am not for going over to the Enemy  
 “ in such a Manner, as to fool myself out of my Life, by doing the same Thing to my  
 “ Destruction, that a Deserter does to save himself. If the Romans should be treacher-  
 “ ous, and break Faith with us, it would be no more in some Respects, than what a  
 “ Body might honestly wish for; as it yields Matter for a steady and a generous Mind  
 “ to work upon; not only in the Sufferance, but in the Contempt of Death: For the  
 “ very baseness of the Perfidy will be some Sort of Comfort to us, when we consider,  
 “ that the Authors of our Ruin have made themselves infamous and odious to Eternity.”

Joseph was in Hope by this, and a great deal more to this Purpose, to have diverted  
 his Companions from the impious Resolution of destroying themselves: But he  
 found them deaf to all sober Counsels, as Men absolutely devoted to Destruction; and  
 in such a Transport of Rage, that they pressed upon him with their Swords drawn one after  
 another, and with menacing Words and Actions, accompanied with the vilest Reproaches  
 in Nature. In this Extremity, Joseph managed with all the Skill and Address imagi-  
 nable, treating them one while in the Style and Character of his Commission; (as  
 Authority carries a kind of Reverence along with it :) Discourging one Man by his  
 Name, taking another by the Hand, soliciting a third, reasoning with another: So that  
 in the Conclusion, by this prudent Application to the distracted Variety of Humours,  
 he diverted the Blow. It was much with him, in fine, as it is with a wild Beast in  
 the Middle of a Troop of Huntsmen, that turns his Head still to him that is next.  
 This did not hinder yet, but that, when it came to the Point of Execution, several of  
 the Mutineers Hearts failed them: And the Veneration they had for their General made  
 them drop their Swords, even in the Depth of his Distress.

But Joseph acted all this while, like a wise, as well as a good Man; and casting him-  
 self upon the Providence of the Almighty, determined at last to put his Life to the  
 Hazard. “ Well! says he, since Death is the Thing you are resolved upon, what  
 “ have we more to do now, than to cast Lots one after another for our Lives; and he  
 “ still upon whom the Lot falls, to be killed by the next Man; and so every Man to  
 “ take his Fortune round after this Method. This will prevent Self-Murder; for  
 “ it would be unreasonable, when part of us are dead, that any of the rest should re-  
 “ pent and escape.” They were all pleased with the Equity of the Expedient: And  
 so according to the Proposal they cast Lots; and the Persons upon whom they fell

were

were successively put to Death by the next Men : Not doubting but it would come to the General's Turn at last, and pleasing themselves with the Hope of dying in his Company ; which they valued more than Life itself.

It came to this at last (whether by Fortune or by Providence) that there was only Joseph, and one more remaining, of the whole Number. Hereupon Joseph entered into this Deliberation. " If we cast Lots once again, says he, either my Friend must kill me, or I must kill him, and dip my Hands in the Blood of my Countryman." So that Joseph, in this Difficulty, prevailed with his Companion to submit to live, upon his Engagement for his Security.

When Joseph was now delivered out of all his Troubles, as well from the Romans as from his own People, he gave himself up to Nicanor : who conducted him to Vespasian. There was a prodigious Press of People gotten together to see him ; and a strange Confusion of Humours. Some were overjoyed that he was taken ; others threatening him : Some crowding to get nearer him ; and others, at a Distance, crying out for Justice upon him as a public Enemy. They that were gotten near enough to observe the Person of the Man ; and at the same Time reflecting upon the wonderful Things he had done, and the State of his present Condition, were in Amazement at the Change. But, after all this, there was not any one of the Generals, how much soever prepossessed against him before ; but, upon the very Sight of him, relented : Titus, especially ; who was a Person, above all the rest, that had the greatest Esteem for Joseph's Character and Person, and the insuperable Dignity of his Mind in the worst of Accidents ; comparing also what he remembered of him in the War, with what he saw of him now in the Hands of his Enemies, could not but make his Observation upon the Power of Fortune, the variable Chance of War, and the Uncertainty of human Affairs. These were Titus's Thoughts of Joseph : And he brought over all that heard him, to be of the same Opinion ; not excepting his own Father : With whom he was very instrumental toward Joseph's Preservation.

Vespasian ordered Joseph to be kept in close Custody, as if he intended to send him to Nero, who thereupon desired a Word in private with him. Vespasian, upon this Intimation, cleared the Room of all but himself, Titus, and two Friends ; and then gave him his Audience ; Joseph delivering himself in Terms to this Effect, " Sir, says he, you have now in you Hand, Joseph, a Prisoner ; and your present Thought perhaps looks no farther : But I am here a Messenger sent by God himself, about a Matter that much more concerns you. And if it had not been for this Commission, I could not have been here at present, contrary to the Duty of a Jewish General, alive, in the Hand of an Enemy. But what am I to be sent to Nero for, when Vespasian himself is so near the Empire, that I can hardly distinguish betwixt Vespasian and the Emperor, or Cæsar ? Beside that, his Son Titus is to come after him. Keep me as close as you please, provided I may be Vespasian's Prisoner ; who is not only my Master, but in Effect the Lord of the Universe. This is the Truth of what I have in Charge to deliver : And whenever I shall be found so sacrilegious an Imposter as to make Use of God's Name to a Cheat, make an Example of me.

This Discourse of Joseph's looked so like an Invention to save himself, that Vespasian did

did not seem to give much Heed to it at first; till upon laying together certain Impulses that he had himself, with other Tokens and Predictions looking the same Way; and then comparing this Story with Joseph's Exactness in other Cases; he came by Degrees to give intire Credit to the Prefage. A Friend and Confident of Vespasian's (one of the two above-mentioned) was expostulating with Joseph about the Credibility of what he had declared. "If you are so good at divining, says he, how came you to know nothing of the Destruction of Jotapata, and of your own Imprisonment; which would have saved you a great deal of Trouble? Well! says Joseph, I foretold the Inhabitants very particularly what was to befall the Town and myself; that the former was to be destroyed upon the forty seventh Day, and that I myself was to be taken Prisoner by the Romans." Vespasian caused a strict Inquiry to be made, in private, of the Truth of this Relation; which he found verified by the Prisoners: And so came to have a better Opinion of the rest. But Joseph was not at all eased yet in the strictness of his Restraint; but, to all other Purposes of Accommodation and Convenience, treated with great Courtesy and Respect, by Titus in a more peculiar Manner.

On the fourth of the Month Panemus, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and thence went to Cæsarea on the Sea Coast; which is the fairest City of Judæa. The greater Part of the Inhabitants were Greeks: So that Vespasian and his Army were welcome upon a double Account; partly out of the Love they had for the Romans, and partly out of the Aversion they had for the Jews. The latter was so violent, that they pressed Vespasian with clamorous Importunities to put Joseph to Death. The General considered this tumultuary Way of Proceeding, only as the Act of a rash Multitude; and so dismissed the Petitioners without an Answer. He looked upon it as a commodious Winter Quarter, and so lodged two Legions in it; sending the tenth and the fifth Legions to Scythopolis, out of a Tenderness not to overcharge Cæsarea. This Town is situate upon a Plain near the Sea, extremely hot in the Summer, and temperate in the Winter.

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## C H A P. XV.

*Joppa a Den of Thievs and Mutineers. Vespasian takes the Town by Surprise. The Inhabitants put themselves aboard their Shipping. The Description of Joppa. A furious Storm. Joppa taken the second Time by the Romans. The Castle fortified and garrisoned. Not a Man left alive upon the Place. Joseph said to be slain, and universally lamented: But when they found him living, and in Credit with the Romans, he was as much envied and detested, as he was before esteemed.*

**T**HERE was now a huge Multitude of People got together, partly Revolters from the Romans, and partly Fugitives out of some conquered Cities of the Jews.  
This

This Rabble was at work upon the Rebuilding of Joppa, which Cestius had demolished; and for Want of Subsistence in the Country, which he had laid waste, they resolved to try their Fortunes at Sea: And put out with a Fleet of Privateers; scouring Syria, Phœnicia, and the Coasts of Egypt; pillaging all Traders in those Seas, and wholly obstructing the Commerce. Vespasian, being well informed what they were a doing, sent a Body of Horse and Foot to Joppa; which being loosely guarded, they entered the Town in the Night with much Ease. The Inhabitants were so disordered upon this Surprise, that without daring to attempt any Thing upon the Romans, they went all aboard in a Hurry, and lay that Night off at Sea, somewhat more than a Flight-shot from the Town.

As to the Description of the Place, it is a Sea-Town without any Manner of Port; the Shore steep and craggy; with two pointed Rocks, one on each Side, stretching out a good Way into the Sea, and a little bending, in the Form of a Half-Moon; which makes a very tempestuous Sea there in foul Weather. Here are the Marks still to be seen of Andromeda's Chains, for the Credit of the old Fable. A cross Wind upon that Quarter dashes the Waves and the Rocks together in so dreadful a Manner, that nothing can be more hideous or dangerous.

While the Men of Joppa were riding in this Station, there arose a furious Storm by Break of Day; which is known to the People of the Place by the Name of the Black-North. This Wind battered their Vessels to Pieces: Some against one another, others against the Rocks: And then there were great Numbers of them, that labouring against the Tide to put out to Sea, were overturned and swallowed up. So that their Choice was certain Death, either to fly or stay: The one, from the Rocks; the other, from the Enemy. This was their Condition, betwixt the Winds at Sea, and the Romans ashore. It was a dismal Hearing, the Shrieks and Outcries of the People, and the clattering of the Vessels: But upon the whole, some were drowned; others died aboard the Wrecks: Some fell upon their Swords, as if it had been to prevent the Sea; several were washed away by the Billows, and beaten to Pieces against the Rocks; till the Water was discoloured with the Blood, and the whole Coast covered with dead Bodies: The Soldiers waiting all this while upon the Land to dispatch those that were driven ashore. They reckoned, in fine, upon four thousand two hundred Bodies cast up with the Tide.

The Romans being now Masters of Joppa without a Stroke, razed it to the Ground: And this was the second taking of it by them, in a very short Time. But Vespasian, for fear it might come to be a Nest of Pirates yet once again, fortified the Castle, and put into it a Foot-Garrison sufficient to maintain it; leaving there also a considerable Body of Horse, to scour, burn, and lay waste all the Towns, Villages, and Country thereabouts; which Orders, Day after Day, were executed accordingly.

When the News of Jotapata's being taken came to Jerusalem, the Story was so extraordinary, and the Fact so ill attested, that little or no Heed was given to it. Now there was not, in Truth, so much as one Man of the Place left alive to carry the Tidings: But the Fame of it broke loose among the Neighbourhood, as ill News commonly spreads apace. But how doubtful soever it might seem at first, it came by  
little

little and little to pass for Current; and to such a Degree of Credit, that People believed more than all, and swallowed the whole Trust with Additions. For it was confidently given out, that upon the taking of the City, Joseph was slain, to the infinite Affliction of Jerusalem, and of all that was considerable in that City. Some were lamented by particular Families; others, by Friends, Relations, or their own People: But the General, being a public Loss, was the Subject also of an universal Mourning: Inasmuch, that for forty Days there was no Intermision of the Solemnity, and no Cost spared for the Celebration of the Funeral Ceremony and Pomp. But when Time brought Truth to Light, and gave the World the History of Jotapata just as it was in Fact: That is to say; when it came to be known that Joseph was not dead, as reported, but yet living, and in so great Credit with the Romans; that their Generals, instead of treating him as a Slave, crowned him with all the Honours they could confer upon him: The Veneration they had for him, while they looked upon him to be dead, was now turned into the most venomous Envy and Hatred. How many Cowards and Traitors did they call him for abandoning the Cause! And how did the whole City join with his Detractors in the Calumny and Reproach! It is the Part and Practice of wise Men to make use of one Misfortune for a Precaution against another, and to keep themselves upon their Guard: But these People, on the contrary, when they are once out of their Way, pursue their Error, and make the End of one Mischief the Beginning of another. At this Rate the Jews were now transported into a greater Rage against the Romans than ever; as if the wreaking of their Malice upon them, were their nearest Way to Revenge upon Joseph. These were the Troubles of Jerusalem at this Time.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Agrippa treats Vespasian and his Army twenty Days at Cæsarea Philippi. News of Tiberias and Tarichee, that the one is wavering, and the other revolted. Vespasian orders some Troops to Scythopolis, and encamps at Ennabris, within Sight of the Rebels. The General gives Valerian his Instructions, to speak them fair. The Faction fall upon Valerian by Surprise. Vespasian, at the Instance of Agrippa, pardons the Affront. Trajan takes Possession of the Castle. Vespasian marches up to the City, and is received with Acclamations.*

**K**ING Agrippa having invited Vespasian to pass away a little Time with him in his Country, and to bring his Army along with him, partly out of Generosity and Kindness, and partly in hope by his Means to bring some mutinous Malecontents into better Order, the General embraced the Motion with great Respect, and marched from Cæsarea upon the Sea-Coast, to Cæsarea Philippi; where he staid twenty Days  
 NUMB. 13. C c refreshing

refreshing himself and his Troops, and giving God Thanks with feasting and rejoicing for the Blessings of his Successes. Vespasian was there given to understand, that Tiberias was at that Time wavering, and Tarichee already revolted, (both Places being Dependencies upon the Kingdom of Agrippa) he thought he could not have a fairer Opportunity of acknowledging his Obligations to Agrippa, than by reducing those People to their Allegiance; especially being resolved within himself, to press hard upon the Jews. So he sent away his Son Titus for the Troops that were quartered at Cæsarea, to bring them to Scythopolis: A Place not far from Tiberias, and much the largest Town in the Canton of Decapolis. Vespasian got thither first, and there staid for his Son: Advancing afterwards with three Legions within thirty Furlongs of Tiberias, and there encamped at a Place called Ennabris, within Sight of the Rebels. From thence he ordered out Valerian, a Captain with fifty Horse, to try what might be done with fair words toward the bringing of them to their Duty. His Instructions were to tell them, that the General took the People to be peaceably enough inclined, if it were not for some seditious, pragmatistical Sticklers at the Head of them. When Valerian was come up almost to the Town, he alighted from his Horse, and commanded his Companions to do the like, that there might be no Colour of any Jealousy of an ill Intention. The Faction, under the Command of Jesus the Son of Tobias, a Captain of a Band of Rovers, fell furiously upon Valerian and his People, without giving them Time for so much as one Word. Valerian was not a little startled at the Affront; but durst not strike a Stroke however, contrary to his General's Order; even if he had been sure to have got the better of him: Beside, that there was no venturing an Encounter upon that Odds. Valerian, in fine, and five of his Men, made their Escape a-foot, being forced to leave their Horses behind them; which Jesus and his Crew carried off in Triumph into the Town, as the Trophies of a Victory, rather than a scandalous Booty.

The mean and unmanly Coarseness of this Action put the sensible and the sober Men of the Town into such an Apprehension for fear of a Revenge, that they went presently out to the Roman Camp, under the Countenance and Conduct of King Agrippa, and cast themselves at Vespasian's Feet for Mercy and Pardon; begging of him not to impute the Crimes of particular Persons to the whole Body of a People that never wanted Veneration for the Romans; and likewise to spare the Innocent, and punish the Authors and Promoters of the Defection. Vespasian could hardly forgive the Town the Seizure of the Horses; but however, for Agrippa's Sake, and upon his Mediation, he granted their Request. So soon as this Act of Grace was past, Jesus and that Faction found that Tiberias would be quickly too hot for them; and so they slipt away to Tarichee.

Vespasian sent Trajan the Day following with a Party of Horse to take Possession of the Castle, and to sound the common People, if they were of the same peaceable Disposition with their Deputies. Upon finding that they were well disposed, Vespasian marched up to the City with his whole Army; the Citizens opening their Gates to bid him welcome, and receiving him upon the Way with Gratulations and Acknowledgments as their Benefactor and Protector. But the Gates being too narrow for the  
Troops

Troops to march at Liberty, Vespasian caused a Part of the South-Wall to be beaten down to widen the Passage; but with a Command, upon the uttermost Penalty, not to offer any Sort of Violence to the People whatsoever. This was for Agrippa's Sake, he said; and so it was also, that he spared the Remainder of the Wall, upon the King's Undertaking for the Peoples good Behaviour for the Time to come. This was the End, for the present, of the Troubles of Tiberias.

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C H A P. XVII.

*Vespasian encamps betwixt Tiberias and Tarichee. Tarichee a Nursery of seditious People. The Strength and Situation of the Place. The Faction breaks in upon the Roman Pioncers. The Romans pursue the Jews up to their Shipping. A vast Number of Jews in a Body; and Titus sent out for Discovery. Titus's Speech to his Soldiers. The utter Destruction of the Jews. A violent Faction in the City: Titus, within hearing of it makes Advantage of the Occasion. Titus enters the Town by the Lake, and carries all before him. Titus sends his Father an Account of the Action; and orders the Building of Ships, to look after the Fugitives.*

VESPASIAN was now gone from Tiberias, and encamped betwixt that and Tarichee; where he fortified his Camp with a Wall, upon an Opinion, that the taking of that Place would be a Work of Time. For it was wonderfully strong both by Art and Nature; and beside that it was fortified by the Lake of Gennesareth, it was looked upon as the Receptacle of all the desperate turbulent People of the Faction. It stands like Tiberias, upon a Mountain; and Joseph had run up a strong Wall round about it, save only on the Lake Side: But somewhat less than that of Tiberias. At the Beginning of the Revolt, there wanted neither Men, Monies, nor Provisions for the making of it impregnable: And there was over and above to spare also, for Tiberias. The Besiegers had likewise a Fleet of armed Boats in Readiness upon the Lake, for a Retreat, in case of a Blow at Land; or to serve for a naval Fight, if there should be Occasion.

While the Romans were fortifying and intrenching, Jesus and his Fellows made a furious Attack upon them; scattered the Pioneers, and overthrew a good Part of their Works; without any Dread either of the Roman Discipline, or of their Numbers. But upon their advancing toward them in a gross Body, they got off safe to their Party without any Damage: The Romans pursuing them to the Lake, where they cast themselves aboard their Vessels; and when they were gotten out of the Reach of the Roman Darts and Arrows, they came to an Anchor: And there they lay ranged in as good Order of Battle against their Enemies ashore, as if they had been drawn up in Form for a Combat.

While this was doing, Vespasian had an Account brought him, of a great Body of Jews gathered together on the next Plain : And thereupon sent out his Son with a Detachment of six hundred choice Horse for Discovery. Titus marched ; and finding himself so mightily over-numbered, he gave his Father Notice of it. This vast Multitude staggered several of the Party ; but Titus finding the greater Part of his People chearful and hearty, in Despite of all Inequality and Disproportion, took up a Standing where he might best be heard, and spake to his Soldiers after this Manner :  
 “ ROMANS, says he, for I cannot begin my Discourse more auspiciously, than by  
 “ putting you in mind of your Race ; and by telling you whence and what you are,  
 “ and whom you have to do withal. As to the Romans, the whole World allows  
 “ them to be invincible upon undeniable Proof and Experience : An I have this to say  
 “ for the Jews too ; that though they have been often conquered, they would never  
 “ own themselves to be overcome : So that we have no more to do, than to stand as  
 “ firm at least in our Prosperity as they do in their Adversity. I read Chearfulness and  
 “ Courage in the very Faces of you, and it joys me to see it : But yet I am uneasy  
 “ sometimes, for fear the vast Numbers of your Enemies should strike a secret Damp  
 “ into that Resolution. Wherefore, let every Man duly consider his own Force, and  
 “ that of his Adversary. The Jews, it is true, are generally bold, and fearless of  
 “ Death ; but utterly to seek in military Conduct and Discipline ; and may be more  
 “ properly called a Crowd of People, than an Army : Whereas nothing can be more  
 “ regular or instructive than our Order and Experience. What are we the better for  
 “ the Practice of Arms in Time of Peace, if it does not help us to supply the Want  
 “ of Numbers, by Skill and Address ? Or, what is the Benefit of a perpetual Exercise  
 “ of War, if it gives us no Advantage over Men that are raw and unexperienced ?  
 “ Do but consider what it is to encounter naked Bodies with Men in Arms : Foot with  
 “ Horse ; Men that understand nothing of Government, with eminent Commanders ; and  
 “ that we are as good as double the Number we appear to be, at that rate of Advantage,  
 “ and the Enemy not half so strong as we take them for. It is not Number alone that does  
 “ the Business in War, let the Combatants be never so stout ; but true Courage, as we  
 “ see every Day, does Wonders with a few ; for moderate Numbers are manageable to  
 “ the best Advantage of the Party : But great Bodies are liable to Disorder and Con-  
 “ fusion, and more mischievous to themselves many Times than an Enemy. The  
 “ daring, desperate, and brutal Fierceness of the Jews does a great deal, I must con-  
 “ fess, in a prosperous Course of Fortune ; but upon the least Check of a Disaster or  
 “ Disappointment, that impetuous Ardour abates and comes to nothing : Whereas Vir-  
 “ tue, Resignation, Obedience, and true Valour, will support us in all our Fortunes good  
 “ or bad, without even puffing us up, or deceiving us. Beside that, we have a greater  
 “ Interest at Stake than the Jews ; for theirs is only a popular Quarrel, for Liberty, and  
 “ their Country : But we contend for Glory, and for the Fame of immortal Memory :  
 “ And not without some Indignation neither, after the Conquest of the whole World be-  
 “ side, to find ourselves hampered in a Competition with the Jews. You may observe a-  
 “ gain, even in case of the worst, that we shall run no great Risk neither in the Contest ;  
 “ being sure to be well seconded with so many of our Allies, so strong, and so near us.  
 “ But



“ But what have we more to do now, than to anticipate the Victory, and ingross the Honour of it to ourselves, without waiting for the Inforcement we expect from my Father? The Glory will be greater when it comes home to us intire, without sharing. The Point at present in Question, is no less than the Character of my Father, myself, and my Fellow-Soldiers: That is to say; whether or no my Father deserves the Honour the World has done him. And am not I his Son then, and are not you my Soldiers? My Father has been so wonted to Victory, that I should never dare to look him in the Face again after one Baffle: And would not you be as much ashamed of a Fool on the other Hand, where the General leads the Way? The first Post of Danger shall be mine; do but you stand by me, and commit the rest to God’s Providence: Only remember what I tell you, that a close Fight will be the best of our Play.

The Soldiers were so elevated, and so heroically disposed upon this Discourse, that it looked as if they had been inspired with quite another Soul. Only Trajan’s coming up with four hundred Horse before the Battle, put them a little out of Humour, to think of having Partners in the Glory of the Day. Vespasian at the same Time sent Antonius Silo, with two thousand Archers to take Possession of a Mountain over against the Town, and to beat the Defendants from the Wall; which was performed accordingly. Titus, that had a mind to be thought stronger than he was, drew up his Army in a Line, to answer the Front of the Enemy; and was the first Man himself that charged in upon their Body; his Men following him with Exultations and Outcries. The Jews were not a little surpris’d at the Boldness and Manner of this Attack; but yet at first made some faint Resistance, till they were beaten down, and trampled upon by the Horse, and so dispers’d; shifting away into the City the best they could: And a great many killed upon the Place. Titus all this while pressing upon the Backs of some of them; crossing upon others, and cutting them over the Faces; overtaking some, and forcing others back again that made for the Walls, and tumbling them one over another: Insomuch, that few or none escap’d, but those that got into the Town.

There happened, at this Time, a terrible Faction in the City, betwixt the Natives and the Strangers: The former were troubled both for their own Sakes, and for the City’s. They were ever against the War, they said; but yet their greatest Quarrel was to the Success. But the Strangers that were very violent and numerous, brake out into Clamours and Outrages, as if they were already at Daggers-drawing. They were so loud in the City, and Titus so near the Wall, that he was within hearing of them; and upon that Occasion, called out to his People. “ The Time is now come, my Fellows-Soldiers, says he, if we have but the Hearts to make Use of it; for God hath delivered up the Jews into our Hands, and we may have a Victory for the taking of it up. Do you not hear the Brawls and Squabbles of the very Men that have escap’d our Hands, and are at this Time ready to cut one another’s Throats? The City is our own, if we do not slip the Opportunity. But this is a Business that requires Resolution as well as Dispatch: And great Things are not to be done without Hazard. Why do we not take the Advantage of this mortal Animosity, and fall upon

“ upon them before their Necessities force them to unite? And why do we not fall upon them too, before our Auxiliaries come up to rob us, not only of the Credit, but of the Profit also of the Action? For beside the Reputation of so gallant an Exploit with such a Handful of Men, we shall have both the Credit and the Spoil to ourselves.”

With these Words he mounted his Horse, and galloped away to the Lake; where he was the first Man that entered the Town, and his Troops followed him. The Defendants were struck with such an Astonishment at the Hardiness of this Enterprize, that not a Man had the Heart either to oppose his Person, or to obstruct his Passage. Jesus and his Companions made away into the Fields: Some fled toward the Lake, and fell into the very Mouths of the Romans, others endeavoured to save themselves by their Boats but were cut off by the Way: Others again, by Swimming; but sunk in the Attempt: the Slaughter was yet more terrible in the Town. The Strangers that could not get off with Jesus, made some Resistance; but the Natives, none at all: In hope that the Romans would consider them as only passive in the Case, and forced into the War contrary to their Judgment and Inclination.

So soon as Titus had mastered and destroyed the Faction, he gave Quarter to the Natives. The Town being now taken, those upon the Lake withdrew as far from the Enemy as they could; and Titus immediately sent a Party of Horse express to his Father with the welcome Tidings of this glorious Exploit: For the main Difficulty of the War was looked upon to be now over in the reducing of this City. The next thing Titus did, was the clapping of a strict Guard round about the City, and setting a Watch upon all the Avenues, to prevent Escapes. The Day following he went to the Lake, and ordered Vessels to be built, and sent out in Pursuit of those who had got off that Way. These Boats were quickly put together; for they had Workmen and Materials in abundance at Hand.

### C H A P. XVIII.

*The Quality and Description of the Lake of Gennesareth. The River Jordan; with the Head and Course of it. Gennesareth famous for Fruits and Plants. The Fountain of Capernaum.*

**T**HE Lake of Gennesareth is so called, from the Country about it. The breadth of it is forty Furlongs; a hundred in Length; and the Water sweet and potable, without any Thing of Moorishness, either in the Taste or Colour. It lies upon a Gravel, and so more conveniently to be drawn, and gentler than either River or Fountain Water. And with all this, it is so cold, that the People of the Place cannot warm it by setting it in the Sun in the hottest Season of the Year. It hath in it great Variety of Fish; which, for Taste and Shape, are not to be found any where else: and the River Jordan runs through the Middle of it. The Head of this River has been thought to be Panion; but, in Truth, it passes hither under Ground; and the

the Source of it is Phiala, a hundred and twenty Furlongs from Cæfarea, a little on the Right-hand, and not much out of the Way to Trachonitis. It is called Phiala, from the round Figure of it; and the Water in it stands always at a Stay; the Basin brim-full, without either shrinking or overflowing. The first Discovery of this Secret was from Philip the Tetrarch of Trachonis, by casting Straws in Phiala, that came out again at Panion, which till that Time was taken for the Head of the Jordan. This Panion, is naturally lovely by Situation; but most magnificently beautified and enriched by the royal Bounty of Agrippa. The River, in fine, that seems to take its Original from this Recefs, crosses the Bogs and Fens of the lake Semechonitis: And after a Course of an hundred and twenty Furlongs farther, passes under the City of Julias, and so over the Lake of Gennesareth, a great Way into the Desert, till it empties itself into the Lake of Asphaltitis.

This Lake takes the Name of Gennesareth from the Country that surrounds it; which is fruitful and agreeable to Admiration. As to the Fertility of the Soil, no Plant comes amiss to it; besides that it is improved by the Skill and Industry of the Inhabitants to the highest Degree, and by a strange Felicity of the Climate, every Thing prospers here; as Nuts, Palms, Figs, and Olive-Trees, that flourish here in Perfection, tho' they require a quite different Temperature of Air in the Nature of them; which looks as if Providence took Delight in this Place to reconcile Contradictions; and as if the very Seasons themselves were in a Competition which should be most obliging. And the Production of strange Varieties of excellent Fruit is not all neither, but the conserving of them so long quick and sound is another Curiosity. Figs and Grapes hold in Season here ten Months in the Year, and other Fruits the whole Year about. And the Place is not more famous for a delicious Air, than it is for a crystalline flowing Fountain, called by the Natives Capernaum. Some take it for a little Gut of the Nile, because of a certain Fish in it, that is no where else to be found but in Alexandria. The length of the Country along the Lake is thirty Stadia, and the Breadth, twenty. Let this suffice for a Description of the Place.

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#### C H A P. XIX.

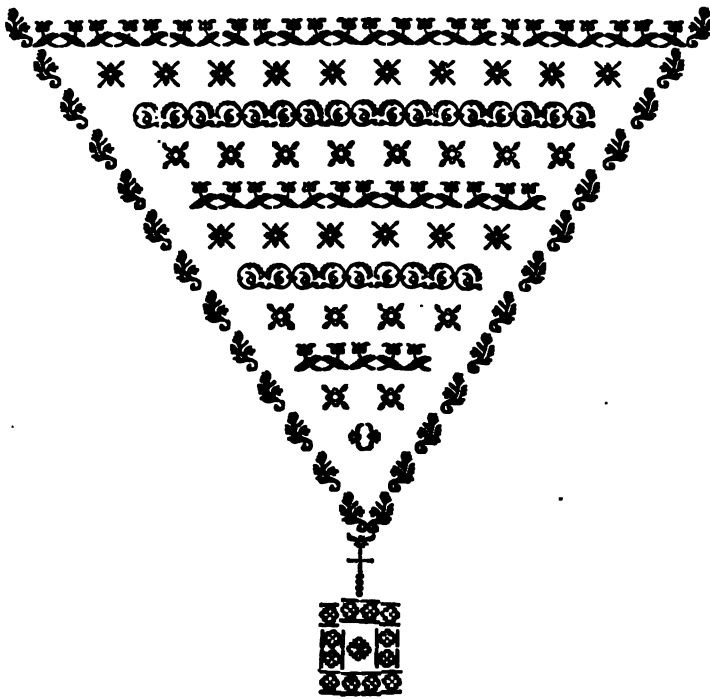
*Vespasian encounters the Enemy upon the Lake. The miserable State of the Jews. Vespasian calls a great Council, where Sentence is passed upon the Prisoners.*

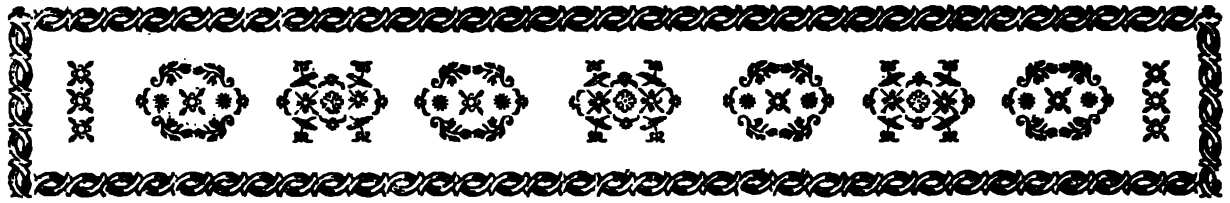
WHEN Vespasian's Boats were all ready, he went aboard himself, and took as many Men along with him as he thought sufficient to deal with the Fugitives that had shifted away to the Lake: So that there was now no Possibility of their coming off; for the whole Country ashore was their Enemy: And they were in no Condition upon the Water for a Sea-Fight: Their Boats being rather for Piracy than Combat, and neither of a Size nor of a Strength to come to a Shock with the Romans:

Romans : Beside, that they were better manned, and in better Order. All they could do was by Insults off and on; one while pelting them with Stones; another while provoking them to handy Strokes: While they themselves were the greatest Sufferers both Ways still; for the Romans being well-armed, the Stones only made a Noise and a Clatter where they fell, without any Effect; while the other lay open and exposed to the Roman Arrows. Or, if they attempted any Thing nearer Hand, they were cut off before they could execute it; their Boats overturned, and their Men drowned. The Enemy dispatched some of them at a Distance with their Darts; others they boarded, and destroyed them with their Swords: Some again were hemmed in and taken Vessels and all, as they were locked up betwixt the two Fleets. As for those that were tumbled over-board, and dabbling for Life, they could no sooner shew their Heads above Water, but they were immediately taken off by a Lance, or over-run by the Enemies Boats, and sunk: or if any of them in the rage of their Despair, did but make toward their Adversaries, they were sure to have their Hands or their Heads chopped off. There was nothing, in fine, to be seen, but Death and Destruction in all the Varieties of Horror; till they were totally broken and routed, pressing through the Middle of their Enemies to get ashore. In this Confusion, there were abundance of them killed upon the Water; a World more at Land; and nothing to be seen upon the Lake, or the Borders of it, but Blood and Carcasses: For not a Man escaped. These putrid Bodies in a few Days tainted the Air to such a Degree of Malignancy, that the Case was not only dreadful to the Sufferers of the Calamity; but the very Actors themselves had an Abhorrence for the Barbarity of it. This was the Issue of the naval Battle: And the whole Number of the Slain in both Actions, was six thousand five hundred Persons.

When the Fight was over, Vespasian took his Place upon the Tribunal; and separating the Strangers that were the Cause of the War, from the Natives who were only passive in it, he called a great Council of his Officers about him, to consider what was to be done with these People; and whether or no they were to be treated all alike. The Council was against the saving of the Strangers; for they would never be quiet, they said; they had no Home to trust to, and would be dangerous and troublesome to what Prince soever should receive them. Vespasian was thoroughly satisfied that they deserved to die, and that they would rebel against their Preservers; but the Difficulty was, in what Manner to get rid of them; for the Inhabitants would lay it to Heart, to see so many People put to Death after a Promise of Quarter upon their Mediation: Beside Vespasian's Scruple upon a Point of Honour and Justice of breaking Faith with his Prisoners. But his Council insisted upon it, that he was not tied up to those Punctilio's with the Jews; and that where strict Honesty and Policy are inconsistent, the common good ought to have the Preference. Vespasian was over-ruled by his Friends, and gave the Strangers Leave to depart, upon Condition they kept the Way that led to Tiberias. People are apt to believe what they wish; and in this Confidence, they marched for Tiberias, without the least Apprehension of any Violence in their Passage, either upon their Persons or Goods. Now the Romans, had so beset the Way, that it was impossible for any Creature to escape. When they had

had them in the Town, they made them all Prisoners; Vespasian causing them afterward to be shut up in the Amphitheatre; where he ordered both old and young, to the Number of twelve hundred, that were not able to bear Arms, to be put to Death; 6000 of the strongest bodied Men among them to be sent away to the Isthmus to Nero, 30400 were sold for Slaves, beside what Vespasian gave to Agrippa, whom he left at Liberty to do what he would with his own Subjects; but the King sold them too. The rest were Trachonites, Gaulanites, Hippenians, and a great many Gadarites; most of them Incendiaries and Fugitives, and Promoters of War, because they could not live in Peace. They were taken upon the eighth of the Month Gorpizus





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
WARS of the JEWS.

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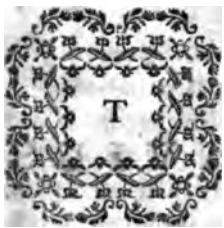
B O O K IV.

*From the Siege of Gamala, to the coming of Titus to besiege Jerufalem;  
containing the interval of about one Year.*

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C H A P. I.

*The Siege of Gamala, and the Manner of it; with the Situation and Strength of the City. Vespasian advances up to the Place. The Romans take Gamala by assault, and are beaten out of it again with a prodigious Loss. The Generosity of Vespasian. and his Presence of Mind. A notable Action of Gallus a Centurion. A glorious Speech of Vespasian to his Soldiers. A second Attempt upon Gamala.*



THE Towns and Places in Galilee that went off from the Romans upon the taking of Jotapata, came back again to their Duty, upon the Loss of Tarichee: So that the Romans were now Masters of all the Cities and strong Holds, but Gischala, and the Mountain of Itabyr. And there joined in the Rebellion with these also the City of Gamala; which stands upon the Lake over against Tarichee, and belongs to the Government of Agrippa. Sogane revolted likewise, and so did Salucia, after their Example: Which were both of the Province of Gaulanitis: Sogane, in the upper

upper Part of it, which is called Gaulana; and Gamala, in the lower. Seleucia stands upon the Lake Semechonitis; which is sixty Furlongs in Length; and thirty over: And the moorish Borders of it reach as far as Daphne. This is a delicious Country in many Respects; but more especially for the curious Springs in it, that feed the lesser Jordan, as they call it; and then take their Course to the great Jordan, at the Foot of Jupiter's Golden Temple. King Agrippa, at the Beginning of this Defection, entered into an Alliance with the People of Sogane and Seleucia; but Gamala, depending upon its own Strength, as being much a tougher Piece than Jotapata, refused to be of the Party. This Gamala is erected upon the Cliff of a Rock that rises out of the Middle of a high Mountain; and in that Posture of Elevation, with Craggs before and behind it, has some Resemblance of the Figure of a Camel; from whence originally it took its Name: But Time and Custom have corrupted the Way of writing it. Upon the Front, and the two Sides, are deep inaccessible Vallies. The Part that joins the Mountain is not of itself so hard of Access; but as the Inhabitants have fortified it with Trenches and Defences, it is next to impregnable. The Houses stand so thick, and tickle, upon the Steep of the Hill to the Southward, as if they were ready to drop into the Precipice. And there is also a Hill of so prodigious a Height, that it may serve for a Citadel to the Valley in the Bottom. And there was also a Fountain within the Circuit of this City, and there the Town ended.

But still, after all that Nature had done toward the making of this Place invincible, Joseph was not yet satisfied without running a Wall about it, and casting up artificial Works, Trenches and Fortifications, for a farther Security. The Inhabitants were much more confident in the defensible Condition of the Place, than the Men of Jotapata; though neither so many, nor so martial: But the Difficulties of the Attack made Amends for the Want of Numbers. Not but that the City was well manned; for it was made the Sanctuary of all the Refugees: Inasmuch that King Agrippa spent seven Months before it without any Manner of Advantage.

Vespasian at this Time decamped from Ammaus near Tiberias; so called from a hot Fountain there, of a sovereign Virtue against several Diseases: And so came to Gamala; where he found it impossible to draw a regular Line of Circumvallation about it: But he set Guards however upon all the Passes he could come at, and possessed himself of the Mountain above. The Romans, according to their Custom, fortified their Camp; carried up a Wall about it, and so intrenched. The fifteenth Legion was posted against a Tower, Eastward, upon the highest Part of the Town, the fifth toward the Middle of the Town, and the tenth was appointed to level the Ditches, and other hollow Places.

While Things were in this Posture, King Agrippa drew close up to the Wall, to try if he could bring the People to render the Place, and reason them into a Sense of their Duty. But in this Instant he received a terrible Blow with a Stone from a Sling, upon his right Elbow: His Friends thronging immediately about him to bring him off: and the Romans in a direct Rage to consider, how barbarously these People would treat Strangers and Enemies, that could be thus inhumane to their own Prince,

their Countrymen, and a Friend that advised them for their Good. In this Heat they pressed the Siege with all possible Vigour.

Betwixt many Hands, and diligent Application, the Works were not long in raising: And the next Thing to be done, was the mounting of their Machine. Chares and Joseph, (two of the most considerable Men in the Town) had the ordering of the Defence; and so led up the Soldiers to the Wall, with Exhortations and Encouragements to behave themselves like Men of Honour. But wanting Water and other Necessaries, they had no great Stomach to the Action; for they found they could not hold it out long. Upon the Advance of the Roman Machines, they made some Sort of Resistance at first; but so soon as ever they came to throw their Stones and their Arrows among them, they ran presently into the Town. They battered the Wall with their Rams upon three Attacks; and upon disputing a Breach, what with the Outcries without and within the Town, the Clang of the Trumpets, and the Clattering of Arms, nothing could be more hideous. The Defendants stood the first Shock with great Bravery, and put the Romans to a Stand; but being overborne in the End by the Force of Numbers, they all fled, and betook themselves to the highest Parts of the City; with the Romans all this while at their Backs. But the Jews finding themselves pressed, turned short upon their Pursuers; drove them down Precipices before them, and through difficult Passages; where they did Execution upon them at Pleasure. The Romans finding the Disadvantage of contending with Enemies over their Heads; and that there was no avoiding them, as they lay pushing at them from an upper Ground, cast themselves for Sanctuary into some of the Enemies Houses below: But they were so crowding full, that they sunk under the Weight; so that the Fall of one brought down another; and that a Third. There were a great many Romans that perished under the Ruins, and yet, in this Extremity, they chose rather to commit themselves to the Hazard of those tottering Houses, than to lie open and exposed for a public Mark. Some there were that were crushed all to Pieces with the Timbers; others maimed in attempting to escape; and some again that were choaked with the Dust. At this Rate there perished a World of the Romans, some one way, some another, But the People were so far from being troubled at the Loss of their Habitations, that they reckoned themselves Gainers by the Fall of so many of their Enemies, in Exchange: And still as one House failed, they pressed the Romans into another, to bring down that too. As any of them lost their Foot-hold, they were sure to be taken off with Weapons from above; which the very Walls and dead Bodies furnished them with in Abundance: The one, with Stones; and the other with Arrows: For the Swords of those that were killed, were made use off to dispatch the rest: And every Thing contributed to the common Fate. Some cast themselves down headlong from the Tops of the Houses, to avoid being squeezed to Death in the Fall of them, Others had a mind to fly, if they had but known how or whither: But being Strangers to the Passages and Ways, and blinded with the Dust in this Confusion, they fell foul one upon another. Some there were however, that had the good Fortune to escape and get out of the Town.

It went to the Heart of Vespasian to see his Army thus broken by the Ruins of a City that they had taken; so that without any Regard to the Safety of his own Person,

(as



(as it was his Practice to be foremost still in all Hazards) he slipt himself privately into a Post on the upper Part of the Town; where he was left with some few resolute Men about him, in the greatest Distress imaginable: His Son Titus being abroad at this Time in Syria, upon a Commission to Mutianus. His Condition was such, that it was neither safe nor honourable for him to turn his Back. So that calling to mind the glorious History of his past Actions, and resolving to make his Life all of a Piece, he had a Thought come into his Head for the obviating of the present Difficulty; which looked liker a divine Inspiration than a common Counsel of Flesh and Blood. That is to say; he planted himself with the few People he had, as close one to another as they could croud together; and covering themselves with their Arms, stood firm against all Attempts of Violence from above. The Jews were so startled at this prodigious Obstinacy, that they looked upon it as a providential Impulse; and in dread of opposing a divine Power, abated somewhat of the Vigour of the Action. Vespasian taking Notice that the Fury of the Enemy slackened, drew off by little and little, and never turned his Back 'till he was got out of the Walls. There fell a great many Romans, both Officers and common Soldiers, in this Combat: And among others, Æbutius a Decadarch, who lived and died great, and had given the Jews many sensible Proofs of his Courage.

There was one Gallus, a Centurion, that with ten Syrian Soldiers lay close together in a House: As the People of the Family were talking together at Supper, what Course they intended to take with the Romans, Gallus and his Company being all Syrians, overhearing and understanding them, fell upon them in the Night; killed every Man of them, and got off safe with his Company to the Romans.

This was the severest Blow that ever the Romans had as yet received: And Vespasian finding the Soldiers cast down upon it, and their Confusion was the greater too for leaving their General in the Lurch; he bethought himself how he might give them some Sort of Comfort, without either telling his own Story, or intermixing any Thing of Reproach. “ Well! (says Vespasian) since Misfortunes cannot be avoided, let  
 “ them be generously born: And it is not for any one Sort of Men to expect an  
 “ Exemption from the common Lot of Mankind. Whoever considers the Nature of  
 “ War, will find that Victory is not to be gained without Blood, and that Fortune is  
 “ variable; and that this Loss is but a Reprisal for the thousands of Jews that we have  
 “ slain before. But as it is Vanity and Weakness to grow insolent upon Prosperity;  
 “ so it is the Mark of as mean a Soul to be cast down with Adversity. Consider  
 “ again, says he, how insensibly the Change passes from one Extreme to the other,  
 “ and that no Man is truly great but he that stands his Ground, and keeps up the same  
 “ Dignity of Mind in all Conditions; correcting the Malignity of the one, by the  
 “ Prudence of the other. We are not now to impute our present Miscarriage, either  
 “ to the Want of Resolution on our Parts, or to the Valour of the Jews. For, if  
 “ they fought better than usual, or we worse, the true Reason was the Odds of  
 “ the Ground we fought upon. But if you were to blame for any Thing in this En-  
 “ counter, it was, in Truth, for your Rashness in pursuing the Enemy, when they  
 “ fled up the Town from you. You should have held your Hands, and contented  
 “ yourselves with the Possession of the lower Town; till Necessity should have forced  
 “ them

“ them down to engage you upon safer, surer, and more equal Terms. But you  
 “ were so impatient to have the Thing done, that you never minded the right Way  
 “ of doing it. Now the Romans are a People of Order and Discipline, and not for  
 “ this impetuous and inconsiderate Way of making War, like the Jews and Barba-  
 “ rians. Wherefore let us have Recourse to our own Methods of Sobriety and Refo-  
 “ lution, and act like Men that are rather animated with an Indignation for what they  
 “ have done amiss, than sinking under the Burden of it. Every Man hath this Satis-  
 “ faction in his own Power, if he will but set his own Hand to the Work, and give  
 “ himself the Comfort of revenging the Loss of his Friends upon the Heads of those  
 “ that destroyed them. In this Prospect and Confidence you shall find me still, as you  
 “ have done already, the first and the last in all Dangers.” This Discourse of Vespasian’s put a new Life into the Army.

The Men of Gamala could not but take Heart at first upon the Flush of so unexpected a Success: But when they came afterward, upon Advice with second Thoughts, to find that they were now past all Hopes of agreeing upon Terms, and no Possibility of escaping, for their Provisions failed them; their Spirits sunk again, and their Despairs put them to their Wit’s End: But they went on nevertheless, doing all that was possible to be done for the Defence of the Place, by setting their best Men to look to the Breaches, and others in general to take Care of the rest.

The Romans by this Time having repaired their Platforms, and made ready for another Attack; divers of the Citizens stole away by Passages so intricate and uncouth, that they thought it superfluous to set any Guard upon them. Others conveyed themselves into Sinks and Vaults, where they lay starving for fear of being taken; the Provisions being wholly reserved for those that bore Arms. But these miserable People stood firm yet in all their Distresses.

## C H A P. II.

*A Faction in a Body upon Mount Itabyr. Vespasian sends Placidus with a Party to reduce them, who destroys them all, by encountering one Wile with another.*

VESPASIAN had Work enough upon his Hands in this vexatious Siege: But he found Time yet, in that very Hurry, to send out Placidus with a Party of six hundred Horse to mount Tabor, to disperse a Multitude of Pople that were gotten together there. This Mountain lies betwixt the great Plain and Scythopolis: The Ascent of it is reckoned to be some thirty Stadia; no coming at it on the North-side, and on the Top of it an open Plain of twenty Furlongs over; the whole encompassed with a Wall, which, as large as it was, cost Joseph but forty Days the Building: He brought Water and other Necessaries up to it from below; for the People had none but Rain Water for their Use.

When

When Placidus was come to the Place according to his Order, and found that there was no getting up the Mountain to them; he held them in Hand with Hopes of Peace and Pardon; and brought several of them down to him, upon a Pretence that they were wrought upon by the Reason of his Address: But in Truth they had a Design to draw him into a Snare, and to surprize him: As Placidus had the same Plot upon them too, if he could but get them off into the plain Field, and seize them at unawares. They made a Countenance of complying with the Fairness of what he said: But Placidus, for all this, was too cunning for them in the Conclusion. The Jews began the Fray; and Placidus and his Men, as in a Fright, betook themselves presently to their Heels; and the Jews after them, continuing the Chace till the Pursuers were dispersed all over the Field. Placidus took his Time; and turning quick upon them, killed several, put the rest to Flight: And not one Man of them could get back to the Mountain. Some of them quitted Itabyr, and fled to Jerufalem; but the Natives rendered themselves and the Place to Placidus, upon Security for their good Behaviour.

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### C H A P. III.

*The Destruction of Gamala. The Fall of a Tower puts the People into a panic Terror. Titus enters the Town without any Opposition. A dreadful Execution.*

THE boldest of the Gamalites were now glad to hide their Heads; the middling Sort ready to starve: But the Men of Action still persisting in the Defence of the Place; till the two and twentieth of the Month Hyperberetæus: upon which Day three Soldiers of the fifteenth Legion secretly stole out, before Break of Day, to the Foot of the highest Tower that was upon their Quarter, and undermined it so privately, that the Guards (but it was dark Night) took no Notice of them either coming or going. They made no Noise; but only tumbling down five mighty Stones that they had loosened in the Foundation, they leaped away in that Instant and retired. The Turret immediately fell to the Ground with a most dreadful Clatter; dashing the Guards and all that were in it under the Ruins. The Horror of this Accident frightened all the other Guards from their Posts, that were within Hearing of it; some of them falling into the very Mouths of the Romans: In which Number, there was one Joseph that was shot dead with a Dart from a broken Wall. But in the City the Terror and the Hubbub was so amazing, that one would have thought the whole Roman Army had been entered the Town. Chares was at that Time very sick, and took such a Fancy upon this Blow, that it was believed it hastened his End.

This was a tempting Occasion to invite the Romans into the Town; but they paid so dear for their late Temerity, that they stood still till the three and twentieth of the same Month without any further Attempt upon the City. Titus, it seems, was now come up: Who found himself so galled at the Thought of the Disaster the Romans had

had received in his Absence, that he drew out a Body of Foot, and two hundred choice Horse, and in a grave sober March entered the City without any Opposition. The Watch were the first that took and gave the Alarm; and the News was all over the Town in a Moment. No sooner was it certainly known, but the Citizens, in a Confusion, like so many Madmen, began yelling and exclaiming up to the Castle; lugging their Wives and their Children along with them. Some were cut off by Titus's Soldiers; others, that could not get into the Castle, and went they knew not whither, fell into the Hands of the Roman Guards. There was nothing, in fine, but Death to be seen or heard of, in all Forms. Wounds and Groans; and the very Streets flowing with Blood.

The next Thing Vespasian had now to do, was to attack the Castle: To which End he drew up his whole Army thither. It stood upon the Point of a Rock prodigiously high and steep; and well nigh inaccessible, with a Multitude of Crags and Precipices round about it. Upon this Disadvantage, it was impossible for the Romans either to avoid the Stones and Shot of the Jews that were cast down upon them from above, or to reach the Jews from below. But by a wonderful Providence, in Favour of the Romans, and for the Destruction of the Jews, there blew a violent Gust of Wind, that drove the Roman Arrows directly in the Face of the Defendants, and kept off the other from the Romans; or skewed them beside the Mark. The Blast at the same Time was so strong too; that the Besieged could not stand steady where they were to make their Defence, nor so much as see the People they had to cope withal. So that the Romans, with the Help of these Advantages, made themselves Masters of the Mountain, which they surrounded immediately; and in a Rage of Revenge for their former Misfortune upon that Attack, they put all they met with to the Sword, indifferently, whether they resisted or not: Beside that, in the Horror of this Desperation, there were that cast themselves, with their Wives and Children, down the Precipice from the Castle, to the Number of five thousand Persons; that of the Slain being only four thousand: So much more merciful were the Romans to the Jews, than the Jews were to themselves. The Romans, in this Heat of Fury, threw the very Infants down the Rocks, without sparing so much as one single Creature; two Women only excepted, the Daughters of the Sister of Philip, who was the Friend of one Joakim, a Man of eminent Quality, and formerly a General under Agrippa. Now these two Sisters were not so much beholden to the Clemency of the Romans for their Preservation, as to the good Hap of lying undiscovered till the Rage of the hot Blood was over. The Rebellion of Gamala brake out the four and twentieth Day of the Month Cepherim: And the Place was destroyed the three and twentieth of the Month Hyperborean.

#### C H A P. IV.

*Gischala taken by Titus. The People well disposed, but seduced. Jerusalem a strong and a populous City. Vespasian provides against all Hazards.*

*zards. The generous Tendernefs of Titus. Titus offers a Peace and an Amnefty. John of Gifchala feemingly accepts of the Conditions. John makes his Escape. Titus received into Gifchala: Which puts an End to the Conqueft of Galilee.*

**T**HE Province of Gamala was now wholly reduced, fave only Gifchala; where the People of themfelves, were, upon the main, peaceably inclined: Being moft of them Husband-men, whofe Hope and Interelt lay in Plantations and Tillage. Not but that they were tainted alfo with a confiderable and feditious Mixture of Libertines that lived upon Robbery; and there were fome Citizens alfo of the firft Quality that were corrupted with that Leaven. The chief Leader of this Faction, and the Perverter of the People, was one John; a wicked and deceitful Man; a rank Impoftor; unsteady and ambitious; a great Master in the Art of bringing his Ends about; a Wretch of no Confcience, and certainly known to be a Promoter of Broils for the making of his own Fortune. He was, in fine, the Son of one Levi, and the Head of the Rabble in Gifchala. If it had not been for him, the People would probably have fent their Deputies to the Romans, with Propofals of an Alliance; but upon his Infigation, they were prevailed upon to put it off, till the War fhould be brought on.

Vefpafian, upon this Juncture, fent away Titus to Gifchala with a Thoufand Horfe; and the tenth Legion to Scythopolis; returning himfelf with the other two Legions to Cæfarea for Refreshment, by preparing both their Bodies and their Minds for Difficulties that were yet to come. For Vefpafian forefaw that Jerufalem would find him Work enough; not only as it was a powerful, populous, and the capital City; but as it was a Place of Refuge to all the Fugitives of the Faction from elfewere: A Nursery of bold and daring Men: naturally ftrong, and over and above well walled; though next to impregnable in the very Situation of it. Vefpafian took all thefe Things into his Thought, and trained up his Soldiers, like Champions, in the Practice and Exercife of their Arms, to keep them in Breath and Heart for the Prize.

Titus went up to Gifchala on Horfe-back; and finding upon the View that it was not a Place to ftand an Affault, he reflected upon it, at the fame Time, that the Soldiers would undoubtedly treat Gifchala as they had done Gamala; confounding the Innocent with the Guilty, if ever they fhould come to take the Town by Storm: So that out of a generous Compaffion for the People, and the Horror he had for thofe inhuman Cruelties, he rather bethought himfelf how he might gain the Place by Treaty. The Walls being now Covered with Soldiers, and the Majority within the Town being of the Faction, Titus called out; and raifing his Voice, fpake to them after this Manner. “ It is a wonderful thing to me, fays he, that when all the reft of your Towns are gone, and Places much better manned and fortified than yours is, and taken without any Difficulty too (many of them at the very firft Attack;) you fhould be now fo inconfiderate as to think of ftanding out: Efppecially when you may yet be fafe, eafy, free and happy, upon a fair Return to your Duty. And this, I dare undertake, fhall be made good to you; and all your Infolencies pardoned, and Paffed over, and imputed only

“ to an inordinate Desire of Liberty. But if you do not know when you are well offered and refuse to cast yourselves upon the Faith and Honour of the Romans: If you shall resolve at last, I say, to run headlong on to your certain Destruction, and to contend with Impossibilities, you must expect to feel the Weight of the Roman Power and Discipline; and you will find, before you are aware, that your Paper-walls will fall like Dirt before their Engines: So that this is the Way to shew yourselves to be the most arrogant Slaves of all the Galileans.”

This passed without one Word from the Town in Answer, or any one Creature of the Inhabitants suffered to come up to the Wall; for the Faction were masters; and had clapt Guards upon all the Gates, to see that none should pass in or out, to promote a Treaty. But John at last cried out to Titus, in the Name of the People, “ that he accepted the Conditions; and that the Town should agree to them likewise, or he would force them to it. Only he made him this Request in regard of the inviolable Strictness of the Jewish Law for the Observance of their Sabbath, which would no more suffer them to treat of Peace, than to fight a Battle, that he would indulge them that Day: It being a Case wherein either the complying on the one hand; or, as the Romans knew very well, the enforcing them on the other, would be equally unwarrantable: Beside, that there could be no Danger in putting off the Treaty to another Time; for if they imagined that any Man would attempt to make an Escape that Night, it would be an easy Matter, by clapping Guards upon all the Avenues, to prevent it: Over and above the Reputation he would get by shewing himself as tender of their Laws as they were of their own, and of their Consciences as well as of their Persons; which was a Favour beyond their Expectation.”

Now it was not so much a scruple for the Sabbath, as an Apprehension for his particular Safety, that put John upon this Menage with Titus; for he was in a manner certain to be abandoned and given up, if the Town should be taken: and nothing left him to trust to but the Night, and his Heels, for the Saving of his Life. But the Preservation of John was manifestly an Act of divine Providence toward the Destruction of Jerusalem; as being the Occasion, not only of the Truce, but likewise of Titus's incamping farther off the City; at Cydada, one of the strongest and most populous Places in Tyria, and a mortal Enemy to the Galileans.

The Night being now come, and the Town without any Guards, upon it, John laid hold of the Opportunity, and made his Escape to Jerusalem; taking not only his military People, but several substantial Men of the Town, together with their Families, along with him. The old Men, the Women and the Children, that were frightened with this Resolution, made a Shift to keep up with their Leader for the first twenty Furlongs; but finding themselves spent, and not able to continue the March, they had no more to do but to betake themselves to Cries and Lamentations; panting and trembling after those that had outstript them and were gone before: And the farther their Friends were advanced from them one way: the nearer did they account themselves to their Enemies, the other; and upon the very Point of being taken Prisoners. Nay, the very Noise of their own Feet, they fancied to be the Tread of their Adversaries; and

and still looking behind them, they took their own People for their Pursuers. In this imaginary Fright they fell one over another, and the way was covered with the Bodies of Women and Children, that were crushed to Death in the Croud, pressing who should get foremost. There was little more to be heard than the Cries of miserable Creatures to their Husbands and Friends to stay for them. But John called out to them on the other hand, to think of no other way of saving themselves, but by taking Sanctuary in some Place, where they might be revenged of the Romans, in case of any further Mischief; and John's Advice carried it. The Multitude, upon this, dispersed themselves, and shifted away the best they could.

It was now Day-light, and Titus was by this Time come to the Walls of the Town to execute the Treaty; where he found the Gates open, and the Inhabitants and their Wives ready with Acclamations to receive and acknowledge Titus for their Benefactor and Preserver. They gave him also to understand, that John was run away: begging his Pardon for the Innocent, and imploring his Justice upon those left in the Town that should be found to have been the Authors of the Revolt. Titus, upon their Request, sent out a Party of Horse after John; but he was already gotten into Jerusalem before they could get upon him. They killed a matter of two thousand of his Party, and brought back again near three thousand Women and Children that they found wandering up and down.

Titus was not a little troubled at the Escape of this Impostor; and that they had not made him such an Example as he deserved to be, when they had him in their Hands: But then setting the Advantages of the Prisoners, the Slain, and the taking of the Town, against the Disappointment of missing the single Person of such a Wretch, Titus, balanced the one with the other, and entered the Place in a friendly Disposition toward the People: Taking Possession of it in Form by the Ceremony of his Soldiers breaking off a Piece of the Wall; and reducing the Authors of the Sedition rather by Menaces than by actual Punishments. For Titus was of Opinion, that in a Case where so many Family Feuds, personal Piques and Passions were concerned, it might be a dangerous Thing to make use of Punishment, as a common rule of Distinction betwixt the Good and the Bad, for fear of exposing the Peaceable to Calumnies, as well as the Seditious to Justice. So that, upon this Deliberation, Titus thought it more honourable and humane, rather to let some Criminals live, than to run the Risk of exposing some Innocents: There being no Place left for Remedy and Atonement, in the latter; whereas, in the other Case, there may be hope of Amendment: Whether out of a Fear of Punishment, a Sense of Shame, or an Impulse of Virtue.

But Titus however, in the Conclusion, put a Garrison into the Town, partly to keep turbulent Spirits in order, and partly to secure those that had a mind to be quiet. This Action finished the Conquest of Galilee, after the Expence of so much Labour and Blood.

## C H A P. V.

*John of Gischala gets safe to Jerusalem, with a false Story. The Jews divided ; and a miserable Nation. John the great Incendiary. The Rise and Progress of the Quarrel. The Outrages of the Robbers, and of others that are yet the worse of the two. They create and depose High-Priests at Pleasure ; and Ananus moves the Kabble against them. The Factions draw into the Temple. Gorion and Simeon the Leaders of the Party. Jesus and Ananus Men of Piety and Virtue. The Zelotes, why so called. Ananus enters into the Reason of the Case. The Romans easier to the Jews than the Zelotes. An Encounter in the Temple. The Character and History of John of Gischala.*

UPON John's coming up to Jerusalem with a Train of the Faction at his Heels; the People in vast Throngs and Multitudes gathered about them to know how Matters went abroad, and in a Word, to learn the very worst of Things. Now John and his Company had run themselves so out of Breath, betwixt Fear and Flight, that they were scarce able to speak; and that Difficulty might have passed for an Answer. But the Party kept up the Pride and Vanity of their Stomachs yet, with a Pretence that they were not run away from the Romans; but came of their own Accord to find out some Place for the Encounter, where they might Engage upon Equal Terms: For none but Fools and Madmen would cast themselves away, they said, for the Defence of Gischala, and two or three more perhaps of those pitiful miserable Places, when the Metropolis itself was at Stake; and every brave Man Obliged, in Duty and in Honour to do his best to defend it. John and his Crew coloured the Disgrace the best they could; but the People saw through the Disguise, and that John's honourable Retreat was no other than a downright running away. This Discovery, and the Story of the Prisoners the Romans had taken, put the People into such a Terror, as if the Ruin of Gischala had but been the Prologue to the Destruction of Jerusalem itself. But John all this while, without any Shame or Remorse for the poor Creatures he had abandoned upon the Way, went officiously and pragmatically from one to another; animating the Multitude to a Prosecution of the War: Derogating from the Romans on the one Hand; and arrogating to themselves on the other; by which Arts of Quirks and Imposture, they gained mightily upon the silly People. "Why, do you think, says he, after so many Baffles put upon the Roman Power and all their Engines, by two or three poultry Places in Galilee: And so much Difficulty in the mastering of them at last: Do you think I say, after all this; even if the Romans had Wings, that they could ever be able to take Jerusalem?" These Flourishes wrought upon a World of the hot-headed young Men; but at the same Time, all People of Foresight, Sense and Experience, gave themselves utterly for lost.

This was the confused Face and State of Things in Jerusalem at that Time; but the Country



Country led the Way to the Sedition that followed afterward in the City. For Titus being gone from Gischala to Cæsarea, Vespasian went also from Cæsarea to Jamnia, and Azotus, and subdued them both; settled Garrisons in them, and so returned: Bringing a vast Multitude of People along with him, that were now entered into a League with the Romans. The Cities were all pestered with Tumults and intestine Broils, and no sooner at Peace with the Romans, but immediately together by the Ears amongst themselves: And War or no War was the single Question; for the two Opposites fought for the one against the other. The Quarrel began in private Families that had been a long time Adversaries, upon the Score of hereditary Feuds. It spread thence into divided Multitudes, that of Friends became Enemies: And it terminated at last in Matter of Faction and Opinion; where Men of the same Mind sided in the Opposition of Party to Party, and so incorporated in a Rebellion. This Disorder, in fine, was general. The Men of Action, Youth and Heat, were violently bent upon Arms and Innovations: The Men of Sense and Gravity, on the other Side, were for moderate Counsels; but the former carried it.

This Confusion began with an universal License, that every man took to himself of robbing his Neighbour, without any regard to Law or Conscience. They proceeded afterwards to do the same Thing in Bands, and Parties: and to do it barefaced too, up and down the Country: In which Practice, the Jews themselves did one another as much Mischief, upon the Matter of Cruelty and Injustice, as the Romans; beside that, the Calamity was much more tolerable from an Enemy than from a Friend.

The Garrisons, that consulted their own Ease, and mortally hated the People, never trouble their Heads for what they suffered: Till in the Conclusion, some of the Principals of the Faction entered Jerusalem with a great Body of their Party, that they had picked up here and there. Now the City being under no Rule of Government, these Ruffians met with no Opposition: Beside that, according to ancient Custom, the Gates were open to all Jews without Exception, and at this Time more especially, when they took all People that came in to them for Friends and Assistants. This was the Case, and this Liberty in the Conclusion proved the Ruin of the City; when the infinite Numbers of idle and unprofitable Mouths devoured the necessary Provisions that were laid up for the Soldiers that had the Guard of the Town: By which Means, the Miseries of Sedition and Famine were added to the Calamities of the War.

There came at the same Time another Party of Thieves out of the Country; that joining with those they found in the Town (who were yet worse than themselves) stuck at no Manner of Insolence, though never so flagitious and cruel. Robbery and Pillage was as nothing with them, unless it was seasoned with downright Murder: And that not by Stealth neither, and in the Dark; or upon some common Persons; but in the Face of the Sun, and upon the most considerable Men in the City. As they began with the imprisoning of Antipas, a Person of the Blood Royal, and of such Credit and Authority, that he was intrusted with the Charge of the Treasury: They treated Levias afterwards, and Sophas the Son of Raguel, with divers others of the most considerable Persons they could lay their Hands on, after the same Manner. These horrid Violences  
made

made the Town look like a Prize in the Hand of a common Enemy, and put all People to shift for themselves.

Nay, and these profligate Wretches did not stop here neither; but finding their Prisoners to be Men of Power, Interest, Credit, and a vast Acquaintance, they did not know but it might be dangerous to keep them longer in Custody; for fear of either a Rescue, or a Revenge from their Friends, or of a popular Tumult, upon so desperate a Provocation. Wherefore they proceeded to a formal Sentence of Death upon them and sent a blood-thirsty Hireling of their own Crew (one John the Son of Docas) with a Train of ten other Bravoes at his Heels, to do the Execution; and it was done accordingly. Now, for a Colour to this execrable Villainy, they gave it out, that these People were in a Conspiracy to deliver up the City to the Romans; and not without valuing themselves upon the Merit of a public Service, for doing so necessary an Act of Justice upon the Betrayers of the common Liberty.

The Faction was now so daring and arrogant, and the Peoples Hearts so low, that they assumed to themselves the disposing of the Pontificate; took the High-priesthood out of the right Line; abrogated the Succession, and promoted Creatures of their own, without either Blood or Virtue, to the Office: And so by this Choice of Ministers like themselves, they made the Government all of a Piece; well knowing that the wicked Instruments of wicked Men would not fail of observing their Masters.

There was nothing wanting all this while of artificial Calumnies, and feigned Stories, to create Misunderstandings among those that had it in their Power to cross their Designs, and so to make Advantage of their Disagreements: Till in the End, when they had glutted themselves with putting Affronts and Indignities upon Men, they transported their Impieties even against God himself, and against his Laws and his holy Sanctuary. But upon this audacious Extravagance, the People, at the Intigation of Ananus the High-Priest, made Head against them; a Person no less venerable for his Years, Piety and Wisdom, than he was for his Character; and one that probably might have preserved the City, if he could but have got clear of the Train of a Conspiracy that was then laid against him.

The Faction took Sanctuary in the Temple, and made Use of it both for a Place of Defence against the Multitude, and for the Seat of their Tyranny and Usurpation. But the most sensible Part of the Calamity was the Mockery and Contempt that attended it, in the wanton Experiment of their own Strength, and the heartless Despondency of the People. As for Example, they took upon them to elect a High-priest by Lot; according to the Precedent, as they pretended, of former Times: Whereas, in truth there was no such Precedent; but the Sacerdotal Function was originally a Family Privilege, and descended in a Line by Succession. Now this Practice of theirs was only a Self-ended Invention of their own, to get the Power into their Hands. But they were taken in their own Snare; for upon summoning one of the holy Tribes (called Eniacim) in order to a Choice, the Lot fell upon a Person that sufficiently discovered the Iniquity and the Corruption of the Proceeding. His Name was Phanes; his Father's Name Samuel; born in a Village called Aphthas; a Man, in fine, brutishly ignorant, and so far from having any Relation to a Sacerdotal Family, that he did not so much as know what belonged to the Office.

Office. They forced him away however from his Country Affairs, in spite of his Heart; and dressing him up in his Priestly Robes, as if it had been for the Stage, they gave him his Lesson how he was to behave himself: Making no more in short of the whole Story, than if it had been the Foolery of a Farce, or of a Frolic. This could not but go to the Hearts of the Priest that stood all this while at a Distance, Spectators of these Indignities; to see their holy Laws trampled upon, and their Worship and Profession ridiculed, (as they expressed their Sense of it in Tears and Groans.) But the People were so transported with the Sense of this Oppression, that they had no longer any Patience for so scandalous a Slavery; but joined, as one Man, in a Resolution to depose the Tyrants, and cast off the Yoke.

The two forwardest in this Commotion were Gorion the Son of Joseph, and Simeon the Son of Gamaliel; who made it their Business to go up and down from Man to Man, inculcating the Doctrine of Liberty and Revenge, and provoking the People at the same Time, one and all, to stand up for the Vindication of their Religion, Laws and Freedoms, against their profane and sacrilegious Enemies.

There was also Jesus the Son of Gamala, and Ananus the Son of Ananus; two Priests of the first Note for Men of singular Piety and Virtue: These two holy Men laboured with their Disciples as heartily too, in frequent Discourses upon the same Subject; upbraiding them with their Sloth and Cowardice, and inflaming them by all Manner of Reproaches against the Zelotes. I call them Zelotes, as the Name that they assumed to themselves, out of an hypocritical Ostentation of Holiness; though at the same Time, in their Lives and Practice, the lowdest of Men. The People being now gathered together, were all raging mad to see the Havock these Miscreants made in the holy Places, and how they went on pillaging and murdering without Controul.

But yet in the Height of an outrageous Horror and Indignation, there was not one Blow struck all this while; for the People did not as yet think themselves in Condition to encounter these Zelotes by downright Force: As in Truth they were not. Ananus the High-Priest was at this Time in the Middle of the Croud; and Casting many a sorrowful Look toward the Temple with Tears in his Eyes. "Why did not I rather die, says he, than live, to see the House of God thus polluted and profaned, and the wickedest of Men admitted promiscuously into those sacred Places of Privilege, that were only reserved for the High-Priest? Why do I live, and see all this? in my sacerdotal Robes too, and with the venerable Name of the great God written on my Forehead? What do I live any longer for, after so glorious an Opportunity now in my Age of ending my Days with Honour? What have I more to do, in fine, under my Circumstances, but to fall alone, and give up my Life to my God and my Duty? What should any Man desire to live for, in an intemperate Generation, and among People that have neither the Prudence to foresee Calamities, nor the Courage to resist them? You stand still to see yourselves robbed; beaten and abused; and your Friends and Companions murdered before your Faces; without so much as one Look, Word, or Action of Tenderness or Compassion that you dare own. A shameful, and an insupportable Tyranny! But why do I talk of the Actors of the Tyranny, and not rather of those that suffer it, and that trained up the Tyrants themselves to the Power of exercising

“ exercising what they now practise? Why did you not crush them when you might  
 “ have done it? When they were but a few, weak, and inconsiderable? No, no;  
 “ it was your Patience, and nothing else that made these People your Masters. But  
 “ when you should have turned your Arms against your Enemies, you must  
 “ be cutting of Throats among yourselves. You should have called them to an Ac-  
 “ count betimes, for the Outrages they put upon your Brethren. And you should  
 “ have considered, that the Sufferance of one Affront naturally draws on, and encou-  
 “ rages another; as appears in what followed. For when they found that they  
 “ might commit all Manner of Insolencies without Controul, they advanced a Step  
 “ farther and put several of the best Men of the City in Chains (who were effectually  
 “ betrayed by your Tameness) and dragged them to Prison, not only unheard, and  
 “ without a Sentence, but without so much as an Accusation. No Matter for their  
 “ Names or Qualities; but all this was done, and not one Creature appearing in their  
 “ Favour. After the Loss of their Estates and Liberties, there remained nothing  
 “ more to be taken away but their Lives: And that was done too, and their Throats  
 “ cut, like so many Beasts drawn out of the Herd for Sacrifices, before our very  
 “ Faces: And not a Mouth opened, or a Hand lifted up in their Defence. And  
 “ after all these Sufferings, one upon the Neck of another; can you have the Patience  
 “ now to see your holy Altars profaned, and your Religion exposed to Scorn; without  
 “ shewing some Repentment worthy of your Profession? And what is it that you  
 “ are afraid of, at last, but Monsters of your own creating, and the Professed Enemies  
 “ of all that is Good and Holy? If they stop here, it is not for Want of good Will  
 “ to be yet more and more wicked; but for Want of fresh Matter to work upon:  
 “ For it is impossible for them to outdo the ill Things they have done already. They  
 “ are possessed, you see, of the strongest Place of the City; and that which you  
 “ call the Temple, serves them only for an impregnable Castle, maintained against you.  
 “ Considering now the Strength of the Place, and your Enemies the Masters of it, (as  
 “ that you see is the Case) what is it that you propose to yourselves? Or what do you ima-  
 “ gine will be the End of these Things? Unless you fancy that the Romans will espouse  
 “ the Cause of your Religion, and Ceremonies; and, in Truth, such is the Misery of  
 “ our present Condition, that our very Enemies cannot but pity us. Why, if so many  
 “ Beasts were in your Places now; hunted, assaulted, and wounded, as you yourselves  
 “ are, they would have the Spirit to turn again upon their Pursuers, and to revenge  
 “ themselves upon their Enemies; while you, at the same Time, suffer all tamely, with-  
 “ out so much as the Sense or Apprehension of the Brutes. But will you bear this always?  
 “ And sink in Infamy, under the Affronts, public and private, that have been put upon  
 “ you, without avenging yourselves? This abject Patience looks as if you had no longer  
 “ any Sense (in Truth) of the most natural and powerful of human Affections, the De-  
 “ sire of Liberty: And as if you had taken up, on the contrary, the Love of Slavery,  
 “ instead of it; a Temper which I am sure you never inherited from your Ancestors;  
 “ witness the many, and the dangerous Wars they underwent against the Medes and  
 “ Ægyptians, to assert their Freedom. But what need of looking back for Precedents,  
 “ when the very War we are now engaged in against the Romans, (whether it succeed  
 “ well

“ well or ill) is advanced evidently upon the same Foot? And shall we now, that dis-  
 “ pute our Liberties with the Masters of the whole World, crouch and truckle like  
 “ Slaves, to our own Countrymen? To be overcome by Strangers, is but the Chance  
 “ of War, and may be imputed, without Loss of Honour, to the Iniquity of Fortune:  
 “ But for People to give themselves up in Subjection to their own Brethren and Coun-  
 “ trymen, and to the very worst of them too, betrays a fordid Servility of Spirit, and  
 “ a Soul prepared for Bondage.

But now I am speaking of the Romans, I have somewhat comes into my Head upon  
 this Occasion. “ Make it the Case that we were all actually now their Prisoners:  
 “ (which Heaven forbid!) Whether would our Condition, in Probability, be better  
 “ or worse than it is now! For what Misery could an Enemy inflict upon us, that we  
 “ have not suffered already? Can any Man stand a Spectator to look upon the Jews,  
 “ and to see them robbing the Temple of the Oblations and Donatives that the Ro-  
 “ mans bestowed upon it? Defacing the most glorious City under the Sun; and dip-  
 “ ping their Hands in the Blood of those Heroes, which the Romans themselves, in  
 “ the very Triumph of their Victories, would have had a Veneration for? Can any  
 “ Man see all this, I say, without Tears in his Eyes and a bleeding Heart? Whereas  
 “ the Romans, on the other Side, made a Conscience of passing the Bounds of sacred  
 “ and profane; and of breaking in upon the Solemnities of holy Customs; or but so  
 “ much as casting a Look, unless with Reverence, and at a Distance, toward the sa-  
 “ cred Inclosure? But we have a Sort of People among ourselves, trained up after our  
 “ Way too, calling themselves Jews; that make no more Scruple of walking in the  
 “ Temple, than in a common Place; and that, while their Hands are yet reeking  
 “ with the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens. Shall any Man, after this, stand in Dread  
 “ of a Foreign War, compared with such a Domestick one? The Enemy is, in Truth,  
 “ (to call Things by their right Names) the greater Friend of the two: For while  
 “ the Romans shewed themselves the Preservers of our Laws, our pretended Friends  
 “ that were in our Bowels, destroyed them. Certain it is, that these Tyrants have be-  
 “ trayed your Liberties, and that no Punishment can be equal to their Crimes. I tell  
 “ you no more in this now, than what you all knew before I opened my Mouth; and  
 “ you need no other Instigation against these Men, than the Sense of your own Suf-  
 “ ferings. But you were afraid of their Numbers perhaps; the daring Boldness of  
 “ these Men, and the advantageous Post they are now possessed of. Well! and what  
 “ was it, I beseech you, but your Want of Resolution, that raised them up to this,  
 “ and made them so considerable? And you have no Way left you now, but a speedy,  
 “ a generous and a joint Association among yourselves, to bring them down again; for  
 “ Delay gives Time to settle, Opportunity to increase, and Heart to gather Courage:  
 “ Like will to like, and the whole Faction will flow into the Party; which will make  
 “ them numerous: And then they have nothing to fear, where they meet with no  
 “ Opposition. and that makes them bold; and so for deferring the Attempt, the longer  
 “ it is put off, the more Time they have to fortify and intrench. Now it is but one  
 “ bold Push, to shew that you are in earnest, to bring down their Stomachs; and  
 “ you will find, that betwixt the Terrors of a guilty Conscience, and the Infamy of

“ base Actions, they will have little Joy of their Station. As who knows but these  
 “ impious Wretches may be cut off by the just Judgment of a righteous God, as a  
 “ Vengeance upon them for their Contempt of his divine Majesty? And that the  
 “ very Weapons they lance at us, may, by a providential Miracle, be turned against  
 “ their own Hearts and Faces; so that they shall not be able to stand the very Sight  
 “ of us, but with Confusion: Or to put Matters at worst; what if we should fall  
 “ every Man of us in the Contest, could any Thing be more glorious, than to lay  
 “ down our Lives at the Gates of the Temple, for the Honour of God, and in the  
 “ Service of his holy House and Cause? As to the Conduct of the Enterprize, you  
 “ shall have my Heart, Hand, Example and Advice along with you.”

This Discourse of Ananus's irritated the People sufficiently against the Zelotes; but yet Ananus was so well informed of their Number, their Choice of Men, and their Courage; with the Circumstances of the Place and the Posture they were in, and finally their Despair of Pardon in case they should happen to be worsted; that he could not promise himself any present Advantage from the Effect of this Management: But he was nevertheless resolved to run all Hazards, rather than abandon his Country in this Distress; the People in the mean Time desiring nothing more, than somebody to lead them on against these Miscreants, in Defiance of all Dangers whatsoever.

Ananus finding the Multitude in so good a Disposition, made a Cull of the best Men he could pick out, and ranged them presently in such Order as the Time would bear. The Zelotes had their Spies about Ananus; and, upon Intelligence of his Designs and Motions, they marched immediately toward him; one while, in small Parties, and then again in gross Bodies; without giving Quarter to any one Creature that fell into their Hands. Ananus had his Men quickly together, and out-numbered the other; but the Zelotes, however, had the Advantage of being better armed: Though what was wanting one Way, was supplied on both Sides with Heart and good Will another. The Rage and Indignation of the Citizens doubled their Valour against the Zelotes: And that of the Zelotes also, on the other Hand, inflamed their Resolution against the Multitude: The Inhabitants found they could not be safe, unless they cleared the City of the Faction: And it was certain Death to the Zelotes not to come off victorious. In this Disposition, both Parties engaged; and a Skirmish began not far from the Temple, by pelting one another with Stones. Those that fled, were cut off by the Swords of their Enemies; so that there were a great many dropped on both Sides. As any of the Inhabitants happened to be wounded, their Friends carried them off into their own Houses; but the Zelotes were conveyed up to the Temple, where they polluted and profaned the holy Place and Religion with their Blood. But the Thieves came off still in all their Sallies and Excursions with Advantage.

The People were now grown strong and numerous, and out of all Patience with the Fugitives for not standing their Ground: Insomuch, that closing up the Way behind them in their Flight, they turned them back again upon the Enemy; so that they were forced to cut out their Way forward in their own Defence. By this Means, they were brought every Man of them to the Combat; and the Faction not being able to stand the Shock of the whole Body, gave Way by little and little toward the Temple; and

and Ananus, with his Troops, pressed on Pell-mell along with them. When he had driven the Zelotes before him out of the first Court, they got in a Fright into the second Inclosure; shutting the Gates after them in a Hurry upon the Pursuers. Ananus had too great a Reverence for the holy Place to make Use of any Sort of Violence for the forcing of his Passage: Though the Enemy did all that was possible to be done by their Darts and Lances from over their Heads, to provoke him to it. But such was the Conscience the High-Priest made of polluting the Holy Temple with the Mixture of an unpurified Multitude; that, if he might have gained the main Cause by such a Dispensation, he would not have admitted it. So that all he did at present, was to order a standing Guard of six thousand choice Men upon the Porches of the Temple, and so successively six thousand more after them to do Duty, and to be relieved by Turns; not exempting the best Men of the Town from their Part in this Service: Only, when it came to their Lot, they were allowed to hire Men of an inferior Quality to watch in their Stead.

The popular Party at this Time carried all before them; but John of Gischala, the Fugitive before spoken of, spoiled all again. He was a false, crafty Wretch; ambitious beyond Measure; an Enemy and a Traytor to the Public of a long Standing. In order to his Ends, he began with making himself popular by setting up for a Patriot. No Man so assiduous at Council with Ananus in the Day-time as himself; nor any Man so careful of the Guards and Watches by Night. And he was at the same Time so necessary a Spy for the Zelotes, that there was scarce any Thing escaped his Knowledge: And what he knew, they knew so soon as he could tell it them. And for the better Disguise of his pretended Zeal for Ananus and the People; he was most officiously nice and forward in all his Respects to the High-Priest, and the great Men he had to do withal. But so it fell out, that the very Over-doing of his Part laid him under a Jealousy; for it was too much to be true, and too much laboured to be natural: Beside that, the Flatteries were too gross. Another Thing that increased the Suspicion, was this; that he thrust himself into their Counsels still, without being called. Ananus found that his Secrets were betrayed, and none so likely as John to do it. But this Wretch had played his Game so artificially; and was so rooted in the good Opinion of several great Men, that there was no Thought or Possibility of removing him from his Post: So that they could think of no better Expedient for the putting of him to the Test, than to give him an Oath of Faith and Secrefy, to keep all the People's Counsels, and to serve them against all Rebels to the uttermost of his Power: John made no Difficulty of swallowing this Oath; and Ananus and his People as little of believing him without any further Scruple: And thereupon, they did not only take him immediately into their Counsels, but sent him soon after upon a Commission to the Zelotes, with Proposals of Peace. The Thing they feared was, lest the Temple should come to be defiled with the Blood of the Jews, and the Blame laid at their Door. This perfidious Impostor went his way to the Zelotes with quite another Story; and told them, that the Oath he had taken was so far from being against them, that, on the contrary, it was much in their Favour. “ I have, says he, run all Manner of Hazards for your Sakes, in the Care I have taken to inform you of all the  
F f 2 “ Designs

“ Designs and Practices of Ananus and his Party against you. But I am now to tell you, that neither you nor I were ever in so great Danger as at this present, if God in his Providence does not avert it. For Ananus hath prevailed with the People to send Deputies to Vespasian to desire him to come away forthwith, and to take Possession of the City; having ordered the People to purify themselves the next Day, to the End, that under a Pretext of Religion, they might either by fair Means or by foul, get into the Town. I do not find, says he, under their Circumstances, how they should be able to hold out long against so prodigious a Number of Men: But, however, as God hath been pleased to order it, I am at present deputed to bring you a Project of Peace; which, in Truth, is no other than a Trick of Ananus's to hold you in Hand with the Amusement of a Treaty, and then to fall upon you by Surprise, when you think yourselves most secure. But as to what you are to do now, you have no other Choice before you, that I can see, than either to cast yourselves at the Besiegers Feet; or to call in a foreign Force to your Rescue. For, says he, if you are taken, the very Memory and Conscience of what you have done, (appear as penitent as you please) puts you out of all Hope of Mercy; beside, that Criminals prove the worse many Times for Repentance: Over and above that, the Thirst for Revenge increases with the Power of taking it with Security. Consider again what you are to expect from the Friends and Relations of those you have slain, and from a furious Multitude in the Height of their Rage for the Dissolution of their Laws and Customs. Not but that here and there a single Man, perhaps, may have some Sense of Humanity and Tenderness; but what will that avail against the impetuous Violence of a brutal Multitude?” This Discourse of John's startled the People; which was the Thing he aimed at. As to the foreign Force he hinted at, he meant it of the Idumæans; though he durst not venture to speak it out in plain Terms. After this he took some of the Heads apart, and gave them some short Touches of Ananus's Cruelty, and of the implacable Malice of his Heart toward them in particular.

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## C H A P. VI.

*The Zelotes write to the Idumæans for Assistance, which is granted them in a Supply of near 20,000 Men. Jesus discourges the Matter with them. Simon the Son of Cathlas, to the High-Priest. The Idumæans resolve to make good the Siege.*

**E**LEAZAR the Son of Simon, and Zachary the Son of Amphicalus, were looked upon as two of the ablest Men the Zelotes had in their Council, and the best qualified for Business either to advise or to execute: And they were both of the sacerdotal Race. These Men, taking for granted, that besides Menaces in general, their particular Lives were threatened; and that Ananus and his Party had called in the



the Romans to their Assistance, as John had ordered the Story; they found themselves so hampered under several Difficulties, that they could not resolve which way to turn themselves: Fancying in the first Place that the very People would tear them to Pieces. As to foreign Succours; there were none to be expected time enough to prevent the Execution of the Plot; for the Blow would be struck before their Allies could have any Notice of their Distress. But in the Conclusion, they resolved to apply themselves to the Idumæans, and wrote them a Letter upon that Occasion to this Effect. “ Finding that Ananus, having first seduced the People, hath designed the Be-  
 “ traying of Jerusalem to the Romans; we have retired into the Temple in Defence  
 “ of the common Liberty: Where we are now besieged, and upon the very Point of  
 “ falling into the Hands of Ananus and the rest of our Enemies; and the City itself  
 “ into the Hands of the Romans, without immediate Relief.”

The Bearers of this Letter had several Things in Charge to deliver by Word of Mouth to the Principals of that Nation. The Persons chosen for this Commission, were two Ananias's; both resolute Men, good Speakers, and Persons that had the Faculty of Persuasion; and (which was equal to all the rest upon this Occasion) Men of Speed and Dispatch. They made no doubt of the Idumæans ready Assistance toward the promoting of such an Affair; being a People fond of Broils and Changes; brutal and churlish, and such as needed no great Art to engage them in any Thing of this Nature; for they are a People that go to War as other People do to a Banquet. Expedition was now the main Business, and the Messengers did their Parts.

Upon their coming to the Governors of Idumæa, and to the Reading of their Letters and Instructions, the People went raving up and down like so many Mad-men; provoking and encouraging one another to take up Arms: Insomuch that they had gotten together a Party of near twenty thousand Men, that were all raised for the Relief of the Mother-City. This Army was raised in a Trice and dispatched away to Jerusalem, under the Command of John and James, the Sons of Sofas; Simon, the Son of Cathlas; and Phineas, the Son of Clusoth.

Ananus and his People knew nothing of the fore-mentioned Deputation of the two Messengers to the Zelotes; but he was better informed however of the Idumæan Expedition, and so ordered the Gates to be shut up, and the Walls well guarded; but no Act of Hostility to be committed, till he had first tried what might be done by Reason and fair Words toward the composing of the Broil; so that Jesus (the first Priest next Ananus) mounted a Tower over-against the Idumæans, and within hearing of them, and so spake as follows.

“ O! all the Calamities, (says he) that ever beset this famous City, nothing amazes  
 “ me more than to see Fortune in a Conspiracy with the lewdest People in Nature to  
 “ destroy it. Who could ever have thought to have seen you joining with a Band of  
 “ Miscreants against us; even more heartily than would have become you toward Bar-  
 “ barians themselves, if Jerusalem had desired your Aid? But if you are of the same  
 “ Mind with your Superiors, this you have to say for yourselves: That a Similitude of  
 “ Manners naturally begets an Agreement of Affections. But this cannot be the Case  
 “ betwixt you and them. For if you consider their Lives and Actions, you will not find  
 “ one

“ one Man of them that does not deserve a thousand Deaths. As to their Quality,  
 “ they are the very Scum and Sink of Mankind: And then for their Manners; after  
 “ their squandering away their Fortunes in Luxury and Debauch, they proceeded to  
 “ Rapine and Pillage; and stealing afterward into the City like Thieves, they advanced  
 “ to Sacrilege and Bloodshed; even in the holy Temple itself: Wallowing in Drink  
 “ and Surfeits, at the very Altar, without either Fear or Shame; devouring the Spoils  
 “ of those they have murdered, and prophaning the sacred Place with all Manner of  
 “ Pollutions. Now in the middle of this Confusion, I find your People here in as  
 “ regular a Formality of Order and Equipage, as if your Army had been brought in  
 “ at the Request of the whole Body of the City against a foreign Enemy, what shall I  
 “ call this now, but the Iniquity of Fortune to see your whole Nation united in so in-  
 “ famous a Confederacy against your own Brethren? I cannot but admire, I must con-  
 “ fess, at the Suddenness of your Resolution as well as at the Thing itself. It must be  
 “ some great Matter sure that could move you to take up Arms for Thieves or Vaga-  
 “ bonds, against your Allies. But you have gotten a Story among you, I perceive, of  
 “ our “ calling in the Romans, and betraying the City to them;” and upon that Pre-  
 “ tence, you take upon you to set up for Assertors of the Liberties of Jerusalem against  
 “ a foreign Power. Now though this was a gross and a malicious Calumny, it was  
 “ yet pertinent enough to the Purpose of the Inventors of it: For our Enemies could  
 “ never have gained their Ends upon Men that value Liberty at the Rate that you do,  
 “ and would venture so far for the preserving of it, but by possessing you with a Rage  
 “ against us, as the base and unmanly Betrayers of a Blessing and a Privilege that you  
 “ have so great a Veneration for. But you shall do well now to consider, who they  
 “ are that thus bely and traduce us; and then make a Judgment upon the whole, not  
 “ upon the Credit of plausible Tales and Hearsays, but upon the Force of clear Truths  
 “ and convincing Reason.

“ How will it consist that we should dispute our Liberties thus long with the Ro-  
 “ mans, and just now own them for our Masters? How came it that we fell off from  
 “ them at first? Or how came it that we did not go over to them again, before our  
 “ Lands, Towns, and Villages were totally laid waste and destroyed? Neither is this  
 “ a Time for a Treaty, if we had never so great a Mind to it; for the Conquest of  
 “ Galilee hath made them too proud to hearken to any Conditions. And then to go  
 “ out crouching to them to beg a Peace, so soon as they shew themselves before our  
 “ Walls, would be an Infamy more insupportable than Death itself. For my own  
 “ Part, I am rather for Peace than War; but, on the other Side, when the War is  
 “ once begun and inevitable, I am rather for a glorious Death, than the Life, of a  
 “ Slave.

“ But how stands the Case, I beseech you, of our sending to the Romans? Is it  
 “ that the Ring-leaders have privately sent some particular Persons out of their own  
 “ Number, or Families? Or will you have it to be a Deputation as the common Act  
 “ of the People? If this was done by a particular Commission, why are we not told  
 “ the Names of the Commissioners? Are there any Letters to be produced in Proof  
 “ of this Suggestion? Or hath any Man been taken up going or coming upon this  
 “ Errand?

“ Errand? How comes it, that among so many thousands of People as we daily converse with in the City, not so much as one Man ever heard of it? And how comes it again, that this Secret that has been managed with so much Caution out of the City, should be only known to a few Persons that are locked up in the Temple, and not at Liberty so much as to stir out of the Walls? Is it not a strange Thing too that this Treason should never be heard of, till the Reporters of it were in Danger themselves, and in Dread of being called to an Account for their own Crimes? Neither could it be called ~~the~~ Peoples Act, without passing the Vote of a general Assembly; which would have made it impossible to be kept so long a Secret. Or to what End should there be a Deputation too, when the Thing was resolved beforehand, and no Room left for a Treaty? And then, as I said before, they should have done well to have named the Commissioners. But drowning Men will catch hold of any Thing; and all this Shifting and Shuffling is only for the saving of their own Skins. But if it must be the City's Fate at last to fall by Treachery, none so likely to bring it to that End as our Accusers themselves; for it is but adding Treason to Blood, Sacrilege, and the rest of the Impieties they are guilty of already, to fill up the Measure of their Iniquities.

“ But since you are here upon the Place with us, and in Arms, what can you do better than to join with us in the Relief of the City, and in the rooting out of these tyrannical Monsters? Wretches that have trod all our Laws under Foot, to make way for Tumult and Violence, treated our Governors worse than Bond-slaves or common Criminals, in Jails, Chains, nay, and with Death itself, though never so innocent; and which is worse, without so much as any Pretence to the contrary; and without any Place at last for Prayers or Intercessions in favour of the Miserable. This is no more than what you may be Eye-witnesses of yourselves, if you will but enter the City as Friends, and believe your Senses. There you shall see the Gutting of Houses, and the whole Town in Mourning for their massacred Kindred and Friends; your Ears entertained with nothing but Cries and Lamentations, and not one Creature to be found, upon the whole, but has his Part in this Oppression. And they have carried up the Insolence to so extravagant a Pitch too, that after the barbarous Robberies and Outrages committed in the Country-Towns and Villages, they have brought the Scene likewise into the Mother-City itself, though the Head and Glory of the Nation; carrying the Outrage from thence also, into the very Temple itself, which they have made the Seat of the War. From thence it is that they make their Sallies; and thither, their Retreats; there they keep their Guards, their Stores, and their Magazines: And at this Rate it is, in fine, that these Profligates, (of our own Tribe and Extraction too) profane, dishonour, and trample upon God's holy Habitation; and the Place that is venerable all over the World, save only among our own People. They are never so desperate, but in the Depth of their Despairs they still take Delight in forcing all Things to Extremities, and in setting Cities and Nations together by the Ears; and running all into a Confusion of Civil Broils. Now the most righteous and reasonable Thing that you can do, (and that which might best become you too) would be, as I said before, to

“ go

“ go Hand-in-Hand with us in delivering the Nation from these Firebrands, and in  
 “ taking your Revenge upon them for the Imposture they have put upon you, and for  
 “ presuming to invite you into their Party for Assistance; Whereas they should rather  
 “ have dreaded the Vengeance and Justice from you, that belongs to a common E-  
 “ nemy. Or if you take it to be Matter of Decency and Respect, to pay some Sort  
 “ of Deference to their Requests, be but you pleased to pass into the City as Friends;  
 “ leave your Arms at the Gates, make yourselves Neuters, give the Cause a fair Hear-  
 “ ing, and be you yourselves the Judges of the Controversy. But now for these People  
 “ that have so many notorious Crimes to answer for themselves; and after the hurrying  
 “ away so many Men of Quality to Death, without so much as the Forms of either  
 “ Charge or Defence: For these People, I say, to be admitted to so impartial and easy  
 “ a way of Trial, will be a Condescension very extraordinary, and it will become them  
 “ to acknowledge the Obligation they have to you for the Favour. But if you will  
 “ neither join with us in the Equity of the Cause, nor appear in the Quality of a  
 “ Judge betwixt us, pray do but withdraw from both Parties, without either insulting  
 “ over honest Men in their Affliction, or siding with Traitors and Uturpers against your  
 “ Mother-City. Or if you are not as yet thoroughly satisfied of our Innocence, as to  
 “ any secret Correspondence with the Romans, do but send out your Scouts and Agents  
 “ to spy upon the Passes and Avenues; and whenever you find one Creature of us  
 “ guilty of such a Practice, spare neither the Actor nor the Party. Now that will be  
 “ the only proper Time for you to stand up for your Metropolis: And there is no Dan-  
 “ ger in the mean Time; for as you are posted, it is not possible for any Enemy to  
 “ interpose to your Prejudice. If this may work upon you, 'tis well; but if other-  
 “ wise, you cannot think it reasonable for us to open our Gates 'till you lay down your  
 “ Arms.”

The Idumæans were so incensed at their being shut out of the Town, that they gave  
 little or no Heed to what Jesus said; and then for laying down their Arms, it looked  
 so like a Conquest, that the Commanders would not so much as endure the Thought  
 of it. The Multitude, upon this, fell into a Kind of Uproar; but Simon the Son of  
 Cathas, one of the Officers, with much ado appeasing it, took a Standing upon an Ad-  
 vance-Ground within hearing of the High-Priest, and delivered himself to them after  
 this Manner.

“ I do not wonder, says he, to see the Defenders of our Country's Liberties shut  
 “ up here in the Temple, when the very Besiegers of those Patriots have likewise shut up  
 “ the City itself, which ought to be free and open to the whole Nation; but at the  
 “ same time ready enough perhaps to entertain the Romans with Garlands and Ac-  
 “ clamations. 'Tis enough for us, you think, to talk to us from your Towers, advise  
 “ us to lay down our Arms (though taken up in the common Cause) and not to trust  
 “ our nearest Friends with the Guard of the City. But instead of defending our  
 “ Capital, we are held in hand with Proposals of being made Judges of the Matter  
 “ in Question; and in the same Instant, while you are laying Load upon others for  
 “ destroying your Fellow-Citizens without any Colour of Law, you yourselves pro-  
 “ nounce Judgment at Will and Pleasure upon the whole Nation, and violently keep  
 “ your

“ your own Brethren out of a City that gives Admittance, upon the Account of  
 “ Piety and Devotion, to all Mankind beside. But is this your Way then of ac-  
 “ knowleging Obligations? Do you call it an Expedition against you, and a Siding  
 “ with your Enemies, to make all the Haste we could to your Rescue? At the same Rate  
 “ are those in the Temple, your Enemies: And you have just as much to say against us as  
 “ against them. You have at present the very Supporters of the Commonwealth, Prisoners  
 “ in the Temple, and we are to be flamm’d off with a Pretence, that the End of  
 “ your keeping all the World out of the City, is to avoid their Tyranny: When  
 “ in Truth the very Tyranny you complain of, you yourselves practise. Now this is  
 “ too gross to pass upon any Man that hath Eyes in his Head. And keeping us out  
 “ of the City is not all neither, for we are barred by that Exclusion, from the Exer-  
 “ cise and Enjoyment of the religious Rites and Ceremonies of our Profession. And  
 “ it is the same Case again with those that are besieged in the Temple, for punishing  
 “ certain Traitors, that you are pleas’d to honour with the Title of honest Men and  
 “ Persons of Quality, for the Credit of the Confederacy. Now the only Thing that  
 “ they were to blame for, was, that they did not begin with you: That is to say, at  
 “ the Root of the Conspiracy. But if they were over tender, it will concern us to  
 “ act with more Vigour, for the Maintenance of the House of God, and of the Rites  
 “ of our Country, as well within the City as without, and against all Opposers. So  
 “ that this Siege we are resolv’d to make good, till either the Romans deliver you,  
 “ or the Conscience of what you have done amiss, bring you back again to your  
 “ Duty.”

## C H A P. VII.

*The Idumæans incamp under the City Walls. A furious Tempest; and the  
 Idumæans shelter themselves under their Bucklers against it. Several  
 Forebodings upon it. The Zelotes advise in Council how to secure their  
 Friends The Idumæans enter the City by Night, and join the Zelotes.  
 A bloody Massacre. Ananus and Jesus are put to Death.*

**T**HE Multitude gave to understand by Shouts and Clamours, how much they  
 were pleas’d with what was said. But Jesus, on the other Hand, went away  
 pensive and sorrowful, not only for the untractable Temper of the Idumæans; but  
 likewise to find that the Citizens had now a double War upon their Hands. And the  
 Idumæans were not much easier neither, partly out of an Indignation at the Affront  
 of such a Repulse, and partly to find themselves so much mistaken in the Strength of  
 the Zelotes; for they were not so strong as they imagin’d; and the Difficulties of  
 the Undertaking made them half repent their coming. But the Shame of returning  
 just as they came, and without making any Attempt, carried it against all other Scruples:

ples: So that they resolved (rashly enough) to take up their Station where they were, and to incamp under the very Walls of the City.

On the Night following, there blew a dreadful Tempest of Wind and rain, accompanied with such terrible Flashes of Lightning, tearing Claps of Thunder, and such bellowing of Earthquakes, as put all People to their Wits End, to think what these Prodigies might portend.

The Inhabitants and the Idumæans were both under the same Apprehension: That is to say, that God was incensed against them for the War, and that some vindictive Judgment threatened them both, if they went on **with it** against their Mother-City. Ananus and his Party looking upon it all this while as a Declaration from Heaven in their Favour, taking for granted that God would fight for them, and give them a Victory without a Battle. But the Event shewed them to be false Prophets; for that which they applied to the Enemy befel themselves in the Conclusion.

All that the Idumæans were able to do in the Fury of this Storm, was to edge one to another as close as they could press, and cover themselves with their Bucklers; which by this Means they made tight against Wind and Weather. The Zelotes all this while were in more Pain for the Idumæans, than for themselves; and so laid their Heads together, to advise which Way it was possible for them to bring their Friends off. The more daring Part of the Council were absolutely for setting upon the City Guards; and, after the gaining of that Point, for downright forcing the Gates, and making Way for the Idumæans, arguing, that such a Surprize upon Raw-soldiers, and Men ill armed, would so disorder them, that they would find it a hard Matter to appear in a Body again; besides, that they had most of them housed themselves to be out of the Weather. But let the Danger be what it would, nothing (they said) should ever make them so base as to abandon their Friends and Allies, that came so generously to their Succour.

The moderate Men were utterly against that Way of Adventure; giving for granted, that the Guards at this Time were undoubtedly doubled upon so critical a Juncture; a stricter Watch than ordinary set upon the Walls, in Regard of the Idumæans; besides, that Ananus would be every where up and down, at all Hours, upon his Rounds, to keep the Soldiers to their Duty. And so it would have been any other Night but that, when Ananus went to refresh himself; not so much out of Negligence and Laziness, as by a judicial Fatality that over ruled him upon that critical Instant, to the Ruin of himself, and his People: For the Night being now far spent, and the Tempest increasing, the Guards upon the Temple-Gates fell all fast asleep.

It came now into the Zelotes Heads, that if they could but destroy the Bolts and Bars of the Gates, the Work were done: Whereupon they took down certain Saws and other Instruments, dedicated to the Service of the holy Temple, with which they filed and cut them to Pieces; and it fell out so luckily, that betwixt the Raging of the Wind, and the Roaring of the Thunder, the Besiegers heard nothing of the Noise. Upon this, they slipt away privately towards the City-Gates, next to the Idumæans; which they opened as they had done the former. The Idumæans took it at first for Ananus, upon some Motion toward a Sally, and every Man with his Sword in his Hand made toward the Passage; but upon finding their Mistakes, the Idumæans entered

entered the City; and with such a Rage, that if they had discharged it upon the People, as they were about to do, they must have put the whole Body of them to the Sword. But the Zelotes earnestly beseeching them not to leave their Friends in the Temple in Distress, for whose Sakes they came thither, and so expose them to still greater Dangers; and likewise reasoning with them, how much easier they would find the Enterprize, if they began with the Guards; whereas, if the Inhabitants took the Alarm first, they would gather in Multitudes, and dispute every Inch of Ground upon such Advantages, that they could never carry their point; the Idumæans were of the same Mind, and so made it their first Business to pass directly through the City to the Relief of their Friends that were Prisoners in the Temple; where the Zelotes waited their coming with great Impatience. The Idumæans were no sooner entered, but the Zelotes advanced out of the Inner-Temple, and joined with them in a Sally upon the Guards. Some they killed in their Sleep, while others took the Alarm at the Outcries of the People; and the Multitude stood to their Arms, though with all the Confusion in the World. But taking it at first to be only a Party of the Zelotes, they made little Doubt of running them down with Numbers, and took Heart upon it; but when they saw how others came powering in upon them from Abroad, and that they Idumæans had joined the Zelotes; the greater Part of them betook themselves to Cries and Lamentations, dropping their Courage and their Arms both at once. Some few brave young Fellows there were, however, that had the Hearts yet to encounter the Idumæans, and to cover the timorous common People; while others went raving up and down from Place to Place, making Proclamation as it were of the Ruin of the City. But not one Creature more to strike a Blow, after it was known that the Idumæans were Masters of the Town. The Streets rung of vain and fruitless Exclamations, and mournful Complaining; the Shrieks of Women in Frights for the Loss of their Guards; and all these Clamours were made much more dreadful by the Shouts of the Idumæans and Zelotes, and the tempestuous Violences of the Winds and Thunder. But such, in fine, was the natural Barbarity and Fierceness of the Idumæans, together with the vexatious Thought of being shut out of the City, and exposed to the Strefs of Weather, that they spared not a Creature; and whether they were in Arms or upon their Knees, it was the same Case. Some pleaded Religion; others, Kindred: But Death stopped all their Mouths; and their Condition was such, that they could neither fight nor run away. Nay, the very Fear of Death contributed as much to the Execution of it, in some Sort, as the Rage of the Enemy. For by pressing so hard one upon another, they blocked up all Possibility of retiring, and brought them so thick together, that their Adversaries made not one Blow in vain. In this Extremity of their Distraction, some of them, to avoid one Death, leaped headlong down a Precipice into another. There was a Flood, in fine, of Blood quite around the Temple; and by the Time it was fair Daylight, they computed eight thousand five hundred dead Bodies upon the Place.

And this was not enough yet to quench the Drought of the insatiable blood-thirsty Idumæans, without turning their Rage against the City; where they pillaged all Houses indifferently, and killed all the People they found in their Way. As for the Rabble

they looked upon them as below their Anger; but their main Business was to wreak their Malice upon the High-Priests; which they did, by cutting off their Heads so soon as they found them, and then trampling upon their Bodies, making Sport with Ananus for his Popularity, and with Jesus for his Harangue upon the Wall, in a Way of Mockery and Derision. Nay, they were come to that Pitch of Impiety, as to Forbid them the Rites of Burial; though the Jewish Laws, out of a Reverence to the Dead, have provided for the taking down even of executed Criminals from the very Cross, and burying them before Sun-set. If I should now date the Destruction of this City from the Death of Ananus, and reckon that Ananus and Jerusalem fell both on the same Day, I believe I should not be much out in my Account. For in the Loss of this Man, they lost the Support of their Government and all Hope of Safety; and Jerusalem was effectually as much put to Death as Ananus: Beside that, over and above the Dignity of his Character and Extraction, he was a Man highly esteemed in the World for his personal Virtue and Justice; and his Humility was yet the Crown of all the rest. He was a famous Assertor of Liberty and a Common-wealth; for he had no Interest of his own but to serve the Public, a Lover and a Promoter of Peace above all Things; for he knew well enough that the Romans were not a People to be baffled, and that nothing could secure the Jews but a fair Understanding with the other. To speak all in a Word; if Ananus had lived, the Romans and the Jews would have come to an Agreement. He was a most powerful Speaker, and had the Talent of moving his Hearers to a Miracle. He had already humbled those Incendiaries (the Zelotes, falsely so called;) and the Jews, with such a Captain in the Head of them, would have found the Romans Work enough to do. He was so happy also as to have Jesus for his Second; a Person as much above all other Men as he was inferior to Ananus. But it was God's Will to purge this holy City as by Fire, for all the Pollutions and Abominations that had been committed in it: And this was done by taking away these two illustrious Persons, which were the only Means of preserving it. Two Persons that but Yesterday were venerable for their priestly Robes; the Heads and Protectors of the most glorious Religion under the Sun; and the Darlings, not only of their own People, but of all Foreigners that had the Honour to know them; and now, in the Turn of a Hand, exposed naked for a Prey to Dogs and Wild-Beasts, to the Astonishment and Heart-breaking of all good Men, to see Virtue trampled upon, and Iniquity ride triumphant.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
WARS of the JEWS.

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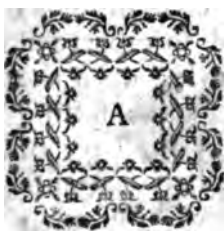
B O O K V.

*From the coming of Titus, to besiege Jerusalem, to the great extremity to which the Jews were reduced, containing the interval of near 6 months.*

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C H A P. I.

*The Cruelty of the Idumæans & the Zelotes. Twelve Thousand eminent Men put to Death. Zachariah charged with Treason before a mock Court of Justice. The Court acquits him; and the People murder him in the Temple. The Practice is discovered; and the Idumæans discharge their Prisoners, and leave the City. Gorion and Niger of Peræa are put to Death. Divine Justice over-takes the Tyrants.*



**A**FTER the horrid Butchery of Ananus and Jesus, (as aforesaid) the common People were treated at the Rate even of the worst of Beasts, both by the Zelotes and Idumæans; who cut them to Pieces as fast as they found them: But for Men of Quality and those that were in the Vigour of their Youth, they kept them only in Custody; in Hope, that for the saving of their Lives they might be brought over to their Party: But they chose rather to die every Man of them, than to join in a Conspiracy with Traytors against their native Country. And Death was the least Part of their Misery too, for it was brought on with the most exquisite of Torments: And when

when the Bodies of Men were torn and mangled with Scourges, till they were all over Ulcers, and could hold out no longer, they had Recourse then to the Sword, for the finishing of the Work. Those that they took up in the Day, were crowded into Prisons at Night; and as any of them died there, their Bodies were thrown out to make Room for more; and the next Comers to be served after the same Manner. These horrid Massacres put the People in such a Dread, that they durst not own so much as a Sigh or a Tear for the Loss of a Friend, or any Sort of Funeral Rites for the nearest Relations they had in the World: Nay, they durst not so much as weep or mourn in their own Houses or Chambers, without searching all the Holes and Corners first, to be sure that nobody was within Hearing: For Humanity was become so dangerous a Crime, that it was Death even to shew a Tenderness for the Memory of those that were gone. All they could do, was now and then in the Dark, and by Stealth, to cast a Handful of Earth or two upon the Body: Though some few were so bold as to venture upon it in the Day too. This Persecution cost the Lives of twelve thousand Men of the first Quality.

These Blood-thirsty Monsters began now to be almost surfeited with this bare-faced, cut-throat Way of Murder, and had the Confidence to set up a mock Court of Justice, and to do the same Thing over again, under a Form of Law and Equity. There was one Zachariah, the Son of Baruch, a Man of the first Rank: a Friend to all good Men, and an Enemy to the Wicked: A Man, in short, of great Authority and Virtue, and wealthy over and above. This Zachariah was looked upon by the Zelotes, as a Man so dangerously popular, that they themselves could not be safe, they thought, without removing him. So they Resolved to take away his Life; or, which was all one, to put him upon his Trial for it. To this Purpose they called together seventy of the better Sort of the People, under the Name of Judges; but without any Semblance of a Commission to authorise them. This pretended Court being met, the Zelotes exhibited a formal Charge against Zachariah, for being in a Conspiracy to betray Jerusalem to the Romans, and treating about it with Vespasian. There was not the least Colour either of a Proof or so much as any Inducement to the believing of it; but the Zelotes said it was so, and therefore it must be so.

Zachariah perceiving manifestly that his Life was at Stake, and that the whole Menage was a Cheat, (for he had nothing to do with Vespasian) he gave himself without more Ceremony, for lost: But still, in the abandoned state of his Despair, he governed himself in his Defence with a Serenity of Mind and a Freedom of Spirit, well becoming the Character of a Man of Honour and Virtue. He began with contemptuous Reflections upon the shameful Practices and Pretences of his Accusers; and so proceeded to the evident Calumnies and Inconsistences of their Suggestions; briefly laying open the Vanity of all their Objections, and turning their Arguments in their own Faces; setting forth in Order the whole Course of their Iniquities; and complaining, by the bye, of the troubled State of Things. This generous and daring Behaviour of Zachariah transported the Zelotes into so malicious a Rage, that they had certainly murdered him upon the Place, if it had not been to keep up the Credit of their pretended Judicature; by putting it to the Experiment, whether their new Judges would venture their Heads or  
no,

no, upon so dangerous a Point of Justice. When it came to the Issue, the whole Court pronounced the Prisoner innocent, without so much as one Man of the Seventy that did not chuse rather to run the Hazard of his own Life, than to destroy so good a Man by a Sentence against all Conscience and Equity. This Judgment of Acquittal put the Zelotes into such an Uproar, that they were all raging mad at the Judges, for being such Blockheads as not to understand to what End they were set there. Upon this, two of the rankest Ruffians of the Crew fell outrageously upon Zachariah, and murdered him in the Middle of the Temple, with this insolent Railery in their Mouth's; " Now, says one of them, we have given you our Discharge too, and you are much surer of this, than you were of the other:" Casting the Body at the same Time down the Precipice under the Temple. As to the Judges, their Lives were spared, and their Punishment only a Judgment of Infamy, to be beaten out of the Temple with the Flats of the Swords that were to execute the Sentence. By this Means they were dispersed up and down as so many Eye-Witnesses of the Slavery of the capital City at that Time.

The Idumæans themselves were so disgusted at this Way of Proceeding, that they cursed the Hour of their coming; and so conferring about it, they had secret Intelligence given them by one of the Zelotes, of the whole History of the People that invited them in. " True it was, he said, that they did take up Arms upon the Credit of a Report that the High-Priests were treating with the Romans for the betraying of the City; however, upon further Inquiry, they found nothing at all in it; but, on the contrary, the pretended Assertors of our Liberties were actually the Subverters of them, and they themselves the Tyrants that ought to have been timely suppressed. But, says the Zelote, since it hath been your unhappy Lot to join with them thus far in their Iniquities, it will be high Time for you to break off so criminal an Alliance with the professed Enemies of your Laws and Country. You took it ill to be kept out of the Town: And are you not sufficiently revenged, do you think, upon those that excluded you, in the Death of Ananus, and so many thousands of the Citizens in one Night? An Action, says he, which many of your People will live to repent. But I speak this only to shew you the Barbarity of your Confidants, that had the Impudence to commit these shameful Cruelties even before the Faces of their Preservers, and by doing the basest Things that ever were heard of in the Sight of their Allies, to transfer the Infamy from the Zelotes to the Idumæans; who, in Truth, should either have hindred them, or left them. Now, says he, since it is as clear as the Sun, that the whole Story of the Conspiracy is nothing but a Calumny, and that there is no such Thing in Prospect as the Dread of a Roman Army; beside the impregnable Strength of this City, if it were true to itself: Since thus it is, I say, what have you more to do, than to return from whence you came; and by abandoning these Monsters, to expiate in some sort for the ill Things you did in their Company? Wherein you are thus far excusable, that you were rather passive under a well-meaning Mistake, than voluntary Actors at your own Liberty and Choice." This Discourse had such an Effect upon the Idumæans, that they forthwith set all their Prisoners at Liberty, (which were near two thousand;) left the City; and so went to Simon, (of whom hereafter) and then Home.

This

This unexpected Departure of the Idumæans was equally a Surprise both to the Inhabitants, and to the Zelotes; though upon several Accounts. For the People, that knew nothing of the others Repentance, took Heart upon it, and comforted themselves in the Thought of such a Deliverance. The Zelotes, on the other Hand, grew as insolent upon it, in Confidence of their own Strength; and to consider that the Check being now taken off that kept in some Sort of Awe of the Idumæans, they were now at Liberty to go their own Way to work without any Restraint of Scruple, Consideration or Delay: So that every Thing was now done in a Hurry, without Deliberation or Council. They stuck at nothing, though never so wicked; and whatever came in their Head, it was no sooner thought than executed.

But their deadly Spite was against Men of Bravery and Honour; and those they persecuted to the uttermost Extremity; the Nobility, out of Envy; the Men of Resolution and Virtue, out of Fear: For they could never think themselves safe, so long as any Man of that Character was alive. This was it that made them put Gorion to Death (with several others) a Man well principled and well born; a Man of Courage, and a Lover of the People and of Liberty, no Creature more; and, in fine, this Spirit of Liberty, (together with his other Virtues) was his Ruin. Niger of Peræa fell also under the same disastrous Fate: A Man of a tried Valour and Conduct against the Romans; shewing and glorying in the Wounds and Scars he had received in the Service of his Country, as they dragged him along the Streets. When they had him out of the Gates, and that he gave himself for dead, he made them this one Request, that his Body might be buried: But it was denied him; and so they put him to Death, with this prophetic Imprecation in his last Breath, that the Romans might come to avenge his Blood; and divine Justice overtake them with Famine, Sword, Pestilence, and mortal Divisions among themselves, answerable to the Enormity of their Crimes.

It was not long before God, in his righteous Providence, poured down all these Plagues upon them, as foretold; beginning with their intestine Broils. The Death of Niger set their Hearts at Ease as to any farther Danger that Way. But there was not yet so much as one common Man that they did not find some Occasion or other to pick a Quarrel with. Some they put to Death for Things gone and past, and for Disaffections of old Date. In other Cases, where there was no Matter of Fact against a Man, a bare Jealousy or Possibility was enough to destroy him. If they made Court to the Faction, they were Spies; if they kept off, it was interpreted Envy and Contempt: But whether the pretended Crime was great or small, the Penalty was still the same; and nothing escaped them that had either Money or Honour.

## C H A P. II.

*The Jews miserably confounded. The Officers press Vespasian to Rigour, but Vespasian is for Moderation. The Zelotes go over daily to the Romans. Horrid Persecution and Oppression. The Destruction of Jerusalem foretold by an ancient Prediction.*

THE

**T**HE Roman Officers having their Hearts fet upon Jerusalem, could not with a fairer Opportunity for the advancing of their Design, than by laying hold of the Distractions in the City: To which End, they applied themselves to the General Vespasian, by all Means to improve the Providence of the present Occasion, without allowing the Jews one Moment of Time to bethink themselves: For they would either agree, or tire, or repent, or something or other; and the Work would be then to begin again: Representing also, at the same time, that the Hand of God did most evidently appear upon these Factions, in Favour of the Romans. The General gave them this Answer: “ That their Bravery was more than their Policy; and that they considered the Glory  
 “ of the Action in the Ostentation of their Courage, (as if it were to fight a Prize)  
 “ more than the Prudence and the Advantage of it. For, says he, to attack the City,  
 “ Hand over Head, would be the ready Way to make them all Friends again, and to  
 “ draw their Forces upon us, which are very considerable, into a Conjunction as against  
 “ a common Enemy; whereas if we do but wait a-while with a little Patience, they  
 “ will do our Business to our Hands, in spending their Numbers and their Spirits one  
 “ upon another. For God does better for us than we could do for ourselves, in deli-  
 “ vering up the Jews to the Romans without Labour or Peril; and giving us Victory  
 “ without so much as a Battle. Are they not already up to the Ears in a Civil War  
 “ (which is the heaviest of all Judgements) and cutting Throats among themselves like  
 “ so many Madmen? And who but a Madman then, will enter into a needless Contest  
 “ with Madmen, and run the Risk of bearing a Part in the Tragedy, when he may  
 “ do his Business better in the Quality of a Spectator? These People, I tell you, are  
 “ hot-headed, and rather than not be destroyed, they will kill one another. As for  
 “ those that look upon a cheap Victory to be inglorious, they should do well to set the  
 “ Advantages of a temperate Accommodation without Blood against the uncertain  
 “ Chance of War. This is not to derogate from the Honour of military Virtue; for  
 “ provided the same Thing be done, what matters it whether by Arms or by Council?  
 “ But yet undoubtedly that must needs be the best Way of doing it, which at the  
 “ same time weakens the Enemy, and keeps our own Men by daily Exercise in Disci-  
 “ pline and Breath. Neither, says he, is this a Time for us to propose to ourselves the  
 “ Fame of a glorious Exploit, when the Jews are playing our Game for us, and mind  
 “ neither their Arms, their Works, or their Walls, or the making of Interest and  
 “ Friends; but by tearing one another’s Hearts out, and doing the Part of the worst  
 “ of Enemies one to another; till they have brought themselves into such a Condition,  
 “ that the best they can hope or wish for, is to be our Slaves. Now as to the Pru-  
 “ dence and Honour of the Matter in Question; if they have a mind to worry one  
 “ another, why should we hinder them? Nor is there, in fine, any Reputation to be  
 “ gotten by a Victory, that was rather cast upon us by the Faction of the one Side, than  
 “ gained by the Valour of the other; and this is effectually the Truth of the Case.

This was Vespasian’s Sense of Things, and the Officers were of the same Opinion with their General; as it appeared they had Reason to be by that which followed soon after. For there came over Deserters to him from the Zelotes in great Numbers, Day after Day; though the Ways and Passes were so beset, that it seemed almost im-

possible to escape. They put every Man to the Sword that they took, upon a Pretence that he was running away to the Romans: That is to say; unless he redeemed himself for a Sum of Money, and that brought him off. So that there was no Treachery but where there was no Cash; for the Rich compounded, and the Poor were left in the Lurch. The Massacre was so outrageous, that the dead Bodies lay piled up in Heaps upon the Highways; and many that were thinking to get off, changed their Minds, and chose rather to perish in the City, only in Hope of a little Earth to cover them. Nay, such was the extravagant Barbarity of these Monsters, that they would not allow Burial to any Creature either within the City or without: But like professed Enemies to the Instincts of Nature, as well as the Rites of their Country, they affronted God and Man indifferently, and exposed the Bodies to lie rotting above Ground in the Face of the Sun. Nay, and it was as unpardonable a Crime to attempt the burying of a Friend, as to go over to the Enemy: And he that had but newly buried another, wanted a Friend the next Moment to do the same Office for himself. There was no such Thing left among them as Compassion (the most humane of all our Affections,) but it was wholly extinguished in the Hearts of these Miscreants; and Misery was made rather a Provocation to Rage, than a Motive to Pity.

The Spectacle, in fine, was so frightful, that it made the Living envy the Dead; and the Want of a Grave was nothing to the Miseries of a Prison: And they did not only trample upon all that was sacred among Men, but trifled with Divinity itself, and made no more Account of the Oracles of the Prophets, than of so many Dreams or Fables. But yet, after the Contempt of all the Laws and Precepts of their Forefathers, concerning the Measures of Good and Evil, they found the denouncing Predictions to be yet made good in the Conclusion against themselves and their Country. For there was a traditional Prophecy handed down to them from Antiquity, that in Time to come, there should break out a violent Sedition in Jerusalem; and that the Jews themselves, with their own Hands, should profane the holy Temple: The City to be afterwards taken, and all that was sacred belonging to it laid in Ashes. The Zelotes made no doubt of the Authority of this Prophecy, and put their own helping Hands to the Execution of it.

### C H A P. III.

*John sets up for sovereign Power. A sharp Wit and a good Speaker. There are Zelotes and Anti-Zelotes; and John sides with the latter. Three heavy Judgments upon the Jews, and worse yet behind. Engaddi taken by Storm, and Judæa made the Scene of the War. A good Understanding betwixt the Jews and Vespasian. Gadara invites and receives him. The Factions betake themselves to Flight. Placidus put them all to the Rout. The Fugitives make their Way to Bethennabris. Placidus*  
*rifles*

*rifles the Place, and sets fire to it. The Jews forced upon a Battle, where they lose 15000 upon the Place.*

**T**HE ambitious Heart of John of Gischala was grown now too big to content itself with any thing less than sovereign Power, (a Freak that he had had a long Time in his Head;) so that withdrawing insensibly from the Fellowship of his Companions, and lifting, by little and little, a Party of profligate Ruffians into his Interest, his Business was now to set up for himself. He had a Humour of imposing his own Orders and Opinions imperiously upon others, and of treating theirs again with Contradiction and Contempt; and this he did out of a manifest Affectation of a sole and absolute Power. Some joined with him out of Fear; and several, out of Affection and good Will: For he was the greatest Master of Words in Nature, and in the Art of moving the Affections. Many followed him for their own Security, in hope that all the Ills that they had done would be laid at his Door, as the first Mover of them, whenever they should be called to an Account for their evil Doings. The martial Part of his Train stuck to him, as he was stout, and a Man of Parts: But divers yet of the adverse Party fell off from him: Some, out of Envy and Greatness of Stomach, in a kind of Disdain to own him for their Master that had so lately been their Enemy. But the Thing that wrought more upon them than all the rest, was the Aversion they had to a single Person, and the Despair of getting him out again, if he were once possessed of that Dignity: Beside, that he would never forgive those that opposed him in his Pretention at the Beginning. The People upon these Deliberations came at last to a Resolution, rather to stand the worst of a War. than to perish under the Infamy of making themselves voluntary Slaves. The Faction, upon this, divided into two Parties; John putting himself in the Head of the Anti-Zelotes. They stood both upon their Guards one against the other; and not without some slight Skirmishes too: But rather against the People than betwixt themselves; for the single Point in Question was only this, which of the two Parties should get the greater Booty.

Jerusalem being at this Time labouring under three terrible Judgments; War, Tyranny, and Sedition; the People taking the War to be the most tolerable of the three, quitted their Habitations, and fled from their own Countrymen for Sanctuary to Strangers, and found afterwards that Safety and Protection among the Romans, which they could not obtain one from another.

The three Judgments above-mentioned, were now followed with a fourth; which contributed as much to the Destruction of the Jews as any of the rest. There stood a Castle not far from Jerusalem, called Massada: A Piece of great Antiquity, and of mighty Strength and Importance. It was erected and made use of by our Kings in former Times for a Royal Treasury; and a Magazine of all Manner of Stores and Necessaries for War; and for an impregnable Retreat in a Time or Case of Danger. It was now in the Possession of a Band of Bravoes, commonly called Sicarii. There were not enough of them to kill, burn, and over-run the Country barefaced; but the Mischiefs they had done hitherto, were by Treachery and Surprise. It happened, upon this Juncture, that the Roman Army lying quiet and out of Action, and the Jews at

the same Time split into Factions, and tearing out one another's Throats among themselves; these Assassins took Advantage of the Occasion to make a bolder Attempt than ever they durst venture upon before. It was now the Feast of unleavened Bread; a Festival celebrated by the Jews with great Solemnity, in Memory of their Deliverance out of the Egyptian Bondage; and their Translation into the Land of Promise. On that Night, the Ruffians broke into Engaddi by Surprise; scattered the People, and mastered the Place before the Inhabitants could recover their Arms. They drove them out of the Town; and after killing upward of seven hundred Persons upon the Chace, most of them Women and Children, they rifled their Houses, and carried away all the Fruits that were ripe and in Season, to Massada: Depopulating all the Towns, Villages, Castles, and Country thereabouts, after the like Manner. Their Numbers increased daily, by the Accession of a loose abandoned Rabble that came flocking in to join them. Judæa, that till now lay easy and quiet, became the very Scene of all Manner of Violences upon that Inroad, from the one End of the Country to the other. But as it is in our Bodies, when any of the nobler Parts are indisposed, all the rest feel of it; just so it fares in the Case of a seditious and disorderly City. When the Capital is sick, all the Parts suffer by Consent; as well as they transgress by Example. When they had plundered all within Reach, they marched off with the Booty into Solitudes and Deserts; where they associated in Conspiracies, and gathered together Multitudes of Free-Booters, little inferior to formidable Armies, and sufficient to destroy Cities, and lay Temples desolate. The Sufferers did not forget (as it is natural enough, and the common Practice) to revenge themselves upon their Oppressors, whenever they could come at them: But that was very rarely; for the Thieves were too nimble for the honest Men, and got off with the Prey, before the Pursuers could reach them. But so it was, in fine, that there was not one Inch of Ground in Judæa that did not partake in the Calamities of the Capital City.

The Faction had guarded all the Avenues with the utmost Strictness and Caution imaginable: And not a Creature could stir without the Hazard of his Life. But all this Precaution and Rigour did not hinder several Deserters yet from stealing away privately, Day after Day, with Intelligence of the State of the Town to Vespasian; and to implore his Relief in the Names of the miserable Remainder of a distressed City: Great Numbers of the Citizens having lost their Lives already for their good Will to the Romans, and a great many more at present in danger of perishing by the same Fate. Vespasian, in a generous Tendernefs for the Case and Condition of an unhappy People, advanced with an Army nearer the Town: Not, as some imagined, to lay a close Siege to it; but upon a Prospect (in Truth) of delivering them from any Siege at all by reducing all Strong-holds about it in the first Place, so as to leave no Obstacle from abroad to thwart him in his Design.

When he came to Gadara, the richest and the strongest Town beyond Jordan, and the Metropolis of that Province, he entered the Place on the Fourth of the Month Dystrus, upon an Invitation from some of the leading Men, by their Deputies, to come and take the Town into his Protection: Which they did to save their Lives and Estates, being a very wealthy People. The Faction knew nothing of this Menage,  
but



but as they guessed at it by Vespasian's drawing nearer the Walls. They were now in a great Streight, and knew not which Way to turn themselves, or what to do. They found it utterly impossible for the Town to hold out against so many Enemies both within and without; the Majority of the Citizens against them, and the Roman Army at hand. So that they had nothing now to trust to but Flight; which was a Point that in Honour could not be resolved upon, without taking a Revenge first upon some of the Authors of their Ruin. Upon this Consideration, they took up Dolefus, the first Man of the City both for Blood and Merit; over and above that he was the Author and the Adviser of the aforesaid Embassy. They took him, in fine, into Custody, and caused him to be put to Death; ordering the dead Body to be whipped and scourged; and that being done, they slipped away all out of Town.

Upon the nearer Approach of the Romans towards the City, the Inhabitants met Vespasian upon the Way, and conducted him into the Town with gratulatory Acclamations; and besides the Ceremony of Oaths of Fidelity, and other common Assurances of that Kind in the like Cases, they made it their own Act; to demolish their own Walls; as a farther Security for their good Faith and peaceable Intentions, by putting it out of their Power to do Mischief if they would never so fain. Vespasian, after this, gave them a Garrison of Horse and Foot for their Safeguard; sent away Placidus, with 500 Horse and 3000 Foot after the Fugitives; while he himself, with the rest of his Troops, went back to Cæsarea.

When the Fugitives found themselves pursued, and a Party of Horse at their Heels, they turned off into a Village called Bethennabris, before the Romans could come up to them. Where there was a Parcel of stout young Fellows, to a considerable Number. Some of them they engaged by fair Words to join with them; others they forced: And with this Party they sallied out, and made a rash and a desperate Charge upon Placidus; who gave Ground upon the very first Push, but it was only to draw their Adversaries a little farther from the Town: Which succeeded accordingly; for Placidus got them out into a Place of Advantage, and there set upon them, and put them to the Rout. Those that fled for their Safety were intercepted by the Romans; those that fought were cut off by their Foot; they were beaten, in short, quite off their Mettle. When they attacked the Romans, they might as well have charged a Wall or a Rock; for they stood so firm and close, that there was no breaking the Body: And they lay upon such a Guard under their Arms too, that no Lance or Dart could touch them. Whereas the Jews, on the other hand, lay exposed to all Sorts of Weapons, and to all Manner of Assaults; till in the End, being teized into a brutal Rage, they cast themselves, like the fiercest of wild Beasts, upon the Points of their Enemies Swords, and so perished: Some were slashed ~~over~~ the Faces; others dispersed by the Horse, and trampled under Foot. Now Placidus made it his particular Care, as far as possible, that none of the Fugitives should get back into the Town. Wherefore as any of them offered at it, he and his People put in with their Horses betwixt them and Home, and so forced them off again. Those that were within reach, they killed with their Lances; and others at a Distance, they intercepted: But some yet that were fleetest and stronger than the rest, made their Way to the very Wall; and now the  
Watch

Watch were at their Wits End, whom to let in and whom to keep out; for it would be hard, they thought, to open the Gates to the Townsmen, and refuse Entrance to those of Gadara: And then, on the other side, they were afraid, lest by opening to all indifferently, they might endanger the Loss of the Place; as it came afterwards very near the Matter. For the Romans having pursued some of the Fugitive up to the Wall, were within a little of falling into the Town with them pell-mell: But with much ado they made a shift to get the Gates shut, and so prevented it. Placidus, upon this, gave a vigorous Assault to the Place; and followed it so close, that he made himself Master both of the Wall and of Village that Afternoon. The wretched Common-People, that had no Means of Defence, were all put to the Sword; and the rest did what they could to save themselves by Flight; and carried the Terror along with them, wherever they came, all over the Country. But now, to finish the Calamity, they first pillaged the Houses, and then laid the Village in Ashes.

The Misery was very great in the Truth of the Fact; but made much greater in the Report yet than it was: For they gave it out all the Way they passed, that the whole Roman Army was coming toward them. This Alarum put the Country into such a Fright, that they quitted their Habitations upon it, and in prodigious Numbers retired into Jericho; being a strong, a populous, and a well fortified Garrison, and consequently the safest Retreat the could think of. Placidus, in the Course of his Successes and good Fortune, pursued them to the River Jordan; putting every Creature to the Sword that they overtook upon the Way. When the Fugitives came to the River Side, the Waters were so out upon a great Fall of Rain, that there was no passing; nor, as the Case stood, any Possibility of getting away. In this Difficulty they found themselves under an absolute Necessity of putting it to a Battle. The Jews posted themselves along the Bank of a River; which they made good for a-while: But when they came once to be broken, what betwixt those that were drowned, and others that were slain, the Loss of the Men was not to be computed. They reckoned upon fifteen Thousand killed upon the Place; about two thousand two hundred taken, beside a mighty Booty of Sheep, Camels and Oxen.

This Disaster was not only the greatest that the Jews had ever yet received; but, in some Sort, even beyond itself. The High-Ways where they marched were all covered with dead Bodies; the River Jordan so choaked with Carcasses, that there was no crossing it; and vast Numbers floated down several Channels that led into the Lake Asphaltitis.

Placidus being now in the Train of his good Fortune, reduced Abila, Julias, Bese-moth, and other Places as far as the Lake; where he settled Garrisons of the best and most trusty Men he could pick out of those that came over to the Romans; his next Work was to put his Soldiers aboard, and clear the Lake of all the Fugitives that fled thither for Refuge: Which he did so effectually, that the Romans were by this Time absolute Masters of all beyond Jordan, as far as Machæras.

## C H A P. IV.

*Gaul revolts. Vespasian's Marches and Motions: He comes to Jericho. A Description of the Place. The Lake of Asphaltitis and Tiberias. Elisha's Fountain.*

WHILE this passed in Judæa, came News out of Gaul of a Revolt there from Nero; and that Vindex, with several principal Men of the Country, were the Heads of it (but of this more particularly elsewhere.) Vespasian, upon this Intelligence, pushed on the present War with more and more Vigour; for he did not know how many Revolts might follow one upon the Neck of another, and the whole Empire come to be in Danger at last by a civil War: Whereas, if the Troubles in the East were but first composed, Italy would have the less to fear. But Winter not being a Season for it, all that could be done toward it at present was only the Garrison Towns and Cities he had subdued; erect proper Offices in every City, and to order Reparations where they were needful.

The first thing he did, was to march with his Army from Cæsarea to Antipatris; where he stayed two Days to put things in Order; and on the third, laid all the Neighbourhood waste with Fire and Sword, together with the Borders of the Toparchy of Thamna: And thence to Lydda and Jamnia. These two Places submitted to him. And then, when he had peopled them with Inhabitants from other Towns, such as he thought he might best confide in, he advanced to Ammaus; and possessing himself there of the Passage that leads to the Capital City, he pitched his Camp and ran a Wall about it: And leaving the fifth Legion there, he moved with the rest of his Troops into the Toparchy of Bethlepton; which he burnt and destroyed, together with the neighbouring Country and the Borders of Idumæa; saving only some strong Castles that he manned and fortified.

There were two Towns that he took in the Middle of Idumæa; Bethabri and Caphartoba: Where he killed upwards of ten thousand Men, reserving near a thousand for Slaves; drove out the rest of the People, and left a considerable Part of his Troops to fall out and commit Outrages upon the Mountains.

He returned after this, with the Remainder of his Army, to Ammaus; and passing from thence by Samaria and Neapolis (which the Natives call Mabartha) he came the second of the Month Desius to Corea; where he encamped, and shewed himself next Day before Jericho. At Jericho, Trajan, one of his chief Officers, joined him with the Troops under his Command, after the intire Reduction of all beyond Jordan: But most of the Inhabitants were withdrawn to the Mountains over against Jerusalem before the Arrival of the Romans; and a great Part of those that stayed behind were put to the Sword.

Vespasian, in fine, found Jericho a desolate and a forsaken City. It stands upon a Plain that is over-looked by a naked and a barren Mountain; and of such an Extent, that it reaches upon the North Side to the Region of Scythopolis; on the South, as far as Sodom and the Borders of the Lake Asphaltitis; a Country so wretchedly poor and barren

barren, and there is no living there. Over against this, and on the farther Side of the River Jordan, there lies another Mountain; which begins at Julias toward the North, and stretches Southward up to Gomorrha, and so borders upon Petra a City of Arabia. There is also another Mountain which they call the Iron Mountain: and runs out as far as the Land of the Moabites. Betwixt these Mountains lies a Place called the Great Plain: It begins at Gennabara, and stretches out to the Lake Asphaltitis; the Length of it is two hundred and thirty Furlongs; an hundred and twenty over, and the River Jordan crosses the Middle of it.

There are two remarkable Lakes: The one called Asphaltitis; the other, the Lake of Tiberias; but of very different if not contrary Qualities: The former being salt and crude without Fish; but the other, sweet, kindly and fruitful. The Summer Heats there are intolerable; the Country burnt up with them; and the Air hot and sickly, without any Refreshment but from the River Jordan: As appears by the Palm-Trees, which thrive much better upon the Banks than at a Distance.

At or near to Jericho itself, there is a large and plentiful Fountain, which overflows all the Grounds thereabouts, and takes its Rise not far from an ancient City; the first Place that Jesus, the Son of Nave, the famous General of the Hebrews, gained from the Canaanites by the Sword. There goes a Tradition, that this Fountain in Time past was so dangerous, that it did not only corrupt the Fruits of the Earth, as well Grain as Plants; but likewise caused Abortions in Women, and tainted with a blasting Infection whatever it touched that was capable of such an Impression. But it says farther, that from the Days of the Prophet Elisha, the illustrious Successor of Elias, the Waters of this Fountain became not only innocent but nourishing and wholesome; and upon this Occasion, Elisha having been treated with great Hospitality and Respect by the People of Jericho, bethought himself of such an Acknowledgment as they themselves, their Country and Posterity, might be the Better for to the End of the World. The Prophet, upon this, went out to the Fountain; and causing a Pitcher of Salt to be let down into the Bottom of it, he advanced his Right-hand toward Heaven; and presenting his Oblations at the Side of it, he besought God in his Goodness to correct the Waters, and to sweeten the Veins that passed from them; to soften the Air, and make it temperate and fructifying; to bestow Children as well as Fruits upon the Inhabitants in Abundance, and never to withdraw these Blessings so long as they continued in their Duty. Upon the offering up of this Prayer, with all due Ceremony and according to Form, the Quality of the Fountain was changed; and instead of Sterility and Famine, the Waters were now become an efficacious Means of Plenty and Increase: Insomuch that the bare Touching of the Ground with them gives every Thing a more savoury Relish; but then let them lie never so long upon it, the Effect is much the same; especially if it arises from any Diffidence of the Miracle. And over and above all this, there is not another River in the Country that runs such a Tract of Ground,

The Country is seventy Furlongs in Length, and twenty in Breadth; furnished with curious Gardens and thick Groves in Abundance; with Palm-Trees along the Brooks, of different Kinds, Names, and Tastes. They press out of some of them great Quantities

tities of a sort of Honey, not much inferior to other Honey; which they have there also in great Plenty. And then for Balsam, which is the choicest Fruit they have, there is great Store of it; and so for Cyprus, and Myrobalanus: A Blessing from Heaven undoubtedly, for a Country to produce not only the choicest of all the Fruits of the Earth, but the largest and best of the several Sorts. And they are not behind the happiest of all other Countries neither, for the Production of other Fruits, and for the improving of them as well in Growth as in Virtue. This may be ascribed, in my Opinion, to some peculiar Property and Disposition in the Water, and to a certain kindly Warmth in the Air. The latter to draw out and diffuse the Virtue of the Subject Matter it hath to work upon; as in the disclosing of Leaves, Flowers, and the like. The other serves to bind and confirm the Roots, and to fortify them by increasing the Sap against the parching Rages; which are so furious in that Country, that nothing would be able to sprout or bud without it. But yet in the Extremity of these burning Hearts, they have likewise every Morning such refreshing Breezes, that the very Breath of them makes the Water that is drawn before Sun-rise quite another Thing. In the Winter it is warm, and comfortable to bathe in. Such, in fine, is the Temperature of the Climate, that when it is Frost and Snow in other Parts of Judæa, the Natives of this Place go clad only in single Linen. It lies a hundred and fifty Stadia from Jerusalem, sixty from the River Jordan, and the whole Country betwixt that and Jerusalem is all Rock and Desert. It lies lower indeed betwixt this Place and Jordan, and so to the Lake Asphaltitis; but every Jot as rude and barren as the other. This is enough said of the happy Situation, and the natural Advantages of Jericho.

## C H A P. V.

*Nothing sinks in the Lake Asphaltitis. Vespasian tries the Experiment, and finds it so. Several wonderful Qualities in this Lake. It borders upon Sodom. A fair Fruit there to the Eye, but falls to nothing upon the Touch.*

**I**T will become me now to say something of the Asphaltitis, and the Nature of that Lake. It is salt to the Taste, and no Fish will live in it; nor hardly any thing sink that is thrown into it, let it be never so heavy: So that a Man would find it a hard Matter to drown himself in this Lake, if he had never so great a Mind to do it. Vespasian having heard of the strange Quality of this Water, took a Journey on purpose out of a Curiosity to see it: And ordered several Persons that could not swim to be cast into it from above, with their Hands tied behind them; and they all came up again, as if they had been raised by a Puff of Wind, and so floated on the Surface of the Water. There is a wonderful Secret in this Lake; which is, that it changes Colour thrice a Day, according to the various Refractions of the Light of the Sun-beams upon it: There are also to be seen in several Parts of it, up and down adrift, large

Lumps of a dark bituminous Matter, not much unlike the Bodies of Bulls without Heads. The People of the Country fish them up into their Boats; but the Substance of them is so viscous, and one Part so glewed to another, that there is no getting the Vessel off again but by dissolving the Lumps, and seperating that Part without the Boat from the other within; which Dissolution is to be wrought by the Means of Urine and the Menstrua of a Woman. This Bituminous Matter serves both for Shipping and for Medicines; for it stops Leaks, and cures many Diseases. The Length of this Lake is five hundred and eighty Furlongs; the Breadth of it a hundred and fifty, and it runs out as far as Zoar in Arabia.

It borders upon the Land of Sodom; a Country once famous both for the Wealth of the Inhabitants, and for the Fruitfulness of the Soil. But at present it lies totally desolate: having been destroyed by a Judgement of Fire from Heaven for the Wickedness of the People. There are yet to be seen there, some Remains of the Ruins of five abominable Cities that perished in that Conflagration: And there are mock Fruits to be seen, to this Day, springing out of the Ashes; fair and lovely to the Eye, but resolving into Smoak and Ashes upon the Touch. So that we have not only Tradition, but ocular Testimony also for the Credit of this History.

## C H A P. VI.

*Vespasian invests Jerusalem. Gerasa taken by Assault, and burnt. The News of Nero's Death. The End of Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian suspends his Design upon Jerusalem. All things are put to a Stand.*

**V**ESPASIAN being resolved to invest Jerusalem on every Side, raised two Forts at Jericho and Adida; putting into each of them Garrisons both of Auxiliaries and Romans. The General then sent Lucius Annius with a Body of Horse and Foot to Gerasa; which he took by Storm upon the first Attack. He put a thousand young Men to the Sword, whom he intercepted in their Flight; carrying away whole Families Prisoners, and giving the Soldiers the Pillage: And this being done, he set fire to the Place, and so went forward. The Rich fled; those that could not get away, were cut to Pieces; and whatever they took they burnt; nothing, in short, escaped them; neither Mountains nor Valleys; Places, or People; but all suffered in the Outrages of the War. As for those that were shut up in Jerusalem, there was no stirring out: The Zelotes keeping so strict a Watch upon those that were Friends to the Romans; and the Town being so beset by the Enemy, that the Zelotes Party durst not venture, for fear of falling into their Hands.

When Vespasian was now returned to Cæsarea, and preparing to advance with his whole Army against Jerusalem, News was brought him of the Death of Nero; who had now  
reigned

reigned thirteen Years and eight Days. It is not my Business to arraign his Memory for the Dishonour he put upon the Government, in suffering himself to be imposed upon, and led like a Child by Nymphidius and Tigillinus; two of the most scandalous Varlets that he had about him: How he was betrayed by these infamous Wretches; abandoned by his Senators and Guards, and being forced to fly for Safety into the Suburbs, only with four of his Freemen (all that stood by him): How he there laid violent Hands upon himself, and what became of those in the Conclusion that brought him to his End: What was the Issue of the War with the Gauls; Galba's being declared Emperor; and afterwards upon his coming out of Spain to Rome, his being calumniated by the Soldiery for a Man of a mean Spirit, and by them slain in the Middle of the great Market-Place: How Otho was then created Emperor, and then marched with his Army against Vitellius. This is all little or nothing to my Purpose: Neither is it worth my while to enlarge upon the Troubles of Vitellius; the Combat before the Capitol; or how Antonius Primus, and Macianus, after they had slain Vitellius, defeated the German Troops and put an End to the civil War. I am the less particular upon these Points, in regard that several famous Historians, both Latin and Greek, have already done that Work so accurately to my Hand: So that I shall content myself with these short Touches, provided only that I do not break the Order, and discontinue the Thread of my History.

Vespasian, upon this Intelligence, put a Stop at first to his Expedition against Jerusalem; till he might know what became of the Government after the Death of Nero; and finding the Succession settled upon Galba, he did not think it prudential to act in an Affair of that Quality without Orders. So that he sent his Son Titus immediately away to Galba, both to congratulate his Accession to the Government, and to receive his Instructions and Commands, what Measures to take. King Agrippa would needs put himself aboard with Titus upon the same Errand; so that they embarked together. But as they were upon their Passage near Achaia, they were given to understand that Galba was slain, after a Government of seven Months and seven Days: Otho succeeding him, who governed three Months. This Alteration did not hinder Agrippa from prosecuting his Journey to Rome: But Titus, by a divine Impulse, sailed from Achaia into Syria, and from thence very seasonably got back to Cæsarea to his Father.

The Surprise of this extraordinary Revolution put all Things to such a Stand; that the very Empire itself staggered at it. There was no more Talk now of the Jewish War; nor was it a Time to think of enlarging the Empire, when they were ready to tear all to Pieces at home.

## C H A P. VII.

*A new War in Jerusalem. Simon encounters Ananus. He is worsted, and flies to Massada. Simon begins with Idumæa upon the Death of Ananus. An obstinate Fight betwixt him and the Zelotes. Eleazar summons Herodion,*

dion, and the Garrison receives him. He is discovered, and makes himself away. James of Idumæa false under the Countenance of a Spy. Idumæa taken without a Stroke. Chebron surpris'd. Idumæa laid waste- Simon's Wife taken Prisoner. He breaks out into a Rage upon it; and they send him his Wife again.

**U**PON this Revolution there brake out a new War in Jerusalem. There was one Simon the Son of Gioras; a Gerasene born, and in the Prime of his Age, though not so dextrous and artificial as John; who was now in Possession of the City: But younger, stronger, and much the hardier of the two. He was so dangerous a Person, that Ananus the High Priest drove him out of his Government in the Toparchy of Acrabatena, and made him fly to the Thieves in Massada for Refuge. They were so suspicious of him at first, that they would not truit him any further than the first Floor of the Fortrefs, among the Women he brought along with him; while the rest of the People kept above. But upon farther Acquaintance, and finding how fit he was for their Turn, they had a better Opinion of him; and who but Simon to command Parties upon Adventure, and join the rest of the Troops in pillaging and depopulating the Territory of Massada? He did all he could to put greater Things in their Heads too; but nothing less than Sovereignty would serve his Turn; though to no Purpose, till the News was brought him of the Death of Ananus. And immediately, upon the Removal of that Obstacle, he took his Course into the Woods, and issued out Proclamations of Liberty to all Slaves, and Rewards to all Freemen, that would list themselves in his Party. This brought over to him a great many disorderly and licentious People; and with that Rabble he sacked and destroyed the Villages upon the Hills, augmenting his Numbers daily, till in the End he marched down directly to the Plains, and kept the Cities in Awe wherever he pass'd. So that Simon was no longer a Captain of Thieves and Slaves: But a great many Men of Power and Quality, upon the Reputation of his Valour and Successes, were come over into his Interest; and the Generality of the better Sort of the People made their Applications to him with the Respect and Reverence of Subjects to their Prince. He made several Excursions into the Toparchy of Acrabatena and the greater Idumæa; where he made Choice of Nain, (a Town that he himself had walled in and fortified) for his Retreat. In the Valley of Pharan he found many Caverns fitted to his Hand; and others that he enlarged, for Granaries, Stores, Magazines, and Places of Stowage, in short for what he got by Pillage and Booty. By this Provision of Men and Necessaries, every body gave it for granted that this main Design was upon Jerusalem. The Zelotes were of the same Opinion too; and finding it dangerous to let him go on strengthening himself every Day more and more, they made one bold Push of it to try how they might prevent him in the Progress of his Ambition, before it was too late. Upon this, they advanced in a full Body to charge him in the Head of his Troops; who encountered them with great Courage; made a considerable Slaughter among them, and put the rest to the Rout.

Now



Now Simon did not think himself strong enough yet to meddle with Jerusalem; but chose rather to begin with the Conquest of Idumæa, and so marched away presently, twenty thousand strong, toward the Borders. Upon this Appearance, the Heads of the Idumæans quickly got an Army together of near twenty-five thousand choice Men; leaving also a competent Number to secure the Country against the Excursions of the Cut-Throats in Massada. The Idumæans waited for Simon upon the Borders; where upon his Advance, the two Bodies engaged, and the Battle lasted from Morning till Night; upon Terms so equal, that no Body could say which of the two had the better or the worse. But they had both enough of it; for Simon drew off quietly to Nain, and the Idumæans returned to their own Home.

It was not long after this that Simon took the Field again, with the Reinforcement of a much stronger Army; and encamping near the Village of Thecue, he sent Eleazar, one of his Companions, with a Summons to the Governor of Herodion, requiring him to deliver the Castle into his Hands. The Officers received him at first with all the Niceties of military Honour and Respect; but upon coming to understand his Commission, they all drew upon him in that very Instant: And Eleazar finding it impossible to make an Escape, leaped down the Precipice from the Wall, where he was dashed to Pieces

The Idumæans were possessed with such an Apprehension of Simon's Stomach and Power, that they had no mind to grapple with him; till they might first be perfectly well informed in the State and Strength of his Army. James, one of their Commanders, very readily, and of his own Accord, (but with Treachery in his Heart) took upon himself the Office of an Informer. Upon this Commission he went away from Olurus, (where the Idumæan Army lay at that Time incamped) and so to Simon. After some Discourse upon the Business, he entered into a solemn Contract with Simon to deliver up his Country into his Hands, upon Condition to be treated after the Performance of it, as his first Minister and Favourite; and undertaking in the next Place, to make all Idumæa for him. When Simon had sufficiently sweetened this treacherous Instrument with a splendid treat, fair Words, and large Promises, he went his Way back again to his own People: Where he made Simon twenty Times more considerable than in Truth he was; for Strength, Conduct, Number, Order, every Thing: Which by little and little, made such an Impression, not only upon the ignorant Multitude, but upon the Officers themselves too, that they were all prevailed upon not to dispute the Matter any further by Arms; but rather to lay all at Simon's Feet, for fear of worse Consequences: James sending away Messengers to Simon, at the same time, to come away immediately, and not to lose so fair an Opportunity, for he would be answerable for it that Idumæa should be his own without Blood: Which he made good accordingly. Upon the Approach of the Army, James was the first Man that took Horse; and away he spurred as in a Fright, with the rest of the Faction at his Heels. This struck such a Terror into the Hearts of the People, that they ran their several Ways; and so dispersed upon it, that the whole Army was dissolved without so much as one Stroke.

Simon being now possessed of Idumæa without Blood, which was little less than a Miracle; surpris'd the Town of Chebron, with Corn in it and other Booty to a prodigious Value. This City is of great Antiquity, and not only the eldest of the Province; but,  
if

if we may believe the Natives, ancients than even the Ægyptian Memphis itself; being computed to be of 2300 Years standing. They have a Tradition that Abraham, the original Father of the Jews, took up his Habitation there upon his leaving Mesopotamia; and that his Posterity removed from thence into Ægypt: Where there are Monuments to be seen at this Day, with Marble Inscriptions curiously wrought, in Confirmation of what I deliver. There is likewise to be seen, within six Furlongs of the Place, a wonderful Turpentine-Tree; which, according to the Tradition of the Place, was created with the World itself, and is yet found and firm.

From this Place Simon made his Inroads quite through Idumæa, with a Train of forty thousand Men at his Heels beside his Men of Arms; destroying and depopulating, not only Towns and Villages, but whole Territories and Countries wherever he came. The marching of his Army was the same thing to the People, that a Flight of Locusts are to a Wood: Not a Leaf or a Spire of Grass, nor any thing more than a Desert, that they left behind them. It was a thing utterly impossible to find Provisions for so many Mouths; and then the natural Fierceness of Simon, and the malicious Animosity of his Rage against the Idumæans, was still a farther Aggravation of the pinching Necessity. In fine, what with burning, demolishing, devouring the Fruits of the Earth, or trampling them to Dirt, Simon's Troops did not leave so much, even in a fruitful well-cultivated Country, as the least Sign or Memorial of what it had been formerly.

The Inhumanity of this Proceeding stuck in the Stomachs of the Zelotes, though they durst not bring it to an open War; but contented themselves with what they got now and then upon the Snap, by Surprise; and it was their Fortune at last to make a considerable Purchase, as they accounted it: For they took Simon's Wife Prisoner, and several of his Domestic, and carried her away to Jerusalem, with as much Joy and Triumph, as if it had been the Husband himself; making no Doubt, but Simon would now lay down his Arms and compound for his Wife. But this Violence upon the Women wrought, it seems, a quite contrary Effect upon the Husband; and instead of moving him to Tenderness and Compassion, transported him into the furious Extravagancies of a Mad-man.

He went immediately to the Gates of Jerusalem: and there, like a wild Beast that is wounded, and cannot come at the Man that did it, he discharged his outrageous Choler upon whatever came in his Way. Men, Women, and Children, that only went out of the Town for Sticks and Herbs, he caused to be taken up and whipped to Death, young and old without Distinction: Only he was so merciful as not to eat their Flesh when he had killed them. He cut off the Hands of a great many of them, for a Terror to his Enemies, as well as to fright the People from their Party, and sent them to the Town so maimed with these Words in their Mouths: "That Simon swore by the great God, who governs the Universe, if they did not immediately send him his Wife again, he would force their Walls, and put every Creature in the Town to the same Extremity; whether they were young or old, guilty or innocent." The Dread of these Menaces did not only work upon the Multitude, but upon the Zelotes themselves, insomuch that they returned him his Wife upon it; and so far pacified his Wrath, as to obtain some sort of Respite to his daily Cruelties.

C H A P.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The Roman Empire fallen to Pieces within itself. Two Battles betwixt Otho and Vitellius: Otho gets the better of it the first Day, and Vitellius the next. Galba stabs himself. Vespasian proposes to over-run Judæa. Cerealis takes Capharis; and lays Chebron in Ashes. There wants nothing now but Jerusalem, to put an End to the War.*

**I**T was not Judæa alone that was harassed with the Sedition of a civil War; but the stubborn Humour was gotten into Italy too; Galba slain in the very Heart of Rome itself; Otho declared his Successor; and then up starts Vitellius; who being elected Emperor by the German Legions, disputes his Title with him. They had two Battles for it near Bebricum in Lombardy. Otho had the better of it the first Day; and Vitellius carried it the next, under the Command of his two Generals, Valens and Cæcinnus. There was a great Slaughter: And Galba, who was then at Brixellum, upon the News of this Defeat, stabbed himself with a Dagger; after a Reign of three Months and two Days. Upon this Change, Otho's Soldiers went over to the Party of Vitellius; who presently marched away with his Army to Rome.

Vespasian, in the mean time, removed from Cæsarea on the fifth of the Month Decius, in a Prospect of making a thorough Conquest of Judæa, by reducing the Remainder of it that yet stood out: He began among the Mountains, and made himself Master of the Toparchies of Gophnis and Arcabatena; possessing himself afterwards of the Cities of Bethel and Ephraim; where he settled Garrisons. His next Remove was toward Jerusalem; where he took and killed a World of Jews by the Way.

Cerealis, in the mean time, one of the principal Officers, with a Body of Horse and Foot, over-ran the Uper-Idumæa; took and burnt the Castle Caphetra by the Way; laid siege to Capharis, a strong walled Town; and they were in hopes it would have made a good Defence; but beyond all Expectation, the Townsmen opened their Gates; threw themselves at their Feet, and so gave it up. Having thus carried every thing before him, he went to Chebron; the ancient Town upon the Mountains, formerly spoken of; not far from Jerusalem: Which he attacked, and carried it at the first Assault. He put all the People in it to the Sword; sacked and burnt the City. There were yet three Castles in the Possession of the Faction; Herodion, Massada, and Machærus: And Vespasian wanted nothing after this to put a final End to this terrible War, but the taking of Jerusalem.

## C H A P. IX.

*Simon a worse Enemy within the Town than the Romans without: And the Zelotes worst of all. The horrid Brutalities of the Zelotes. The Idumæans*

*mæans revolt and scatter the Zelotes: Pursuing them to the Palace, and so to the Temple. John cast off; and Simon invited into the Government: Where he is welcomed with Shouts and Acclamations. An Assault upon the Temple.*

**W**HEN Simon had got his Wife again from the Zelotes, he wreaked the Bitterness of his Malice upon the Remainder of the Idumæans; and persecuted them so bloodily, with harassing and hunting them up and down, that divers of them in a Desperation fled to Jerusalem for Sanctuary: Simon pursuing them to the very Foot of the Wall, and killing all Comers and Goers that came within his Reach. So that Simon without the Town was a worse Enemy than the Romans; and the Zelotes within, worse than both. But the Galileans all this while taught them their Lesson, and improved them in all the Arts of Wickedness, by Instruction, Encouragement and Example. Now John being their Creature, thought it but reasonable to employ the Power they had procured him to the Satisfaction of his Patrons; and so left them at Liberty to live without Controul according to their Lusts. In the Matter of Rapine and Pillage, their Avarice was insatiable. They made no more of taking away the Lives of Men, and the Honour of Women, than of a common Frolic or Diversion: And when they had sated themselves with Blood and Oppression, they went on wallowing in the Brutality of their carnal Appetites: Powdering and curling their Hair; disguised in the Dress and Habit of Women; painting and setting themselves off with Dawbs and washes. Nor did they imitate Women only in their Clothes and Ornaments, but in their Impudence also; for they conversed with no more Restraint in the Face of the Sun, than they would have done in common Stews: Pressing and practising unnatural Lusts, and polluting the whole City with Impurities not to be named, or so much as thought of. But all this while, with the Faces and Impudence of Women, they had the Hearts and Hands of Cut-Throats: And how effeminate and mincing soever they were in their Gate and Motions, they had yet their martial Weapons about them, and their Swords out in a Trice, upon any sudden Occasion, to kill the next Man they met. He that escaped John, fell into the Hands of Simon, the bloodier Monster of the two: And he that got clear of the domestic Tyrant, was destroyed by the other before the Town: Besides that all the Passages were so blocked up, that there was no coming off for those that had a mind to go over to the Romans.

Betwixt the Envy of John's Power and the Detestation of his barbarous Cruelties, the Eyes of the Idumæans were by this Time opened; for they brake out into a direct Revolt, and made Head against him. It came to a Battle, and a great many of the Zelotes were slain upon the Spot; the rest fled into the Palace Royal, which was originally erected by one Grapte, a Kinswomen of Izates the King of the Adiabeniens. The Idumæans pushed in along with them; and so beating the Zelotes into the Temple, they made themselves Masters of the whole Mass of John's Treasure for a Booty; which was there deposited under the Roof of his own Habitation. The Zelotes up and down the Town gathered together, upon this, to join those of their Companions

nions that were got into the Temple; and John immediately put himself in a Posture for a Sally upon the Idumæans and the Citizens: Not that they had any Apprehension of their Number, for they were too many for them; but for fear of their slipping out of the City by Night, and at the same Time cutting of Throats and setting fire to it. Upon this Occasion they called a Council, and deliberated with the High-Priest what Measures they were to take. But it pleased God to infatuate their Policies, by giving them over to a Remedy worse than the Disease; so they resolved among themselves to cast off John, and set up Simon in his Stead: And in so doing, they did but clear themselves of one Tyrant, and lay themselves at the Feet of another. But the Vote passed however, and Matthias the High-Priest was sent to invite Simon into the Town for their Governor, whom they had been so often in dread of. There were divers others also, that had been forced out of Jerusalem by the Zelotes, and would gladly have been at home again, that joined with Matthias in the same Request. Simon gave them a magisterial Answer that their Petition was granted, and so entered the City in Quality of their Preserver; the People receiving him also with Acclamations in the same Stile and Character. This happened in the third Month that they call Xanthius. Simon had no sooner entered Jerusalem with his Troops, but his Head was presently at work how to settle himself; for he looked upon those that called him in, and those against whom he was called, to be equally his Enemies.

When John found himself cooped up in the Temple with the rest of the Zelotes, and that Simon and his Companions had made a thorough Rife of the City, he gave himself for lost. The latter, in the mean Time, led on the common People to an Assault upon the Temple; but the Besiegers were so galled with Stones, Darts and Arrows from the Galleries and Battlements over-head, that they were driven back with great Loss; several killed, others carried off wounded, and upon the whole a general Disappointment; the Zelotes having got the advantage of Ground, where there was no coming at them: Beside four strong large Towers of their own erecting to annoy the Enemy from above: One to the Eastward; another to the North; a third upon a Gallery at the Corner over against the lower Town, and a fourth upon the Top of what they call the Pastophoria; a Place where formerly the Priest stood to make Proclamation by Sound of Trumpet when the Sabbath began, and when it ended: And so to the People, in like Manner, when they were to work, and when to keep Holiday. In these Turrets they had disposed of their Archers, Slingers and Engineers with Arrows, Stones and all their military Provisions about them. Simon and his Men were not a little surprized at this obstinate Resistance of the Zelotes; but depending upon their Numbers, they pressed forward still; though with the Loss of a great many Men from the Zelotes Slings and Machines.

## C H A P. X.

*A civil War in Rome; and Vitellius in the Head of a vast Army there. The News of Vitellius being chosen Emperor goes to the Heart of Vespasian. An Invektive against Vitellius and his Party, to the Honour of Vespasian and Titus. The Soldiers are bent upon a Change; and Vespasian takes the Army into his Care.*

**I**N the very Heat of these Broils in Jerusalem, there brake out a worse Mischief in Rome itself: That is to say, a civil War. Vitellius was now come out of Germany, and so prodigious a Multitude of foreign Troops along with him; that for Want of Room in the Lodgments that were assigned them, they were fain to take up in private Houses, and to turn the whole City into one general Quarter. The sparkling of the Romans Gold and Silver was such an Eye-sore to Strangers, that were not used to those Sights, that they could hardly keep their Fingers off, either from taking Things by Force, or killing those that hindered them. This was the Condition of Italy at that Time.

Upon Vespasian's Return to Cæsarea, after laying Waste all about Jerusalem, the News was brought him of strange Tumults in Rome; and that Vitellius was declared Emperor. Now though Vespasian was a Man of Order, and knew as well how to obey as to command, it went sore against his Stomach yet, to think of owning that Man for his Master, that came to the Empire as to a Prey, rather than to a Dignity. This wonderful Turn was so great a Mortification and Distraction to him, that he could not so much as think of any foreign Wars, at a Time when his Country lay labouring under such miserable Circumstances at home. But as his Indignation spurred him on to a Revenge on the one Hand; so the Difficulties of so long a Journey in order to the Execution of it (especially in Winter too) put a Check to him on the other: For many strange Things might fall out, for aught he knew, before he could reach Italy. These, and such Thoughts as these, brought him by Degrees to himself again. While this was in Agitation, the Officers and Soldiers drew into Clubs and Cabals, in Parties; and so discoursing freely upon Matters of State and Government, " they bolted out their Opinions for another Change; roaring out of all Measure  
" against the German Soldiers: A Company of dissolute effeminate Wretches (they  
" cried!) that would not stand so much as the Noise of a War. These are pretty  
" Fellows indeed, they said, to dispose of Empires; or, in Truth, rather to sell them  
" to the fairest Bidder. Can they ever think that we, after the Fatigues of so  
" much Duty and hard Labour, till we are grown old under Arms;—that we will  
" ever submit to an Emperor of their chusing, when we have so much a worthier  
" Prince of our own? Over and above, that if we lose this Opportunity of expres-  
" sing our Gratitude for the generous Obligations Vespasian hath laid upon us, it is  
" Odds we shall never have the Fellow of it again. Beside that Vespasian is in him-  
" self as much superior to Vitellius, with respect to the Character of an Emperor, as  
" we

“ we ourselves are to those that made him one. Have not we run as many Risques,  
 “ and borne as great a Part in the War, as the German Legion that brought this Usur-  
 “ per into the capital City? Are not we as well skilled in the Art and Discipline of  
 “ War as they? Now for Vespasian, there can be no Dispute or Competition; for the  
 “ Senate and the People of Rome are all for him, and will never endure the licentious  
 “ Debauches of Vitellius to be put in the Balance against the Modesty and Tempe-  
 “ rance of Vespasian; which would be the exchanging of a gracious Prince for a mer-  
 “ ciless Tyrant. Nor is it to be expected that the Son Titus, though a Prince of  
 “ extraordinary Virtue, should be chosen in Preference to his Father. But let it suf-  
 “ fice, that it is the Honour and Justice of a Prince that establishes the Peace of the  
 “ Throne. Now if either Maturity of Experience, or Vigour of Youth, may inti-  
 “ tle a Prince to the Choice, you have the one in Vespasian, and the other in Titus;  
 “ and all the Advantages that attend Wisdom, Force, and Resolution. It is further  
 “ to be considered, that in electing the admirable Father of this incomparable Son, the  
 “ three imperial Legions and Auxiliaries will be enforced with the Power of the East;  
 “ that Part of Europe that lies out of the Reach of Vitellius; and all the Interest  
 “ that Vespasian’s Friends, his Brother, and his other Son can make in Italy: The  
 “ one being Præfect of Rome, a Charge of great Influence and Credit, especially at  
 “ the Beginning of a Reign; and the other so popular, that, which Way soever he  
 “ went, the Flower of the Nobility would be sure to side with him. But now, after  
 “ all (they cried) What if the Senate itself should put up Vespasian for Emperor,  
 “ and take the Glory and the Merit of the Action out of our Hands; while we stand  
 “ upon Forms and Niceties to no Manner of Purpose: Should not we be finely de-  
 “ ceived then? We, that of all Men living, have the greatest Obligation to him.”

This was the Soldiers Talk among themselves, at first only in Knots and Corners: But their Confidence increasing with their Numbers, they came unanimously to the Point; and one and all cried up Vespasian, Emperor; begging him, at the same Time, to take the tottering Empire into his Protection. This great Man had been a long time the Supporter of the Empire; but for the Stile of Emperor, he absolutely refused it (though in that very Refusal he deserved it) declaring that he had much rather spend the Remainder of his Days in the Freedom of a private Life, than among the Snares and Difficulties of a more illustrious Station. The more Vespasian stood off, the more the Officers pressed him: Till at length, upon his obstinate Denial, they came all up to him with their Swords drawn, and threatened to kill him, unless he would submit to accept of the Honour that he deserved. He held off a long time; but, in the End, when he saw they would not be denied, he yielded to the Importunity.

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 C H A P. XI.

*Mucianus presses Vespasian to march against Vitellius; but Vespasian is rather for Alexandria. Of Ægypt and the Situation of it. Alexandria*

*a dangerous Port. The Tower of Pharos. Tiberius Alexander a true Friend to Vespasian.*

VESPASIAN was no sooner advanced to the Empire, but Mucianus and the rest of the Officers that invited him to the Government, with the whole Army, called out with one Voice to march against Vitellius; but Vespasian was rather of Opinion for beginning with Alexandria; Ægypt being one of the most necessary and considerable Branches of the Empire, in respect of the vast Quantities of Corn it produces: Insomuch, that if he could but make himself Master of that Country, he was in hope that Rome itself would rather turn out Vitellius, than run the Hazard, if they stood it out, of starving for his Sake; as of Necessity they must, without Relief from Ægypt. He desired also an Enforcement of two Legions that lay at Alexandria to join him.

He propounded also the making of the Province a secure Place of Retreat in the worst of Fortunes. There is hardly any coming at it by Land, and no Ports to the Sea. It is bounded on the West with the parching Land of Lybia: On the South, Syene divides it from Æthiopia and the unpassable Cataracts of the River Nile: On the East, the Red-sea serves it for a Rampart as far as the City Coptos; and on the North, it stretches out as far as Syria, and that which they call the Ægyptian-sea, and the Coast quite through wholly destitute of Ports: So that Nature had provided for the Security of Ægypt in the very Situation of it. From Pelusium to Syene they reckon two thousand Stadia; and three thousand six hundred by Sea, from Plinthine to Pelusium. The Nile is navigable as far as Elephantine; but, as I said before, there is no passing further for the Cataracts.

Alexandria, let the Weather be never so fair, is a nice and dangerous Port; the Entrance very narrow, and the Rocks so scattered up and down in shallow Water, that he must be a very exact Guide that knows all the Turnings. On the left Hand it is encompassed with a Dike, like an Arm about it; on the Right, lies the Isle of Pharos, which hath been so celebrated for a famous Sea-Mark. The Light of it is seen three hundred Furlongs off at Sea, and serves for a Direction to Mariners what Course they are to steer. About this Island there are mighty Defences of strong Keys and thick Walls to break the Violence of the Waves that beat upon that Quarter, and the Rage of the Billows dashing one upon another makes the Passage yet more hazardous. But after all these Difficulties in the Way, there is not a safer Port in Nature, when you are once over the Bar. The Length of it is thirty Furlongs, and it is furnished with Conveniences of Storehouses for all Manner of Goods, to be either imported or exported.

Vespasian was much in the Right when he pitched upon Alexandria, in order to the Establishment of the Empire: And upon that Occasion, he gave the Governor Tiberius Alexandria to understand, that being prevailed upon by the Importunity of the Soldiers to take Charge of the Government, he could not do better than to desire the Favour of his Assistance and Advice in the Administration. Alexander had no sooner read the Letter, but with all Frankness and Alacrity, he gave the Legions and the People the

Oath



Oath of Fidelity to Vespasian; who took it with the greatest Instances of Joy and Affection imaginable: Being abundantly satisfied before-hand in the certain Knowledge and Experience of his Honour and Virtue. Alexander, in the mean time, made a just and a generous Use of the Power that was given him for the Service of the Public, and applied himself in the first Place to provide Necessaries for the Reception of the new Prince.

## C H A P. XII.

*Vespasian's Advancement pleases all People. He ascribes all his Successes to Providence. Several Presages of his future Greatness. Joseph treateth Vespasian in the Style of Emperor, even while Nero was yet living, and himself a Prisoner; for which Vespasian gives him his Liberty with Honours and Rewards.*

**T**HE News flew like Lightning every where, up and down the East, of Vespasian's being advanced to the Empire; and it was so welcome wherever it came, that all the Cities made Holiday upon the Arrival of it, with Vows and Sacrifices for Vespasian's happy Reign.

The Legions that were quartered in Mæsia and Pannonia, and were lately up in Arms against Vitellius, for his tyrannical Insolence, took the Oath to Vespasian with all the Cheerfulness in the World.

Upon Vespasian's Return from Cæsarea to Berytus, there were several Ambassadors from Syria, and other Provinces, that met him upon the Way, with Garlands and gratulatory Addresses in the Name of the Cities and People: Mucianus, the Governor of Syria among the rest, with Assurances of the Faith and good Affection of all in general, expressed by Oaths and otherwise, to the Person and Authority of Vespasian.

Now Vespasian being so fortunate in all his Undertakings, that whatever he did, succeeded to his Wish; began to bethink himself, that such a Concurrence of seeming Accidents making for him, looked liker a providential Disposition of Things in the Order of Causes and Effects, than the Work of Chance; and that it was the Hand of God, not Fortune, that raised him up to the Enterprize. It came then into his Head what strange prophetic Hints and Touches he had observed in the Course of his Life; and all pointing to the same End; as a Passage particularly of Joseph's, who had the Confidence, in the very Life of Nero, to give Vespasian the Title of Emperor. This remarkable Prediction made such an Impression upon Vespasian, (especially from a Person that was yet his Prisoner) that calling Mucianus and several of his Friends and Officers about him, he took Occasion to make Mention of the Bravery of Joseph, and how hard he had put them to it at the Siege of Jotapata; and so from one Thing to another till he came to his Predictions; which, says Vespasian, I took to be only Inventions to keep himself in a whole Skin; till Time and the Event of Things have now made

made it evident that they were Inspirations. And “ what a Shame is it for me now, “ says Vespasian, to treat the Minister and the Messenger of God, that brought me the “ Tidings of my Preferment, at the scandalous Rate still of a Prisoner ?

He had no sooner passed this Reflection, but Joseph was immediately sent for, and set at Liberty : From which generous Gratitude his Officers took their Measures what they themselves might expect from so gracious a Master, that were his faithful Friends and Servants. Titus being then present, told his Father with Submission, that in barely setting Joseph at Liberty, the Work was but half done ; for his Chains ought to be broken as well as taken off, to pronounce him an Innocent, and to leave him as he found him, according to common Practice, when Men are wrongfully imprisoned : For otherwise he is only discharged of the Bondage, but the Dishonour sticks upon him still. Vespasian thought it but reasonable, and ordered his Chains immediately to be cut to Pieces with an Ax. So that Joseph did not only get his Freedom, but the Reputation of a great Prophet also for what he had foretold ; and Credit enough to be farther believed in whatever he should say for the future.

### C H A P. XIII.

*Vespasian takes Antioch in his Way to Rome ; and sends Mucianus with a great Army into Italy. Cæcinna draws Vitellius's Men over to Vespasian ; and the Soldiers seize him as a Traytor. A Fight betwixt Anthony and the Vitellians ; the latter worsted, and fly toward Cremona, where they are totally cut off. Cæcinna discharged ; and sent to Vespasian with the News of the Victory. Sabinus seizes the Capitol. A bloody Battle. Vitellius dragged through the Streets stark drunk ; and stabbed to Death in the City. The People declare every where for Vespasian.*

**W**HEN Vespasian had given the Ambassadors their Answers, and settled all his Governments in the Hands of fit and careful Officers, he changed his Mind, and went to Antioch ; and so forward to Rome, rather than Alexandria, as he thought to have done ; the latter being safe and quiet, and the other miserably embroiled by Vitellius, and standing in more Need of him of the two. So he sent Mucianus over Land into Italy, with an Army of Horse and Foot, by the Way of Cappadocia and Phrygia ; for he durst not venture his Troops upon a Winter Sea.

Among others there was Antonius Primus, the Governor of Mæsia, with the third Legion that lay in that Province ; who desired nothing more than to come to an Encounter with Vitellius. And so Vitellius, on the other hand, sent Cæcinna in the Head of a strong Army against him. As he was upon his March for Rome, he met Anthony upon the Borders of Italy, not far from Cremona ; where he stopped to gaze upon the Numbers, the Order and the Discipline of the Enemy, but durst not engage them.

He

He was now at a stand what to do. Fight he durst not, and he could not run away with Honour: so that he chose the Part of a Deserter rather than of a Coward. He called his Centurions, Tribunes, and in short, all his Officers together, and made Use of that Occasion to enter into a Descant upon Vespasian and Vitellius, still derogating from the one, and elevating the other; and with a Design all this while to draw Vitellius's People over to Vespasian. "The former, he said, had but the Name of an Emperor; the other, the Right and Authority, and the true Stamp of an Imperial Character in his very Person, over and above the Odds of Vespasian's Choice of Men and Numbers; to such a Degree, in fine, that there was no contending with him. And if it be so, why should not we now do the same Thing before-hand, by Choice, that we shall be forced to do but the next Hour by Necessity? Not but that Vespasian is able to do his Business, to all Manner of Purposes, without your Help; Whereas Vitellius is not able to stand upon his own Legs, or to protect any Party that adheres to him." Cæcinna plied his Argument so far, till he gained his Point, and carried the Soldiers over to Anthony. But the next Night, Cæcinna's Men, betwixt Repentance for what they had done, and for fear of Punishment in Case Vitellius should get the better of it, came in a Rage, with their Swords drawn, up to Cæcinna to kill him; and they had certainly done it, if the Tribunes had not passionately interposed on his Behalf. So that they spared his Life; but however ordered him to be kept in Chains, and sent away to Vitellius for a Traytor. So soon as this came to Anthony's Ear, he presently commanded out a Party to fall upon them as Deserters. They made a short Stand; but after the first Shock, they gave Ground, and took their Flight toward Cremona. But Anthony put in with his Horse betwixt them and the Town; and begirting them around, made a great Slaughter upon the Place, and gave the Soldiers the Pillage of the Town. There perished promiscuously in this Ravage, foreign Merchants and Townsmen in abundance; with the whole Army of Vitellius, to the Number of thirty thousand and two hundred Persons. There fell of Anthony's Men that he brought out of Mæsia, four thousand five hundred; who setting Cæcinna at Liberty, sent him away to Vespasian with the News of the Victory; where he was received with great and unexpected Honours, to balance the Disgrace of being false to his Master.

When Sabinus, Vespasian's Brother, understood that Anthony was upon his March toward Rome, it put new Life into him; so that drawing together the City Guards that Night, he seized the Capitol: Great Numbers of Persons of the first Quality coming in to them the next Day; and among the rest, his Nephew Domitian, who had a great Hand in the Glory of that Action.

Vitellius never troubled his Head about Anthony; but his main Spite was at Sabinus, and the rest that joined with him in the Revolt: And being naturally sanguinary and cruel; especially where there was noble Blood in the Case, he sent a Body of his own Troops to attack the Capitol; and there was great Bravery shewed betwixt them and those in the Temple; but in the End, the Germans, overpowering their Adversaries with Numbers, gained the Hill. Domitian, and several Romans of the highest Quality escaped in a Manner by Miracle; but Sabinus was carried to Vitellius, who ordered

ordered him immediately to be put to Death; and all the rest were cut to Pieces; the Soldiers seizing the Plunder of the Temple, and then setting fire to it.

Anthony came up the next Day with his Army, and the Vitellians gave him Battle. They fought in three several Parts of the City, and were all slain. After this, came Vitellius out of his Palace wallowing, drunk and overcharged with a gluttonous Excess, (according to his Custom;) where he was taken up and dragged through the Streets; vilified with all Sorts of scurrilous Outrages, and in the Conclusion, stabbed to Death in the Middle of the City. He had now reigned eight Months and five Days; and such was his Profusion, that if he had lived longer, the Revenue of the Empire would not have answered the Charge of his Debauches. They reckon upon upward of fifty thousand Men slain, over and above those already mentioned: And this great Action happened upon the third Day of the Month Appellæus.

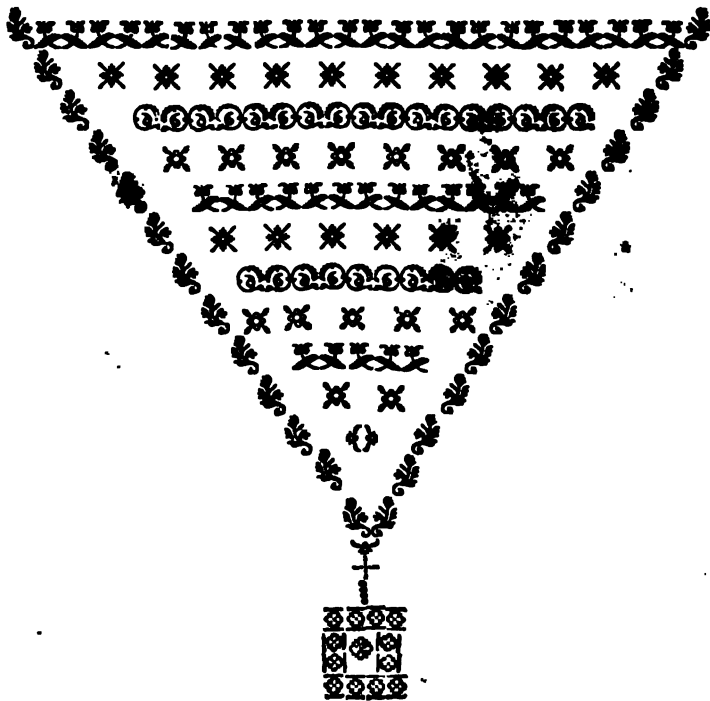
Mucianus next Day entered Rome with his Army: And after some sort of Stop put to the merciless Rage of Anthony's Soldiers (who were still searching in all Corners up and down for Vitellius's Men, whom they killed as fast as they found them, without so much as examining whether they were guilty or innocent) intimated to the People, that they should do well to chuse Domitian for their Governor, till his Father came up. But the People being now out of Danger, and nothing farther to fear, would not hear of any other Governor than Vespasian; and so, crying him up to the Skies with Acclamations, they made a double Festival of it; one, for the Blessing of Vespasian's coming to the Government; the other, for their Deliverance from the Tyranny of Vitellius.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*Vespasian at Alexandria, and courted with Addresses from all Quarters. He sends away his Son Titus towards Jerusalem. Titus's March.*

VESPASIAN, at his coming to Alexandria, was entertained with the whole History of what had passed at Rome; and plied with gratulatory Embassies and Applications from all Quarters, to joy him of his Exaltation to the Empire. Alexandria is looked upon as one of the largest Cities in the World, next to Rome itself: And yet, upon this Occasion, it was too little for the Company. The Imperial State of Rome being now settled and secured, the People quiet and easy, beyond all Expectation, and the Winter over, Vespasian began to bethink himself of looking toward the Remainder of Judæa, and to prepare for his Journey to Rome. When he had put every thing in Order in Alexandria, he sent away his Son Titus, with his best Troops, upon an Expedition against Jerusalem. He went as far as Nicopolis by Land (a Matter of twenty Furlongs from Alexandria;) and then embarking his Troops upon long Boats, passed down the Nile, along the Banks of the Mendesian Canton, to the City of Thmuis; and went ashore at Tanis. From thence he went to Heracleopolis, and

and so to Pelusium; where he staid two Days to refresh his Troops, and then marched away cross the Desert, and encamped by the Temple of Jupiter Cassius. The next Day he went to Ostracine; a Place so extremely dry, that the Inhabitants have no Water at all but what they fetch from Abroad. From thence to Rhinocorura, where he staid a while; and then to Raphia, the first City upon the Borders of Syria, and his fourth Stage: Gaza was the fifth; and he went from thence to Ascalon, and so to Jamnia and Joppa: From Joppa to Casarea, with a Resolution to strengthen himself with other additional Troops.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
WARS of the JEWS.  
BOOK VI.

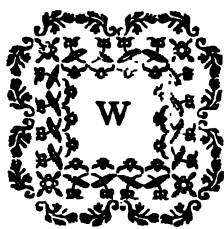
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*From the great Extremity to which the Jews were reduced, to the taking of Jerusalem by Titus; containing the Interval of about one Month.*

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C H A P. I.

*Three Factions in Jerusalem. Eleazar began the Breach, by setting up the Zelotes against the People. John of Gischala puts in for himself. A Fight betwixt John and Eleazar. An Encounter betwixt John and Simon. The deplorable State of Jerusalem, that has neither Humanity left in it, nor Conscience. The March and Order of Titus's Army.*



WHEN Titus had passed the Desarts betwixt Ægypt and Syria, in such Manner as is already set forth, he came to Cæsarea, with a Resolution to draw his Troops together there, and to form his Army. While he was, as yet, with his Father Vespasian at Alexandria, giving Orders about the Administration of the Empire which God had put into their Hands, the Factions in Jerusalem were divided into three Parties, and each against the other; which, for an ill Matter, was well enough to see a common Enemy doing Justice upon itself. As for the domineering Faction of the Zelotes (whose Influence was certainly the Ruin of this City) we have spoken both of the

the Rise and Increase of it very particularly elsewhere; and it was no more, in short, than one Sedition bred out of another. It had somewhat in it of the Rage of a wild Beast, that for Want of other Matter to work upon, preys upon its own Bowels, rather than not be doing some Mischief or other.

Eleazar, the Son of Simon, was the first that began the Separation in the Temple, by setting up the Zelotes against the People, upon the Pretence of being wonderfully offended at the daily Insolencies of John of Gischala, but at the same time doing the same cruel Things himself; and, in Truth, the main Exception was no more than this: That the greater Tyrant of the two could not bring his Heart down to submit to the less: So that betwixt an insatiable Thirst after Power, and an ambitious Impatience of having any body above him, he fell off from his Companions, and set up for himself, with Judas, the Son of Chelcias, and Simon, the Son of Ezron; two Persons of great Quality and Interest; and likewise with Ezechias the Son of Chobar, a Man nobly descended; and every one of them a Train of Zelotes at his Heels. With this Party they took Possession of the Inner-Temple, and put Guards upon the sacred Porches and Doors, in Confidence that the Provisions of the Place, by Reason of the Multitude of their daily Oblations, would supply them with all Necessaries; and putting no Difference, in fine, as to the common Use of things, betwixt sacred and profane. Being thus posted, the only Thing they feared was Want of Men for the Execution of any considerable Design. John was much the stronger of the two; but what Eleazar wanted in Number, was abundantly made good to him by the Advantage of the Place, for he had his Enemy under him. Now John could not attempt any thing upon him but to his Loss; so that betwixt the Fear of doing a rash Thing on the one Hand, and the Impatience of standing still to do nothing at all on the other, he was not a little divided how to behave himself. But his Stomach and Animosity carried it in the End, however, from his Discretion; and he made several Attacks, both with Darts and other Weapons of that Quality, till the Temple was polluted with the Gore of dead Bodies.

On the other Side, Simon the Son of Gorias, whom the People in their Distress had invited and entertained for their Governor and Protector, having in his Possession the upper Town, and the greater Part of the lower, carried on the Assault against John and his Party with the greater Vigour, when he saw how he was pressed at the same time from above by Eleazar. But John had the same Advantage of Simon that Eleazar had of John, who effectually had a double War upon him, and as much the better of the one, as the worse of the other: For just so much as Eleazar was too hard for John, whom he had under him; so much was he too hard for Simon, who was below him again. So that John had little or no Difficulty to repulse the Attempts of Simon from the lower Ground; as he defended himself the best he could from Eleazar that was over his Head, with Slings and Machines to cast Darts and Stones. And these Engines did Execution not only upon the People in Arms, but upon those also that came out of Devotion to worship. For it must be acknowledged that these Miscreants, even in the Outrage of their Impieties, gave Admittance to all that offered themselves upon the Account of Religion; saving only that the Jews were more exposed to strick Searches and Examinations. And for Strangers that were so happy as to escape the Malice of a military Fury, they fell here

and there by Casualty and Mischance: That is to say, by the random Shot of Stones and Lances, that reached the very Altar, and cut off the Sacrificers themselves in the Exercise of their holy Function, together with a Multitude of common Worshippers. Some that came from all Quarters of the Earth, out of Devotion to worship in this holy Place, fell themselves the sacrifices; and defiled that Altar with their Blood, that not only the Greeks, but even the wildest of Barbarians, had a Veneration for. The dead Bodies of Strangers and of Natives, Persons holy and profane, were here promiscuously confounded, and their Blood flowing up to the very Altar.

Ah miserable, miserable City! The Fire and Sword of the Romans, when they entered thee by Force, and endeavoured the purging of thee by Flames for the Iniquities of thy Faction and Apostacy, with all the Desolation that ensued upon it: All this, I say, was nothing to the Misery of thy present Case. Thou wert no longer the Seat of God, after turning his holy House, by thy civil Broils, into a Shambles or a Charnal-House; nor couldest thou ever expect to come off unpunished for these impious Provocations. But it is not yet impossible; not impossible, I say, by a true Repentance to appease the incensed Justice of a righteous God that laid this heavy Judgment upon thee. But this were better let alone; for private Passions and Complaints are not the Business of an Historian; so that I shall betake myself to my Text, and proceed to Matter of Fact that followed upon this Uproar.

Jerusalem (as I have said already) was divided into three Factions. Eleazar and his Party, that had the Charge of the First-fruits and Oblations, got drunk and fell upon John. John sallied out upon Simon; and the People that assisted him with Provisions, against himself and Eleazar. When John happened to be attacked at the same time by Eleazar and Simon, both together, he divided his Forces, and held those in play that assaulted him on the City-side, with Darts from the Tops of the Porches, plying those in the Temple above him with Stones and Arrows from his Machines. When at any time his Enemies over Head gave him a little Respite, (as they did frequently, when Eleazar and his People were either tired or drunk) he was then at Liberty to make stronger Sallies upon Simon and his Accomplices; and still as he beat him further and further into the Town, he burnt all before him: Magazines, Granaries, Stores, and all Houses indifferently, with whatever was in them, that stood in his Way. Upon his Retreat, Simon followed him upon the Heel; and then it was his Turn to do the same Thing over again. They could have done no more, if they had been in a direct Conspiracy for the betraying of Jerusalem to the Romans, by putting it out of Condition of Defence, in destroying all that was necessary to preserve it. And to increase the Calamity, every thing was burnt to the Ground quite round the Temple; the City turned into a Desert by the very Natives of the Place, and a Field of Battle one against another. The Provision of Corn, in fine, and other Necessaries sufficient to have maintained a Siege for several Years, was almost totally consumed; which led inevitably to a Famine, and the Ruin of the City that they brought upon themselves.

Jerusalem, in the mean time, betwixt the Faction within the town, and the Besiegers without, was like a great Body worried and torn to Pieces for a Prey. Old Men and Women, under such an Astonishment for what they saw and suffered, that they prayed  
for



for the Success of their very Enemies, the Romans, and for a Foreign War in exchange for a Civil! They lay under the Impression of a most scandalous Dread and Terror. It was now past Advising-time, and there was no Place left either for Repentance, Composition, or Flight; all Passages were guarded, and the Heads of the Factions, how mortal Enemies soever in other Cases, were all of a Mind yet in the Agreement of killing any Man that deserved to live. They suffered not one Man to escape, that was but suspected to be a Well-wisher to the Romans; but they were all treated like common Enemies. The Clamour of Shouts, and the Clashing of Arms, was heard Day and Night. The Fear itself of Evils to come, was a great Misery; but then the Sense of those Evils being come upon them was a much greater, and their daily Lamentations were never yet without a just Ground to work upon. Their fears made them smother their Sorrows. Grief is Dumb when it comes to be stupifying; and that is the tormenting Affliction that lies gnawing, like a Canker, at the Heart, without making any Noise. There was no such Thing left as Reverence for the Living. The Relation was lost betwixt Superior and Inferior, and as little Regard had to the Humanity of burying the Dead. And what was the Reason of all this, but an universal Desperation; for "he that hath nothing to hope for, hath nothing to fear." Every Man that was not of the Faction, gave himself for lost, and carried his Life in his Hand, as if he were the next Moment to die. The Faction, all this while fought on, with Heaps of Carcasses under their Feet, in a kind of triumphant Vanity of Ostentation; as if the Horror of the Spectacle had made the Living as hard and insensible as the Dead. But their Heads and their Hearts were bent upon Wickedness; and whatever came into their Thought that they were able to compass, let it be never so bloody and cruel, they made no Scruple to execute it. Witness John's perverting to profane Uses, those sacred Materials that were set apart for the Service of God's House. There was once, upon a Time, a Resolution taken up by the People and the High-Priests, to raise the Temple twenty Cubits higher, and to carry up an Arch to support the Work. To this End King Agrippa, with incredible Charge and Labour, brought from Mount Libanus, certain admirable Pieces of Timber, both for Length and Size: But the War breaking out, interrupted the Design. So that John, having Occasion for the Materials, had the Trees cut out into Lengths for his own proper Use, and then framed into Turrets for his Security and Defence against Eleazar. They were raised along the Wall to the Westward, over-against the great Hall, as the only Place capable of such a Structure, by reason of so many Stair-Cases in the Way. John flattered himself, that this impious Contrivance of his would have laid his Enemies at his Feet: But God, in his Providence, disappointed him, by bringing the Romans in upon him, before he could perfect his Work.

When Titus had gotten together one Part of his Army, and ordered the Remainder of it up to Jerusalem, he went to Cæsarea; where he had with him, over and above the three Legions that had formerly made such a Havock in Judæa under his Father, the twelfth Legion also; which was nevertheless brave for that unlucky Encounter under Cestius; nay, on the other Side, burning with Impatience for the Opportunity of a Revenge for that Disaster. He ordered the fifth Legion to meet him by the Way of Ammaus; and the tenth by Jericho; while he himself marched with the rest, in Conjunction

tion with a Body of Royal Auxiliaries, larger than ever heretofore, and a great number of Syrians. The Detachments that were sent by Vespasian, under Mucianus into Italy, out of the four Legions, he made good out of two thousand choice Men of the Alexandrian Army that he brought along with him, and three thousand more that followed him from the Euphrates: And there was the best of Friends also, both for Integrity and Council, Tiberius Alexander, formerly the Governor of Ægypt, but now made Choice of to command the Army; being the first Man that owned and stood up for Vespasian in the Infancy of his Government, entered into a League with him, and stood firm to it in Despite of all the Hazards of an uncertain Fortune. He was likewise qualified with all the natural Advantages for martial Undertakings, that Resolution, Generosity, and Wisdom, could give a Man.

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## C H A P. II.

*Titus marches into an Enemy's Country; and takes a View of Jerusalem. The Jews make a desperate Sally. Titus preserved by Providence. His Bravery and Conduct.*

**T**ITUS being now advancing into an Enemy's Country, this was the Order of his March. The Auxiliaries went first; after them, the Pioneers; and in the next Place, those that were to mark out the Camp; which were followed with the Officers Baggage, and a Convoy; and then came Titus himself with his Guards, the choicest of his Men, and his Ensign-Bearers about him; a Body of Horse following them at the Head of the Machines. The next in Course were the Tribunes, and other Officers, with a Train of choice Men under their Command: The Roman Eagle after them, with the Ensigns of the Legions about it, and Trumpets before them; the Body of the Army marching in Rank and File, six in Front; and the common Soldiers, every Man following the Legion he belonged to, with their Luggage before them. The Mercenaries and their Guards brought up the Rear. In this Order Titus advanced, according to the Method of the Roman Discipline, by the Way of Samaria up to Gophna; a Place that his Father Vespasian had formerly taken; and there he found a Garrison, where he took up his Lodging that Night, and prosecuted his March next Morning to a Place that the Jews call the Valley of Thorns, near the Village of Gabath Saul, or, the Valley of Saul; where he encamp'd that Evening near thirty Furlongs from Jerusalem.

At this Place Titus put himself at the Head of some six hundred choice Horse, and led them toward Jerusalem to take a View of the Town, and learn what he could of the State and Disposition of the Jews. For being well assured that the People were altogether for Peace, and as weary every Jot of their Oppressors, as they were of the Oppression itself; and that they wanted nothing, in fine, but Strength and Opportunity for a Revolt; he did not know, but that upon the Sight of him and his Army, they might perhaps

perhaps bethink themselves of bringing the Matter to Terms of Accommodation before it came to Blows. With this Fancy in his Head Titus advanced toward the City, and so long as he went forward in the ready Way to the Walls, there was not one Creature appeared upon the Battlements. But upon crossing over toward the Turret called Píephinos, there sallied out a vast Number of Jews from the Gate over against the Sepulchre of Helena, on the Quarter they called the Woman's Tower, that brake quite through the Middle of Titus's Body, and cutting off the Communication betwixt the two divided Parties, they could not relieve one another. In this Confusion the Jews singled out Titus, with a very small Number of his People about him, in a Place where there was no going forward for the Encloüres, Gardens, and Ditches betwixt him and the Wall; and his Retreat was intercepted, on the other hand, by a strong Body of the Enemy that was gotten betwixt him and his own People. But Titus's Men not knowing the Danger their General was in, and believing him to be yet safe and in the Crowd, lifting for himself; they had nothing more to do, they thought, but every Man to look to one, and so to follow their Captain. Titus finding, in this Extremity, that he had nothing but his Sword and his Courage left him to trust to, called out to his Fellow-Soldiers to follow him, and in the same Instant spurred desperately into the Enemies Body, to force his Way through to the rest of his Men. Now this was a time and Action to give all People to understand, how far the Providence of God interposes in the Event of Wars, and in the personal Preservation of Emperors and Princes. For Titus, who came not out (as I said) to fight a Battle, but to make a Discovery, had not provided himself of Arms, either for his Head or his Body, and yet not one Dart or Arrow, of all those Showers that were thrown against him, once touched him, but were carried off from the Mark, as if they had been designed to miss it. Titus, in the mean Time, clearing his Passage on both Sides with his Sword in his Hand, overbearing all before him, and trampling his Enemies under his Horse's Feet. This fearless Resolution of Titus's drew the Rage of the whole Party upon him with Fury and Clamour; crying out one to another, to fall upon him, as the only Check to their Successes. But which Way soever Titus turned, the Jews fled before him; and yet, at the same Time, others pressing him Flank and Rear, and his Companions all the while sticking close and bravely to him. They found, by this Time, that there was no Way to come off but by one seasonable generous Charge, quite through and through. They made the Push immediately, wherein one of Titus's Friends was killed, Horse and Man; another overthrown and slain, and his Horse taken and carried off; while Titus with the Remainder of his People, got back again to his Camp, without so much as one Wound. The Jews took such Heart upon this temporary Advantage, that they looked upon it as an Earnest of greater Things to follow, but their Hopes deceived them.

## C H A P. III.

*Domestic Factions are united by a foreign War. The Roman Soldiers being surpris'd without their Arms, are beaten from their Camp. A Skirmish betwixt the Jews and the Romans. Titus missing; and the Romans at their Wits End to know what was become of him. The Jews make a running Fight of it.*

UPON the coming up of a Legion that Night from Ammaus to join Titus, he marched away next Morning early to Scopos : A Place seven Stadia to the Northward from the City. It stands low, and in a fair Prospect both of the Town and of the Temple; (and so properly enough called Scopos.) He ordered two Legions to intrench upon the Place, and the fifth Legion to withdraw three Stadia farther off; where they might intrench without any Danger from the Enemy, being already wearied off their Legs with a tedious Night's March. These Legions were no sooner at Work upon the Orders, but up comes the tenth Legion from Jericho; a Place lately taken and garrisoned by Vespasian. This Legion was appointed to encamp six Stadia to the East of Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives; which is over against the City, and the Valley of Cedron betwixt them.

The Factions in the Town went on tearing one another to Pieces, as the bitterest Adversaries in the World; till the Dread of a foreign War and a common Enemy made them Friends again. For upon the very Sight of the Roman Camp, and the Order of it, the three Seditious Parties agreed the Matter, and pieced again; reasoning with themselves upon the Equity and Necessity of such a Composition; and expostulating one with another, after this Manner. "What will be the End of this Business?" "do you think, if we stand still to see ourselves surrounded with Forts and Troops; our Lives and Liberties at Mercy; and we all this while cooped up within Walls, and our Arms a-cross, the tame Spectators of a licentious War, to the Advantage of our Enemies, and our own Ruin? Nay, (says another) we are only valiant against ourselves, and in cutting one another's Throats, to make way for the Romans to a Conquest without Blood." Upon this they gathered into Parties and Cabals; and in that very Instant betaking themselves to their Arms, made a furious Excursion cross the Valley upon the tenth Legion, with horrid Clamours and Outcries, as they were intrenching their Camp. This Sally was such a Surprise to the Romans, that they were half distracted at it: And it was so much the greater, upon an Opinion, both that the Jews durst not offer at it, and that their Divisions had made them incapable of such an Agreement. But the Soldiers, in fine, being at Work without their Arms, the Jews fell upon them at unawares; whereupon every Man quitted his Post: Some ran quite away; others fled to their Arms, but were cut off before they could make use of them. Upon the Credit of this Victory ready to their Hands, the Jews came flowing in still more and more; and though they were not in Truth very numerous, their good Fortune made them appear so, both to the Romans and to themselves. Of all Nations under

under the **Heavens**, the Romans are certainly the People that best understand the Art and Discipline of **War**, and discharge their military Exercises and Duties with the best Conduct and Grace: And yet, upon the Astonishment of this unaccountable Surprise, they trembled; and turning their Backs, the Jews followed them upon the Pursuit: And upon turning their Heads, as any of the Enemy came up with them, some they stopped or repulsed; others they killed, or wounded; for in the Heat of their Rage they kept themselves upon no manner of Guard. But as the Numbers increased on the one hand, so of Necessity must the confusion on the other: till, in the End, the Romans were forced totally to abandon their Camp: And the whole Legion had been intirely cut off, if Titus had not come in the precise Minute to their Succour; and betwixt Reproaches of Cowardice on the one Side, and exemplary Bravery on the other, put a Stop to their Flight. Titus took this Opportunity of joining the Fugitives with a Party of choice Men he had about him of his own: and charging the Jews in Flank, he killed several of them upon the Spot; wounded more, and drove the whole Body down into the Valley in great Disorder, and not without a considerable Loss of Men, before they could gain the other Side of the Bottom. Upon their passing the Valley, they made a Stand, and maintained a Fight with the Romans a-crofs it, till Mid-day. In the Afternoon, Titus inforced the Legion with the Troops he brought to succour it; and posting Parties up and down to secure the Romans against Excursions, he ordered the Remainder of his Forces up the Mountain, to incamp and fortify upon the Top of it.

The Jews that were within Distance of observing this Motion from the Walls, took it for a direct Flight: And one of their Intelligencers gave to understand as much by a Signal from the Town, by shaking a Garment in the Air, as a Way of Intelligence concerted among themselves. Upon this Intimation the Jews rushed out in such an outrageous Fury, that they looked liker a Herd of wild Beasts than a Multitude of Men. The Violence was so impetuous, that not so much as one Man in the contrary Party durst stand the Shock: But they were all driven, as if it had been by a Blow from an Engine; some one Way; and some, another: But pressing up the Mountain all that was possible for Refuge. About half way up the Hill, Titus made a Stand, with a few of his generous resolute Friends about him: Who, out of the Veneration they had for the Person and Dignity of the Emperor, besought him not to expose any longer his own sacred Life against the worthless Lives of a desperate Rabble of Jews; whose Condition was such, that Death was the best Thing that could befall them; but rather to consult his own Quality and Safety: Minding him, that he was not there in the Circumstances of a Soldier, but in the Character of the sovereign Master of the World; and that it was not for him to think of standing alone, when the Foundations of the Earth sunk under him. Titus took no more Notice of what they said, than if he had not heard it; but stood upon his Guard against all Opposers, and encountered all Assaults; cutting some over the Face, killing others that pressed upon him, and forcing some again down the Mountain into the Valley. The Vigour and the Resolution of this Prince kept them in some sort of Awe; though not enough to fright them into the City again: But opening to the right and left, they attacked his People on each

Hand of him; while Titus galling them in the Flank gave some Obstruction to the Pursuit.

When the Romans, from their Camp above, took Notice what Havock was made of their Companions below, it struck them with such a Horror and Amazement, that the whole Legion dispersed upon it; taking for granted that the Romans were not able to stand before the Jews, and that Titus himself had quitted the Field, or his Soldiers, they thought, would never have forsaken him. While they were in the Distraction of this panic Terror, running up and down like Madmen, they knew not why nor whether, there was an Alarum given to the whole Legion, by some that had seen Titus labouring for Life in the Middle of his Enemies; calling upon them with Outcries, to hasten away to the Rescue of their General. This Reproach, betwixt the Shame and the Conscience of having abandoned their Commander, transported them to so revengeful a Rage, that without any farther Thought of shifting for themselves, they fell with all their Might upon the Jews, and drove them away before them down the Brow of the Mountain. Not but that they made their Retreat fighting too: And for a while disputed every Foot of Ground they lost; till the Romans, by the Advantage of the higher Station, forced them all down into the Valley. Titus pressed hard upon those he had to do withal, and so sent the Legion back to make an End of their Trenches; he himself staying with his own People about him, to keep the Enemy at a Distance. Now if I may be allowed to speak the just Truth of the Matter, without Flattery, Envy, or Detraction, this was the second Time that Titus saved this Legion in the same Day. And the Soldiers were now at Liberty to fortify and settle their Camp.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The Paschal Feast at hand. A cursed Design under the Cover of Religion. The three Factions contracted into two. Titus moves toward Jerusalem, and orders the levelling of the Passes.*

**T**HE Jews had no sooner a little Breathing-while from the Hostilities of the Romans, but they fell presently all to Pieces again among themselves. The Paschal Feast, or the Feast of unleavened Bread being now at hand: That is to say, the fourteenth of the Month Xanthicus; which is the Day from whence the Jews date their Deliverance out of Ægypt: Eleazar caused the Temple-Gate to be set open for a free Entrance to all People that came up to Worship. John made use of this religious Occasion and Pretext, for a Cover to a most execrable Wickedness that he had in his Heart. He picked out a select Number of his own People that were the least known, and most of them licentious and profane: And these he secretly intermingled with the Worshippers; giving them Daggers, and private Arms under their Coats, with Instructions how to behave themselves. The Temple was immediately all in a Tumult.

Tumult both within and without; and this Uproar looked upon as a general Design upon the whole Multitude, by those that were not of the Plot. But Eleazar and the Zelotes knew better; and that the Malice of this Exploit was principally levelled at them: And thereupon the Guards drew off from the Gates; others leaped down from the Towers without striking a Blow, and crept into the Temple Vaults to hide themselves. The common People that betook themselves to the Altar, were miserably destroyed; some of them squeezed and trampled to Death in the Croud; others lay weltering in their Blood up and down, or their Brains beaten out with Swords and Cudgels. Where any Man had a Figue at another, it was but making him one of the contrary Faction to cover his Revenge; and a particular Grudge was Pretence enough to take away any Man's Life, or to call him a Zelote. But after all these barbarous Inhumanities upon the Innocent, the Guilty found some sort of Quarter yet; in a Connivance of their Escapes out of those Vaults and Holes, where they had absconded. The Zelotes being now absolute Masters of the Inner-Temple, pressed harder and harder still upon Simon: The Faction being now reduced to two Divisions that were in three before.

Titus was at this Time thinking to decamp from Scopos, and to advance nearer Jerusalem. So that in order to his Removal, he posted a competent Strength of his best Troops to prevent and to encounter Inroads, and gave it in Charge to another Body of Men, to see all the Ways levelled betwixt that and Jerusalem. Upon this, the Hedges, the Walls, and the Country People's Fences about their Gardens, were taken away, and the Trees cut round about; Fruit-Trees and all, though never so choice: The Hollows all filled up; the Craggs plained, and the whole Tract of Ground from Scopos to Herod's Sepulchre, and the Pool of Serpents [otherwise called Bethara] all made smooth and even.

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## C H A P. V.

*The Jews lay their Heads together to put a Cheat upon the Romans. Titus has no Faith in the Pretence. The Jews outwit the Romans. Titus threatens his Men with martial Law; but upon the Officers Mediation, Titus grants them their Pardon. The Siege of Jerusalem.*

**T**HE Jews had at this Time a Plot in their Heads how to put a Trick upon the Romans. Some of the boldest of the Party made a Step out of the Town, a little beyond the Place they call the Womens Towers; upon a Pretence, that they were forced out of the City, for fear of a Party within it that was for Peace; and that they durst not venture any farther for fear of the Romans: But there they kept themselves as close, and as much out of Sight as they could. There was at the same Time another Party upon the Walls roaring out as loud as they could, and in the Name of the Inhabitants, for a Peace and an Alliance with the Romans: Imploring

them at the same Time to come over to them, and they would open them the Gates. And for the better Grace of this Imposture, they counterfeited a Squabble and a Contest among themselves: Some pretending to press out to the Romans; and others casting Stones at them to hinder them: And still persisting, in Appearance, either by fair Means or by foul to make their Way. At this Rate, after several feigned Attempts and Repulses, they went their Way back again like Mad-men at the Disappointment. The Cheat went down well enough with the common Soldiers, who looked upon the Town to be as good as their own already; and pressed so eagerly to be in Action, as if there had been nothing wanting but the Ceremony of opening the Gates to put them in Possession of it. But Titus had no Faith at all in the Pretext of this Invitation; having made them an Offer by Joseph, but the Day before, of as much as they seemed now to desire, and they rejected the Proposal. So that Titus commanded his Soldiers every Man of them to stand to their Arms, and to maintain their Posts. But in the mean while, some of those that were employed upon the Trenches, betook themselves to their Weapons in a Hurry, and ran towards the Gates. The Jews that pretended to be driven out of the Town, let them pass by without any Interruption; till they were got up within a little of some of the Towers near the Port: And then following them close upon the Rear, they hemmed them in within Reach of Stones, Darts, and all Manner of Shot of that Quality from the Walls: Where great Numbers of them were killed and wounded; being so pent up by those that pressed upon the Backs of them, that there was no getting clear of the Wall: Beside that, between Shame and Confusion, on the one Hand, for their Disobedience, and the Fear of Punishment for it, on the other, they were hardened into a Resolution of prosecuting what they had begun. But, in fine, after a long Dispute, and with an equal Loss on both Sides, the Romans in the Conclusion brake through the Body of the Jews; who yet pursued them in their Retreat, with Lances and other such like Weapons, as far as the Sepulchre of Helena: And not without insolent and contemptuous Reproaches upon the Romans, for being outwitted and made such Fools of. This they did, waving their Bucklers over their Heads; leaping and dancing all the Way they went, with Shouts of Joy and Triumph.

When the Romans were thus come off, their Officers treated them with Menaces and Scorn; and Titus himself received them with a Speech of Resentment and Indignation, to the following Purpose. “ How comes it, says he, that the Jews, that have  
 “ nothing but their Despair for their Directors, should yet manage their Affairs with  
 “ so much Consideration, Stratagem and Success? The Question is answered in one  
 “ Word: They live in Obedience to their Superiors, and in good Will and Union  
 “ one with another: Whereas the Romans, that have been hitherto so famous for their  
 “ excellent Order and Discipline, and consequently for their good Fortune, are now  
 “ fallen off, and destroyed by the head-strong Intemperances of their own Folly, in  
 “ making War without Officers; and, which is worst of all, Cæsar himself to be a  
 “ Spectator of this. What a Scandal will this be to the very Rules and Methods of  
 “ Arms! Or what will my Father say, do ye think, when he shall come to hear of it:  
 “ A General, that in the whole Course of a long and a military Life, never met with

“ any



“ any thing like it before? Now such is the Severity of Martial Law, that it makes it  
 “ Capital for any Man to depart from the strict Rule of Discipline, even in a small Mat-  
 “ ter; but in this Case, the whole Army is a Deserter. And be it known to you all,  
 “ that, according to the Strictness of the Roman Conduct, Victory itself is a Scandal  
 “ when it is gained by extravagant means.”

Titus delivered these Words with some sort of Indignation; which gave the Officers to understand, that the Law was to be executed; and upon this, the whole Body of the Offenders gave themselves for lost; being satisfied in their Consciences, that they had deserved the Justice they feared. But, in this Interval, the Legions did in a manner beset Titus, with Petitions and Intercessions on the Behalf of their unfortunate Companions: Imploring his Mercy toward the Failings of a few rash People, for the Sake of a great Number that stood firm; and upon an Assurance that they would atone by their future Services for their past Faults. Cæsar found his Interest, as well as his Inclination, in complying with this Mediation; for though in the Case of a single Person it may be requisite to use Severity, the same Reason does not hold yet in a Multitude. Titus, in fine, forgave and forgot all that was past; upon Condition, that his People would be honest and wiser for the time to come: And from thenceforward he set his Thoughts at work how to revenge himself on the treacherous Jews.

His first Business was to lay all level betwixt himself and the Town; which was the Work only of four Days: After which, he ordered the best of his Troops to advance towards the Ramparts, betwix North and West: The Foot drawn up in seven Battalions, and the Horse in three Squadrons, with Archers betwixt them. This being a Force sufficient to prevent or repel all Excursions; the Baggage of the three Legions, and the Train thereunto belonging, were all out of Danger.

Titus encamped at the Distance of two Stadia from the City, over-against the Tower called Psephinos; upon that Angle of the Wall where it winds off from the North to the Westward; intrenching also another Part of his Army toward the Tower Hippicos, some two Furlongs likewise from the City; and keeping the tenth Legion still where it was, upon Mount Olivet.

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## C H A P. VI.

*The Description of Jerusalem. Three Walls. The old Wall impregnable. Three famous Towers. A dismal Conflagration. The Magnificence and Situation of the Temple. The Womens Oratory. The holy Sanctuary. The inner Part of it, with the Partitions. The Candlestick, Table and Altar. The Outside of the Temple. The Roof. The Altar before the Temple. No unclean Person suffered to enter. The Priests exemplary in their Conversation. The Priests Veil. The Ephod. Fort Antonia.*

T H E

**T**HE City of Jerusalem was surrounded with three Walls; saving only upon the Quarter toward the inaccessible Valleys, where there was but one. It was erected upon two Hills; the one directly fronting the other, and a deep Valley betwixt them; all covered with Houses. The Mountain that the upper Town stands upon is much the higher and the steeper of the two: And for the Strength of the Situation, King David, the Father of Solomon that erected the Temple, gave it the Name formerly of the Fortrefs or Castle; and this is it which we call at this Day the upper Market.

The lower Town is seated upon another Hill that bears the Name of Acra, with a steep Declivity round about it. There was formerly another Hill also over-against this, somewhat lower than the Acra, and divided from it by a large Valley: But in the Time of the Asmonæans, their Princes filled up this Bottom; and cutting off from the Hill Acra, they joined the Town to the Temple; by which Means it overlooked and commanded all the rest.

The Name of the Valley aforesaid, that separates the upper Town from the lower, is Tyropæon; and it stretches as far as the Fountain of Siloe: That affords an excellent Water to drink, and great Plenty of it.

There are likewise, without the Town, two other Towns, next to inaccessible, by the Crags and Precipices every where round about them.

The oldest of the three Walls was extremely strong, by reason of the Depth of the Valley below, and the over-hanging of the Rock from above, whereupon it was erected. And beside the natural Advantage of the Situation, it had all the Helps that David and Solomon, and several other Princes, could contribute to the further strengthening of it by Art, Industry, and Expence. It began on that Side, at the Tower Hippicos; and so to another Tower called the Galleries, running along by the Town-House, to the West Porch of the Temple. It passed on the other Side, reckoning from the same Place, by Bethso, down to the Effene-Gate; and so Southward, by the Fountain of Siloe; where it strikes off to the Eastward, toward the Pool of Solomon; and thence by Ophas, to the East Porch of the Temple.

The second Wall begins at Genath, a Gate belonging to the former Wall; and so runs on, upon the North Side of the City, to the Fort Antonia.

The third Wall began at the Tower Hippicos, and so ran Northward to that of Psephinos; over-against Helena's Sepulchre, the Queen of Adiabena, and Mother of King Izates; keeping along by the royal Caves, from the Tower at the Corner, toward that which they call the Fullers Monument; whence it came up to the old Wall in the Vale of Cedron: And this was the Compass of it. This Wall was the Work of Agrippa, for the Security of that Part of the Town that he had built; which was otherwise naked and defenceless. The City was, by this Time, grown so populous, that the Place was too narrow for the Inhabitants; so that by little and little they crept out into a kind of Suburbs; and, on the North Side of the Temple next the Hill, their Buildings increased extremely.

There was a fourth Mountain that fronted Antonia; with Ditches cut out of a prodigious Depth, betwixt them; insomuch that there was no coming at the Foundation of

of Antonia, to undermine it: Beside that the sinking of the Trench added so much to the Height of the Tower. They give the fourth Mountain the Name of Bezeth, or the New Town; being an Inlargement only of the former. When this Place came to be inhabited, the People earnestly desired to have it fortified: And Agrippa, the Father of this King of the same Name, modelled his Design, and ran up this Wall about it; as you have heard: But upon a Fancy coming into his Head, that Claudius Cæsar might perhaps take some Offence and Jealousy at the Pomp and Ostentation of so magnificent a Work, Agrippa went no farther than the laying of the Foundations, and so dropped the Project: But if he had gone on, Jerusalem could never have been taken.

The Stones of this Wall were twenty Cubits in length, and ten over: And so hard and firm withal, that they were Proof either against Mining or Battery. The Wall was also ten Cubits thick, and it would have been answerably high in Proportion, if the Fear of Claudius (as I told you) had not put a Stop to Agrippa's Design. The Jews, 'tis true, carried up the Wall afterwards to twenty Cubits, with Battlements of two Cubits at the Top; and Parapets, of three: Which in all make five and twenty Cubits. The Wall was fortified with Towers of twenty Cubits square, every Jot as substantial as the very Wall; and not inferior for Strength and Beauty, to the Stones and Workmanship of the Temple itself. These Towers were raised twenty Cubits above the Wall, with winding Stair-cases leading up to them; Lodgings and Eating-Rooms on the Top, and Cisterns for Rain-Water. Upon the third Wall there were ninety Towers all of a Make, and at the equal Distance of two hundred Cubits one from another. The middle Wall had only fourteen Towers; the old Wall, sixty; and thirty-three Furlongs was the Compass of the whole City.

The third Wall was, all over, a wonderful Piece of Workmanship from one End to the other; but yet not comparable to the Tower called Psephinos: It stands upon the Angle of the Wall, North-West of the City; upon that Quarter where Titus had incamped. The Height of it was seventy Cubits; and so advantageous a Prospect, that, in a clear Day, one might see Arabia from it; the Sea, and the uttermost Confines of the Hebrews. The Figure of it was with eight Angles. Just against this, was the Tower Hippicos, and there were near at Hand two other Towers of Herod's erecting upon the old Wall: Which, for Size, Curiosity and Strength, were looked upon as the most famous Master-Pieces in the World. For the King, over and above the natural Greatness of his Mind, gratified the Impulse of his Inclination also, in doing all he could for the Good and Glory of the City. He dedicated his three Towers to the Honour and Memory of the three Persons he had the greatest Esteem for in the World; his Brother, his Friend, and his Wife: The two former having signalized themselves by dying gloriously upon the Field of Battle; the other being put to Death by himself, in a Fit of Jealousy.

The Tower of Hippicos (the Name of one of his Friends) had four Angles, five and twenty Cubits over, and thirty in Height, and the whole Body of it solid. Above this, was a Platform of Stones accurately jointed; and a Receptacle for Rain-Water, of twenty Cubits deep. Over this Terrace, were yet two Stories of five and twenty Cubits each, and divided into several Chambers or Quarters: And over that Building were

were Battlements of two Cubits high, and Parapets of three Cubits all around; amounting, in the whole, to the Height of eighty-five Cubits.

Herod called the second Tower, Phasaël, by the Name of his Brother. It was forty Cubits square, and, in Height, after the Manner of a Pillar: All massive within from Top to Bottom. And above this, was a Porch of ten Cubits high; supported with Arches, and set out with other Curiosities. Over the Middle of this Porch, was another, with rich Baths and Apartments to it, suitable to the Magnificence of the royal Founder. On the Top of it were Battlements and Fortifications; the whole Height of the Tower falling little short of ninety Cubits. It had, at a Distance, some Resemblance of the Watch-Tower of Pharos; the famous Sea-Mark to those that sailed towards Alexandria; only much the larger of the two, and, at this Time, the Residence of Simon, that Tyranical Oppressor.

Herod gave the third Tower the Name of the Queen Mariamne his Wife. It was twenty Cubits square, length and breadth; and five and fifty Cubits high. It must be allowed that the Structure, the Rooms, and the Furniture of the two other Towers, were rich and pompous; but they were yet as much below the Curiosity, the Beauty, and the Ornament of this, as this fell short of the Strength and Dignity of the other two: The King rightly distinguishing betwixt the masculine Virtues of the two Heroes, Hippicos and Phasaël, and the soft Tenceness of a fair Lady in the Person of Mariamne.

Now as to these three Towers, the Height was prodigious; and yet the Place they were raised upon, made it seem much more than it was. For the old Wall they stood upon, was itself erected upon a very high Piece of Ground: And these Turrets again were advanced upon the Top of a Mountain that was yet thirty Cubits higher than the ancient Wall. Neither were they less admirable for the Materials they were made of, than for the Structure. The Stones were neither common, nor of a Weight to be removed with Hands: But of white Marble cut out in Planks of twenty Cubits long; ten in breadth, and five Cubits deep; and so artificially put together, that there were no Joints to be seen, but every distinct Tower looked like one entire Piece.

This was on the North Side of the City; and just within it, there stood a royal Palace, so rich and curious, that it is not for the Tongue of Man to express it: Beside that it was all inclosed with a Wall of thirty Cubits in Height, and Turrets of the best Work and Masters, planted at equal Distances one from another round about it; with splendid Lodgings and Treating-Rooms to receive a hundred Persons. There was an incredible Collection of the choicest Marbles for Variety and Beauty, that could be gotten for Money. The Beams and Timbers that supported the Roof were, for Length and Thickness, beyond Imagination; and so were the ornamental Additions toward the finishing of the Work. There were a World of Chambers with commodious Passages, and Contrivances innumerable; for Sight as well as Convenience; the whole being magnificently set out and furnished, with all the Advantages of Gold and Silver, and whatever else was precious. There were also Porches and Galleries in Abundance, leading in a kind of Circle from one to another, and in each of them a Row of Pillars. Now for the Distances betwixt those Pillars that lay to the open Air, nothing could be more agreeable than the Prospect of so many Groves and Nurseries of so many several Plants; long and pleasant

pleasant Walks, beset with Cisterns, Fountains, Pipes and brazen Figures to spout out Water; with Volaries of tame Pigeons gathering about it for Refreshment. But it is impossible for any Man to do this Palace Right in the Description of it; beside that my Heart bleeds at the very Thought of the Story, to consider what a Devastation hath been made here by an impious Crew of Incendiaries and Traitors. For this Conflagration was not the Work of the Romans, but of a Band of wicked Miscreants, as we have already observed upon the Beginning of this Sedition, who burnt all from the Fort Antonia; and then carrying it on to the Palace, set Fire to the Roofs of the three Towers.

The Temple was built, as I said, upon a very hard Rock, which was so steep on all Hands, that at first there was scarce Ground sufficient on the Top of it for the Temple, and the Inclosure that was to be about it. But when King Solomon erected this Fabric, he ordered the running up of a Wall to the Eastward of it, to keep up the Earth: And having so far secured it, he built a Porch upon the Rampart. There was not as yet any other Fortification; but the People carrying up Earth from time to time afterwards to supply the Defect, the Hill came by Degrees to be enlarged. They brake down, some time after this, the North-Wall, and took in as much Ground there too, as served in time to come for the Foundation of the whole Temple.

The Design succeeding so much beyond Expectation, they incompassed the Hill with three Walls; but with a prodigious Expence of Time and Treasure; for it was not only a Work of many Ages; but the whole Mass of religious Oblations from all Parts of all the World, to the Honour and Service of God and his Worship, was spent upon this Undertaking, reckoning the Charge as well of the upper as of the lower Temple; which latter was erected upon a Foundation of three hundred Cubits deep, and in some Places more; but the Depth did not appear, in regard that the Valley was now filled up to the very Level of the Streets in the City. The Stones provided for this mighty Undertaking, were of forty Cubits in Length; which gave them to understand, that there was nothing impossible where there was Money and Good-will; and that Constancy, Time, and Patience, could work Miracles.

As the Foundations were wonderful, so the Dignity of the Superstructure was not inferior to that of the Ground Work. The Galleries above were all double, upheld by Pillars of white Marble all of a Piece, and five and twenty Cubits in Height, and wainscoted with Cedar; which, for the Curiosity of the Work, and the Smoothness of the Grain, was a delightful Entertainment to the Spectator, without need of any additional Ornaments either of Painting or Carving. They were all thirty Cubits over, and six Stadia the whole Compass of them, including the Tower Antonia. In the open Air, where there was no Covering over-head, the Ground was paved and chequered with all Sorts of Stones: But the Way to the second Temple was lined on each Hand with Stone-Balustres, delicately wrought and polished, of three Cubits high. In this Passage there were also several Pillars orderly disposed, with Inscriptions and Precepts upon them in Latin and Greek, upon the Subject of Continnence and Chastity, and forbidding Strangers to enter into that holy Place. For the second Temple was called holy, and it was fourteen Steps above the first. The Figure of it was four-square, with a Wall of its own; which, though forty Cubits without, was yet but five and twenty Cubits

within, the Place being covered with the Steps that led to mount it. Now this Wall being built upon an Advance-ground with Stairs to it, Part of the Inside was so blinded with the Mountain that it could not be discerned.

At the Top of these fourteen Steps, there was a plain Level of three hundred Cubits up to the Wall; and from thence, five Steps more to the Gates of the Temple. There were also four from the North, as many from the South, and two from the East.

The Women had an Oratory, or a worshipping Place by themselves; with a Partition-Wall to it, and two Gates; one to the South, the other to the North; which were the two only Passages of Entrance to the Women; neither were they permitted to pass their own. For that Place was free indifferently to Women, Inhabitants, as well as Strangers, that came thither upon Devotion. The West Side of it was a dead Wall, without any Door at all. Betwixt the aforesaid Gates, and over-against the Wall within, near the Treasury, there were Galleries with stately Pillars to support them; plain and simple, and not much inferior to those below.

Some of these Gates were plated all over with Gold and Silver; Posts, Front and all; but there was one, without the Temple, of Corinthian Brass; which is much the richer Metal of the three. There were double Doors to every Gate, each thirty Cubits high, and fifteen broad. They were wider within, and Withdrawing Rooms on each Hand, of thirty Cubits square, after the Manner of Turrets, and upward of twenty Cubits high, and each of them borne up with Pillars of twelve Cubits in Thickness, the other Gates being of the same Dimensions in Proportion. As to the Corinthian Portal on the East Side of the Temple, where the Women came in, it was undoubtedly the largest, and the most magnificent of them all; for it was fifty Cubits high, the Gates forty; and the Gold and Silver Plates upon it more substantial than those that Alexander, the Father of Tiberius, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen Steps from the Wall that parted the Men and the Women, to the great Gate; which was five short of those that led to the other Gates.

The Temple itself; that is to say, the holy Temple or Sanctuary, was placed in the Middle with twelve Stairs up to it. The Height of it was a hundred Cubits, and the Breadth, as many in the Front; but backward, it wanted forty of the Number. For upon the Entrance, there were two Additions raised (like two Shoulders) of twenty Cubits each. The Height of the first Gate was seventy Cubits, and five and twenty over; but it had no Doors to it, being a Figure of Heaven, open and visible to the whole World. The Front and Outsides of it were all over gilded; and nothing to be seen in the Inside of the Temple neither, which had not likewise a dazzling Lustre.

The inner Part of it was divided into two Partitions. The first of them in sight was open to the Top, which was ninety Cubits in Height, forty in Length, and twenty over. The Inside of the Gate was, as I said, plated all over with Gold, and the Wall gilded every where about it. There were also Leaves and Branches of Vines over-head, and huge Clusters of Grapes that hung dangling down, betwixt five and six Feet deep, all of Gold too. The other Partition of the Temple being ciled above, appeared the lower of the two. The Doors to it were of Gold, five and fifty Cubits in Height, and sixteen broad, with a Piece of Babylonian Tapestry hanging before them, of the same  
Dimensions,

Dimensions, and interwoven with Blue, Purple, and Scarlet, most artificially put together, and wrought to Admiration. And the Mixture was not a bare Curiosity neither, but a mystical Allusion to the four Elements, either by the Colours, or by the Matter they were made of; the Scarlet representing the Fire, the Silk, the Earth that produced it; the Azure, the Air, and the Purple, the Sea from whence it comes. So that this Veil, or Hanging, was, in little, an Emblem of the Universe, only excepting the celestial Signs.

This Entrance leads you into the lower Part of the Temple; the Height and Length of it sixty Cubits, and the Breadth twenty. This Length of sixty Cubits was then subdivided into two unequal Parts, one of forty Cubits, and the other of twenty. The former Part of forty Cubits, had in it the three wonderful Rarities that had been celebrated over the whole World, the Candlestick, the Table, and the Altar of Incense. The Candlestick had seven Branches (all out of the same Stem) with seven Lights, representing the seven Planets. The twelve Loaves of Shew-bread upon the Table pointed at the twelve Signs in the Zodiack, and the Course of the Year. By the thirteen Sorts of Perfumes in the Censer upon the Altar of Incense (divers of these Odours being extracted out of the Deep of the inhospitable Sea) we are given to understand, that God is Master of the Universe, and that all Things are made for his Honour and Service.

The inner Part of the Temple being only twenty Cubits in Height, was divided by a Veil also from the other, and nothing at all in it; neither was any Man permitted to enter in, or so much as look into it; and it was called the Sanctuary, or the Holy of Holies. Upon the Sides of this lower Temple there were several Lodgings, leading from one to another, with three Stories over-head, and Passages into them out of the great Portal. Now the upper Part being narrower than the other, could not have the Convenience of the same Order of Chambers; but it was forty Cubits higher, though the less splendid of the two. The Height, in fine, upon the whole, was a hundred Cubits, and the Plan only sixty.

The Beauty and Curiosity of the Temple, on the Outside, was agreeable and charming beyond Imagination, being faced every where, with substantial golden Plates that sparkled like the Morning-Sun; and every Jot as dazzling to the Eye to gaze upon them. Where there was no Gilding, the Structure was all so delicately white, that it looked at a Distance to Travelers like a marble Mountain, or a Pillar of Snow.

The Roof of the Temple was covered and armed all over with pointed Spikes of Gold, to keep off the Birds from nestling upon it and fouling it. There were a great many Stones in this Building, of forty-five Cubits long, five in Height, and six Cubits broad.

The Altar before the Temple was fifteen Cubits high, and forty square; and four Angles to it like Horns. The Ascent to this Altar was on the South Side, and very difficult by reason of the Declivity of the Passage. There came no Hammer upon it, nor any Iron-Tool in the working of it.

There was a Partition raised of Stone-work, curiously wrought, and of one Cubit in Height, inclosing the Temple and the Altar, and separating the People from the Priests.

No People troubled with the Gonorrhœa, and no Lepers were suffered, either in the Temple or in the City. No Women to come near the Temple in the Time of their Courses; and even when they are over, not to pass further than as we have said above. Neither were Men allowed to enter the inner Temple without being first purified, and even then also, they were not to mingle with the Priests.

Those of the sacerdotal Race that were hindered by any Defect from the Exercise of their Function, took their Places yet with those that had none, and had their Allowances in common with the rest; only under the Distinction of a Lay-habit: For no Man is allowed to wear the Vestments of a Priest, but he that actually executes the Office.

The Priests that served in the Temple and at the Altar, were to be Persons exemplary in their Lives and Conversations, and without either Scandal or Blemish: Their Clothing, fine Linen; temperate and abstemious in their eating and drinking, for the Reverence of the holy Function. The High-Priest went up with the other Priests to the Altar every seventh Day, and upon the first Day of every Month, and upon all public anniversary Festivals; where he officiated in a Veil girt about him, and hanging down over Part of his Thighs; with a Linen Veil under it, that reached down to the Ground: And over both these, he wore a large Violet coloured Garment, fringed at the Bottom; and golden Bells and Pomegranates interchangeably fastened to it: The Bells representing the Thunder, and the other, the Lightning. His Pectoral was tied about him with party-coloured Ribbons; as gold Colour, Purple, Scarlet, Linen and Violet: Which were the Colours also, as I have said already, of the Veils of the Temple.

The Mixture of the Ephod was the same too, only more of Gold in it; and in the Shape of it, not much unlike that of a Breast-piece. It was bound together with two golden Buckles in the Figure of Asps, and set with Sardonyx Stones, the largest and the richest that were to be got, with the Names of the twelve Tribes of Israel inscribed upon them. There were also four Rows of precious Stones, hanging down in the Order of three and three in a Row: That is to say; a Sardonyx, Topaz, Emerald, Carbuncle, Jasper, Sapphire, Agat, Amethyst, a Lynx Stone, Onyx, a Beryl, and a Chrysolite; with the same Names upon them respectively as before.

He had upon his Head a silken Tiara, with a Crown over it of Violet Colour; and another Crown over that of Gold; with the sacred Vowels engraven upon it.

The High-Priest's every Day's Habit was not so rich and magnificent; but this was only made use of for the Solemnity of once a Year, and that for him alone too; and when he entered into the Holy of Holies; which Day was strictly observed as a religious Fast. But I shall have Occasion hereafter, and elsewhere, to be more particular upon the Subject of the City, the Temple, and our Laws and Customs; as there shall be Occasion for it.

The Fortrefs of Antonia was built in an Angle betwixt the two Galleries of the first Temple, looking West and North. It was raised upon a Rock of fifty Cubits in Height; inaccessibly steep on all Hands; and, in fine, Herod's Master-piece, both for Magnificence and Contrivance. The Rock was faced and crusted with thin Scales of Marble from the Bottom to the Top, both for Ornament and for Security-sake; for it

was



was so slippery, that there was no going up or down. This Tower was inclosed with a Wall only of three Cubits high; and within that Compass stood the Castle of Antonia of forty Cubits; with the State, Splendor and Conveniencies of a Court, Lodgings, and Offices for all Purposes; spacious Halls, and Places of Parade for the Use and Service of a Camp. So that for Matter of Necessaries, it was rather a City than a Fort; and for the Magnificence, it looked like a Palace. It was, upon the whole, the Resemblance of a Tower, and inc compassed with four other Towers at equal Distances, one from another, and one from every Corner: Three of them of fifty Cubits in Height; and the fourth that looked to the South and Eastward, of seventy Cubits; and from thence they had the View of the whole Temple. From the Place where the Galleries joined, there were upon the right and left two Pair of Stairs; which served for a Passage to the Soldiers into the Temple: For when the Romans were Masters of Jerusalem, there were Guards posted still upon that Quarter to prevent Seditions upon their public Festivals and Meetings. The Temple commanded the City, as Antonia commanded the Temple. This Place had a Guard upon it, and Herod's Palace was as good as a Fort to the upper Town. The Mountain Bezeth (the top Mountain of them all) was cut off, as I said before, from Antonia, and joined to Part of the new Town: Beside that it was the only Blind upon the North Side of the Temple. This is all I have to say at present of the City and the Walls; being to speak further of them hereafter.

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 C H A P. VII.

*Simon 15,000 strong. John in Possession of the Temple. Simon Master of the upper Town; and Monobazus, of the Hill Acra. The Romans at the Gates; and the Factions in the Town as violent as ever. Titus views the Place where to give the Assault. Nicanor basely wounded, and Titus meditates a Revenge. A Siege resolved upon, and the Manner of it. Titus orders three Attacks. The Factions fall heavy upon the Roman Engineers. Titus supports the Machines. The Romans worsted by Surprise: But a Party of the Alexandrians recover the Honour of the Day. Titus finishes the Work. John the Idumæan slain by an Arabian.*

**S**IMON had a Body of ten thousand Men, beside Idumæans; which were five thousand more; fifteen thousand in all: Ten thousand of them under fifty Captains, and Simon himself the Commander in Chief; the other five thousand under twenty Officers; and these were the most daring mutinous Part of the whole Faction. The Principals among them were James the Son of Sofas, and Simon the Son of Cathlas.

John.

John was now in Possession of the Temple with six thousand Men under the Command of twenty Captains; and there came in to him (all Quarrels apart) four and twenty hundred of the Zelotes; who lifted themselves under Eleazar, whom they had formerly served, and Simon the Son of Jair.

In this Opposition of the two Parties, the People were a common Booty, and the least Seditious were a Prey to them both. Simon was now Master of the upper Town, and the great Wall as far as Cedron. and so likewise of the old Wall that runs out to Siloe; and then bending to the Eastward goes on to the Palace of Monobazus. This Monobazus was the King of the Adiabeniens, a People beyond Euphrates. He was possessed also of the Hill Acra, the Seat of the lower Town, as far as the royal Residence of Helena the Mother of Monobazus.

John all this while had the Command of the Temple, and some Places about it; but for Ophlas, and the Vale of Cedron, and what lay betwixt him and Simon, it was all consumed to Ashes, and of no other Use or Service than for a Field of Battle. The Romans were at this Time drawn up before the very Gates; and yet the Sedition within the Walls as hot as ever. The Enemy's pressing upon them brought them now and then, by Fits, to their Senses again: But upon the least Interval of a Breathing-while, they presently relapsed and brake out into Factions and Divisions among themselves; contending afresh again upon the Foot of their former Pretensions. Now this was the greatest Service to the Romans they could have done them in the World; for they treated one another worse than they were treated by the common Enemy: Having this Comfort yet in their Misery, that they had no new Calamity to fear. They were put to harder Extremities, 'tis true, before the City was totally destroyed; but the Romans did yet a greater Thing than the taking of the Place: For whereas the Sedition did but destroy the City, they destroyed the very Sedition; which was a far greater Work than the bare demolishing of the Walls. So that, upon the Short of the whole Matter, the Jews themselves brought this Ruin upon their own Heads, and the Romans were only the Executioners of divine Justice upon them for their Impieties; as will better appear in what follows.

While Matters were at this Pass in the City, Titus, with a Party of choice Horse, took the whole Tour of the Walls; to consider upon what Quarter it lay most exposed to an Attack. There was no coming at it he saw, for either Horse or Foot, by the Way of the Valleys; and on the other Side, the first Wall was so firm, that there was no good to be done upon it by Battery. He bethought himself a while, and after a little Pause, pitched upon that Part of the Line toward the Sepulchre of John the High-Priest, as the Place that lay the most exposed to an Assault; both as the first Wall was lower there, and likewise cut off from the second Wall; having neglected the fortifying of that Place, in regard that the new City was not as yet peopled enough to attend it: Beside that they might pass from thence to the third Wall, and so to the upper Town; and, with the Help of Antonia, take the very Temple itself.

While Titus was considering and weighing these Things within himself, a particular Friend of his, Nicanor, by Name, was wounded in the left Shoulder by an Arrow from the Wall; as he was labouring with Joseph (being an excellent Speaker) to bring  
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the Jews over to desire a Peace. Titus was so transported at the ungrateful Bitterness of these People toward their best Friends and Advisers, that he immediately took up a Resolution of besieging the Town in Form, and taking it by Force. Upon this, he gave the Soldiers the Pillage of the Suburbs; ordering them to make use of the Rubbish and Ruins for Works and Platforms. He divided his Army into three Bodies; assigning to all his Troops their Work and Stations. He disposed of his Archers and Slingers upon the Mounts, in the Middle of the Body; with Engines to cast Stones and other Shot before them; which served them to two Purposes, either to repel the Enemy's Sallies, or to hold them in Play upon the Walls. The Trees were all cut down, and the Suburbs laid naked in an Instant; and the Timber employed upon Fortifications. All Hands, in fine, were at Work on the Roman Side; and the Jews were not idle neither.

The People that had been formerly exposed to Robberies and Murders, finding the Faction so wholly taken up in their own Defence, began to flatter themselves with some Prospect of Ease, in the very hope that the Romans themselves if they got the better of it, would effectually revenge their Quarrel; by putting it into their Power to do themselves Justice. John's People made a very vigorous Opposition to the Besiegers; but he himself durst not stir out of the Temple for fear of Simon. Now Simon being posted next the Enemy, was never out of Action. He planted all along the Wall the Shot and Engines that he had formerly taken from Cestius, and out of the Fort of Antonia. But his People made little Advantage of it, for want of understanding the right Use and Management of them; only some little Skill they had got from here and there a Deserter among them. But yet the Jews made use of them however, to galk the Enemy from the Ramparts, with Stones and Arrows: Sallying out also in small Parties, and coming to handy Blows with the Romans: Who, on the other Side, covered their Workmen with Hurdles and Gabions. The Roman Legions had every one of them wonderful Machines, to disappoint the Insults of an Enemy: The tenth especially; not only for the casting of larger Stones, but for throwing them farther. Every Stone was of a Talent Weight; and did Execution not only at Hand, but to the Top of the Walls or Ramparts; though it were at a Furlong Distance: And where it fell, it carried a whole File before it. The Jews were several Ways advertised of these Stones: First, as they were white and easily discerned in their Passage; secondly, by the Noise they made in the Air; and thirdly, by the Notice that was given from those that were set to watch them; for there were People placed up and down upon the Towers to observe the playing of these Engines; and still as any of them were discharged, the Watch-man cried out in his Mother's Tongue, THE STONE COMES; which gave every Man Time to look to himself, and get out of Harms-way. The Romans after this, discoloured the Stones that they might not be discovered in their Course; and by the Help of that Invention, killed several Jews sometimes at one Blow. But this was not enough yet to divert the Jews from opposing the Progress of the Romans in their Fortifications; for they persisted Night and Day in doing all that was possible to be done, by Policy and Courage, to obstruct their Proceeding.

So soon as the Romans had completed their Works, they cast down a Line and Plummets

Plummet to take Measure of the Distance betwixt the Mount and the Wall: Which could not be done otherwise; for there was no abiding near it for the Shot and Darts that were showered down from above. When they found the Place just fit for the Rams, Titus ordered them to be brought up, and the other Machines to be advanced nearer the Wall, that they might have more Liberty to play: And hereupon, they set three Batteries at Work at a Time upon three several Parts of the Wall. The terrible Knocking of these Engines was heard all over the City, with the Cries of Citizens upon the Terror of it; and the Faction itself trembling under the Apprehension. The divided Members of this Sedition, finding themselves now to be all under one common Danger, bethought themselves of joining in one common Defence: Crying out one to another, that at this Rate they were only doing the Enemies Work; and if they could not agree among themselves for good and all, it would behove them however at present to join unanimously in a Confederacy against the Romans. Simon, upon this, sent away a Herald to those that had shut themselves up in the Temple; with Commission to tell them, that so many of them that had a Mind to quit the Temple, and advance to the Wall, they had free Liberty to do it. John did not much confide in the good Faith of the Message; but left his People to their own Freedom.

The Factions joined immediately upon this Overture; and, all old Grudges apart, marched directly up to the Walls in a full Body. So soon as they had posted themselves for their Purpose, they fell to Work with their Fires and Torches upon the Roman Engines: Pressing furiously also upon those that had the ordering of them, and plying them with Darts and other Weapons of Offence without Intermision. In this Heat of Rage and Resolution, the Jews leaped down desperately from the Walls in Troops, upon the very Engines, tore off their Covers, and brake in upon the Guards that were set to defend them.

But Titus, that never failed his Friends in a Time of Need, clapt a Party of Horse and Archers upon the Guard of the Machines to keep off the Fire, and holding the Jews in Play upon the Walls, to leave the Engineers at Liberty to do Execution. But all this Battery made little or no Impression yet: Only the Ram of the fifth Legion shook the Corner of a Tower, but without any Damage to the Wall itself; for the Tower being much higher than the Wall, it tumbled down without drawing any Part of the Wall after it.

The Jews having for some short Time intermitted their Sallies, the Romans took it to be either out of Fear or Weariness; and so went their Way carelessly up and down as in a State of Security. But the Jews taking Notice of this from the Town, and how the Romans were scattered and out of Order; made a furious Excursion upon them out of a Sally-Port from the Tower Hippicos: Set fire to their Works, and in the Heat of this Success, pushed the Besiegers back to their very Camp. The Alarum passed immediately through the whole Army, and the Romans far and near drew presently together to the Relief of their Companions: But the daring Hardiness of the Jews was not yet able to support itself against the Discipline of the Romans. They over-ran at first all that they met withal; attacking those that they found in a Body. But the Pinch of the Conflict was about the Engines; how to burn them on the one Side, and to save them

them on the other. The Air was torn with uncertain Outcries from both Parts: And this Encounter upon the Shock, cost many a brave Man his Life. But the Jews were much the bolder and the more adventurous of the two. The Fire had by this Time laid hold of the Machines: And they had certainly been destroyed with all that belonged to them, if they had not been supported by a choice Party of Alexandrian Troops; who behaved themselves that Day to a Miracle, and had a great Share in the Honour of the Action.

These Troops gave the Jews a Stand; 'till the General himself, with a brave Body of Horse, brake in upon them. He cut down twelve Men with his own Hand, and drove the rest before him into the City. This Exploit was the saving of the Engines.

There was a Jew taken alive upon this Encounter; whom Titus ordered to be crucified in Sight of the Walls; to try how far such an exemplary Terror might work upon them. But for all this, after his Departure, one John, an Idumæan Officer, as he was talking with a Soldier of his Acquaintance before the Walls, was shot with an Arrow quite thorough the Heart by an Arabian; to the great Grief of all that knew him, Jews and Zelotes: Having the Reputation of a worthy Man to all Purposes, both for Wisdom and Valour.

C H A P. VIII.

*A tumult occasioned by the Fall of a Tower in the Night. The Jews fear nothing else. The Ram made the first Breach. The Jews quit the first Wall, and betake themselves to the second. They make several bold Sallies. The Discipline of the Romans is too hard for the hot-headed Rashness of the Jews. The Jews are Proof against all Hardships. Simon's Men had a strange Veneration for their Master. A glorious Action of Longinus.*

**T**HERE happened the next a most dreadful Tumult in the Roman Camp. Titus had ordered the raising of three Towers of fifty Cubits in Height, to be erected upon their several Ramparts; so as to have the Command of the Town Wall. In the dead of the Night one of these Towers fell of itself down to the Ground, with so dreadful a Clatter, that the Surprise frightened and alarmed the whole Army. The Romans could not tell what to make of it; but ran presently to their Arms, and put all the Legions into a Confusion, and a kind of Uproar. Some fancied the Jews might have a Hand in it: Some, in fine, surmising one Thing, some another; 'till they came in the End (no Enemy appearing) to have a Jealousy one of another, and every Man to demand the WORD of his next Neighbour, with the same Formality and Strictness as if the Jews had been in Possession of the Camp. They lay under the Consternation of this panic Terror, 'till Titus had learnt out the whole Matter, and made the Truth of it public by Proclamation over the whole Camp. This, with much ado, put an End to that Commotion.

The Jews all this while kept up their Hearts against all other Difficulties: but that of the Towers; which was in Truth not to be disputed or avoided. From those Towers they were galled with all Sorts of Machines, Archers, Slingers, &c. and no Remedy. For first it was impossible for them to carry up their Platforms to the Height of these Towers; and then they were too strong and too heavy to be over-turned: And there was no burning of them neither; for they were all plated over with Iron. So that all the Jews had to do was to get out of the Reach of the Roman Darts, Arrows and Stones; without making any Opposition to the Force of the Rams; which, by little and little, and the Shock of repeated Strokes, in the Conclusion did the Work. The Romans had one terrible Machine, which the Jews called Nikon, or the Conqueror; and it was this Ram that made the first Breach. The besieged were by this Time so spent with watching and fighting, [having been upon Duty all Night] that betwixt Levity and ill Advice, they came to an Agreement among themselves to quit the first Wall; having two other yet to trust to. Upon this, they retired, and the Romans mounted the Breach that Nikon had made: And after that opened the Gates to the whole Army; the Jews being all withdrawn to the second Wall. It was now the seventh of the Month Artemisius, when the Romans made themselves Masters of the first Wall: The greater Part of it they destroyed; and so likewise the North Quarter of the Town, which Cestius had ravaged before.

Titus being now removed to a Place they called the Assyrian Camp, possessed himself of all betwixt that and the Valley of Cedron; somewhat more than a Bow-Shot from the second Wall: Resolving from thence to begin his Attack; which he went in hand with immediately. The Jews posted themselves orderly upon the Wall, and made a gallant Resistance. John and his Companions commanded in the Fortress Antonia, and the North Side of the Temple from the Sepulchre of Alexander. Simon and his Party maintained the Passage from the Monument of John the High-Priest to the Gate by which Water is conveyed to the Tower of Hippicos. The Jews made several desperate Sallies, and came many Times to a close Fight with the Romans, Hand to Hand; but the Roman Discipline was too hard for the unskillful Temerity of the Jews, and beat them back with Loss: Only upon the Walls they had the better of them. The Romans had both Fortune and Conduct on their Side; but the Jews supported themselves by a kind of despairing Roughness, and by a natural Hardness against either Fatigue or Danger. And it is further to be considered, that the Jews fought for Life and Safety; the Romans, for Victory and Honour: And they were neither of them to be tired out; for Approaches, Assaults, Sallies, Forlorns, and Combats of all Sorts, were their daily Exercises. They began with the Peep of Day, and so continued till Night parted them: When both Sides were kept waking; the one for Fear of their Walls; the other for fear of their Camp; all Night in Arms, and the next Morning by Day-light ready for a Battle. The Jews valued themselves so much upon the Contempt of Death and Hazards, that they made an Emulation of it who should dare most; as the only Way to ingratiate themselves with their Superiors. Such was the Fear and Reverence they had for Simon, that all and every Man that he had about him would have died at his Feet, if he had but said the Word; nay, and have

have been their own Encouragers too. Now for the Romans, they were so wonted to Victory, that they did not know what it was to be overcome. So that they needed no other Encouragement to do bravely, than Experience and Success: Beside, that War was familiar and habitual to them, by the continual Exercise of Arms in the Service of a glorious Empire; which, with the Presence and Assistance of a martial Prince, over and above all the rest, could not but inspire them with a more than ordinary Courage. What could be more infamous than Cowardice, with a martial Emperor for a Witness of it? Or what more charming on the other Side, than the Honour and Reward that naturally follows great Actions, in the Bounty and Esteem of Cæsar? This Ardor and Ambition of Men's signalizing themselves, transported several heroical Spirits, 'tis true, into the Attempt of Things extravagant, and beyond their Force.

There was at this Time a strong Body of the Jews drawn up before the Walls, and they were come already within Distance of exchanging Blows and Lances with the Romans. In this Instant of Time, one of the Roman Horsemen, (Longinus by Name) spurred into the Middle of the Enemy's Army; where he killed too of the best Men they had: One of them he struck through the Jaws with his Lance, and he ran the other through the Body afterward with the same Weapon; coming off to his Party at last without a Wound. He made himself famous by this Action, and provoked others to a generous Emulation of following his Example. the Jews all this while were so intent upon doing Mischief, that they never heeded what they suffered: and reckoned upon Death as nothing, if they had but one Life in exchange for another. But Titus had an Eye upon the saving of his Men, as well as the gaining of a Victory; and looked up the Heats of an inconsiderate Rashness, but as another Sort of Desperation: Neither would he allow any Exploit for true Valour, that was not governed by Caution and Prudence, and with the least Danger to ourselves, and the most to our Enemies.

## C H A P. IX.

*Castor, a bold, a crafty, and a treacherous Jew. He desires a Treaty, and Titus embraces the Motion. The whole Story a Cheat from first to last. Castor makes an Escape from the very Flames. Mistaken Mercy is Cruelty.*

THE Ram being now pointed against the Middle of the Tower on the North Side of the City; Titus poured in such Showers of Arrows upon the Defendants, that they all quitted their Posts; only one sly crafty Jew, whose Name was Castor, and ten of his People with him, lay skulking behind the Battlements. But when they had lain still a-while, they felt a Shock that made the Tower stagger under them. Upon this, they got up; and Castor in the Language, Posture and Tone of a Suppliant, addressed himself to Titus for Quarter, and begged his Pardon. Titus was so good-natured as to fancy the Jews had now enough of the War, and so put a Stop

both to the Battery and the Archers; telling Castor at the same Time, that if he had any thing to say, he was ready to hear him. Castor made answer, that there was nothing he desired so much as a Treaty. With all my Heart, says Titus; and if all your Companions be of the same Mind, I am ready to grant you your Pardon. Upon this Offer, five of the ten pretended to join with Castor; the other five cried out, that so long as they might die free, they would never live Slaves. During this Dispute, there was nothing farther of Hostility. But Castor in the mean Time sends privately to Simon; to make the best of his Time, and to consider what was to be done, and leave it to him to hold the Roman General in Hand a-while, under the Pretext of advising his Companions to a Peace. Castor did his Part so to the Life, that there were Swords drawn upon it, Blows given, and Men seemingly killed: But the whole Story was a Cheat.

Titus and those about him were all amazed at the inflexible Obstinacy and Boldness of the Jews; and not without a Compassion for their Misery: But being upon the lower Ground, they could not see so distinctly what was done above. While this passed, Castor was wounded with an Arrow near his Nostrils; who presently drawing it out, held it up to Titus, as an Appeal to him for Justice. This Prince resented the Injury to such a Degree, that he bad Joseph (standing next to him) go to Castor, from him, and give him all Assurances in his Name of Amity and fair Quarter. Joseph begged his Excuse, and not only declined going upon that Errand himself; but dissuaded his Friends also that would have gone: Telling them, that this pretended Submission was a Treachery all over. But Æneas however, (one of the Deserters to the Romans) would needs be venturing for all this; especially upon Castor's Invitation; who bad him bring somewhat along with him to put a Sum of Money in, that he intended to present him. Æneas was forward enough to go upon these Terms; and had no sooner put himself in a Posture to receive the Present, but Castor dropt a great Stone down from the Wall, which Æneas had much ado to avoid; but it wounded the Man that stood next him. This Treachery gave Titus to understand the Danger of unseasonable good Nature; and that a steady Rigour is the best Defence against fair Words and plausible Pretensions. So that to revenge himself upon Castor and his Companions for the Affront they had put upon him, he betook himself to his Batteries again with greater Violence than before: When Castor and his People found the Tower tottering, and just ready to sink under them, they put Fire to it; and so made their Escapes into a Vault through the very Flames. This Exploit gave them a mighty Reputation among the Romans for Men of Resolution and Courage; upon an Opinion that in this Action they were no other than Devotees.

Titus made himself Master of this Part of the Wall within five Days after the taking of the first: And now finding the Way open to the second Wall, he drove out the Jews before him; and with a thousand choice Men entered the Town, among the Clothiers, Braziers, Sales-Men, and all the cross narrow Passages up to the Wall. Now if Titus had immediately broken down the greater Part of this Wall as by the Laws of War he might have done; the Victory would have cost him little or nothing: But considering the miserable Necessities of the Jews on the one Hand, if they stood

it



it out, and the Security of their Retreat on the other Hand, if they had a Mind to be gone; Titus relented yet once again, in Confidence that they would better bethink themselves, and never imagined that they could be such ungrateful Monsters as to betray a Man that had taken so much Care for their Preservation.

## C H A P. X.

*Titus a Prince of Tenderness and Humanity. The Spite and Malice of the Factions. A sharp Fight, and the Jews get the better of it. Titus recovers the Day. The Romans get the second Wall, and lose it again. The Famine a greater Calamity than the War. The second Wall holds out three Days; and Titus masters it upon the fourth.*

**T**ITUS being now entered the Town, would not suffer so much as one Prisoner to be killed, or one House to be burnt: And he was so fair to the Faction themselves too; that if they had a Mind to fight it out, he left them at Liberty so to do, provided only that they should not force and oppress the People. He promised the Inhabitants also, at the same Time, to maintain them in their lawful Possessions, and to give them back again what had been taken from them. These Proposals were generally acceptable; some desiring the City might be spared for their own Sakes; others, that the Temple might be spared for the City's. But this Humanity and Tenderness was all imputed by the Ruffian Part of the Faction, to the want of Courage in the General: For Titus, they said, had only offered these Conditions, because he despaired of going through with his Work: The Faction threatening Death at the same Time, to any Man that should but open his Mouth for a Peace or a Treaty. The Romans were no sooner got into the Town, but the Jews annoyed them all Manner of Ways; by blocking up the narrow Passes; galling them from the Houses, and forcing the Guards by sallies from the Walls to quit their Towers, and retire to the Camp. Never such a Confusion and Outcry as betwixt the Soldiers within the Town, in the Middle of their Enemies, and those without the Town for fear of their Companions within. The Jews being both more in Number, and better acquainted with the Byways and secret Passages than the Romans; were too hard for them upon all Encounters: And the Breaches not being wide enough to march out many a-breast, they were so put to it in the Croud, that if Titus had not come in just as he did, scarce a Man of them had got off. But upon setting a Body of Archers at the End of every Street; and Titus posting himself still where there was most Danger, with Domitius Sabinus for his Second (a brave Man upon the Main, and one that did Wonders in that Action) they held the Jews in Play with their Darts and Lances, 'till they brought off their Men, under the Cover of that Diversion. Thus were the Romans, after the gaining of the second Wall, beaten out again.

The

The resolute Part of the Citizens had the Vanity to flatter themselves upon this Success, into an Opinion, either that the Romans would never dare to look them in the Face again; or if ever it should come to a Battle, that they themselves were invincible. Now if these wicked Men had not been judicially infatuated, they would have considered that the Romans, which they had already defeated, were not a Handful, to the vast Numbers they were yet farther to encounter: To say nothing of the Famine that still gained more and more upon them every Day. For the public Ruin served hitherto only for the Nourishment of these People, and the Blood of the Citizens for their Drink. Good Men, in fine, fell into great Necessities; and not a few died, even of Famine itself: But the Loss of these People was some Sort of Consolation to the Faction, and they only wished well to those that would have a War with the Romans. As to the rest, they looked upon them only as an useless, unprofitable Burden to the Public; and this was the Kindness they had one for another.

The Romans made another Attempt to recover the Wall again, which they had gotten and lost; and for three Days successively, without Intermission, they plied the Assault with one Attack upon the Neck of another, and were as valiantly repulsed. But on the fourth Day, Titus gave so furious a Charge, that they were not able to stand it any longer: And upon this Push, he got Possession of the Wall; demolished the Northern Part of it, and immediately placed Garrisons in all the Towers to the Southward.

## C H A P. XI.

*Titus victuals and prepares for Action. He tries Council and Argument as well as Force. Joseph harangues the Jews. A starving Famine in the City. Instances of GOD's Providence toward the Oppressed. As in the Case of Pharaoh Necho. The Egyptian Bondage. The Plagues of Egypt. The Assyrians taken in the Ark. Sennacharib's mighty Army. Jerusalem destroyed by Zedekiah. The Story of Antiochus Epiphanes. GOD is merciful to the Penitent. Joseph's generous Resignation. The Miseries of the Famine. Jerusalem was effectually burnt by the Jews.*

**T**ITUS's Heart was now set upon storming the third Wall; but not looking upon it as a Work of Time or Difficulty, he bethought himself of trying what might be done by gentler Methods towards the bringing of them to their Duty and their Wits again; in Hope, that betwixt Force and Famine, they might be prevailed upon to hearken to better Counsel: For their Booty and Provision was well-nigh spent, on the one hand; and Titus in as much Ease and Plenty as his Heart could wish on the other: Infomuch that upon a Day of general Muster, Titus ordered his Troops to be drawn up and paid in Sight of the Enemy; the Foot advancing with their  
Swords

Swords drawn; and the led Horses so gloriously caparisoned, that the whole Field sparkled with Gold and Silver. Nothing, in fine, could have been a more agreeable Sight to the Romans, or a more terrible one to the Jews; who were gotten in Swarms together upon the old Wall, on the North-side of the Town: Beside that, the Houses were all crowded, and the whole City covered with People gazing at the Bravery of this Pomp: Which was such, in short, that it struck a Damp into the very boldest of the Jews; and would, in all Probability, have brought them over to the Romans, if they had not been conscious to themselves of the Provocations and Affronts never to be forgiven; beside that it was certain Death on the other hand, to give over the Dispute. So that they rather chose to die like Men of Honour by the Chance of War, than tamely by a Butchery. But the Fates had so ordered it, that the Innocent were to fall with the Guilty, and the City itself with the Faction.

When Titus, after this, had passed away four Days in victualling his Camp, without any Act of Hostility, he divided his Army upon the fifth Day into two Bodies; and finding no Disposition in the Jews to Peace, he fell to casting up of Works against the Fortrefs Antonia, near John's Monument, in Hope of gaining the upper Town from that Quarter, and then making himself Master of the Temple from Antonia: For without taking the Fort, the City was not to be maintained. Against each of these two Places, he advanced two Attacks, and posted a Legion at every Mount, to cover the Workmen. They that wrought next the Monument, were galled by the Jews, and by Simon's People; and the other against Antonia were yet harder put to it by John's Party, and his Band of Zelotes; who had both the higher Ground, and the Advantage of their Machines, an Engine, which by daily Use and Practice they were now come perfectly to understand. They had three hundred Cross-Bows, and forty Slings for Stones, which very much annoyed the Romans, and put a Check to the Progress of their Design.

Titus did so far presume upon his Fortune, that he reckoned the Town as good as his own before-hand; but still however, as he plied the Siege on the one Hand, he did not forget to make Trial of Persuasion and Advice, as well as Force, to bring the Jews to Reason on the other. And considering that Words in many Cases do more than Arms, he made it first his own Request to the Jews, to be kind to themselves, only by putting a Place into his Hands that he could force at Pleasure; and then left the rest to Joseph, upon an Opinion that the Humanity of such an Office, from the Lips of their own Countryman, and in their own Language, might probably find better Success. Joseph, in Pursuance of Titus's Commission and Appointment, took a Walk about the Town; and at last making a Stand upon a rising Ground, within Hearing of the Enemy, and out of Reach of their Shot, he delivered himself to them in Words to this Effect:

“ I am now to beseech you, my dear Friends, (says Joseph) as you love your Lives  
 “ and Liberties, your City, your Temple, and your Country, to let your Tenderness ap-  
 “ pear upon this Occasion, and learn to be merciful to yourselves from your very En-  
 “ mies and Strangers. The Romans, you see, have so great a Veneration for holy  
 “ Things, that they make a Conscience of laying violent Hands upon any thing that  
 “ is sacred, and without pretending to any Part, or Interest in the Communion:

“ Whereas,

“ Whereas, instead of defending the Religion you were brought up in, you are engag-  
 “ ed here in a direct Conspiracy to suppress it. Do you not see that your Strengths are  
 “ all beaten down already; your Weaknesses exposed, and your Walls defenceless;  
 “ and that in this Condition it is morally impossible for you to hold out any longer a-  
 “ gainst so formidable a Power? Neither is it a new Thing (in Case of the worst) for  
 “ the Jews to be subject to the Romans. It is a glorious Cause, it is true, when Li-  
 “ berty is the Question; provided it be early enough, and before that Liberty is either  
 “ forfeited or lost; but for People to talk of shaking off the Yoke, after they have  
 “ once submitted to it, and continued in that Obedience till they became Slaves by  
 “ Prescription, this is not the way to live free, but rather to die with Infamy. It  
 “ would be a scandalous Bondage indeed, to serve a Master, that a Man of Honour  
 “ would be ashamed to own; but it is another Case to be subject to a People that have  
 “ the whole World at their Feet. As where is that Spot in the Universe, that has  
 “ escaped the Dominion of the Romans; saving only where extreme Heats or Colds,  
 “ have rendered the Place intolerable and useless. Fortune is effectually gone over to  
 “ them; and the great Disposer of Empires himself, hath, in his Providence, at Pre-  
 “ sent, made Italy the Seat of the universal Monarch. Beside that, it is according to  
 “ the sovereign Law of Nature, that governs in Beasts, as well as in Men, to give  
 “ Way to the stronger, and to submit to the lower Sword. This was it that made  
 “ your Ancestors, though in Power and Politics, much your Superiors, to pay an  
 “ Allegiance to the Romans: Which they would never have done, if they had not  
 “ been thoroughly convinced that it was GOD’s Will to have it so. But to what  
 “ End is it for you now to dispute a Point any longer, that is as good as lost already?  
 “ For if the Walls were yet intire, and the Siege raised, Famine alone would do the  
 “ Work. It has begun with the Multitude, and the Soldiers Turn will be next: and  
 “ every Day still worse than other: For the Calamity is insuperable, and there is no  
 “ Fence against Hunger. Wherefore, you should do well to bethink yourselves in  
 “ Time, and to take wholesome Advice before it be too late. The Romans are  
 “ naturally a generous Enemy, and ready to forgive and forget all that is past; provi-  
 “ ded you do not carry on the Affront to an unpardonable Extremity. They are not  
 “ a People to sacrifice their Interest to their Revenge, and to charge themselves with  
 “ the Incumbrance of a depopulated City, and a desolated Province; but rather for  
 “ receiving you with open Arms into their Friendship. But if ever you come to be  
 “ taken by Storm, you must expect to be put to the Sword every Man of you: Those  
 “ especially, that in Defiance of the Emperor’s Grace and Mercy shall continue ob-  
 “ stinate to the last. And for your third Wall, what have you to look for from it,  
 “ but the Fate of the other two that are gone before? Or what if your Works  
 “ were absolutely impregnable? The very Want of Bread, as I told you, would do  
 “ the Office of the Sword.”

While Joseph was thus reasoning the Matter with them, they returned him only bitter  
 and contemptuous Reproaches from the Walls, for his good Will; and not without  
 Darts and Stones to accompany their Revilings. So that when he saw they were not to  
 be

be wrought upon, either by Admonition, or by Affliction, he betook himself to the History of former Times, for Precedents, and Arguments to his present Purpose.

“ Ah, miserable and unthankful Wretches that you are, says he, to forget your best Friends, and to encounter the Romans with carnal and common Weapons, as if the Victories you have formerly obtained, had been the Effect of your own Wisdom and Virtue! Can you say that God, the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, ever failed of protecting the Jews when they were oppressed? Will you never be wiser? Do but consider whence you came, where you are, and what you are a doing; and how glorious a Protector it is that you provoke by these Outrages. Why do you not call to mind the divine Exploits of your illustrious Ancestors, and the wonderful Deliverances that God hath wrought for them by the Sacredness of this holy Place? It gives me a Horror to think of exposing the History of God’s miraculous Dispensations to a People so unworthy of the Blessing; but yet, upon this Occasion, I shall dispense with that Scruple, to shew you that the War you are now engaged in, is not so much against the Romans, as against God himself.

“ Pharaoh Necho, a King of Ægypt, carried away, with a mighty Army, Sarah, the Queen and Mother of us all. Now you would have thought, perhaps, that Abraham, the Husband of Sarah and our common Father, having at that Time the Command of three hundred and eighteen Lieutenants, and Troops innumerable under them, should have attempted the righting of himself by Arms: But he chose rather to lie quiet; and offering up his Prayers toward this holy Place, which you have polluted, to implore God’s Assistance. And what came of it, but the King’s sending the Queen back again untouched to her Husband, the second Night after she was taken away; the Ægyptian in the mean while, contracting a Veneration for the Place, which you have defiled with the Blood of your Countrymen; ’till, in the End, finding himself haunted with frightful Dreams and Visions, he posted away back again into his own Country: But first scattered large Donations of Gold and Silver among the People, in Token of the Reverence he had for a Nation so much in God’s Favour.

“ What shall I say now of our Predecessors transporting themselves into Ægypt; their four hundred Years Bondage under a foreign Tyranny, and their submitting with Patience and Resignation to God’s good Pleasure, even at a Time when they were strong enough to have redeemed themselves by Force! To tell you now, how the Ægyptians were infested with Serpents, and tainted with all Manner of Diseases; how the Fruits of the Earth were blasted; the Nile corrupted, and ten Plagues succeeding one upon the Neck of another, would be no more than what every Body knows: But those of our Ancestors that God had designed to the Priesthood, were conducted out safe and sound, without either Blood or Danger, under the Guard of a special Providence.

“ And so when the Assyrians forced away from us the holy Ark, how did Palæstine, Dagon, and the whole Nation that was concerned in it, rue the Seizure of it! Their Guts became putrid and rotten, and the Pain of the Gripes intolerable: Insomuch that their Bowels and their Excrements came away together. And what was the

“ End of it, in the Conclusion, but the bringing of the Ark back again to us with the  
 “ Sound of musical Instruments, and with the same sacrilegious Hands that took it  
 “ away, to expiate in some Degree for the Wickedness! This was the Work of God  
 “ himself in favour of our Ancestors, for casting themselves intirely upon his Provi-  
 “ dence and Mercy, without having any Recourse to common Means.

“ And what became of Sennacherib the King of Assyria, and that prodigious Army  
 “ of his, when he sat down before this Place with the whole Strength of Asia at his  
 “ Heels! Was he cut off by the Arm of Flesh, or any human Power? No. But  
 “ when the Hebrews were quietly at their Prayers, the Angel of God confounded in  
 “ one Night that mighty Army: And the Assyrian found 185,000 of his Men dead  
 “ upon the Place next Morning, and the rest flying in a Fright from the unarmed  
 “ Hebrews that had no Thought of pursuing them.

“ You know likewise, that our People were seventy Years Captives in Babylon,  
 “ without making any Attempt toward the Recovery of their Liberty, 'till God put it  
 “ in the Heart of Cyrus to discharge them, and to dismiss them into their own Coun-  
 “ try; where they began to offer Sacrifices again to God, as their only Deliverer and  
 “ Preserver. But to be short, what great Thing did our Forefathers ever bring to pass,  
 “ either with Arms, or without, but by God's particular Direction and Assistance in  
 “ the Execution of his Orders. If they staid at Home, they were victorious without  
 “ Fighting; it being God's Pleasure that it should be so: And when they fought in a  
 “ Confidence of their own Strength, they never succeeded. As for Instance, when the  
 “ King of Babylon laid Siege to this City, our King Zedekiah gave him Battle contrary  
 “ to the Advice of the Prophet Jeremiah; and what was the Event of it, but the rout-  
 “ ing of his Army; the taking of Zedekiah Prisoner, and the Destruction both of City  
 “ and Temple before his Face? Do but observe the Difference now betwixt the Mo-  
 “ deration of that Prince and People, and of yours. The Prophet told them plainly,  
 “ that they were fallen under God's Displeasure for their Wickedness; and that, if  
 “ they did not deliver up the City, it should be forced from them by Assault: And yet  
 “ for all this foreboding, neither Prince, nor People, offered him any Violence. To  
 “ say nothing now of what passes within your Walls; (an Iniquity, in Truth, not to  
 “ be expressed) I shall only take Notice how barbarously I myself have been treated by  
 “ you both in Words and Actions; and what is my Crime, I beseech you, but the ho-  
 “ nest Liberty of telling you your Faults, and advising you for the best? But you have  
 “ not Patience for the very Story of your own daily Practices.

“ It was much the same Case too, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, laid Siege to  
 “ this City. Our Forefathers, having many Ways incurred God's high Displeasure,  
 “ pressed the Enemy to a Battle, without waiting for his divine Direction and As-  
 “ sistance: The Jews were totally defeated; the Town taken and pillaged; and the  
 “ Sanctuary, for three Years and six Months, wholly abandoned. In few Words, what  
 “ was it, but the stubborn Crossness of our own People that first irritated the Romans  
 “ against the Jews? Whence are we to date our Slavery, but from our own seditious  
 “ Countrymen; when the two Factions of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, in an ambitious  
 “ Heat of Competition, brought Pompey into the City; and made the Jews that were  
 “ unworthy

“ unworthy of Liberty, Slaves to the Romans? When they had held it out three Months,  
 “ they rendered the Place, though in a much better Condition to defend it than you  
 “ are, and infinitely short of what you are to account for to the Laws and Religion of  
 “ our Country, We all know what was the End of Antigonus, the Son of Aristo-  
 “ bulus: in whose Reign, the Jews were punished with another judicial Captivity for  
 “ the Sins of the People. And did not Herod likewise besiege Jerusalem, with the  
 “ Assistance of Sosius, a Roman General, and in the Head of a Roman Army? After  
 “ six Months the Town was reduced, and rifled by the Enemy, as the just Judgment  
 “ upon the Party for their Iniquities.

“ Here is enough said to shew, that this Way of Arms and Sieges hath been ever  
 “ fatal to our Brethren; and that the End of such a War would be certain Ruin. And  
 “ therefore it seems reasonable to me, that those that are in Possession of this holy  
 “ Place, should intirely remit themselves to the Conduct of God’s Providence; who  
 “ will never be wanting to them that serve him, and keep his Commandments. But  
 “ you, for your Parts, lead your Lives in a direct Opposition to his holy Will, in leav-  
 “ ing undone what you are commanded to do, and in doing what you are forbidden.  
 “ How much have you more to answer for, than those that you have seen taken off by  
 “ a vindictive Justice in the Career of their Wickedness! As for the secret Sins of  
 “ Theft, Fraud, Treachery, and Adultery; you look upon as Trifles, and not worth  
 “ the speaking of. But you value yourselves upon Oppression, Murder, and other Sins  
 “ of the first Magnitude, that were hardly ever heard of before. Nay, and you have  
 “ made the holy Temple itself the Scene of your Wickedness; a Place so sacred, that  
 “ the Romans themselves have a Veneration for it, notwithstanding the Inconsistencies  
 “ of their Religion: And yet this Place, that the very Romans have so great a Reve-  
 “ rence for, is polluted and blasphemed by those who have been trained up to the  
 “ Temple Worship. With what Face now can you pretend to expect Assistance from  
 “ a Power that you have so impiously provoked? But taking it for granted that you are  
 “ just, humble and righteous; and your Hands as clean as our King’s were, when he  
 “ stretched them out to implore Succour from Heaven against the Assyrian, and when  
 “ the Return of his prayer was, the next Night, the utter Ruin of the Enemy’s Army.  
 “ Now if you will have it that the Romans behave themselves as the Assyrians did,  
 “ you may expect that God will deal with them after the like Manner. But this is  
 “ quite another Case, for the Assyrian compounded for a Sum of Money to save the  
 “ City; and then brake his Oath, and set fire to the Temple: Whereas the Romans  
 “ only demand a yearly Tribute; and no more neither than what hath been paid them  
 “ formerly Time out of mind, Let this be made good to them, and the Temple and  
 “ City have nothing to fear: But you shall enjoy your Families, your Liberties, and  
 “ your Estates; with the free Exercise of your Religion, and under the Regulation of  
 “ your own Laws. You must be made to imagine, that God will treat Tyrants and  
 “ Murderers, and Men of Moderation and Justice, all alike; especially when Punish-  
 “ ment and Vengeance are but the Work of a Moment to the Almighty.

“ The Assyrians, you see, were destroyed the first Night they came before the Town;  
 “ and if it had been the Will of God to set the one free, and to chastise the other, he

“ would have poured down his Wrath upon the Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians:  
 “ Either when Pompey first forced Jerusalem; or Sosius, after him; or when Vespasian  
 “ haraffed Galilee; or now at last upon the Attack of Titus. But neither Pom-  
 “ pey nor Sosius met with any signal Opposition from Heaven; and they both succeed-  
 “ ed in their Enterprizes upon the Place. As for Vespasian, he advanced himself to  
 “ the Empire upon the Credit of the War he made upon us. And what do you think  
 “ of (almost) a Miracle, wrought in Favour of Titus? Siloa, you know, and other  
 “ Fountains without the City, were drawn so low before Titus came hither, that Wa-  
 “ ter was hardly to be got for Money; but since his Arrival here, the Springs are  
 “ grown so quick again, that there is sufficient for the Romans, to all Manner of Pur-  
 “ poses: And not only for themselves and their Cattle, but for the Gardens too. The  
 “ same Thing happened at the Time when the King of Babylon, before-mentioned,  
 “ marched up to Jerusalem with his Army; took the Town and City, and laid them  
 “ both in Ashes: Now this Prodigy was the Forerunner of that Ruin and Conflagration.  
 “ Not that I take the Wickedness of those Days to have been comparable to that of  
 “ the present Age; but it looks as if God had abandoned his own House and People  
 “ in favour of the Enemy. Make it the Case now of the Master of the House, and  
 “ a vicious and debauched Family. If he be a virtuous Man, he will shift his Quarter,  
 “ and never endure to be under the Roof with that Sort of People. How can you  
 “ imagine then, that God will countenance your Abominations? An all-seeing God,  
 “ that searches the Privacies of your Hearts, and reads your Thoughts in their very  
 “ Conception? But alas! you have no Privacies at all, no Reserves; but make your  
 “ very Enemies the Confidents of all you do. You live in a kind of Competition who  
 “ shall be the lewdest, and value yourselves upon an Ostentation of your Wickedness.

“ But God is not inexorable to those that confess their Misdoings, and truly repent;  
 “ which is the Course that you must take, if ever you hope for Mercy. Wherefore  
 “ cast away your Arms; let your Hearts bleed for the Judgments you have brought  
 “ upon your Country. Do but look well about you, and consider the Sweetness of  
 “ the Place; the Glory of the City, and the Majesty of the Temple that you are  
 “ now about to betray: With the inestimable Ma's of Treasure that is there deposited,  
 “ in Donatives and Oblations from all Quarters. Can any Man have the Heart  
 “ now to think of exposing these magnificent Curiosities to Fire and Pillage; or of  
 “ seeing those Excellencies destroyed, which of all Things under the Sun, are best  
 “ worth the preserving? If you were not harder and more insensible than Stones, this  
 “ Reflection would move you; or, if nothing else will work upon you, bethink  
 “ yourselves of your Parents, your Wives, your Children, and your Families, that  
 “ are, at this Instant, upon the Brink of perishing, either by Famine or by the Sword.  
 “ It will be said, perhaps, because I have a Wife of my own, a Mother and a Fa-  
 “ mily (of some Credit formerly) concerned in the common Hazard, that it is for  
 “ their Sakes, and my own Interest, that I give this Counsel. But if either the sa-  
 “ crificing of their Lives, or mine, or both, may conduce to your Safety; I am rea-  
 “ dy to deliver them up all, upon Condition that you will be wiser, and honest,

“ when we are gone.”  
 This Discourse of Joseph's drew Tears from his own Eyes; but the Factions were  
 not



not one Jot softened with it: Neither did they think it safe to close with the Romans, even if they had a Mind to it. But, on the contrary, the common Sort were staggered at it, and made it their Business too, how to save themselves by Flight. To this End, they sold what they had that was valuable, though at easy Rates, and swallowed the Gold for fear of being robbed upon the Way: By which Means they supplied themselves with Necessaries when they got over to the Romans; Titus, in the mean Time, leaving the Stragglers at Liberty to go whither they would: And this Discharge was still a greater Encouragement to their Escape? for they got clear of the City Broils without being Slaves to the Romans. But John and Simon and their Companions, clapped a strict Guard upon the Passes, and took as much Care to keep the Citizens from going out, as the Romans from coming in: So that the least Suspicion, or Pretence of a Suspicion, was enough to take away any Man's Life that they thought fit to suspect. And it was all one to the Rich what they did: For he that had any Thing to lose, was sure to fall under a Jealousy; and that Jealousy was Death.

The Rage of the Faction and the Pinch of the Famine increased daily; and when there was no Corn any longer in Sight, they brake up Houses for it. If they found any upon the Search, the Owners were severely handled for denying it; or, if none, they were put to the Torture to discover their Stores. Nay, they drew Inferences of Guilt from the very Bodies of the miserable; and to be hail and found, was made an Argument of private Stores and Plenty. The Consumptive were dispatched out of Hand; though no need, one would think, of putting them to a violent Death, that were ready to starve for want of Bread. There were several of the better Sort that sold all they had in the World for a Bushel of Wheat; and others, of the poorer, for the same Proportion of Barley: And then shutting up themselves, with their Purchase, in secret Hiding-holes; some fell to work upon the Corn without grinding, and some again stayed the baking of it; according as they were more or less pressed by Hunger or Danger. There was no such Thing as the Ceremony of covering or marshaling a Table; but happy was he that could snatch a Bit from the Coals betwixt raw and roasted. Never so miserable a Calamity, or so lamentable and horrid a Spectacle; where the Strongest still fared best, and the Weaker had nothing more to do than to bemoan their Misfortunes: Starving being certainly of all Deaths the most deplorable, as it takes away all Sense of Shame, Tendernefs and Respect: Wives forced away the Meat out of the very Mouths of their Husbands; Children did the like by their Parents; and what was yet more barbarous, Mothers, by their Infants; taking away from them, as they lay languishing in their Arms, the very last Support of Life: And this could not be done so privately neither, but somebody or other was still at Hand to take away that from them again, which they had taken from others. Wherever they saw a House shut up, they concluded there was eating in that Houle; and presently forcing the Doors, they tore the Meat, ready chewed, out of the very Throats of the People, just as they were about to swallow it, though to the hazard of choking them. They had no Mercy either for Age or Sex; but beat the old Men that offered to defend what Provision they had got, and dragged the Women by the Hair for endeavouring either to keep or conceal any thing. Neither did sucking Children escape any better; but they were

were torn away from the Breast, and dashed against the Ground: So that Infancy and grey Hairs had the same Quarter. There could hardly be a more unpardonable Affront, when any of these Freebooters were abroad upon Adventure, than for him that was pursued to outrun his Pursuer, and to eat his own Bread before the other could come up. They spared for no Manner of Cruelty, provided they might but get something to stay their Stomachs: As the putting of People to exquisite Pains in the most sensible Parts; thrusting up pointed Sticks into their Bodies, and other such like Torments, not to be mentioned without Horror: And all this for the Discovery of a poor Loaf of Bread perhaps, or a handful of Flour that they had concealed. And their Tormentors were not hungry neither; for the Tyranny would have been more pardonable, if they could have pleaded Necessity in their Excuse. But this was a Freak purely of Inhumanity, when they were victualling themselves with six Days Provision before-hand. Some poor Wretches, that had given the Roman Guards the slip, and crept out of the Town in the Night for Herbs and Sallad, had the ill Hap to fall into their Hands when they thought themselves out of Danger, where they were stripped of all they had; and glad at last, after a thousand Importunities and Prayers, only for Part of their own again, for which they had run so great a Hazard to compound for their Lives. This was the Treatment they received from the common Soldiers; but Persons of Quality were carried to the Usurpers themselves: Some of them put to Death for Treason, and a Design of betraying the City to the Romans, upon the Testimony of false Witnesses; and this was still one of the Articles, that they had a mind to go over to the Enemy. Those that Simon had pillaged, were carried to John, and John's Prisoners to Simon, as if they had been quaffing Healths one to another, and sharing their Carcasses betwixt them. They were divided in fine, who should be uppermost; but perfectly well agreed in the Methods of their Tyranny and Usurpation. They went Halves in their Robberies, and he was reckoned the greater Knave of the two, that cozened his Companion of any Part of his Moiety in the Booty; to which they were both equally entitled.

It would be endless to run through the History of their Iniquities; but to comprise all in a little, I am verily persuaded that there never was so miserable a City, or so barbarous a People, upon the Face of the Earth: In fine, the better to palliate their Inhumanity to Strangers, they reviled the very Nation of the Hebrews; and owned themselves (as in Truth they were) for a Company of Slaves and Scoundrels, Vagabonds and Bastards. In the Conclusion, they laid the City in Rubbish and Ashes; nay, and the burning of the Temple was effectually their Act too, both in the hastening of it, and by the forcing of Titus, even against his Inclination, upon these Extremities. As the upper Town was in a Flame, the Romans gave many Instances of a generous Compassion; (as will be seen hereafter) but not so much as a Sigh or a Tear to be heard of among the Jews. But of this farther in its proper Place, with Remarks upon the whole Matter.

## C H A P. XII.

*The Jews miserably tortured and crucified. Titus severe in his own Defence. Scandals cast upon the Romans. The Jews hard and resolute. The Romans raise four mighty Works. The Jews set fire to the Bulwark. Simon attempts the other Mount. A brave action of three Jews. The Romans beaten from their Works. Death without Mercy for a Roman to quit his Post. A bloody Fight upon mounting the Engines. Titus begins to despair of carrying his Point.*

**T**ITUS, all this while, plied his Works daily; but not without Loss of Men from the Walls. It was the Jews Practice, to steal out in the Night, and look abroad for Provisions; and not without some Soldiers among them, that could not get wherewithal in the City to answer their Necessities. These People were most of them poor, and durst not desert for fear of having their Wives and their Childrens Throats cut that they left behind. Neither durst they take their Families along with them, for fear of Discovery. Titus being aware of these Difficulties, ordered out a Detachment of Horse to way-lay the Jews in the Vallies. Hunger had made them desperate, and so out they went, and fell into the Enemies Ambushes. When they found themselves hampered, they were then forced to fight upon Necessity, for fear of some Punishment worse than Death itself; beside that it was now too late to think of begging Quarter. In short, they were mastered; and after exposing them to all Manner of Tortures, they were crucified in the Sight of the Besieged. Titus was not at all pleased with the Severity of this Rigour; but he did not find it safe, either to discharge so many obstinate Prisoners that he had now at Mercy, or to spare Men enough to look after them from the Service of the Army: Beside the Hope he had, that the Terror of such an Example might move them to bethink themselves, lest it should come to be their own Case. They were all crucified, but in several Ways and Postures: Some to express their Rage: others, their Hatred; and some again, their Mockery and Contempt: But the Number of the Prisoners was so great, that they wanted Room for more Crosses, and Crosses for the Bodies. And so far was the Horror of this Execution from softening the Faction, that as they ordered the Matter, it wrought a clear contrary Effect by the Help of this Invention. The Friends and Relations of the Fugitives, and those that had but the least Inclination to a Peace, were dragged out to the Walls to shew them what they were to trust to that went over to the Romans; and bearing them down all the while, that the Men they saw in Chains were not Prisoners of War, but Deserters, that sued for Mercy. This Device kept a great many from filing off, till the Truth came to be known; though some there were that immediately slipped away to the Enemy to avoid starving, which they looked upon as incomparably the more miserable Death of the two.

Titus, upon this, caused several of his Prisoners Hands to be cut off, and so sent them

them away to John and Simon, in such a Plight, that they might neither look like Deserters, nor be taken for such; advising them at the same Time to put an End to the War, without forcing him upon the Destruction of the City; for it was not yet too late, upon a seasonable Submission, to preserve their Lives, their Country, and their Temple, intirely to themselves. But Titus advanced his Works all this while; quickening and encouraging the Workmen, being resolved very suddenly to follow his Works with Effects, and gain his Point by Force, which he could not compass by Reason and Persuasion.

The Jews, in the mean Time, casting out a thousand Curses from the Walls, against both Vespasian and Titus, declared one and all their Contempt of Death, and how much their Liberties were dearer to them than their Lives: And that provided they might plague the Romans, they cared not what became either of themselves or of their Country; which Titus told them, were in danger to perish. And as for their Temple, they looked upon the World to be much the more magnificent Structure of the two; or however they made no Doubt but God would take Care of his own House; and upon him they depended for Protection, in Despite of all their Threatenings, which God would never suffer to take Place. This was the Substance of their outrages and unmannerly Reply.

Antiochus Epiphanes was by this Time come up, and a Train of armed Troops along with him; one Company, among the rest, of stout young Fellows for his Guard, all about the same Age; accoutred and trained up after the Macedonian Way; from whence they took the Name of Macedonians: Not for their Birth, neither did the greater Part of them answer the Character of that People. Of all the Princes that were ever subjected to the Roman Empire, the King of Comagena was unboubtedly the most prosperous and successful, for the former Part of his Life; but in his latter Days his Fortune forsook him, and verified the old Saying, that no Man is to be pronounced happy before his Death. He had a Son of a martial enterprizing Spirit; of a robust Body, and bold to the Degree of Rashness. This Son of his was saying one Day, that he wondered the Romans stood trifling before the Walls at that Rate, and did not rather push it to an Attack. Titus answered him with a Simile, that the Way was open to any Man that had a Mind to it. The Word was no sooner out, but Antiochus led up his Macedonians to the Assault, and gave Proof both of his Valour and Conduct in the Management of the Action: But his Followers however were almost all of them killed, or wounded; having made such Brags before-hand what Wonders they would do, that they could not in Honour quit the Undertaking. This gave the young Men to understand, that the Macedonian Courage would never do the Business without Alexander's Fortune: So that they were forced to quit the Attempt, and bring off the Remainder of their Men as well as they could.

It was upon the twelfth of the Month Artemisius, that the Romans began the Platforms formerly mentioned; and upon the nine and twentieth that they finished them, after seventeen Days hard Labour; for there were four of them in all, and they were mighty Works. There was one toward Antonia, that was raised by the fifth Legion over against the Middle of the Struthian Pool: There was ~~and~~ her cast

cast up by the twelfth Legion, within twenty Cubits of the former. The tenth Legion, (which was more considerable than the other two) threw up another Work to the North over against the Pool called Amygdalon; and at thirty Cubits Distance from the last, was a fourth Mount erected by the fifteenth Legion, not far from the Monument of John the High-Priest.

These Works were no sooner up and perfected, but John caused a Mine to be wrought under that which looked toward Antonia, and several wooden Props to be set up all along the Trench, to keep the Weight of the Earth above from falling; dawbing the Wood-work with a bituminous Matter that would take Flame immediately. So that John had now no more to do, but to set fire to the Pillars; which, when the Props were gone, brought down the whole Bulwark with a most hideous Noise. There was no Fire to be seen at first, but only a smothering Dust and Smoke; till the Flame at last brake through all Opposition, and shewed itself. This was so astonishing a Surprise to the Romans, that it put them to their Wits End to receive such a Baffle, when they made themselves sure of their Point. Neither was it to any Purpose to think of quenching the Fire, when their Ramparts were gone.

It was but two Days after this, that Simon and his People made an Attempt upon the other Mounts; where the Romans had already planted their Rams, and began to batter. There was one Jephthæus of Garfis, a City of Galilee; Megassarus, a Domestic of Queen Mariamne's; and one of Adiabena, the Son of Nabatæus; who, from a Misfortune he had, was called Agiras; which signifies Lame: These three Men, with Torches in their Hands, flew directly to the Machines; and breaking through the Enemies Troops, with no more Concern than if they had been among their Friends, set fire to them; and in Despite of all Opposition, with Darts and Arrows, they pursued their Design till their Engines were all in a Flame. These were reputed three of the bravest Men that appeared in that War.

Upon the mounting of the Fire, the Romans dispatched away a Detachment from the Camp to the Relief of their Companions; but the Jews, in the mean Time, poured their Shot upon them from the Walls; and without any Regard to their own Lives or Persons, fought it out hand to hand with those that were endeavouring to put a Stop to the Fire. The Romans did all they could to save their Rams; the Covers of them being consumed already: And the Jews ventured into the very Flames to hinder them; and would not let go their Hold, though the Iron-work of them was burning hot. The Fire passed from thence to the Ramparts; and there was no help for it. Upon this, the Romans finding themselves incompassed with Flames, and no Hope left them of saving the Works, withdrew into their Camp. The Jews had so many Inforcements out of the City, that the Increase of their Number made them more and more pressing and inconsiderate: Insomuch, that in the Heat of their Success, they advanced to the very Camp itself, and attacked the Guards. Now the Office of these Guards, according to the Rule of the Roman Discipline, was to do Duty by Turns, and relieve one another, and not a Man of them, upon Pain of Death without Mercy, to quit his Post, under any Colour whatsoever. Now these People having this Charge before-hand, either to fall like Men of Honour, or to suffer an infamous Death as Deserters; they

made a generous Resistance, and brought several of those back again, betwixt Necessity and Shame, that had abandoned their Station; and with their Engines put a Stop to the Excursions of the Jews from the City. They made their Sallies without any Guard of Defence for their own Security; fighting all they met, at a Venture, and casting themselves like Madmen upon the very Points of the Enemies Pikes, and falling in pell-mell among them. The Jews, in fine, gained more upon the Romans by a rash Hardiness, than by pure Courage: And the Romans, on the other hand, gave way rather to the outrageous Boldness of the Jews, than for the Apprehension of any Mischief they could do them.

Titus, at his Return from Antonia, where he had been to find out a commodious Ground for advancing his Attacks, gave the Soldiers a severe Rebuke for suffering themselves, after the gaining of the Enemies Works, to be distressed in their own, and in a Manner besieged by those that were no better than Prisoners themselves. Titus, upon this, with some of his choice Troops, surrounded the Jews, and charged them in the Flank; while they, on the other Side, maintained their Ground with a wonderful Resolution. Upon the Shocking of the two Bodies, it raised such a Dust and Clamour, that there was nothing distinctly to be either seen or heard; and neither Friend nor Foe to be known asunder: Neither were the Jews thus obstinate out of any Confidence in their own Strength; but out of Despair of Safety: While the Romans were so enraged, on the other Side, betwixt the Nicety of military Honour, and the Passion they had for the Person of the Emperor, which was then in Danger, that if the Jews had not slipt away into the Town just as they did, they had undoubtedly been all cut to pieces: But still the Loss of their Bulwarks went to the Romans; and to find it the Work but of one Hour to destroy what had been so long a raising. This Disappointment, together with the dismounting of their Engines, put them out of all Hope of ever gaining the Place.

### C H A P. XIII.

*Titus consults a Council of Officers. Some for pushing it to a Battle; some for making good the Ramparts; others for intercepting Provisions. Titus orders the running up of a Wall: The Course and Compass of it: And this Wall finished in three Days.*

**W**HILE Things were in this Posture, Titus called a Council of his great Officers to advise him what to do. Some sharp Men among them were of Opinion for a general Assault, and falling on with the whole Army; for there had been nothing done as yet (they said) but in Skirmishes, and Parties; and if it once came to a main Battle, the Jews would never be able to stand the Dint of the very Darts and Arrows. The more considerate Part were for renewing and repairing their Ramparts; others for having no Works at all, but only watching the Victuallers, and keeping  
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the City from Provisions: And so committing the rest to the Famine, which would do the Business of the Sword without striking a Blow. There is no beating of People out of their Resolution that have a Mind to die. Now Titus, it is true, did not think it honourable to lie still in the Head of a formidable Army, altogether without Action; but he was not for fighting yet with a People so bent upon their own Destruction. As for the erecting of new Works, he found it morally impracticable for Want of Materials; and so, for the Watching of all Passengers, to secure the Avenues; for it was not a Thing to be done, in regard both of the Compass of the Town, and the Difficulties of the Places: Or, if the High-ways were all blocked up, the Jews would yet find out other private Conveyances in case of Necessity; and by the Advantage of knowing all the secret Passages in that Neighbourhood. Now what if the Jews should slip any Relief into the City by Stealth, it would but draw out the Siege at Length; and lessen the Honour of the Victory by the Delay; or let it be granted now, that all this may be done; and the Reputation of the Romans, together with the Safety of the Army, may be provided for, both in one: Dispatch is yet to be preferred before Glory; but the sure Way to do the Thing at last, with Caution and Expedition, must be by running a Wall quite round the City. By this Means all Excursions will be prevented; and the Jews either forced to deliver up the Place in the Depth of their Despair, or weakened by the Pinch of their Necessities, into an Incapacity of defending themselves: Whereas otherwise, the Dispute will be endless. "But this shall not hinder me, says Titus, from giving Orders for the repairing of the Works; especially when the weaker Part of those that are left, are already sufficient to put a Stop to the Courses of the Enemy. This may be looked upon perhaps as a Project of insuperable Difficulty; but if it had been less, it would not have stood with the Dignity of the Undertaker: Neither are great Things to be brought about without Labour, but by the more immediate Assistance of an Almighty Power."

Titus made an End of what he had to say, with an Order to his Officers to go in hand immediately with the erecting of this Wall, and to enter upon it with a regular Distribution of the whole Army into their proper Stations. The Word was no sooner given, but the Soldiery were all transported by a kind of divine Impulse into a generous Emulation of outdoing one another: For after the measuring of the Ground, and the dividing of the Legions, the same Spirit of Competition ran through the whole Body. The common Soldiers with their Serjeants; the Serjeants, the like with their Captains; the Captains, with their Tribunes; the Tribunes, with their Superiors, and all in Subordination to Titus; who was so intent upon his Business, that he never missed a Day of taking a Round of the whole Work.

Titus began this Wall at a Place called the Assyrians Camp, where he himself had his Quarter. He carried it forward to the Lower Cænopolis; and so by the way of Cedron to Mount Olivet, which he inclosed on the South as far as the Rock Peristereon; together with a neighbouring Hill that overlooks the Vale of Siloah. From thence he turned his Point a little to the Westward, and so on to the Valley of the Fountain. He took his way next, to the Sepulchre of Ananus the High-Priest; and so inclosing the Mountain where Pompèy had formerly incamped, he returned to the Northward, and

passed on to a Village called Erebinthonicus; took in Herod's Sepulchre toward the East; and there joined one End of the Wall to the other where he began.

The Compass of this Wall was nine and thirty Furlongs; thirteen Forts were built on the Outside of it; whose Circumferences put together, amounted to ten Furlongs. But the most incredible Part of the Story was the finishing of an Inclosure in three Days, which might well have taken as many Months. Upon the perfecting of this Work, there were Guards posted in all the Forts, that did Duty every Night under their Arms. Titus went the first Round himself; Tiberius Alexander, the second; and the Commanders of the Legions, the third. The Soldiers and the Watch slept by Turns; but some or other still upon the Guard in the Castles, all Night.

#### C H A P. XIV.

*The miserable Distresses of a devouring Famine. The Romans make Ostentation of their Plenty, to inflame the Envy of the Jews. Four Ramparts raised at Antonia larger than the former.*

**T**HE shutting up of the Jews in the Town put them to the uttermost Degree of Despair: For the Famine was now so outrageous, that it swept away whole Families. The Houses were strewed with the Carcasses of Women and Children; and the narrow Lanes, with the Bodies of old Men that lay dead there; young Men walked the Streets like so many Ghosts. There was no such thing as burying the Dead: Some wanted Strength to do the Office; others wanted Will, as being discouraged partly by the great Number of them, and partly in regard they did not know but their own Turn might be next. Some there were that expired themselves in the very Act of burying others; and some again hastened away to their Grave before their Time, to make sure of a resting Place while they were yet living. And yet in the Depth of all this Misery, there was not heard so much as one Groan or Outcry; but all other Passions were stifled in the Pain of a tormenting Hunger. Those that were dying stood gazing with dry Eyes, and ghastly Looks, upon those that were out of their Pain before them. The City was all wrapt up in a profound Silence, and Heaps of dead Bodies piled together up and down in the Night. But the most deplorable Part of the Story, was the Insolence and Brutality of the Thieves: Insomuch that the Famine itself was nothing to it. They brake into Houses, which at that Time were no better than Charnel-Houses; stript the Dead to their very Skins, and then made themselves Sport with their Nakedness; trying the Temper of their Swords upon the Bodies of the poor People as they lay half dead. If any Man called for a Hand or a Sword to dispatch him out of the Way, and deliver him from the Misery of the Famine, he was repulsed with an insensible Cruelty and Neglect. As they came to the Point of Death, they still closed their Eyes toward the Temple; and it went even then to the Hearts of them to leave these wretched Miscreants yet among the Living, that had so lewdly profaned that holy Place. When they were  
now



now no longer able to endure the putrid Corruption of the dead Bodies, Order was given to have them all interred at the public Charge: But for want of Room to dispose of them, these impious Monsters cast them down head-long from the Walls into the Vallies; which was so horrid a Spectacle, that Titus, upon taking the Round of the Place, finding the Ditches so pestered and annoyed with rotten Carcasses and pestilential Vapours, stretched out his Hands to Heaven in an Appeal to Almighty God, that it was against his Will to have it so. This was the State and Disposition of the City at that Time.

While the Faction was now so coopt up within their Walls, that there was no stirring out of the Town; beside the double Mortification they endured, of Famine, and Despair; the Romans, at the same Time, passed their Days merrily, and at Ease, in an Abundance of all Sorts of necessary Provisions out of Syria, and the neighbouring Provinces: Infomuch that several of the Romans, out of an invidious Ostentation of their Stores, came up to the very Walls to irritate the Wants on the one Side, with exposing the Plenty on the other. But all wrought nothing upon the insensible Hearts of the Seditious; infomuch that Titus, in pure Compassion to the Remainder of a miserable People, resolved to go in hand with casting up new Works afresh; and hastening the Dispatch as fast as he could. The only Difficulty was the providing of wherewithal to carry it forward: For the Wood near the City was all cut down already for the former Works; so that they were now forced to fetch all their Timbers for a second Supply, at ninety Furlongs Distance from the Place; and there were four Ramparts erected at the Fortrefs Antonia, larger than the former. Titus lost no Time; and having the Faction now at Mercy, he gave them to understand as much. But they went on still without any Sign of Remorse, and with as little Regard to their own Bodies and Souls, as if they had been the Bodies and Souls of other People: For the Dead they tore to pieces like Dogs, and choked up the Sick and Languishing in Prisons.

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#### C H A P. XV.

*Matthias recommends Simon to the City. Simon murders him in Requital, by the Hand of Ananus the worst of Men. Ananius put to death. Judas in a Plot to destroy Simon. Simon surpriseth the Town. Joseph wounded, and reported to be killed. Titus rescues him, and he recovers. The Jews swallow their Gold. Two thousand of their Bellies ript up in one Night. Titus transported at so horrid an Outrage. The Love of Money is the strongest of all Appetites.*

**W**HEN Simon had first put Matthias to the Torture, he put him afterwards to death; and this was the Thanks he had for getting him admitted into the City. This Matthias was the Son of Boethus, a Priest, in high Esteem with the People,

ple, and no Man generally better beloved. The Jews were hardly used, (it seems) by the Zelotes; and upon John's joining with them, Matthias moved the calling in of Simon to their Assistance; but without any Caution, or Conditions, or any Bargain before-hand whatsoever. Simon had no sooner made himself Master of the Town, but he treated Matthias as one of the greatest Enemies he had, and imputed the Advice he gave for the opening of the Ports, to gross Simplicity and Over-sight: So that, upon this, he was arraigned and accused for holding Intelligence with the Romans; and a Sentence of Death passed upon the Father, and his three Sons, (the Fourth having made his Escape to the Romans) without so much as hearing what he had to say for himself. The only Favour this venerable old Man had to desire of Simon, in Return for the Obligation of letting him into the Town, was, that he himself might die first; but Simon refused that Grace, and commanded the Father to be last executed; to keep him so much the longer in Pain. Matthias, in the Conclusion, was put to death upon the Bodies of his Sons, and in the Sight of the Romans, according to Simon's Order to Ananus, the Son of Bamadus; the most hard-hearted Creature that Simon had about him. Neither did he content himself barely to execute the detestable Sentence; but in a Frolic of Insolence and Derision, when he was just upon the Point of striking the Stroke; "You would fain have gone over to the Romans, says he to Matthias, and let them bring you off now if they can." But, in short, to consummate the Inhumanity, the Bodies were all refused Burial, by the special Command of Simon himself.

There was also Ananias a Priest, the Son of Masbalus, nobly descended, and Aristeus a Native of Ammaus, and Secretary to the Council; who, with fifteen more of the Principals of the People, were all put to death. The Father of Joseph was also made a Prisoner, with a Proclamation upon it, that no Man should presume to come at him upon Pain of Treason. Nay, it was made Death also, without Trial or Mercy, but so much as to pity them.

It fell out after this, that Judas the Son of Judas, an Officer of Simon's, and a Commander of one of the Turrets, laying to Heart the brutal Oppression of a miserable People, and not forgetting to look to himself in the first Place, took an Occasion to discourse half a Score of the trustiest Friends he had, upon that Subject. "How long are we, says he, to crouch under the Burden of this Tyranny, or what hope of Safety in the Service of so false and so cruel a Master! We have Sword and Famine to encounter, and the Enemy as good as within our Walls already; Simon, of all Men living, the most ungrateful. He lives in a perpetual Fear of Punishment: And the Romans, on the other Hand, are certainly Men of Faith and Honour. So that we have no more to do, but to deliver up the Walls, and to preserve ourselves, and our Country, both in one. Neither has Simon any Cause of Complaint, only he suffers a little sooner."

When the ten Men were come to an Agreement, Judas betimes sent the Remainder of his People several Ways, for a Blind to his Design; and about the third Hour of the Day, called out to the Romans, from the Turret, and gave them to understand the Resolution they had taken: Some gave no heed to it; others, no Credit, and some again

again thought it not worth their while to master a Place they might get without Danger. By this Time, Titus had drawn some Troops up to the Wall; but Simon immediately surprized the Town: And killing the Guard, in the very View of the Romans, tumbled the Bodies down the Wall. While Joseph was walking up and down there, and doing the Jews the best Offices he could by Encouragement and Advice, it was his Fortune to be knocked down with a Stone from the Battlements: Whereupon the Jews made a desperate Sally, and had carried him off a Prisoner, if Titus, in that Instant, had not sent a Party to his Rescue. During this Skirmish, they got away Joseph, before he was well come to himself again. The Faction took it to be as they wished it; and mightily overjoyed they were in the Belief that Joseph was slain. The Rumour passed for current through the City, and put the Inhabitants into a dismal Consternation, for the Loss of their Mediator and Patron among the Romans. The Tidings of Joseph's Death being brought to his Mother in Prison, she told her Guards that she heard as much, and that she should never see him more. Upon this Occasion, the Women condoled with her; and she herself deploring her own Misfortune, that in bearing a Son who (she hoped) would have buried the Mother, she was not now in a Condition to pay those funeral Rites to her Son. But the Mother was not long the worse, nor the Faction long the better, for the Mistake of a false Report. For the Danger of Joseph's Wound was quickly over; and upon returning to his Post again, he gave them all to understand, that they should pay dearly for what they had done: But still animating the People all along to their Obedience. The Sight of Joseph put his Friends in Countenance again, and cast as great a Damp upon the Hearts of the Faction.

In this Extremity there were several Deferters went over to the Romans: Some leaped the Wall, and made their Escape that Way; others got off under a Colour of pursuing the Enemy with Stones. But instead of avoiding one Calamity within the Town, they fell into a worse without; and the Surfeits they contracted in the Camp were much more mortal, than the Famine they left at Home. For being empty, and puffed up with a dropical Distemper, they could not come to their Eating again, but by little and little, without Danger of bursting: And the most miserable Part of the Story is yet behind.

There was a Fugitive surprized among the Syrians, in the very Act of searching for Gold, that had been swallowed, and past through him, as I said before: Now the Faction put all People to the Scrutiny; and there was such Plenty of Gold in the Town, that twelve Atticks at present was as much worth as five and twenty heretofore. The Fame of this Discovery was presently all over the Camp, and that the Jews that deserted had concealed Gold in their Guts: Whereupon, the Arabians and the Syrians ript up two thousand of their Bellies in one Night for their Treasure: Which I take to have been the most barbarous Butchery the Jews ever suffered.

Titus was so transported at the Brutality of this Action, that he had certainly ordered his Horse to put every Man of them to death with Darts, that had a Hand in it, if the Number of the Guilty had not been so much greater than that of the Slain, hereupon, he called his Officers together, as well Romans as Auxiliaries, and finding  
several

several of his own People concerned in the Outrage, he entered into an angry Expof- tulation with them upon the whole Matter. “ Is it poffible, fays he, (to the Ro- mans in the firft Place) that any Soldier of mine fhould be guilty of fo unmanly a Cruelty, for a doubtful and uncertain Advantage; and not blufh at the Thought of fo infamous and fcandalous a Purchase? And then again to his Auxiliaries. Can you think it reasonable, fays he, that the Infolencies, the Murders, and the Inhu- manities of the Syrians and Arabians, in a foreign War, where they take all Man- ner of Licence, fhould be imputed to the Romans; and the Malice of the one laid at the others Door?”

Now Titus could not altogether excufe his own People, and was fo transported at it, that he threatened Death without Mercy to any Man that fhould prefume to com- mit any of thofe Outrages over again: Appointing the Legions alfo, at the fame Time, to make ftrict Search after all fufpected Perfons, and he himfelf would have the Hear- ing of the Caufe. But Avarice will ftand all Hazards. Befide that, cruel People are naturally covetous, and the Love of Money is the moft infatiable of all Appetites. Fear and Precaution, 'tis true, in fome Cafes may be brought to hear Reason: But when a People are given up once to a Spirit of Reprobation, the ordinary Ways and Means of Security turn to their Destruction: And what Cæfar fo feverely prohibited in public, was nevertheless executed upon the Jewish Deferters in fecret. Only their Custom was, upon any Fugitives coming over, firft to make fure that none of the Romans fhould be within Sight, and then cut up the Jews Bellies for the execrable Booty: And when they had done, they found little more, in fine, than vain Hopes. This horrid Practice however frightened the Jews out of their Defertions, and kept them from going over any longer to the Romans.

#### C H A P. XVI.

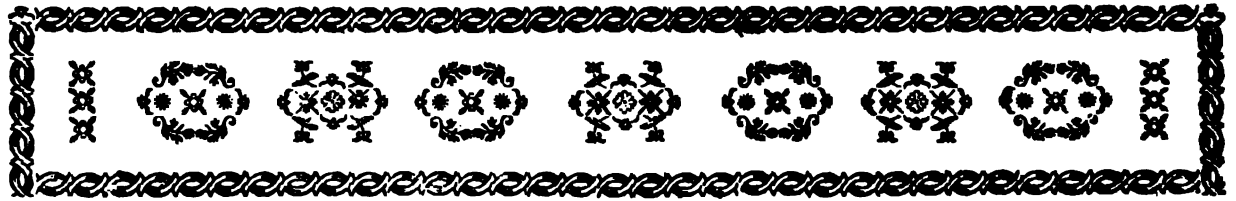
*John advances from Pillage to Sacrilege. The very Race of the Jews rooted out. Six Hundred Thoufand dead Bodies carried out of the City.*

W H E N the Pillage failed, John advanced to Sacrilege: Seizing to his own Ufe feveral Donatives and Oblations, with divers neceffary Veffels, for the Service of God's Worfhip; as Cups, Difhes, Tables, &c. to the very Pieces that Auguftus and the Empreſs dedicated to the Honour of the holy Temple: Which the Roman Emperors had ever a great Veneration and Esteem for; though a Jew, at that Time, had profaned it, and ftript it of the very Bounties of Strangers; encouraging his Com- panion to take all Manner of Liberty with holy Things: “ For it was but Reason, “ he faid, that they that fought for the Temple, fhould live by it. So that he made no Scruple of diftributing among the People, the holy Wine and Oil that was referved in the inner Part of the Temple for Sacrifices: And as John made the Diftribution, the Multitude took their Parts of it, drinking and anointing without any Difficulty. My Heart is full, and I cannot forbear giving it Vent. I am perfuaded, that if the  
Romans

Romans had delayed the calling of these wicked People to an Account, this City would either have been drowned, or swallowed up with an Earthquake; or have been destroyed with Thunder and Lightning, like Sodom; the Jews being much the wickeder People of the two: Insomuch, that for their Stubborness and Iniquity, the whole Race of them was rooted out.

It would be endless to run through the several Instances of their Misery. Mannæus the Son of Lazarus, had the Command of one of the City Gates; and going over to Titus, he gave them this Account: That from the Time of Titus's incamping before the Town (from the tenth of Xanthicus to the first of Panemus,) there passed through that Gate 115,088 dead Bodies; and this was no more than what fell to his Share to take Notice of, by Virtue of a Commission to that Purpose; Beside what were buried by their Relations; that is to say, thrown out of the City, having no other Way of Burial. After this, upon the Computation of divers Men of Quality that deserted, there were 600,000 poor People carried out of the Gate; beside others innumerable, that for want of Friends to export their Carcasses out of the City, were piled in Heaps, and shut up in large Houses. Wheat was by this Time valued at a Talent a Bushel: And now, since the walling up of the Town so close, that they were cut off from all Provision, to the Value of a single Spire of Grass; they were brought to that Pinch of Extremity, that they were glad to rake Vaults and Sinks for Sustenance, and to feed upon Ox-Dung, and other Nastiness, enough to turn one's Stomach but to look upon it. The bare Story of the Calamity drew Pity from their very Enemies; but the Faction in the City, that both saw and felt their Sufferings, were not so much as sensible that their own rebellious Obstinacy had been the Cause of it. But they went on, under the Fatality of a blind Infatuation, that led them on hood-winked, to the irreparable Ruin both of themselves and of the City.





FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS  
OF THE  
WARS of the JEWS.

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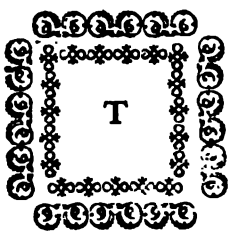
B O O K VII.

*From the taking of Jerufalem by Titus, to the Sedition of the Jews at Cyrene; containing the Interval of about three Years.*

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C H A P. I.

*The State of Jerufalem. From a civil War they advance to a foreign. A Paradise turned into a Defart. The Jews out do the Romans. They attempt the firing of their Engines, but fail. Jerufalem assaulted. The Jews make a bold Defence. The Romans fall to mining, Titus to his Army. The Jews firm in all Extremes. Titus's Opinion of a future State. An Encouragement of his Soldiers to do their Duty. A gallant Action of Sabinus.*



HE State of Jerufalem was every Day worse and worse; and the Faction still more and more fierce and turbulent, as they grew more and more miserable: The Famine having now taken Possession of great and small, all alike. It was a sad Spectacle to see how the Streets were covered with dead Bodies; the Air infected, and the very Passages choaked up with Carcasses, that were trampled under Foot like the Ruins of a fought Field; and without any Consideration  
either

either of Terror or Pity, or how soon it might come to be their own Case. They began with cutting one another's Throats, and advanced from a civil War to a foreign; as if divine Providence had not made haste enough to perfect their Destruction. For they did not contend so much for any Hope they had of Victory, as in a Transport of Rage and Despair.

The Romans, upon this Pinch, were hard put to it for Materials to finish their Works; but yet, upon cutting down all the Woods within ninety Furlongs of the City, they made a Shift in one and twenty Days to raise their Platforms. But never so dismal a Change of Things, from a Paradise to a Desert; and instead of the most delicious Country under the Heavens, for curious Gardens, Plantations, and Houses of Pleasure, not so much as a Tree or a Cottage left standing, or any Thing to be seen but the Marks of Defolation and Ruin: Insomuch that Strangers could not forbear weeping, to see the Difference betwixt the old Jerusalem and the new. For the War had so far defaced the Beauty and the Glory of the Place, that it was hardly to be known again; and People inquired for Jerusalem in the very Heart of the City itself.

Upon perfecting the Mounts, the Jews and the Romans were both equally solicitous for the Event. The Jews were either to destroy them once again, or to lose the City; and one Disappointment more on the other hand, would put the Romans out of Condition to repair them: For there was no more Wood to be gotten, and the Soldiers were quite harrassed out with the Fatigue of the Service. Not but that the Romans all this while, were more afflicted for the Calamity of the City, than the Citizens for themselves; who kept up their Courage yet in Despite of all Difficulties. But when the Romans found themselves over-reached by Stratagem; their Inventions eluded; the Wall Proof against their Machines; and themselves worsted, in fine, at Handy-Strokes, their very Hearts failed them; especially having to do with an Enemy, that, instead of sinking under the Discouragements of Faction, Famine, War, &c. rather gathered Spirit from the Opposition. "What would not these People do," said the Romans, if they had Fortune on their Side; that behave themselves with "this Bravery, in Defiance of all Opposition!" Upon this Consideration, the Romans doubled their Guards.

John and his People in the Castle of Antonia, did all that was to be done, before the Rams were mounted, to prevent the Danger of a Breach. But it was so much Labour lost, for the Design they had of setting fire to the Mount with flaming Torches, came to nothing. The truth of it is, they did not behave themselves like Jews, either for Union or Vigour; and so were forced upon a Retreat. But as they fell short of themselves, on the one side, so the Romans also went beyond themselves on the other, in planting so strict a Guard on the Bulwarks, that there was no Possibility of doing any Execution by Fire: Beside that, they were resolved every Man of them to die upon the Spot, rather than to submit to so irreparable a Mischiefe as the losing of that Post: For nothing could have put the Soldiers in a greater Confusion, than to see brave Men tricked upon; their Courage baffled by a hot-headed Temerity; military Discipline and Experience confounded by popular Outrage; and the Romans, in fine, subjected to the

Jews. While the Jews advanced, the Romans were ready with their Darts to encounter them; and the foremost that fell, did not only hinder his next Man, but the exemplary Danger of the one, served for a Warning to the other. As for those that pressed upon the Enemy's Weapons, some of them were surpris'd at the Dignity of the Roman Order; others, at their Numbers, and some again march'd off with their Wounds: So that in the Conclusion, they all quitted their Ground, every Man shifting the Blame off to his Fellow.

The Assault was given on the first of the Month Panemus; and the Jews being now drawn off, the Romans advanced with their Rams toward Antonia, in Defiance of all they were able to do, by Fire, Sword, Stones, and all other Ways of Hostility whatsoever. Not but that the Jews depended much upon the Strength of their Walls against the Battery of the Machines; But they did what they could, however, to keep the Romans at a Distance, from fixing them. The Inference they drew from this Way of Management was, that the Jews were conscious to themselves that Antonia was in Danger; and that this Apprehension made them bestir themselves so much. They continued the Battery, and the Wall stood hitherto firm; but the Romans fortifying themselves under the Defence of their Bucklers against the Shot and Stones from above, applied themselves to digging and mining: And when, with an indefatigable Labour, they had loosened four Stones under the Foundation of the Work, they betook themselves on both Sides to their Rest. In this Interim, that Part of the Wall that John had undermined for the Destruction of the former Works, fell down all on a sudden. This unexpected Accident was a Surprise to both Parties. The Jews, that had Reason to be troubled at it, especially when they might have foreseen and prevented it, were yet in as good Heart as if Antonia had been their own still: And the Joy of the Romans, on the other hand, for an Accident that appear'd so seasonable, was as quickly dashed upon the Sight of another Wall, that John had carried up within the former; only the latter appear'd to be the less defensible Place of the two, both as the Ruin of the one facilitated the Passage to the other, and as the Work of the new Wall could not yet be so firm and settled as that of Antonia. But there was no Thought of scaling it, and coming of alive.

Titus was not now to learn the Force of Reasoning, and fair Words, upon the Minds of Men of Arms and Honour; or how generous Spirits may be wrought upon by plausible Insinuations of Artifice and Address, not only into the Neglect of Danger, but the very contempt of Death itself. With this Thought in his Head, he summon'd the Flower of his Army together, and spake to them after this Manner:

“ My brave Fellow-Soldiers, there can be no Place for Encouragements, where there  
 “ is no Danger: Neither would it become me to offer it, as if you wanted it;  
 “ or you to take it. Exhortations are more properly for doubtful Cases, wherein all  
 “ brave Men will advise themselves. It will be a hard Work, I must confess, to ma-  
 “ ster the Wall we have here before us: But great Souls are given us for great and glo-  
 “ rious Exploits; and Death is an Advantage when it is followed with immortal Fame  
 “ for a Reward: Beside that, it shall be my Care to reward those that deserve it. In  
 “ the first Place, I would have you think of that for your Encouragement, that works a  
 “ contrary



“ contrary Effect upon others. I speak of the insuperable Patience and Constancy of  
 “ the Jews in the worst of Fortunes. As what can be more ignominious, than for the  
 “ military Romans, that study War in Peace, and are so wonted to conquer, that it is  
 “ almost natural to them to be victorious: For these, I say, to be beaten out of their  
 “ Strength and Courage by the Jews; and at the latter End of the Day too, with  
 “ God’s Providence most evidently on their Side; and the Enemy nothing to support  
 “ them, but the Fury of their own extravagant Despairs; besides that, they suffer dai-  
 “ ly under the judicial Vengeance of God’s high Displeasure in our Favour: Witness  
 “ their Factions, Famine, Siege, and the Ruin of their Walls, even without Battery;  
 “ which are but so many Declarations from Heaven against them, to our Advantage. It  
 “ will not become us therefore to truckle to our Inferiors, and to cast off the divine Pro-  
 “ tection. Shall the Jews that have been trained up to Slavery, and consequently have  
 “ little or no Credit to lose upon that Account: Shall these People, I say, have the Bravery  
 “ to charge into the Middle of the Roman Troops, and look Death in the Face, ra-  
 “ ther than run a Risk of the same Condition over again? and all this, in a Freak of  
 “ Ostentation and Vanity, without the least Hope or Prospect of Success. And shall  
 “ we, on the other hand, that are effectually the Lords and Masters of the Universe,  
 “ and in a Manner intitled to a Right of Conquest: Shall we, I say, lie still and Idle;  
 “ without so much as one bold Attempt upon our Adversaries, waiting only in our Arms,  
 “ till Hunger and Fortune shall give up the Enemy, without any Difficulty, into our  
 “ Hands? ’Tis but taking Antonia once, and the Town is our own. Or, in case we  
 “ should meet with any Resistance from within (which I do not expect) it would not be  
 “ worth the speaking of; for the Advantage of the higher Ground lays the Enemy at  
 “ our Feet without all Hope of Recovery. I do not take upon me here to celebrate the  
 “ History of those Heroes, that having ended their Days in the Field of Battle, shall  
 “ yet live in the Memory of future Ages to Perpetuity. As for those worthless Wretches  
 “ that think of going down body and Soul into the Grave together, I wish them a  
 “ Death suitable to that Abjection of Mind. No Man of Sense and Spirit can be so  
 “ far ignorant of the State of Souls departed, as not to understand that those that fall  
 “ by the Fate of War, are immediately translated into the Heavens among the Stars, to  
 “ appear from thence, to their Posterity, like good Angels, or Influences, to prepare  
 “ them on the other Side for those Mansions of Bliss. But for those that die in their  
 “ Bed, as we say, or of some bodily Disease, their Souls, from that Instant, are buri-  
 “ ed in Darkness, let them be never so pure; and their Names and Memories for ever  
 “ sunk and forgotten. Now since so it is, that Death is inevitable, and that the Sword  
 “ compared with any Disease, is the easier Death of the two, how mean and degene-  
 “ rate a Cowardice would it be, to withdraw the Use of a Life from the Service of  
 “ the Publick, which is an indispensable Debt to nature and a Man’s Country.

“ This may look, perhaps, as if I took the storming of this Wall to be a certain  
 “ Death; but Resolution is above danger; and he that fears nothing, despairs of nothing.  
 “ The Fall of the first Wall has opened a Way to the rest; and the second will be easily  
 “ over-borne, if you do but encourage and support one another: Only stand firm, and your  
 “ very Numbers will do the Work: And who knows at last but you may carry your Point  
 “ without

“ without Blood too. You are to prepare, however, for a vigorous Opposition, and to assure yourselves, that upon any Advantage, either by Stratagem or by Force, they will never be able to withstand us. And for him that first mounts the Breach, it shall be my Care, whether he lives or dies, to crown him with Honours and Rewards.”

These Words of Titus cast such a Damp upon the Spirits of the Army, that there was but one Man in the Field had the Heart to answer the End of this Discourse. His Name was Sabinus; a Syrian born, and a Soldier of the Guards; and a Man eminent both for Courage and Execution: One that had never seen him before, would hardly have taken him for a military Man, either by his Make, or by his Fashion: A little black Fellow; but with a Soul too large for his Body. This Man made his Reverence, and addressed himself to Titus, in Words to this Effect: “ I do here make a Tender of myself to Cæsar, with all my Heart, for the first Man to give the Assault. May Cæsar’s Fortune answer Sabinus’s Good-will. Or if I should miscarry in the Attempt, what I lose one Way, I get another, in the Honour of laying down my Life for my Master; which makes it all one to me whether I live or die.”

Upon these Words, with his Sword drawn in his Right-hand, and his Shield over his Head in his Left, he advanced toward the Wall about the sixth Hour of the Day, with a Train of eleven Men at his Heels, that followed him purely in Emulation of his Virtue: Sabinus, in this Action, encountered all the Enemies Stones and Shot with a Spirit more than human; and several of his Followers were knocked down upon that Attack. But this did not hinder Sabinus yet from pressing forward upon the Enemies Darts and Arrows, ’till he had well-nigh mounted the Wall, and forced the Jews to abandon their Station, for fear of an Inforcement of greater Numbers to overpower them. But what shall we say now to the spiteful Malignity of Fortune, that takes Delight to cross all virtuous Undertakings; for when this Hero was just upon the perfecting of his Work, he was unluckily overborne with the Fall of a Stone. The Jews looking behind them upon the Noise, and finding Sabinus lying alone there, and in a Manner senseless, they all fell upon him with their Darts. He defended himself upon his Knees, with his Buckler over his Head, as long as he could, and revenged himself upon his Enemies with his Sword; killing some, and wounding others, ’till in the End, being able to strike no longer, he breathed his last under a Shower of their Darts.

The Bravery of this Man deserved a more propitious Fate, but he died yet as great as he lived. Three of his Companions were crushed to Death with Stones from the Top of the Wall, and there were eight more carried off wounded to the Camp. This Action passed upon the third Day of the Month Panemus.

## C H A P. II.

*The Romans find the Guards asleep at Antonia, and cut their Throats. A terrible Fight upon it, with a great Slaughter and Confusion. A Battle of ten Hours, and the Jews get the better of it.*

**T**WO Days after this, there were gotten together twenty of the Guards of the Platforms; the Ensign of the fifth Legion, two Cavaliers, and a Trumpet: And making a silent March over the Ruins up to Antonia, in the Dead of the Night, without any Opposition, they found the advance Guards fast asleep, cut their Throats, and so taking Possession of the Wall, the Trumpet sounded. Upon this Alarum, the rest waked and fled, without waiting to see what Numbers had entered the Place, but betwixt Fear and Fancy, they gave them for granted to be very strong. Titus immediately, upon this Notice, put himself in the Head of the choicest Troops he had about him, and so took his Way up to the Ruins. The Jews were so startled at this Surprise, that some of them made for the Inner-Temple; others, toward the Mine that John had wrought, to supplant the Roman Works: But the two Factions of John and Simon giving all for lost, if the Romans should get the Temple, there followed a fierce and an obstinate Combat upon it, before the very Doors of the Place; the one fighting for Life, the other for Victory. Lances and Darts were of little or no Use on either Hand; but the Controversy was now decided by the Sword. In this Confusion, there was no distinguishing who and who were together; but all crouding, without either Order or Discipline: And such a Medley of Outcries, that there was no understanding one another. The Slaughter was great on both Sides, and the Ground covered with Arms and Carcasses. There was no Place either to run away or to pursue: But as they had the better or the worse of it, they advanced or retired; shouting and exalting on the one hand, and lamenting on the other. The Front of both Armies was of Necessity either to kill, or be killed; for there was no Distance left betwixt them for a Retreat. The Battle, in fine, lasted ten Hours: That is to say, from the ninth Hour over Night to the seventh next Morning. But the furious Obstinacy of the Jews carried it from the Resolution and Conduct of the Romans; and it was well for them they did so, for their last Adventure was at Stake. But the Romans, in the Conclusion, contented themselves for the present, that they had gotten Antonia, with only one Part of their Army; for the Legions, upon whom they chiefly depended, were not as yet come up.

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### C H A P. III.

*A brave Exploit of one Julian a Centurion; and as notable a Misfortune. The Romans shut up in Antonia. The Names of the Jews that signalized themselves upon this Occasion.*

**T**HERE was one Julian, a Native of Bithynia, and a Centurion; a Man well born, and the bravest to all Manner of martial Purposes that ever I heard of in the whole War. This Julian, as he was standing by Titus in Antonia, and the Romans at that Time giving Way to the Jews, took his Opportunity, and made a desperate Leap on a sudden into the thickest of the Enemy, and so gave them Chace in  
his

his single Person up to the innermost Court of the Temple. This prodigious Action put the Multitude into such an Amazement, that there was more in it (they thought) than the bare Force of Flesh and Blood. But Julian pursued his Course; some he overturned; others he overtook, and put to death: Nothing, in short, was more agreeable to Cæsar's Friends, or a more dreadful Spectacle to his Enemies. But there was a Fatality that yet befel this Man, not to be foreseen or avoided. For having his Shoes studded with iron Nails, after the Fashion of other Soldiers, as he was running a Course upon the Pavement, he got a Slip; and the Romans, upon the Clash of his Arms, brake into an Outcry, for fear he might have done himself some Mischief. The Jews, at the same Time, fell upon him with Swords and Darts, while he fenced off several Blows with his Buckler; and still as he tried to get up again, he was borne down with Multitudes. And yet, such was the Proof of his Arms, that even at his Length upon the Ground, they had some Difficulty to dispatch him. But, what with the Loss of Blood, and other Weakness, and no Mortal to succour him, he gave up the Ghost.

It went to the Heart of Cæsar, to see so brave a Man made so public and so deplorable a Spectacle; and especially to find himself under the utter Impossibility of saving a Person he had so great a Mind to preserve. But there were others that might have relieved him, if they had but had the Courage to attempt it. Julian, in fine, after a long Struggle with human Fatality, and leaving several of his Murderers wounded behind him, departed this Life, to his everlasting Honour, both with Friends and Foes. The Jews at last carried off the dead Body, and after another Rout to the Romans, shut them up in Antonia. The Jews that signalized themselves in this Action, were Alexas, and Gypthæus of John's Party: And of Simon's Faction, there were Malachias, and Judas the Son of Merton: James the Son of Sozas, Captain of the Idumæans; Simon and Judas the Sons of Jair.

#### C H A P. IV.

*Titus invites John out to a fair Battle. John's Ribaldry in Return. Joseph deliberates upon the Matter. Jechonias's Piety and Prudence. The Fate of Jerusalem draws on: And God punishes the Jews by the Hands of the Romans. The Jews give it out, that the Romans put all the Deserters to death; but Titus proves the contrary. Titus has no Hand in these Abominations.*

**T**ITUS being now resolved to tear up the Foundations of Antonia, and to level the Ways for the more commodious March of the Army, called for Joseph, and (understanding that on that Day, which was the seventeenth of the Month Panemus, the Solemnity of their daily Sacrifice could not be observed for want of a Congregation, and that the People were much troubled at it) sent him to John a Second Time upon the same Errand: That is to say, if John had a Mind to fight, let him bring

bring what Numbers he pleased, and he should have the Liberty to put it to a Battle; provided only that the City and the Temple might not be exposed in the common Ruin; and that he would give over profaning God's holy Name and Worship. Or, if he had a Desire to revive the religious Services that had been for some Time discontinued, he might appoint which of the Jews he pleased to officiate.

Now Joseph did not think it sufficient to acquit himself of this Commission to John alone: but mounting an Eminence where he might be farthest heard, he communicated Cæsar's Pleasure to the Jews in Hebrew, as loud as he could deliver it: Begging of the Jews all the while to have Compassion of their Country, and to prevent the burning of the Temple, before it was too late; with Liberty to solemnize their Prayers and Sacrifices, as formerly.

The People gave Joseph a sorrowful Hearing, without so much as one Word speaking. But John, after several virulent Outrages against Joseph, superadded this Irony; "that there was no Danger of Jerusalem, if it was the City of God."

"No doubt of it, says Joseph, (interrupting him with a loud Voice) you have made a Conscience of keeping every thing pure and holy, and of paying your Duty to that God from whom you pretend to look for Help. What would you think of that Man now, but as the worst of Enemies, that should rob you of your daily Bread? And yet, at the same Time, you make no Difficulty at all of robbing Almighty God of his daily Sacrifices and Oblations. And what is your Quarrel after this to the Romans, but for standing up in Defence of your own Laws and Worship, which you yourself suppress. Never was there so miserable a Turn of Religion and State! Strangers and Enemies to do the Office of your best Friends: And the Jews themselves, both by Blood and Education, crueller than Barbarians one to another. But Repentance is never out of Season, let the Case be never so desperate. As in the Instance of Jechonias the King of the Jews; who, when the Babylonians made War upon Jerusalem, quitted the Town upon Choice, before it was taken, and gave up himself, Mother and Relations for Hostages, to save the holy City and Temple from being laid in Ashes. The Name and Honour of this Prince stands upon Record to this Day, in an anniversary Solemnity, to the Memory of that illustrious Action. I cannot recommend you to a more pertinent or seasonable Precedent: And let your Distress or Offence be what it will, my Life for yours, the Romans shall pardon it. Wherefore consider well with yourself, who it is that advises you; what they are to whom I pass this Promise; what moves me to it, and in whose Name I undertake it. Heaven forbid that I should ever submit to be so mean a Slave, as to forget what I owe to the Place of my Nativity and to the Laws of my Country. And after all this, what do I get for my Good-will now, but fresh Indignities, Railings, and Injuries? And all this is not yet so bad neither as I deserve, for endeavouring to preserve a sort of People that Fate and Providence are resolved to destroy. What can be clearer than the frequent Predictions we meet with in History, pointing at the Destruction of this miserable City; and that the Time of it is then near at Hand, when the Jews are tearing out the Hearts one of another. Now this is so far come to pass, that not only the Houses, but the Temples, are polluted with the

“ Blood of your own Tribes. And what is all this now, but the divine Judgment of God, punishing the Jews by the Hand of the Romans, which will probably end in purging the City by Fire.”

Joseph could go no further for Sobs and Tears, which put the Romans into a tender Admiration at the Softness and Humanity of his very Disposition: But the more Joseph lamented, the more implacable were John and his Confederates against the Romans; insomuch that they lay in wait to inveigle Joseph into a Snare. But his Discourse wrought very effectually upon several of the Nobility. There were divers of the Factions also, that finding the Case desperate, and giving all for lost, would have gone over to the Romans, if they durst have stirred for fear of their own Guards. But others there were, that taking their Opportunity, gave their own Companions the Slip; in which Number were the High-Priests, Joseph and Jesus; the three Sons of Ismael, that had his Head cut off at Cyrene; four Sons of Matthias; and one Son of another Matthias, who made his Escape to the Romans, after Simon the Son of Gioras had put the Father and three of his Sons to death, as has been said already. There were also a great Number of Persons of Condition that deserted with the Priests, who were graciously received by the Emperor, but sent away to Gophne for the present, with a Promise of large Possessions to be distributed among them at the End of the War. Titus gave them this Assignment by themselves, to avoid the Uneasiness of a mixed Conversation among People of different Manners, Laws, and Customs; and they were very thankful for the Allotment.

When they were all withdrawn to their Colony, and none of them seen any longer in the City, the Faction started a spiteful Report, how the Romans killed all the Deserters as fast as they came over to them; with a Design to fright others from leaving their Companions. This Invention succeeded once again, as before; but Titus being now aware of the Stratagem, called them all back again from Gophne, and ordered them to take the Tour of the Walls with Joseph, and shew themselves to the Town, which brought over more Profelytes to the Romans than ever. As they were gathered together upon this Occasion, they planted themselves in the Sight of the Romans, and, pressing the Faction with Importunities and Lamentations; begged of them either to take the Romans into the Town, and deliver their Country; or otherwise quit the Temple, to prevent the Firing of it; which the Romans would never agree to, but upon the last Extremity. This did but make the Faction more and more outrageous against the Fugitives, with their Stones, Darts, Arrows, Slings, and other necessary Engines; which being planted at the very Gates, made the Temple like a Place of Arms, than a House of religious Worship; and the dead Bodies lay every where so thick about it, as if it were a common Burying-place. They brake also into the holy Sanctuary, with their Arms still warm and reeking in the Blood of their Countrymen, and advanced to such a Degree of Extravagance, that the Romans paid a greater Reverence to the Jewish Rites and Ceremonies, than the Jews did to their own. There was not a Man in Titus's Army, that had not a Veneration for the Temple itself, and for the God that was worshipped there, and that did not heartily wish to see the Faction repent while there was yet Place left for Mercy.

Titus

Titus was so sensibly touched with the Case of these wretched People, that he made one Trial more yet, how far John and his Confederates might be wrought upon by Reason. " Tell me, says he, you inhuman Miscreants! What were all the Bars and Partitions for about this holy Place, with the Latin and Greek Inscriptions upon these Pillars, forbidding all People upon a Penalty, not to pass this Inclosure? Neither have we ourselves been less tender of your Privileges, in making it Death for any Man to pass these Bounds, not excepting the Romans themselves. How comes the Sanctuary after this, to be profaned with Assassinations and Murders, and the Temple defiled with Blood, foreign and domestic. I appeal to all the Gods of my Country, and to the late Patron of this holy Temple (who hath now forsaken it,) to my Army, to the Jews that have joined with me, and finally to yourselves, that I am innocent of all these Abominations: And I do sacredly promise, that if you will but comply in quitting this holy Place, no Man shall approach or offer it an Indignity; but that I will preserve and protect your Temple even whether you will or no."

## C H A P. V.

*Titus forced upon the War. He forms his Party, and posts himself upon Fort Antonia. An Attack in the Night, followed with a dismal Uproar and Confusion. Day-light brings them into Order again. A drawn Battle at last. Several Jewish Heroes that fought bravely. Four Mounts erected. A bloody Dispute. A famous Action of one Pedanius. The Jews fire the Temple-Galleries. A fantastical Challenge. Jonathan kills Pudens; and Priscus kills Jonathan.*

**T**ITUS, upon this Occasion, made use of Joseph for his Interpreter; but the Faction made a wrong Construction of it, and imputed the Fairness of the Application, rather to Fear than Good-will, and the Jews grew insolent upon that Mistake. When Titus found they had no Regard, either to the Temple or to themselves, he took up a Resolution, though never so much against his Mind, to carry on the War. But for his whole Army, there was not Room enough to draw it up; so that he detached thirty out of every Company, with a Tribune in the Head of every thousand, and Cerealis to command them all in Chief. With this Detachment they were to have fallen on upon the Enemy's Guards about the ninth Hour of the Night, and Titus himself to have led on the Attack: But upon a Council of War, the Officers were all of Opinion for Titus rather to post himself upon the Fort Antonia, where he might see and observe how his Men acquitted themselves, without running the Risk of any common Danger in his own Person; beside, that it would inspire his People with a new Soul, to shew their Bravery in the Sight of their General.

Titus, in fine, rendered himself to the Reasons of his Officers and Friends; and so withdrew to a Watch-Tower in Antonia, where he might see and judge of the whole Action, charging his Officers at the same Time, to take strict Notice who did well or ill, that he might see them rewarded or punished accordingly. The Matter was no sooner settled, but Order was given, and an Hour appointed for the Attack. The Romans did not find the Enemy asleep this Bout, as was expected; but the advance Guards came presently to Blows, with a Confusion of Clamours; and, upon weakening their Fellows, brought them on in Multitudes to second them. The Romans stood the first Shock; but the Numbers that followed, fell indifferently upon their own People, without knowing Friend and Foe asunder; for betwixt the Noise of the Uproar, and the Darkness of the Night, they knew neither Voices nor Faces apart; but following the Impulse only of a blind Rage and Passion, they fell foul upon what came next in their Way at a Venture. Now the Romans that kept themselves in orderly Bodies all this while, under the Cover of their Bucklers, and knew one another by the Word or Signal; these made a tolerable Shift in the Scuffle: Whereas the Jews moved not one sober Step off or on; but taking their Enemies for their Friends, and their Friends for their Enemies, the Jews destroyed more of their own Men than the Romans themselves did. But upon Break of Day, so soon as the Light shewed them their Mistake, they betook themselves to a more regular Way of Combat, and fell to their Darts and Arrows, both Sides as fresh and vigorous, as if they had done nothing all Night. Now the Romans, that had Titus for their Judge, the Witness, and the Spectator of their Behaviour, and looked upon the Bravery of that Day's Action as the Foundation of their future Fortunes, fought, one and all, in a noble Strife and Emulation, who should do best; while the Jews, at the same Time, had their own Lives and the Temple at Stake, with the Tyrant John in the Head of them; cajoling some with fair Words, and treating others with Menaces or Blows. This Fight was most of it Hand to Hand, but with various Changes backward and forward; for there was hardly any Room either for Flight or Pursuit. Antonia was, in Effect, but a kind of Theatre to the Battle; Titus and his Friends, the Spectators; calling out to the Actors one while to follow their Advantage; another while to stand their Ground, as they saw Occasion; and there passed nothing that escaped their Observation. The Dispute lasted, in fine, from the ninth Hour of the Night, to the fifth the next Day, both Sides maintaining their Ground, and coming, in the Conclusion, to a drawn Battle. There were several noble Romans that behaved themselves likewise like Heroes; and the most remarkable Captains of the Jews were as follows: Of Simon's Party, there was Judas the Son of Merton, and Simon the Son of Josias; Jacob the Son of Sofa; and Simon the Son of Cathlas; Idumæans. And then of John's Disciples, there were Gythæus and Alexas; and of the Zelotes, there was Simon the Son of Jair.

In the Compass of seven Days, the Foundations of Antonia were all turned up to the Bottom, and a broad Way cut out for the Legions to march up to the Wall; where they immediately fell to work upon four Mounts: The first, over-against the Corner of the inner Temple that looks North and East: The second, against the Gallery, to the Northward betwixt the two Gates: The third, towards the West Porch of the  
outward



outward Temple; and the fourth, towards the North Porch. But it was an infinite Charge and Labour, the bringing the Materials a hundred Furlongs from the Place: Beside the many Surprises they met withal by the Way; for the Romans were overconfident and careless, and the Jews mad and rash enough to venture upon any Thing.

It was the Practice of several of the Romans, when they went out a foraging, to turn their Horses loose a grazing; and it was then a common Thing for the Jews to sally out upon so fair an Opportunity, and carry them off. This happened so often that Titus imputed it at last, rather to the Negligence of the Romans, than to the daring Industry of the Jews. And he found himself much in the Right too; for upon the putting of one Soldier to death for the Loss of his Horse, it secured all the rest; for the Soldiers and their Horses never parted after.

When they had now raised their Platforms, and put themselves in Condition to mount their Attacks against the Temple, there came down the next Day a Rabble of a Faction, that were ready to starve in the City for want of Pillage. This seditious Crew, about the eleventh Hour of the Day, made an Effort upon the Roman Guards toward the Mount of Olivet, in hope of either taking them unawares, or finding them withdrawn. The Romans saw the Storm coming; and, taking the Alarm in Time, drew out all the Strength they were able to make, and put a Check to a most desperate Attempt they had projected upon the Wall. It came, in short, to a bloody Dispute, and there were great Things done on both Sides; the Romans valuing themselves upon the Reputation of their Prowess and military Conduct; and the Jews flattering themselves in the Force of a fool-hardy and a mistaken Valour. The one fought for Shame, the other upon Necessity: For the Romans looked upon the Jews to be as good as noosed, and could never have wiped off the Disgrace, if they had let them go again: And the Jews on the other Hand, had no Way of coming off but by forcing the Romans.

There goes a wonderful Story of one Pedanius, a Roman Cavalier, which is thus: The Jews happened to be routed once, and pursued by the Besiegers into the Valley: This same Pedanius pushing full Speed after them, overtook a corpulent young Man, and heavy armed, spurring for Life. He took him off from his Horse by the Leg, in the Middle of his Course, and carried him away a Prisoner, for a Present to Cæsar. Titus was in high Admiration at the Strength and Address of this Man: But the Prisoner was put to death upon it, for the Villany of the Attempt; Titus's Heart at the same Time being set upon the Dispatch and finishing of the great Work.

The Jews, finding themselves every Day weaker and weaker, the War hotter, and the Contagion ready to seize the very Temple itself, did, in this Case, as Men do in pestilential Distempers, by cutting off the infected Parts, to save the Body. According to this Allegory, the Jews began with setting fire to that Part of the Gallery, that reaching from the North to the East, faced Antonia; where they made a Gap of near twenty Cubits, and wrought the final Destruction of the holy Place with their own Hands.

On the four and twentieth of the Month before-mentioned, the Romans put the same Gallery in a Flame; and when the Fire had gained fourteen Cubits, the Jews took  
down

down the Roof of it, and so went on, still cutting off all Communication with Antonia: Not but that they might have hindered the Burning of it, if they would, as they ought to have done; but their Way was to regulate the Mischief they did by their own Convenience: And all this while there passed daily Skirmishes and Encounters every where about the Temple.

There was, at this Time, a contemptible Figure of a Man, that was a Jew; a dwarfish ill-looking Fellow; and as despicable for his Fortune and Family, as otherwise; and his Name was Jonathan. He went out one Day to the Monument of John the High-Priest, and there talking vain-gloriously of himself, he made a Challenge to any Man of the whole Roman Army, to meet him with his Sword in his Hand. There was no-body appeared to take him up; but some despised him; others, as it falls out many Times in those Cases, were afraid of him: Some were not for fighting, they said, with a Man that had a Mind to die; nor others with Men in Despair, that fear neither God nor Man; or where there is Honour to be lost on the one Side, and none to be gotten on the other: Beside, that a Brute and a Man are not upon equal Terms. When this insolent scoffing Jew had waited a long Time for a Champion, descanting upon the Cowardice of the Romans, and nobody came; there was a proud arrogant Man, and a Roman Cavalier, one Pudens, that out of an Indignation for this ~~Assault~~, stood forth inconsiderately enough, and accepted the Challenge, which, in the End, made Sport for the Company: The Contempt he had for the Jew made him rash and careless; so that getting an unlucky Stumble, Jonathan made his Advantage of it, and killed him when he was down: Trampling the dead Body under his Feet, and vapouring over it with his Buckler in his left Hand, and his Bloody Sword in his right, clattering his Arms together, and insulting at the same Time with foul Language and Ribaldry, both against his Adversary and the Spectators of the Roman Army. While Jonathan was in the Height of his Buffoonery and Exultation; Priscus, a Centurion, shot him through the Heart with an Arrow; which struck him dead upon the Body of his Enemy. This put both Jews and Romans into an Uproar, though upon different Motives, and was looked upon as a just Judgment upon Jonathan for assuming that to his Virtue, which was only due to his Fortune.

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## C H A P. VI.

*A War betwixt the Temple and the Mounts. The Jews confound the Romans by a Stratagem. Titus pities them. The Bravery of Longus. A strange Escape of Artorius.*

**T**HE Faction in the Temple, was now in open War with the Soldiers upon the Mounts; and on the 27th of the Month afore said, the Jews bethought themselves of this Stratagem. They filled the Roof of the Western Porch, betwixt the Top of it and the Timbers, with a Quantity of dry Wood, Sulphur, and bituminous Matter: And then pretending to give Way upon an Attack, they suffered themselves

elves to be beaten out, as if they had not been able to maintain it. A Company of rash People followed them close upon the Pursuit, and set up Ladders to make good what the other had quitted: But the wiser Sort looked upon the whole to be a Trick, and never stirred for the Matter. Upon the Romans crowding into the Porch, the Jews set fire to it, and all was immediately in a Blaze, to the Astonishment even of those that were out of Reach of it; but the most desperate Horror and Confusion of the rest imaginable. Some plunged themselves into Wells and Pits; others leaped head-long down the Houses, some running one Way, some another: Some smothered in the Flame, and others casting themselves upon their Swords, to prevent one Death by another.

This Spectacle went to the Heart of Cæsar, out of a generous Compassion he had for the Calamity of so dismal a Miscarriage: Not but that he was offended with his Soldiers to the very Death, for venturing upon such an Attack without Orders. But they had this Comfort however in their Distress, that to balance the Loss of their Lives, they had the Love and Pity of their Prince for whom they died; for they could see him calling and labouring up and down to do all that was possible for their Relief: And every Instance of his Affection was looked upon as a Memorial to his immortal Honour. As for those that made a shift to escape the Fury of the Flames, they were beset by the Jews, and after a stout Resistance, every Man of them put to the Sword.

There fell a World of brave Men in this terrible Adventure, but none greater than one Longus: who, with Honour to all the rest in general, must not be forgotten upon this Occasion in particular. This Longus was a Roman, and in the Vigour of his Youth. The Jews found him a daring and a dangerous Man, and had no Way to cut him off, unless they could get him down to them upon Honour, that he should return safe again without any Violence to his Person. His Brother Cornelius taking Notice of this, called out to him, on the other Hand, adjuring him not to do any thing, that either his Country or himself should have Reason to be ashamed of. Longus, upon this, drew his Sword, and, in the Sight of both Parties, killed himself.

There was also one Artorius that delivered himself from the Fire by an artificial Address. He was reduced to an Extremity; and seeing one Lucius, his Fellow-Soldier and Comrade, within Call: "Catch me in thy Arms, says he, and break my Fall, and I'll make thee my Heir." Artorius took his Leap; and the other disposing himself to receive him, the Weight of the one destroyed the other; dashing him to Pieces upon the Place. This Miscarriage, for the present, made many a sad Heart among the Romans; but it kept them afterwards upon a better Guard against the Frauds and Subtilties of the Jews, which were very sly and dangerous to those that were not well aware of them.

The Porch was burnt as far as the Tower that John erected in his War with Simon, upon the Pillars that led to it: And the Jews, after the burning of the Romans, as above, brake down the rest. On the Day following, the Romans put Fire also to the North Porch, and so carried it before them to that on the East, that overlooks the Valley of Cedron, from a Precipice that turns one's Brain to look down it.

## C H A P. VII.

*The extreme Misery that attends Famine.*

**T**HIS was the Face of Things about the Temple: The City well nigh depopulated with a devouring Famine, and the Misery of it not to be numbered or expressed. It was enough to create a War in a Family, to have but any Jealousy of Meat in it, and enough to break the tenderest Friendships in Nature. Those that were evidently starved to Death could not yet be believed at the last Gasps, that they died in Want: But they would search the very Bosoms of the Dead for Bread, when they had no longer any Breath in their Bodies. If they missed what they looked for, their Despairs hurried them up and down raging like mad Dogs, and staggering like so many drunken Men; ransacking the same Houses at every Nook and Corner of them over and over again: Nothing coming amiss to them, which the foulest of Brutes themselves would boggle at: Girdles, Shoe-Leather, Beasts Skins, &c. Nay a Handful of old Hay was sold for four Atticks. But why do I trouble myself with Illustrations of this dreadful Judgment, by Things inanimate; having at Hand such an Instance for Matter of Fact, as was never known either among Greeks or Barbarians! **And** the Story is not to be heard or reported without Horror. I could be well enough content to pass over this Relation, lest Posterity should take me for a Falsary: But I have so many Witnesses to the Truth of it, that I should be wanting to my Country in such a Partiality to the Dead, to suppress it.

## C H A P. VIII.

*A Mother dresses and eats the Flesh of her own Son. Cæsar innocent upon the whole Matter.*

**T**HERE was a certain Woman beyond Jordan, whose Name was Mary. She was the Daughter of Eleazar, of the Village Vetezobra: That is to say, the House of Hyssop; rich, and well-born. She fled in Company with several others, and took Sanctuary in Jerusalem; where they had the Fortune to be besieged. The Tyrants stripped this Lady of all she brought publicly along with her, that was precious: And for any Thing else that was concealed, either Goods or Provisions; her House was daily broken up and rifled by the Soldiers. Upon this Usage, the Woman fell foul upon the Faction with the bitterest and the most outrageous Language; but could not prevail with any of these Monsters yet, either in Pity or in Rage, to put her to Death. When she found herself brought to this Extremity, that she had no Way left her in Nature to keep Body and Soul together (the Gripes of a tormenting Famine having already seized her, and no Possibility of getting over them) she delivered herself up to Fury and Necessity, and pitched upon the most unnatural Resolution that ever was heard of.

She

sage. He was observed to be still more clamorous upon Festivals, than upon other Days; and at this Rate he went on for seven Years and five Months; and neither his Voice nor his Strength failing him, 'till the Siege of Jerusalem verified his Predictions. After this, he took the Tour of the Wall once again, crying out (with a stronger Voice than ordinary) "Woe, Woe to this City, this Temple, and this People!" Concluding at last with a "Woe, Woe be to myself!" And in this Instant he was taken off with a Stone from an Engine in the middle of all his Forebodings.

Here is enough said to convince and satisfy Mankind, that our Destruction is from ourselves, and that Providence is wanting in nothing to us, that may conduce to the common Good and Benefit of reasonable Nature: As well by the Means of Foresight and Revelation, as by the Aid and Faculty of Reason. But when we are cautioned of future Events, and will take no Warning, our Ruin lies at our own Door. How came the Jews, after the taking of Antonia, to make the Temple square, when they were conscious to themselves of a Prediction in holy Writ, that the Temple and City should be both taken, whenever it should be reduced to that Figure? But the chief Motive to this unfortunate War, was the Ambiguity of another Text, importing, that in those Days there should one come out of Judæa that should have the Command of the whole World. Now they applied this to their own Nation, and many great Men fell into the same Error: But this Prophecy, in Truth, was intended of Vespasian; who was created Emperor in Judæa. But Interpretations go by Fancy; some one Way, some another: And so it fared with the Jews, 'till they came in the End to pay for their Mistakes, with the irreparable Destruction of themselves and of their Country.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Titus proclaimed Emperor. The Force of Hunger and Drought in Extremity. Certain Priests ordered to be put to death. The Faction desires a Treaty, and Titus agrees to it. A pertinent Discourse upon the Subject. Titus offers them Terms, which they refuse, under Pretence of an Oath to the contrary. Titus orders, upon this, that no Jew shall have either Protection or Quarter. The Romans fall on with Fire and Sword; but Titus continues tender and good-natured to the last.*

**T**HE Rebels being now fled into the City, the Temple and every Thing about it still in a Blaze, the Romans lodged their Ensigns against the Eastern Gate; where they offered Sacrifice, and with great Shouts and Acclamations, proclaimed Titus Emperor. They got so prodigious a Booty, that Gold in Syria was brought down upon it to half the Price.

There was a Child among the Priests upon the Wall, that begged of the Roman Guards only a sup of Drink to quench his Thirst; which they freely gave him, out of

a Tenderneſs both to his Age and to his Neceſſity, upon Promiſes of good Faith on both Sides. The Child went down and drank, and then filled a Flaggon that he carried along with him, and made ſuch haſte back with it to his Friends, that the Guards could not overtake him. The Romans charged the Boy with Breach of Articles; but he pleaded for himſelf, that he covenanted only for Liberty to fetch the Water, not to continue with them when he had it, and conſequently had broke no Conditions. They found the Fraud ſo innocent, that they were well enough content to be ſo couzened.

When the Priests had ſtaid five Days longer upon the Wall, they were forced to come down, and deliver up themſelves by the extreme Neceſſity of an outrageous Hunger. The Guards took them to Titus, where they caſt themſelves at his Feet for Mercy. But his Answer was, they ſhould have thought of that ſooner: For now the Temple was gone, it was but reaſonable the Priests ſhould go too, and that they and their Temple ſhould be inſeparable. Upon this, Titus ordered the Priests to be put to Death.

The Heads of the Faction finding themſelves preſſed at all Hands, and ſo ſurrounded that it was impoſſible to come off, they propoſed a Conference with Cæſar; who, out of his natural Generoſity and Goodneſs, inclined to entertain it, partly out of a Deſire to ſave the Town, and partly at the Inſtance of his Friends, in hopes that the Rebels might be brought to better Terms for the future. Titus made a Stand at the Weſt Side of the inner Temple near the Gates that led into the Gallery; and there was a Bridge of Communication betwixt the Temple and the upper Town; which at this Time parted the Romans and the Jews. The Soldiers gathered on both Sides about their Generals: The Jews on the one Hand, to learn what hope of Pardon; and the Romans on the other, out of Curioſity to ſee how Titus would receive them: Who, in the firſt Place, commanded Peace and Silence, and that his Men ſhould forbear Shouting; after which he delivered his Mind to them by an Interpreter; giving thereby to underſtand that he had a Right to ſpeak firſt.

“ And is not your Country miſerable enough yet, do you think, good People?  
 “ (ſays he) Will you never be brought to a Senſe either of your own Weakneſs, or  
 “ of the Roman Power; but like ſo many Beaſts and Madmen, ruin your People,  
 “ City and Temple all in one; and yourſelves too moſt deſervedly in the Concluſion;  
 “ When were you ever out of Broils and Tumults, ſince Pompey laid your City in  
 “ Rubbiſh? And nothing will ſerve you now but open War againſt the Romans. Is  
 “ it your Numbers you depend upon? Why you have ſeen, ſays he, that one half of  
 “ our Army have been able to deal with you. Or do you value yourſelves upon the  
 “ Faith of your Auxiliaries and Allies? Where is that People under the Sun that is  
 “ not more or leſs in our Allegiance? or that would not rather have the Romans to  
 “ Friend, than the Jews? If you reckon upon the Strength of your Bodies, take no-  
 “ tice that the Germans are our Subjects. And ſo for the Firmneſs of your Walls:  
 “ Are they ſtronger than the Britons Wall, the Ocean? And yet thoſe People, with  
 “ that Fence, have not been able to withſtand us. Or if you rely upon the Addreſs  
 “ and Reſolution of your Leaders, we have been too hard you know for the Cartha-  
 “ ginians themſelves. But it is the Humanity of the Romans, that hath raiſed up E-  
 “ nemies

“ nemies to themselves: First, in giving you Lands in Possession; and then in erecting  
 “ Kings out of your own Tribes to govern them. We have also granted you the Free-  
 “ dom and Exercise of your Country’s Laws, and permitted you to live both at Home  
 “ and Abroad according to your own Liking. And, which is more than all the rest,  
 “ we have allowed you the Privilege of collecting, receiving, and employing Contri-  
 “ butions and Tributes for the Maintenance of your Religion and God’s holy Wor-  
 “ ship, with all Freedom to yourselves and your Friends. And what is the Use you  
 “ have made of all these Graces and Benefits, but to enrich yourselves into a Capacity  
 “ of doing us the more Mischief in the employing of our own Money against our-  
 “ selves? You do, in Truth, behave yourselves like the worst of Serpents, that prac-  
 “ tise upon the Lives of those that take them into their Bosoms.

“ It is agreed that the Contempt you had for the spiritless Heaviness of Nero, made  
 “ you forget the Quiet that at the same Time you enjoyed, and put you upon ambi-  
 “ tious and extravagant Designs.

“ My Father, you must know, did not come to Judæa to call you to an Account  
 “ for your Defection from Cestius; but rather to reform you by Admonition and good  
 “ Advice. If the depopulating of this Nation had been his Business, he would have  
 “ struck at the Root, and begun with Jerusalem, rather than Galilee, and those Parts  
 “ thereabouts; which he did on Purpose to give you Room and Leisure to repent.  
 “ But this Good-nature of his passed for Weakness, and our Lenity hath given you  
 “ a Boldness that you take for Courage.

“ After the Death of Nero, according to the Custom of other wicked Men, you  
 “ made Advantage of our Divisions; and my Father and myself were no sooner gone  
 “ to Ægypt, but you took the Opportunity of our being out of the Way, to lay the  
 “ Foundation of a War against us: And notwithstanding all the Proofs we have given  
 “ you of our Tenderness and Humanity in the Government of those Provinces, you  
 “ had yet the Face to enter into Practices against us, even when my Father was already  
 “ declared Emperor, and myself Cæsar. Nay, and it went further yet. For after  
 “ the very Establishment of us by common Consent, in the quiet and peaceable Pos-  
 “ session of the Empire; and the gratulatory Compliments that were paid us by fo-  
 “ reign Ministers, upon our Accession to the Government, who but the Jews to be  
 “ still our Enemies! as appeared by their Dispatches of Embassies and Deputations as  
 “ far as beyond Euphrates, for Assistance in their Revolt. To say nothing of your  
 “ new Fortifications, Factions, and Competitions, till it came in the End to a civil  
 “ War: An Ingratitude that none but the wickedest of Men could have been guilty of.

“ When my Father sent me (though with great Difficulty and Reluctance) to call  
 “ this stubborn rebellious City to an Account, how did I please myself to hear that  
 “ the People were well disposed towards a Peace! How did I beg of you to prevent a  
 “ War before a Blow was struck! Can you say that I did not make it as easy to you  
 “ afterwards as I could? Did I ever refuse any Man of you that offered himself? Did  
 “ I ever break Faith with any Man that came over to me? How tender was I of your  
 “ Prisoners! Or was I ever hard upon any Man that did not inflame the Quarrel?  
 “ With what Unwillingness did I come to the battering of your Walls! And so I

“ kept off all bloody Executions from you, as much as possible. When did I ever  
 “ get the better of you, and not sue for Peace, as if you yourselves had been the Con-  
 “ querors? Whenever I came near your Temple, I took no Advantage of the Right  
 “ I had by the Law of Arms to the destroying of it: But only made it my Request  
 “ to you to spare yourselves, and all that was holy that belonged to you. Did I  
 “ not offer you free Leave to depart, and upon Terms of Security too? Or if nothing  
 “ but fighting would serve your Turn, I gave you the choice of your own Time and  
 “ Place: And what is the Fruit now of all this Tenderness, but the burning of the  
 “ Temple with your own Hands, that I would so fain have preserved? And have you  
 “ the Impudence now at last to invite me to a Parley, as if you had any Thing left  
 “ you to atone for what you have destroyed? How can you expect a Pardon for your-  
 “ selves, that would not so much as Pardon your own Temple? And here you present  
 “ yourselves in Arms too, without so much as pretending to be Supplicants. But to  
 “ come now to the Ground of this miserable Confidence. Your People have neither  
 “ Heart nor Soul left them; your Temple is gone, the City mine, and yourselves all  
 “ at my Mercy: And yet you would be thought to insist upon Terms of Honour now  
 “ at last. But not to stand expostulating any longer with your pertinacious Follies,  
 “ lay down your Arms, and render yourselves, and I am yet content to give you your  
 “ Lives: And when I have once done necessary Justice upon the main, you shall find  
 “ me a gentle Master as to the rest.” The Faction returned him this Answer, “ That  
 “ they could not deliver themselves up, upon any Promise or Assurance he could give  
 “ them, because they were under an Oath to the contrary: But that they were ready  
 “ to be gone, if he pleased, with their Wives and Children into the Desert, and leave  
 “ the Town to the Romans.” Titus took it so very heinously to see Prisoners giving  
 Law, and imposing Conditions upon the Conquerors, that he presently caused Procla-  
 mation to be made, “ That no Jew should presume, for the future, to make any fur-  
 “ ther Application to Titus, or expect either Protection or Quarter: But that they  
 “ might now defend themselves by Arms as well as they could; for Cæsar was re-  
 “ solved to govern himself by the Rules of War:” So the Soldiers had Leave given  
 them to fall on with Fire and Sword, and make their best of the Spoil of the City.  
 There was nothing done that Day; but the next Morning they set fire to the Register-  
 Office, the Castle, the Council-Chamber, and a Place called Ophlas: And so the Fire  
 went on to Queen Helen’s Palace in the Middle of the Mount, carrying all before it,  
 together with the dead Bodies, whereof the Houses and Streets were crouding full.

On the same Day, the Sons and Brethren of King Izates, with several other Persons  
 of Honour, joined in a Petition to Cæsar for their Lives; who, according to his usual  
 Practice, granted the Petition, though very much incensed against the Party. But  
 they were all ordered to Prison, and the Sons and near Relations of Izates carried af-  
 terwards bound to Rome for Hostages.



## C H A P. XIV.

*The Faction moves to the Palace Royal, where they cut off 8400 Persons, and seize all the Treasure. A nice Point of Roman Honour. Joseph gives good Advice, but it is lost upon them. Sinks and Vaults are searched for Deserters, and they kill all they take. No Death so ghastly as that of a Famine. The last Hope of the Faction is in their Hiding-holes.*

**T**HE Rebels steered their Course next to the King's House, a strong and a safe Place, with a great Treasure laid up in it. The Jews beat the Romans out of the House; killed to the Number of eight thousand four hundred Persons there, and carried off all the Money. Upon this Encounter, there were two Roman Soldiers taken alive, a Horse-man and a Foot-man: The latter was killed, and dragged along the Streets quite through the Town, as if it had been to revenge the whole Nation upon that single Body. The Horse-man, upon a Pretence that he had somewhat of Moment to communicate, was carried to Simon: And having nothing to say when he came there, Order was given to Ardalas, one of Simon's Officers to have him put to Death. So he was presently taken out with his Hands bound behind him, and a Swathing-band over his Eyes, to have his Head cut off within Sight of the Romans; but as the Executioner was drawing his Sword to do his Office, the Prisoner started away, and made his Escape over to the Romans. Titus would not suffer him to be put to Death, only for giving the Enemy the Slip; but looked upon it as such an Indignity to have a Roman Soldier taken alive, that he was disarmed and cashiered upon it; which, to a Man of Honour, is worse than Death.

It being the Romans Fortune the next Day to rout the Jews out of the lower City, they put all in a Blaze as far as Siloah; and had the Pleasure of seeing what Havock the Conflagration made, but the Booty was gone: For the Ruffians had disposed of that already into the upper Town. Now they were not a People to repent of any Mischief they had ever done, and they kept up their Arrogance in the worst of Fortunes. The burning of the City was to them a Spectacle of Joy; and they declared that, as Matters stood at that Time, they were ready to welcome Death itself with Comfort: For now the People were wasted, and almost totally cut off; the Temple burnt to Ashes, and the Town all in a Flame, there was nothing left for the Romans that were to come after them to joy in.

But while Things were at this Pass, Joseph did all that was to be done to save the miserable Remains of a ruined and desolated City; dividing himself in his Applications, betwixt Invectives against the impious Inhumanities of the one Side, and seasonable Encouragements and good Counsels to the other: But it was all to no Purpose; for the Jews were both tied up by their Oath, and as good as besieged by the overpowering Number of the Romans; besides that, their Swords were wonted to Blood and Slaughter.

In this Distraction, they scattered themselves all over the City; hunting, and watching up and down in the Ruins, Vaults and elsewhere for Deserters. They took a great

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many of them, and they killed all they took; for they were too weak to run for it, and their dead they cast to the Dogs: But of all Deaths, Famine was the most frightful and ghastly. There were several that went over to the Romans, without either the Hope, or the Desire of any other Mercy from them, than what they promised themselves in the Exchange of one Death for another. And this was the Case with the Seditious also upon the same Account. The Streets were covered with dead Bodies from one End of the City to the other; which were either murdered, or starved.

The last Hope of the tyrannical Faction, was in the Recesses of Sinks and Privies, upon a vain Fancy that they might lie concealed there 'till all should be over, and the Romans gone; and that then they might make their Escape; not considering, that Holes and Hiding-Places are no Proof against the all-seeing Eye of Justice. The Jews that were possessed of these subterranean Retreats, did more Mischief than the Romans by the Fire; killing and robbing all they could meet that came for Sanctuary to those Caverns: And let their Food be never so coarse or foul, such was their Necessity, that it became a Cause of Quarrel; insomuch, that I verily believe, if the Siege had continued, the Living would have been inhuman enough to eat the Flesh of the Dead.

#### C H A P. XV.

*The Upper Town not to be taken without new Mounts. Titus sets the Project afoot. The Idumæans offer him their Service by their Deputies; and beg his Pardon. Titus grants them their Request, but Simon immediately puts the Deputies to death. Whole Families sold like Herds of Beasts in a Market. Titus sets 40,000 Men at Liberty that come over to him. Jesus, a Priest, articles with Cæsar for his Life. Phineas, the Treasurer, makes a farther Discovery.*

THE Upper Town was seated upon such Crags and Precipices, that Titus found it utterly impossible to gain it without new Mounts; so that upon the twentieth of the Month Lous, he went in Hand with the Project. Carriage was extremely dear and troublesome (as I have said elsewhere;) for the Materials were all cut down for the former Works, within a hundred Furlongs of the Town. The four Legions threw up a Mount on the West-side of the Town over-against the Palace Royal: The Auxiliaries and the rest cast up another toward the Gallery and the Bridge; and a Fort that Simon built in his War with John, known by the Name of Simon's Tower. At the same Time the Idumæan Officers laid their Heads together among themselves how to desert, and get over to the Romans, and sent five Deputies with a Tender of their Service to Titus, and a submissive Petition for Mercy in the Name of the rest. This was somewhat with the latest; but Titus, however, upon an Opinion that Simon and John would never stand it out, after such a Desertion, sent the Deputies back with a Promise

mise of their Lives; for he looked upon the Idumæans as the most considerable Part of their Army. This Plot, it seems, had taken Air, and Simon caused the five Deputies immediately to be put to death, and their Leaders imprisoned; reckoning James the Son of Sofas for the Chief. And though much could not be expected from the common Soldiers, now the Officers were gone; the rest of the Idumæans were kept yet under a stricter Guard; and all too little to hinder them from running over. There were many cut off, it is true; but more that escaped; and they were all received, for Titus had too much Generosity and Good-nature to press his former Prohibition to the uttermost Rigour; and the very Soldiers themselves, betwixt the Hope of Booty, and a Glut of Blood, began to betake themselves to a Course of Humanity and Moderation. As for the common People, (which were all that were now left) they were sold with their Wives and Children, like Beasts, in a Market, and that at very easy Rates too, and but few Purchasers. Titus reflecting upon this, and upon his own Proclamation, forbidding any more Jews to come over to him single; out of a Desire to save as many of them as he could: He was now pleased to dispense with his own Order, and to receive as many of them, one by one, as presented themselves: But with Supervisors over them, to distinguish the Good from the Bad, and to deal with them according to their Merits. There were vast Numbers of them sold, and upward of forty thousand set at Liberty by Titus, to go whither they would.

There was at the same Time one Jesus, a Priest, and the Son of Thebuth; who compounded with Cæsar for his Life, upon Condition to deliver up to him some of the Vessels, Donatives, and other Ornaments belonging to the holy Temple. So he went out, and gave him over the Wall two Candlesticks like those in the Temple; some Tables, Cups, and Goblets; all substantial and pure Gold: He gave him also several Veils, sacerdotal Habits, precious Stones, and a great Number of sacrificing Vessels.

There was also taken, one Phineas, the Keeper of the holy Treasure; who produced a great many Priests Habits and Girdles; purple and scarlet Stuffs, that were orderly folded up for Use. There was also a Proportion of Cinnamon, Cassia, Gums, and Perfumes for daily Incense; besides several Sorts of holy Ornaments and private Goods. But for the Sake of this Service, though the Man was a fair Prisoner of War, and taken by Force, he was treated yet as if all he did had been out of pure good Will.

## C H A P. XVI.

*The mounts are finished: And the Romans advance with their Machines. Some shift for themselves: And others stand their Ground. Simon and John in Horror and Desperation with frightful Stories and false Alarms. They give up three Forts that could never have been taken but by starving, which did the whole Work. The Romans carry all before them; and the Jews, like Vipers, eat out the Belly of their Mother. A pious Ejaculation*

*Ejaculation of Titus's. He erects a Monument to his good Fortune. Titus gives Orders about his Prisoners.*

THE Works being now finished, on the seventh of the Month Gorpiazus, or September, (having been eighteen Days a doing) the Romans advanced their Machines; and that Part of the Faction that despaired of holding out, quitted the Walls, and withdrew to the Castle; others into Privy Houses and Vaults: But the more Resolute stopped, and made Head against those that were to manage the Battery: The Enemy all this while being superior to them, both in Strength and Number; over and above the Advantage of Men in Heart, and puffed up with Success against a sad, a despairing, and an unfortunate People. So soon as ever they took Notice of any Flaw in the Wall, or that any of the Turrets gave Way to the Engines, the Defendants shifted immediately away as fast as they could; insomuch, that Simon and John themselves were seized with a pannaic Terror; and fled, even before the Romans were come within Distance of doing them any Hurt: And yet at the same Time they had their Fits of Astonishment upon them. It would have grieved ones Heart, though for the vilest of Miscreants, to see those Men trembling and knocking their Knees, as if they were sinking into the Ground, that had been but just before, in the Height of their Arrogance and Presumption, both in Words and Actions. Never so wonderful a Change! They made an Attempt indeed upon the Wall of Circumvallation that the Romans raised about the Town. In short, they attacked it, and made a Breach in it; with a Resolution to fall upon the Guards, and make an Escape: But perceiving, when they looked to be seconded, that their Friends had all forsaken them, they hurried away in a Confusion, as their Fears and their Necessities moved them. In this fantastical Variety of frightful Things and Thoughts, every Man framed a Story according to his Imagination. One brings News that the whole Wall to the Westward, was overthrown; others, that the Romans were just at the Foot of it: Some, that they were entered, and such and such of them were seen in Possession of the Towers. Whatever they feared, they saw; falling prostrate upon their Faces, and bemoaning their Follies in a Passion, as if they had been Thunder-struck, not knowing which Way to turn themselves.

The Power of God on the one hand, and his Goodness on the other, was very remarkable upon this Occasion; for the Tyrants ruined themselves, by quitting those Holds of their own Accord, that could never have been taken but by Famine; and this, after the Jews had spent so much Time to no Purpose upon other Pieces of less Value. By this Means, the Romans became Masters of three impregnable Forts, by Fortune, that could never have been taken any other Way: For the three famous Towers formerly mentioned were Proof against all Battery.

Upon Simon and John's quitting these Towers; or rather, upon their being driven out of them by the Impulse of a judicial Infatuation, they hastened away to the Vale of Siloah, where they took Breath awhile; and after some Recollection and Refreshment, they gave an Assault to the new Wall there: But so faint and weak, that the Guards beat them off; for betwixt Fatigue, Despondency, Dread, and Misery, their  
Strength

She had a Child sucking at her Breast, which she snatched up; and looking tenderly upon it, "What, says she, shall I say unto thee, thou most unfortunate Infant, to be brought into the World, under a Complication of three such dreadful Judgments, as War, Famine, and Rebellion! Which of the Three shall I reserve thee for? The Romans will give thee thy Life perhaps, but not thy Liberty. Now Famine will prevent Slavery; but for our present Tyrants, thou wilt find them incomparably worse than the other two. What canst thou do better now, than to supply the Want of a Meal's Meat to thy starving Mother, and hag out the Party with the Horror of the Fact? And then finally crown the History of the Jews, with the only execrable Abomination that is yet wanting to the perfecting of their Misery?" With these Words she killed her Child, boiled, and dressed it; the one Half of it she eat herself; and the other Half of it she set by out of the Way, and kept covered. The Faction had it presently in the Wind; and upon the smell of the inhuman Cookery, they came immediately to the Woman's House, with Menaces of Death without Mercy, if she did not forthwith bring them out her Provisions. The Woman told them, that this was all she had; and so shewed them the Remainder of her Child. They stood like Statues upon the very Sight of it, and so fell to trembling, and ran stark mad. "Look ye, says the Woman, this is really my Son, and this Dish is of my Dressing. I have eaten the one Half myself, and pray do you eat the other. You will not pretend, I hope, to be nicer than a Woman, or tenderer than a Mother: But if you make a Conscience of the Oblation, I have eaten Part of it already, and you may leave the rest where you found it." Upon this, they went their Way in a quaking Terror; and with some Difficulty, left the Child with the unhappy Mother: The only Thing they ever boggled at.

The Noise of this bloody Execution was presently all over the City; and such an Abhorrence for it in general, as if every single Man had had a Part in the Crime. The Dread of the Famine made Men weary of their Lives, and the Living envied the Dead that were taken away, before the Extravagance came to this Height. The Story was quickly gotten from the Jews to the Romans, where some pitied the People; others hated them for it: And some again gave no Credit to it. "Cæsar acquitted himself, as in the Presence of God, that he had done all he could to make the Jews easy and happy in their Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes. But if they had rather be tearing one another to Pieces than live in Union, who could help it? If they had rather have War than Peace, or Famine than Plenty. Nay, if nothing else would serve their Turn, but the firing of that very Temple with their Hands, which Titus did all that he could to preserve, their own Children were Meat good enough for such Parents: And he was resolved to bury their Iniquities in their Ruin, and not to leave a City standing under the Sun, where Mothers devoured their own Children; and the Fathers yet the more impious of the two, for keeping up the War, after so many Demonstrations of God's terrible Displeasure against it." Titus, after this, reflecting upon the incorrigible Hardness and Obstinacy of the Faction, gave them all for lost; for if any thing in Nature would have wrought upon them, the Calamities they had suffered already, might possibly have reclaimed them.

## C H A P. IX.

*Batteries and Mines signify nothing. Titus tries Scaling-ladders. The Jews make a stout Resistance: And the Romans behave themselves bravely. Titus orders the Romans to set fire to the Gates. Two treacherous Deserters go over to Titus; but he suspects and pardons them. The Jews wrapped up in Flames. The Galleries burnt to the Ground. Titus advises with his Officers about the Temple; some for one Thing, some for another, but Titus for saving it. The Jews make a desperate Sally upon the Romans: Titus brings them off, and forces the Jews into the Temple. This was the second Time that Jerusalem was burnt upon the same Day of the Month.*

WHEN two of the Legions had finished their Platforms, Titus on the eighth of the Month Lous, ordered his Rams to be planted against the Western Gallery of the Outward-Temple, having played the best Piece of Battery he had for six whole Days without Intermiffion; but to no Purpose: For the Work was Proof against the Engines. There were others, at the same Time, sapping the Foundations on the North-Side; and when they found that with an incredible Labour, they could only loosen some of the outward-Stones, without moving any of the rest, for the Porch stood yet firm, they perceived at last that there was no good to be done by digging and mining, or by the Help of Levers and Bars: So that the Romans betook themselves to their Scaling-ladders.

The Jews could not hinder them from planting their Ladders; but they made a brave Resistance, where there was any Place for it: Encountering those that got up, hand to hand, before they could put themselves upon their Guard; casting others down headlong, as they were mounting: Cutting off some, as they were advancing with Relief; and sometimes over-turning Ladders, Men and altogether. So that the Romans Loss upon this Encounter was very considerable; especially in the Disputes they had for the defending or recovering of their Colours, as one of the nicest Points of Honour among Swordmen. But, in the Conclusion, the Jews kept the Ensigns that they took, and killed the Ensign-Bearers; which terrified the rest, and forced them to a Retreat. Now to give the Besiegers their Due at last, there fell not a Man of them but died like a Roman. Those of the Faction that had done bravely in former Encounters, did so still; and so did Eleazar, the Nephew of the Tyrant Simon: But Titus finding by this Time, that in sparing a strange Temple, he did but sacrifice his own Men, gave order to his People forthwith to set fire to the Gates.

Upon this Occasion, there came over to him, Ananus of Emmaus, one of Simon's Guards, and the most inhuman Wretch he had about him; with Archelaus the Son of Magadathies: Who flattered themselves with the Hope of better Quarter for leaving the Faction upon a winning Hand. Titus was so well informed of the barbarous Practices  
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and Characters of these pretended Converts, that he was once in the Mind to have cut off both their Heads, this Pretence notwithstanding; being fully convinced, that it was pure Necessity and Design, not Affection or good Will, that had brought them over. Neither did he take them to have deserved their Lives for that Service, that first set their Country in a Flame, and then abandoned it. But however, upon second Thoughts, he overcame the Provocation; and so forgave them, though with a Resolution never to trust them.

The Gates were by this Time in a Blaze; the Silver-work over them melted, and the Timbers all in a Flame; insomuch that the Fire was gotten to the next Galleries. This was such a Surprise to the Jews, to find themselves wrapt up in Flames, that they stood gaping one upon another in an Astonishment, without so much as attempting any Thing toward their Relief: or concerning themselves, either for what was already consumed, or for the saving of the rest. They had, in short, neither Heart nor Strength left them, and the Fire got Ground all that Day, and the Night following, 'till by little and little it burnt down the Galleries.

Titus gave Order next Day for the quenching of the Fire, and the levelling of the Ways for the March of his Army. After this he called a Council of his General Officers: That is to say, Tiberius Alexander, his Lieutenant-General; Sextus Cerealis, the Commander of the fifth Legion; Lorgius Lepidus, of the tenth; Titus Trigius, of the fifteenth; and there were with these Æternius Fronto, the Captain of the two Alexandrian Legions, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the Governor of Judæa: With Colonels and other Officers to advise withal, what Measures to take in the Business of the Temple. Some were for keeping up to the Strictness of the Law of Arms; for so long as that Temple stood, and the numerous Meetings therein continued, the Jews (they said) would never be quiet: Others were for the saving of the Temple, upon Condition of the Jews quitting it; and that there might be no farther Quarrel about it; but if it should be gotten by the Sword, by all means to burn it, not as a Temple, but as a Castle; for in that Case, the Fault would be theirs that forced the burning of it; not theirs that did it by Necessity. “ But, says Titus, (interposing here) “ if the Jews will be obstinate, and “ turn a Temple into a Citadel, shall I revenge the Stubbornness of a rebellious People “ upon Stocks and Stones, and lay the most glorious Fabric of the Universe in Ashes for “ their Sakes? It would be an Affront to the Dignity of Rome itself, to think of de- “ priving the Empire of so illustrious an Ornament.” When Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis found what Titus would be at, they came over to his Opinion, and so the Council was dismissed; with Orders to the Army to rest and refresh themselves, to be the fitter for Action: Several choice Battalions being commanded out, in the mean time, to look after the Fire, and cut out Ways over the Ruins. The Jews being now harassed off their Legs and Courage, were quiet enough for this Day: But the Day following, when they had gathered Strength, and taken Heart again, they made a desperate Sally about the second Hour of the Day through the Eastern Gate, upon the Guards of the outward Temple. The Romans stood the first Shock like a Wall against them, under the Power of their Bucklers, with a mighty Resolution: But that would not have lasted long against such an Odds of Fierceness and Numbers, if Cæsar, with a select Body of Horse (who

saw the Action from Antonia,) had not come seasonably up to their Relief, before they gave ground. The Jews shrunk upon this Charge; and the Romans breaking in upon the Front, the rest betook themselves to flight: And then the Romans drawing off in their Course, the Jews rallied and came on again. At this Rate they took their Turns interchangeably, one after another, for a better or a worse, 'till about the fifth Hour of the Day; when the Jews were forced into the Temple, and shut up there. Titus, upon this, withdrew to Antonia, with a Resolution to attack the Temple with his whole Army the next Morning. But God in his Providence had from all Eternity doomed it to the Fire; and in Course of Time, the fatal Day was now at hand: The tenth of the Month Lōus, and the very same Day whereupon it was formerly burnt by N-buchadnezzar, the King of Babylon. But this was a Conflagration which the Jews brought upon themselves; for Titus had no sooner left them in quiet, but the Rebels made a Sally upon Cæsar's Guards as they were at Work; by his Order, to extinguish the Fire: Who put the Jews to the Rout upon it, and had the Pursuit of them to the Temple.

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#### C H A P. X.

*A Soldier pretends a divine Impulse, and sets fire to the Temple. Titus endeavours to stop it. A dreadful Massacre.*

THERE was at this Time a certain Soldier, that without any Pretence of Authority or Conscience for so impious a Fact, took upon him to act by the Inspiration of a divine Impulse. He mounted the Shoulders of one of his Comrades; and then cast a flaming Brand into the golden Window that looks toward the Apartments on the North-side of the Temple. The Place took fire immediately, which raised such a hideous Outcry among the Jews, that they hastened all that was possible to their Relief. For this was not a Time for sparing of their Lives, or their Persons, when they had left the only Thing that had made Life precious to them. The News of this Conflagration being brought to Titus, just as he was laying himself down in his Tent to take a little Rest after the Fatigue of the Combat, he leapt up; and immediately taking his Chariot, passed away with it to the Temple, to try what he could do toward the putting out of the Fire. His great Officers followed him, and the Legions after them, in such a Confusion, as is but natural to a prodigious Multitude without Discipline. Cæsar did all that was to be done with Words and Signs, towards the stopping of it; but it was all as good as nothing, for the greater Noise drowned the less; and they were every jot as blind to the Signs and Motions of his Hand, as they were deaf to what he said. Neither were the Soldiers governed by Menaces or Commands; but only followed the Dictates of Rage and Passion: Some were trampled upon, and squeezed to death in Crouds; others choaked in the sultry Ruins of the Galleries over the Porches: and the same Thing, whether they overcame, or were overcome. The common Soldiers in the Temple pretended, in Excuse of their Disobedience, that they could not hear their Emperor's Orders; and they that followed, gave the Word forward to throw Fire. The Rebels, in fine, had



no way in the World to prevent it; and which Way soever they turned themselves, they saw nothing but Blood and Destruction. As for the poor People, the sickly, and the unarmed, they put them to the Sword where-ever they found them: Mountains of dead Bodies piled up about the Altar, and Streams of Blood flowing down the Stairs; with Numbers of miserable Creatures weltering in their own Gore.

When Titus saw there was no restraining the Fury of his Soldiers, and that the Fire gained every Day more and more upon him, he took some of his chief Officers along with him into the inward Temple: where, upon a strict Examination of Matters, he found the Glory and Magnificence of the Place, even beyond the very Fame of it; or at least equal to the Report of the Jews themselves. But Titus observing, that the Fire had not as yet taken the Sanctuary, and making a true Judgment upon it, that it might not be yet too late to save the holy Place; he started up, and in his own Person earnestly besought his Soldiers to do their uttermost to put a Stop to the Fire: giving it in Charge also to Liberalis, a Centurion of his Guards, to press the doing of it, and to cudgel those that refused. But what with an ungovernable Rage, and an eager Fondness for War, neither Fear nor Respect was sufficient to keep them within the Compass of their Duty. There were others again that had their Hearts set upon the Booty; not doubting, but where the Doors were plated with Gold, they should find the Inside all filled with hidden Treasure. While Cæsar was so very intent upon the saving of the Temple, one of the Soldiers; at the same Time, set fire to some of the Door-posts; whereupon Titus and his Captains were forced to withdraw out of Distance of preventing the Mischief: So that the Temple was destroyed at last, in Despite of whatever Titus could do to hinder it.

This Desolation was a Calamity to make ones Heart bleed; the Ruin of the most wonderful Fabric that ever was seen or heard of, both for Structure, Bulk, State, Magnificence, the Honour of Religion, and of holy Things. But we have this for our Comfort and Instruction yet, that there is an uncontrollable Fatality attends all the Works of the Creation, whether animate, or inanimate; and that all Things must have their Period. It is a most remarkable Revolution also, that this second Conflagration should so exactly answer the very Day and Month of the former, under Nebuchadnezzar, as is said already. We reckon from the Beginning of the first Temple by Solomon, to the Destruction of this in the second Year of Vespasian, eleven hundred and thirty Years, seven Months, and fifteen Days. And from that of Haggai, in the second of Cyrus, we account six hundred thirty nine Years, and forty-five Days.

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#### C H A P. XI.

*A Cruelty that spares neither Age, Sex, or Quality. Nothing to be seen but Fire and Blood. Several Priests engaged in the Quarrel. The Temple consumed to Ashes, and all that was in it. Six thousand poor People destroyed upon the Credit of an Enthusiast.*

W H E N

**W**HEN the Temple was now in a Flame, the Soldiers took all that came to Hand, and killed all they met, to the Degree of a most prodigious Slaughter and Pillage, without any Respect either to Age or Sex; both young and old, sacred and profane, Priests and Laicks, all went together, and Men of all Sorts and Qualities were equally involved in the common Calamities of the War: and whether they resisted, or submitted; whether they stood it out, or begged Quarter, they fared all alike. As the Fire advanced, the Crackling of the Flames was heard in Company with the dying Groans of People at their last Gasp; and betwixt the Depth of the Hill, and the Extent of the Conflagration, the whole City seemed to be but one continued Blaze. The Tumult and Uproar was so dreadful, that it is not possible to imagine any thing more terrible: What with the raging Outcries of the Roman Legions, the Howling of the Rebels when they found themselves at the Mercy of Fire and Sword; and the dismal Lamentations of distressed Wretches in the Temple, betwixt the Enemy and the Fire. In fine, those upon the Mountain, and those in the City, answering one another by Turns; the Flames opening the Eyes of those that the Famine had well-nigh closed, and inspiring fresh Spirit and Ability to deplore their Misfortunes. The neighbouring Mountains and Places beyond Jordan, echoing the same Complaints and Grievances over and over again; and the Calamity, in Weight and Substance, yet more than the Noise. The Flashes were so impetuous and violent, that the very Mountain the Temple stood upon, looked as if it had been one Body of Fire from the bottom; and the Blood, in Proportion, answerable to the Flame; for the Number of the Slain was superior to that of those that did the Execution. The Ground was covered all over with Carcasses, and the Soldiers pursued the Living over the Bodies of the Dead: But, in the End, a Band of Ruffians beat back the Romans; and having forced their Way into the outward Temple, made their Escape into the City, and the rest of the Multitude got into the outward Porch.

There were a great many Priests engaged in this Quarrel with the Romans, that made use of their Temple-pits instead of Darts, and of their Seats with Lead in them, that did them the Office of Stones; but when they saw that this would do no good, and that the Fire found them out still wherever they were, they covered themselves for a-while under a thick Wall of a matter of eight Cubits over. Two of the principal Men of this Number, (Meirus the Son of Belgas, and Joseph the Son of Dalæus) that might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, chose rather to stand or fall with their Companions, and so plunging themselves into the Flames, ran the same Fate with the Temple.

When the Romans found the Temple itself laid in Ashes, they did not think it worth their while to trouble their Heads about any of the rest of the Buildings, and so put Fire to all at once; as the Gates, and the Galleries, &c. save only one on the East-side, and another on the South: And these likewise, not long after, followed the Fortune of the rest. They burnt also the Treasury, and the Wardrobe, with Jewels, Money, and Money's worth in it, and rich Habits to an incredible Value. In one Word, this Place was the Repository of all the Jews had that was precious.

There were now gotten together into one Gallery, without the Temple, that was yet standing, in Women, Children, and a mixed Multitude that fled from the Rabble,

to

to the Number of near six thousand Persons. But before Cæsar could give any Order or Direction in the Case, the Soldiers, in an extravagant brutal Fury, set the Place on fire, and plied it so close, that betwixt those that were burnt to death, and others that cast themselves head-long down the Ruins to save themselves, there was not one Soul came off alive.

The Occasion of this Mischief was a certain Impostor, who took upon him to deliver a Message from Almighty God, that Day, to the People, and to this Effect. He commanded them, in the Name of God, to go immediately up to the Temple, with an Assurance, that they should there receive an infallible Proof of his divine Favour and Protection. This was a common Practice of the Faction, to pretend Revelations to keep the credulous Multitude firm against all Dangers, and so secure them from deserting. But Men in Adversity are apt to hope the best, especially where they are promised Relief, though it be put upon the Credit of a false Prophet.

## C H A P. XII.

*More Credit given to false Oracles than to the Truth itself. A Comet in the Figure of a Sword. A strange Light about the Altar. A Cow brings forth a Lamb. A brazen Gate opens of itself. Chariots and armed Men seen in the Air. Foreboding Exclamations from a poor Country Creature. He is first punished for it, and then discharged as a Madman. In the Conclusion he foretells his own Destruction. A Prophecy of an Emperor to come out of Judæa, expounded of Vespasian.*

**H**OW easily were these superstitious Wretches seduced into a Belief of false Oracles, Counterfeits, and Impostors! But when they were at any Time premonished from the Lips of Truth itself, by Prodigies, and other monitory Prognostics of their approaching Ruin, they had neither Eyes, Ears, nor Understanding, to make a right Use or Application of them; but passed them over without either heeding, or so much as thinking of them. As for Example now.

What shall we say to the Comet that hung over Jerusalem for one whole Year together, in the Figure of a Sword?

What shall we think again of that wonderful Light that was seen about the Altar, a little before the Revolt, on the eighth of the Month Xanthicus, at the ninth Hour of the Night, upon the Celebration of the Paschal Feast, and continued for the Space of half an Hour as bright as Day? This Prodigy was looked upon by the Ignorant as a good Omen; but it was expounded by those that knew better Things, as the Forerunner of a War, and the Mystery unfolded before it came to pass.

At the same Festival, there was another Prodigy of a Cow delivered of a Lamb in the middle of the Temple, as they were leading her up to the Altar for a Sacrifice.

The Eastern-Gate of the Inner-Temple, was made of solid Brass; and so very heavy,  
that

that it was as much as twenty Men could do every Night to shut it; besides that it was fastened with iron Bolts and Bars, mortised into a huge Threshold of one intire Stone. This Gate, about the sixth Hour of the Night, opened of itself; and, upon early Notice given of it to the proper Officer, he came immediately up to look after it, and had much ado to make it fast again. Some ignorant People there were that took this for another good Omen, descanting upon it, that it was a Gate of Blessings set open to them by Providence; but the wiser Sort made a contrary Judgment of it; and that the Opening of the Gate was in favour of the Enemy, and foretold Desolation to the City.

Some short Time after the Festival was over, on the 21st of the Month Artemisius, there appeared a Prodigy of a Vision so extraordinary, that I should hardly venture to report it, if I could not produce several Eye-witnesses that are yet living to confirm the Truth of it; and if the Calamities that were foretold, had not come to pass. There were seen up and down in the Air, before Sun-set, Chariots and armed Men, all over the Country, passing along with the Clouds round about the City.

Upon the Feast of Pentecost, as the Priests were going to officiate in the inner Temple according to Custom, they heard, at first, a kind of a confused Murmur; and, after that, a Voice calling out earnestly in articulate Words, "Let us be gone, let us be gone."

But I come now to a Story that passes all the rest. About four Years before the War, when the City was in a profound Peace, and flowing in Plenty, there was one Jesus the Son of Ananus, a plain country Fellow, who coming to the Feast of Tabernacles, (an annual Feast to the Honour of God) brake out on a sudden into this Exclamation, over and over. "A Voice from the East; a Voice from the West; a Voice from the four Quarters of the World; a Voice to Jerusalem, and a Voice to the Temple: A Voice to new married Men and Women, and a Voice to this whole Nation." This was his Cry Day and Night, from Place to Place, through every Street of the City. Some great Men in the Government took such Offence at so ill-boding a Liberty, that they ordered the Man to be taken up and severely whipped. He took the Punishment without returning so much as one Word, either by the bye, or in his own Defence, or to complain of hard Measure; but still he went on and on with the same Things over again, calling and denouncing as before. The Magistrates began now to suspect (as they had Reason for it) somewhat of a divine Impulse in what he said; and that he spake by an extraordinary Spirit. He was carried, upon this, to Albinus the Governor of Judæa; who caused him to be lashed to the very Bones, which he took without either Tears or Supplication: Only in a mournful Voice, as well as he could, he followed every Stroke, with a, Woe, Woe to Jerusalem! Albinus, as his Judge, fell then to asking him, what he was, whence he came, where he was born, and what he meant by that way of Proceeding? But he gave him no Answer. This was his Way all along, till Albinus was fain to discharge him at last as a Madman. From that Time to the Beginning of the War, he was never known to visit or speak to any of the Citizens; or to make use of any other than that doleful Form of Words, Woe, Woe to Jerusalem! He never gave an ill Word to those that daily scourged him, or a good one even to those that fed him: But his Answer was to all People alike, an ominous Pre-

face. \*

\* *Woe to Jerusalem back*

Strength failed them, and they were then scattered several Ways into Sinks and Gutters.

The Romans being now possessed of the Walls, planted their Colours upon the Towers with Outcries and Shouts of Joy, to find the End of the War so much easier than the Beginning: If at least the War was now at an End, which they could not well doubt of without distrusting their own Eyes.

The Soldiers were now broke loose all over the Town, up and down, in the Streets, with their Swords drawn; killing all that fell in their Way without Distinction; and burning intire Houses, and whatever was in them, in one common Flame. In several Places, where they entered to search for Pillage, they found whole Families dead, and the Houses crammed with hunger-starved Carcasses: So that, upon the Horror of so hideous a Spectacle, they came out again empty-handed; but the Compassion they had for the Dead, made them not one Jot tenderer to the Living; for they stabbed every Man they met, 'till the narrow Passages and Alleys were choked up with Carcasses: So that the Channels of the City ran Blood, as if it had been to quench the Fire. In the Evening, they gave over killing, and at Night fell afresh to burning.

The eighth of the Month Gorpizus put an End to the Conflagration of Jerusalem, and if all the Blessings it ever enjoyed from the Foundation of it, had but been comparable in Proportion to the Calamities it suffered in this Siege, that City had been undoubtedly the Envy of the World. But the greatest Plague of all came out of its own Bowels; in that infernal Race of Vipers that it brought forth, to eat out the Belly of the Mother.

While Titus was now taking a View of the Ruins of this glorious City; the Works, the Fortifications, and especially the Turrets, which the Tyrants had so sottishly abandoned: While Cæsar, I say, was entertaining himself in the Contemplation of the Height, Dimensions, and Situation of these Towers; the Design, Workmanship, and Curiosity of the Fabric; with the wonderful Contrivance of the whole, he let fall this Expression: "Well! says he, if God had not fought both for us, and with us, we could never have been Masters of these Forts. It was God, in fine, that assisted us, and God that fought against the Jews; for this was not an Undertaking to be compassed with Hands or Machines" When Titus had said this, and a great deal more upon the same Subject, it was his next Care to set all the Prisoners at Liberty that the Tyrants had left in the Towers; and afterwards, upon the raising and demolishing of the City, to preserve those Turrets as a Monument to the Honour of his good Fortune; without whose Assistance he could never have done what he did.

The Soldiers being now quite spent with doing Execution, and having a great deal more of that Work yet to do, Titus ordered his Men to hold their Hands; saving only to those that they found armed, or in a Posture of Resistance, and to give Quarter to all the rest. But the Soldiers went beyond their Commission, and put the aged and the sickly to the Sword promiscuously, with their Companions; and for those that were strong and serviceable, they shut them up in the Temple, in the Women's Quarter: Cæsar appointing Fronto, one of his Friends and Freemen, to inform himself of the People, and to do by them as they deserved. As for the Ruffians, and the seditious,

that peached one another, he had them all put to death: But for men of comely and graceful Persons, and in the Prime of their Youth, he reserved them for the Triumph; sending away all of above seventeen of the Remainder of them, in Chains into Ægypt, to be employed in servile Offices and Drudgery: Beside those that were distributed up and down the Provinces for the Use of the Theatres in the Quality of Swordmen, or Gladiators; and all under seventeen, he exposed to sale.

In the mean time, while the Prisoners were under Fronto's Charge, there were eleven thousand of them starved to death, betwixt the Churlishness of the Keepers that would give them no Meat, and the Squeamishness of their own Stomachs that would swallow none. But, in Truth, the Mouths were too many for the Provision.

#### C H A P. XVII.

*The Number of the Dead, and of the Prisoners in this War. John and Simon taken: The one kept for the Triumph: The other a Prisoner for Life. The City a Heap of Ashes, and the Walls thrown down.*

THE Number of Prisoners in this War was ninety-seven thousand. The Number of the Dead was eleven hundred thousand; the greater Part of them Jews by Nation; though not Natives of Judæa; for it was only a general Meeting of them at Jerusalem, gathered together from all Quarters to celebrate the Feast of the Passover; who were there surpris'd into a War. There was so prodigious a Multitude; and they so straitened for Lodgings, that the Crowd first brought the Plague into the Town; and then quickly made way for a Famine. Not but that the City was abundantly capable yet of entertaining that vast Body of People, if the Calculation of Cestius at least may pass for any Thing; as follows.

Nero had so great a Contempt for the Jews, that Cestius made it his Suit to the High-Priest to bethink themselves some Way of numbering their People: And this he did out of a Desire to give Nero to understand, that the Jewish Nation was not so despicable as he imagin'd; so that they took their Time to enter upon the Computation at the Celebration of their paschal Feast: When offering up Sacrifices according to Custom from the ninth Hour of the Day to the eleventh, and those Sacrifices to be eaten afterwards in their Families, by ten at least, and sometimes twenty to a Lamb, they reckon'd upon two hundred fifty-six thousand and five hundred Oblations; which, at the rate of ten to a Lamb, amounted to two Millions and five hundred and fifty-six thousand Persons, all pure and sound; for neither Lepers, Scorbutics, Men troubled with Gonorrhæas, Women in their monthly Sickness, nor People labouring under any malignant Distempers were admitted to any Part in this Solemnity: No more were any Strangers, but what came thither for Religion. So that this mighty Concourse of People from abroad before the Siege, was afterwards by the righteous Providence of God, coop'd up in the City as in a Prison: And the Number of the Slain in that Siege was the heaviest Judgment of the Kind that ever was heard of. Some were killed openly; others kept

kept in Custody by the Romans, who searched the very Sepulchres and Vaults for them, and put all they found alive to the Sword. There were upward of two thousand, that had either laid violent Hands on themselves, or killed one another by Content; besides those that perished by Famine. The putrid Corruption of the dead Bodies sent out a Vapour to poison as many as came within the Reach of it. Some were not able to endure it, and went out of the Way; others had their Hearts so set upon Booty, that they rifled the very Carcasses, and trampled upon the dead Bodies as they lay soaking in their Corruption. But Avarice sticks at nothing. They brought out several Prisoners also that the two Tyrants had laid in Chains there; for they kept up their Cruelty to the last: But God's Justice overtook them both in the End; for John and his Brethren in the Vaults, were now driven by the Distress of an insupportable Hunger, to beg that Mercy of the Romans, that they had so often despised: And Simon, after a long Struggle with an insuperable Necessity (as we shall shew hereafter) delivered up himself: The latter being reserved for the Triumph, and John made a Prisoner for Life. The Romans, after this, burnt the Remainder of the City, and threw down the Walls.

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C H A P. XVIII.

*Jerusalem taken and destroyed. Melchisedec the first Founder of it; who gave it the Name of Jerusalem, in Exchange for Solyma. The City laid all in Rubbish.*

**T**HUS was Jerusalem taken, and utterly destroyed, in the second Year of Vespasian, and on the eighth Day of the Month Gorpiaus; having been five Times taken before, that is, by Azochæus King of Ægypt; Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria; Pompey; and Herod, with Sofius; who did all preserve the City after it was taken. But Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, laid it waste, thirteen hundred sixty Years, eight Months and six Days after the Building of it.

The first Founder of it was a Canaanitish Prince, called Melchisedec, which in the Hebrew Language signifies, A Just King: For such he was in an eminent Manner. He first dedicated this City to God; erected a Temple in it, and officiated in the Quality of a Priest; giving it the Name of Jerusalem, which before was called Soyma.

When David the King of the Jews came afterwards to drive out the Canaanites, he planted his own People there: And in four hundred seventy-seven Years and three Months, after this, it was laid Waste by the Babylonians.

From the Reign of David there, to the Destruction of the City by Titus, it was eleven hundred and seventy-nine Years; and two thousand one hundred seventy-seven from the Foundation of it. But neither Antiquity, Wealth, Fame, nor the Honour of the Religion itself, was any Security against the Appointments of Fate.

This was, in fine, the Issue of the Siege: And when the Soldiers had neither Rapine nor Bloodshed for their Spleens to work upon, (as they would not have been idle if

they had had Matter) Titus ordered them to lay the City and Temple level with the Ground; and leave nothing standing, but the three famous Turrets, Phasaël, Hippicos and Mariamne, that over-topped all the rest; and a Piece of a Wall to the Westward of the Town, where he designed a Garrison: The Towers to remain as so many Monuments to Posterity of the Romans Power and Conduct in the taking of them. This Order was punctually executed; and all the rest laid so flat, that the Place looked as if it had never been inhabited. This was the end of the Jerusalem Faction; a mad and seditious People: And this was also the End of the most glorious City of the Universe.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Titus provides for the Honour and Reward of those that behaved themselves bravely in the War. A generous Speech of his to his Soldiers, accompanied with Bounties and Presents. Titus offers a thanksgiving Sacrifice for his Victory.*

CÆSAR, having now taken up a Resolution to leave the tenth Legion in Garrison in Jerusalem, with some Squadrons and Battalions of Horse and Foot; and having discharged all the Parts of a vigilant and a careful General, came now to bethink himself of encouraging and rewarding those that had signalized themselves in his Service. Now to this End, he mounted a Tribunal, with the Choice of his great Officers about him, in the Head of his Camp, and upon an Eminence where he might best be heard; and from thence delivered himself to his Army in Terms to this Effect:

“ It is impossible, (says he) my brave fellow-Soldiers, to express how kindly I take  
 “ the generous Faith and Respects you have been pleased to pay me all along this War;  
 “ and so he entered upon the topicks of their orderly Discipline and Obedience; their  
 “ invincible Firmness and Resolution upon all Occasions, and in the most pressing  
 “ Dangers, the Reputation they acquired in advancing the Honour, and enlarging the  
 “ Territory of their Country: And finally in giving all Men to understand, that nei-  
 “ ther Odds of Numbers, Advantages of Forts, Strength of Places, Power of popu-  
 “ lous Cities, the hair-brained Madness, or the outrageous Fury of brutal Adversaries,  
 “ can ever discompose the Roman Conduct and Courage. Not but that now and  
 “ then by Fits, the Jews have had some favourable Turns of Fortune too: But it is a  
 “ great Thing, however, (says he) to put a happy End to a War that has been so long  
 “ a foot; which is as much as they could wish for themselves when they first em-  
 “ barked in it. And it is a greater yet, says he, to see your Choice of the Roman  
 “ Emperors and Generals, not only admitted; but universally and thankfully approved:  
 “ He could not, he said, but love and admire them all for what they had worthily done:  
 “ But for those that made themselves exemplary in their Adventures and Hazards,  
 “ and in doing Honour to their Character and Profession, it should be his Care, he said,  
 “ to do them all manner of Right in Return: And whoever shewed an Emulation to  
 “ out-do



“ our-do his Fellows, should beſure of an Acknowledgement in Proportion; for he took much more Delight in preferring and advancing the Virtuous, than in puniſhing Offenders.”

Titus, immediately, upon this, called for an Account from ſome of the Officers that had the Commiſſion in Charge, to know which of the Soldiers had done any thing extraordinary in the War. They were produced one and one by Name; highly commended; and Titus as much concerned for their Goods as for his own. From fair and obliging Words, he proceeded to Matter of Liberality and Bounty. He crowned them with Coronets of Gold; dreſſed them up with gold Chains; gave them Lances pointed with Gold; ſilver Medals; and advanced every Man in his Quality and Station. He gave them minted Money in Gold and Silver out of the Booty; with Robes and other Things of Value. So ſoon as this Diſtribution was over, to every Man according to his Merit; Cæſar accompanied with the Vows, Prayers, and Acclamations of the whole Army, deſcended from his Tribunal to offer Sacrifice and give Thanks for his Victory. There was a vaſt Multitude of Oxen there at hand about the Altars, which were ſacrificed and diſtributed to the Army; Cæſar himſelf feaſting his Officers for three Days. The Troops, after this, were ſent away to their Reſpective Quarters: And Jeruſalem committed to the Guard of the tenth Legion; without ſending it back to Euphrates, whence it came.

Titus had not as yet forgotten the Affront the Jews put upon the Romans under Ceſtius; and ſo he ſent away the twelfth Legion that had been formerly at Rapanæa, to Melitena, that lies along the Euphrates upon the Borders of Capadocia and Armenia; keeping the fifth and fifteenth Legions to himſelf as a competent Guard to convoy him into Ægypt. From hence he took his Paſſage to Cæſarea upon the Coaſt; but being Winter, he durſt not venture into Italy: So that he laid up his Booty and Treafure there for the preſent, and took Care for the ſecuring of his Priſoners.

## C H A P. XX.

*While Titus lay before Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian viſits ſeveral Sea-Ports. Simon the Son of Gioras taken Priſoner. The Manner of taking him. He propounds to himſelf to make his Eſcape through a Vault, but the Project would not do. Terentius Rufus ſeizes him, and puts him in Chains. Simon gives Light to farther Discoveries. The Birth-Days of Domitian and Veſpaſian celebrated with great Pomp.*

**D**URING the Siege of Jeruſalem by Titus, Veſpaſian embarked upon a Merchant-man for Rhodes, where he took a Galley, and ſo paſſed out of Ionia into Greece; viſiting all the Towns in his Way, where he was moſt magnificently received: From thence to Corcyra, and ſo to Japygia; and thence he continued his Journey by Land.

Titus

Titus was now come back from Cæsarea upon the Sea-Coast, to that called Cæsarea Philippi; where he made a considerable Stay, entertaining himself with all manner of Spectacles: As Combats betwixt Men and Beasts, Man and Man, Troop and Troop; which cost him the Lives of a great many of his Slaves.

In this Juncture, Simon, the Son of Gioras, happened to be taken, and the Manner of it was this; Simon, upon the Siege of Jerusalem, was forced into the Upper Town: and the Romans breaking into the City, put him to his Wits End how to shift for himself: And his Contrivance was this. He called a Council of Miners, Stone-Cutters, Smiths, and Men well skilled in Iron-Works; got a Provision of Tools and Materials for his Purpose, so many Weeks Provisions; and so let themselves down all together into a dark and secret Vault. When they had made their Way as far as they could, and found the Passage too narrow to receive them, they fell to digging and mining, in hope to work a Thorough-fare and so make an Escape. But before they could advance any thing to speak of, their Victuals fell short, and the Plot failed; though they managed their Stores the best they could too. Simon had no Way now left him, but to try if he could fright the Romans out of their Senses; and so dressed himself up in a white Garment buckled about him, and a purple Cloke thrown over it. In this Figure he presented himself out of the Ground from under the Ruins of the late Temple, to the Amazement of the Soldiers and others that first saw the Apparition; but upon coming nearer and nearer, they took the Heart to ask him his Name, and who he was; and Simon refusing to tell them, called to speak with the Captain of the Guard. So Terentius Rufus, who had the Command, was immediately fetched; who sifting the Truth out of him, clapt him presently in Chains and gave Cæsar afterwards an Account of the whole Story. Thus was this bloody Tyrant, who had taken away so many of his Countrymen's Lives by Subordination and false Evidence, upon Pretence of their going over to the Romans, brought to Justice himself, and delivered into the Hands of his Enemies, without any Force upon him, by his own Act. But there is no avoiding the Stroke of Divine Vengeance; no contending with the Power of Innocence and Justice: And the Punishment is yet the more grievous many Times for being deferred; and when People reckon themselves secure, and the Danger over. This was Simon's Case in the Hands of the Romans; and his fantastical Rising out of the Ground proved an Occasion of discovering divers of his Companions in their Hiding-Places.

Upon Cæsar's coming back to Cæsarea by the Sea-Side, and the presenting of Simon to him in Chains, Titus ordered Simon to be kept for his Triumph at Rome. When he had been there a-while, he set a Day apart for the Celebration of his Brother Domitian's Birth-Day with a very splendid Pomp; and a great Number of his condemned Prisoners dedicated to the Honour of the Solemnity: Reckoning upon those that were destroyed by Beasts, Fire, in the Combat one with another, to be at least two thousand and five hundred in Number: And all too little in the Opinion of the Romans, who hated them mortally. Titus went afterward to Berytus, a City of Phœnicia, and a Roman Colony; where he also continued for some Time, and kept his Father's Birth-Day with more Splendor and Magnificence than the former, both for Spectacles and other expensive Entertainments.

## C H A P. XXI.

*The Jews dispersed every where, especially in Syria and Antioch. The latter are numerous and wealthy. Antiochus, the Son of a Jew, the Ruin of the Place. A raging Uproar. Antiochus sets up the Pagan Worship, and suppresses the Observance of the Sabbath. The City takes Fire; and Antiochus charges it falsely upon the Jews.*

THE Jews in Antioch had now a very hard Time of it; the City being spitefully bent against them, as well upon the Account of new Matter, as for Misdemeanors of former Date. But it will be requisite to speak a Word or two of this now by the Way, in order to the better understanding of what is to come.

The Jews are a People dispersed over the Face of the whole Earth, particularly among the Syrians, as they are near Neighbours; and more especially in Antioch, where there are great Numbers of them, not only upon the Account of its being a large and a populous City; but also by Reason of the Privileges and Immunities they have enjoyed there by the Favour of the Government ever since the Days of Antiochus Epiphanes, (as they call him) who laid waste the City of Jerusalem, and rifled the Temple. The Successors of this Antiochus caused restitution to be made to the Jews, of all the brazen Vessels that had been taken away, and to be dedicated to the Service of their Synagogue at Antioch, allowing them the same Freedom of the City with the Greeks; and they were likewise treated by the following Kings after the same Manner; their Numbers increasing, and their Temple rich and flourishing: Insomuch that several Pagan Profelites came over to them and incorporated with the Nation.

Now upon the breaking up of the War, and Vespasian's passing by Sea into Syria, the Jews made themselves extremely odious. As for Instance; there was one Antiochus the Son of one of the most eminent Jews they had in Antioch, both for Quality and Power. This Antiochus, coming into the Theatre upon a public Meeting, openly charged his Father, and certain other foreign Jews, by Name, in the Face of the Assembly, with a Design to fire the City in the Night. This transported the Multitude into so outrageous an Uproar, that they called immediately for Fire, and burnt the pretended Conspirators in the Middle of the Theatre. The Rabble were presently for doing the same Execution upon all the rest, and securing their Country before it was too late. Antiochus kept up the cross Humour all he could; and as an Argument of the Affection he had for the Pagan Worship, and his Aversion to that of the Jews, he did not only sacrifice after the Pagan Manner himself; but forced others to do so too, upon Pain of Death to the Refusers. Upon this Difficulty, the Antiochians complied; but the Jews most of them stood out, and were put to death. Antiochus being by this Time in a better Condition to wreak his Spite upon the Jews, having a Command given him by the Governor, he began upon the Subject of the Sabbath, with pressing People upon that Point, and forcing them to work indifferently upon that Day, as well as upon others; and carrying Things on to that Extremity, that the Festival was not only

only laid aside in Antioch, but in Danger to be quite abrogated likewise every where else. This Persecution of the Jews at Antioch, was followed upon the Heel with another; which was this. The square Market, with several Offices for public Registries and Records, and other stately Buildings, happening all to take fire: The Flame was so fierce, that it was odds the whole City had been burnt to the Ground. Antiochus laid it upon the Jews; and the Antiochians were apt enough to believe it, for the very sake of the late Story; even if they had not been prepossessed against them before-hand. For the Impression upon them was so strong, that they could almost have sworn they had seen the Jews with their own Eyes, in the very Act of firing it. Now taking it for granted upon this Presumption, they fell upon the Persons accused, with so outrageous a Fury, that Collega, the Vice-Governor to Cefennius Pætus, had the most to do in the World to keep the People quiet, only till Cæsar might be duly informed of the whole Affair. Cefennius had his Commission of Governor already; but was not as yet come to his Command. Now Collega, upon a strict Examination of the Matter, made it out as clear as the Sun, that Antiochus's Incendiaries were every Men of them innocent. And this Villany, in fine, was found to be the Work of a few profligate Spendthrifts, and Men of desperate Fortunes, that had no better Way to secure themselves from their Creditors, than by destroying the Evidences. But the Jews were not yet without aching Hearts for fear of what might be the Issue even of a false Accusation.

## C H A P. XXII.

*Titus overjoyed at his Father's Arrival in Italy. Vespasian treated with infinite Veneration and Respect.*

**T**US was at this Time overjoyed with the welcome News he received from his Father, of his happy Arrival in Italy; and how gloriously the Italian Cities had entertained him all the Way as he passed: But the Thing that transported him beyond all the rest, was the Tenderness and the Magnificence of his Reception at Rome; which delivered the Son from any farther Anxiety for the prosperous Successes of his Father. The People paid Vespasian at all Distances, the same Veneration as if he had been upon the Place; and the passionate Desire they had to see him, did in some Measure supply for his Absence in that Interval. The Senate, that had it fresh in their Memories, what miserable Revolutions they had seen, upon the transferring of Governments from one Prince to another, reckoned themselves happy in the Blessing of an Emperor that brought Reputation, Conduct, and Experience along with him into the Administration: And the common People were no less pleased with the Change; especially being at that Time embroiled in civil Wars, and likewise in a further Trust and Confidence of being restored, by his Means to their antient Freedom and Plenty. And so for the military Part, the Soldiers Hearts were set upon him above all others, for the Proofs he had given them, upon several Occasions, of his martial Skill and Courage; besides the

Sense

Sense of the Shame and the Scandal they had suffered under other Commanders; concluding that no Man was so fit or likely to set them right as Vespasian.

This Prince was so universally beloved, that the great Men had not the Patience to wait any longer for his coming at a Distance, and so went out and met him a good Way off from the City: And such Numbers of People after them, that more came out than staid behind. When Vespasian was advanced near the Town, and Word brought how all People were charmed with the good Graces of his Affability and Address, the Ways were all thronged up with their Wives and Children out of a longing Curiosity to see him; breaking out into Raptures of Admiration all the Way they went, at the Gentleness of his Fashion and Person; calling him also a thousand Benefactors, Deliverers, and Protectors, and crying him up as the only Prince under the Sun, that deserved an imperial Crown. The whole City, in fine, was so dressed up and set out with Garlands and Perfumes, that it looked like a Temple; and the Streets so crowded, that there was hardly any passing to the Palace: Vespasian in the mean Time, offering up to his Household-Gods gratulatory Sacrifices of Thanksgiving for his safe Return; while the Multitude gave themselves up to feasting with their Tribes, Families, and Neighbours, wishing a long and a happy Reign to Vespasian, and a Continuance of the imperial Sovereignty to his Son, and those of the Line, that should come after him. This was the Manner of Vespasian's Entrance into Rome; and it was followed with all Sorts of Felicity and good Fortune.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Germany revolts. The Occasion of it. Cassius and Civilis the Ringleaders of a Faction. Petilius Cerealis breaks the Neck of the Sedition. Domitian puts an End to it without Blood. The German Rebellion followed with an Incurfion of Scythians. Rubrius Gallus puts them all to the Rout.*

**A** Little before Vespasian's coming to Alexandria, Titus being at that Time before Jerusalem, there happened a great Revolt among the Germans, which was animated and encouraged by their Neighbours the Gauls, in hopes to shake off the Roman Yoke. Now the Germans being naturally hot-headed, forward, and inconsiderate, were apt enough of themselves to engage in rash Undertakings: Over and above that, they were pushed on by a mortal Hatred they had for the Romans, as the only Power they feared: To which may be added, a favourable Conjunction of the Times, in regard of the present Factions and Divisions of the Empire, upon so many Turns and Changes of Government.

Cassius and Civilis, two Persons of eminent Credit among the Germans, took Advantage of these Distractions to advance a Sedition; which was, in Effect, but what they had in their Hearts long before. Upon sounding the People how they stood affected, they found the greater Part of them ready for Mischief; and in all Probability

the rest would have followed their Example, if it had not been for a divine Providence that prevented it. Now the Fact was this. Petilius Cerealis, formerly Governour of Germany, received Letters from Vespasian declaring him Consul; and with Orders likewise to march forthwith into Italy, and take upon him that Command. While Cerealis was upon the Way, he got Notice of this Insurrection; marched against the Rebels as they were in a Body; charged, and put them to the Rout with a very great Slaughter, and so brought the rest to their Wits again and their Duty.

But if this had not been done when it was, by Cerealis, the same Thing would have been done very suddenly, by another Hand: For no sooner was the Noise of this Rebellion come to Rome, but Domitian, the Son of Vespasian, a pregnant young Prince, that inherited the heroical Spirit of his valiant Father, put himself at the Head of an Army against these Barbarians: Who took such a Fright upon the very Rumour of his March, that they rendered themselves immediately without striking a Blow; reaping this Advantage by it, that they reconciled themselves to their old Masters without Blood. When Gaul was settled, and out of Danger of a Relapse, Domitian went back again to Rome, laden with Vows and Acclamations for the Miracles he had wrought (even above his Age) to the Honour both of himself and his Country.

This Rebellion of the Germans was followed with a furious Incurfion of the Scythians (or Sarmatians;) who slipping over the Danube by Stealth, with a vast Body of Men, brake into Mysia, surpris'd several Roman Garrisons, and with a merciless Cruelty put them all to the Sword. They killed also the Lieutenant General, Fonteius Agrippa, a Man of consular Authority, at the Head of his Troops; and so ran up and down, burning, waisting and ravaging the whole Province. So soon as this came to Vespasian's Ear, and what Havock had been made in Mysia, he dispatched away Rubrius Gallus to call them to an Account; who did very great Execution upon them; and for those that escaped, they made a hard Shift to get home: So that this War was quickly over, and the General took care to secure the Passages thereabouts from any such Incurfions and Attempts for the Time to come.

#### C H A P. XXIV.

*Titus marches in Triumph. The Sabbatical River; the Course of it; and why so called. Antioch transported with Joy at the coming of Titus. The People press to have the Jews banished out of that City, but Titus does not much heed it: The Senate presses it over again, when Titus gives them a final Refusal, and goes his Way for Ægypt. Titus grieved at Heart to see the sad Condition of Jerusalem. A vast Treasure buried in the Ruins of it. Simon and John, and 700 graceful Persons more, set apart for the Honour of the Triumph. The Order, the Curiosity, and the Magnificence*

*nificence of it. The Solemnity ended in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The Death of Simon Gioras. Vespasian dedicates a Temple to Peace.*

**T**ITUS, in his Return from Berytus, after some short Stay there, (as we have said before) treated all the Towns, as he passed through Syria, with most magnificent Spectacles; carrying his Captives along with him for the Honour of his Arms, and the Ornament of his Triumph.

This Prince took notice of a certain River in his Journey, betwixt Arce and Raphane, two Cities in the Kingdom of Agrippa, that had somewhat in it very remarkable. While this River flows, it has a full Stream and a strong Current: But on a sudden the Springs fail, and for six Days it leaves the Channel dry to the very Bottom. On the seventh Day, as if there had been no Change, it fills again, and observes the same Course as before. Hence it hath taken the Name of the Sabbatical River, alluding to the Seventh-Day's Festival of the Jews.

When the People of Antioch understood that Titus was coming that Way, they were so transported with the Tidings, that Men, Women, and Children, posted away a matter of thirty Furlongs out of the Town to meet him, out of an Impatience to wish him Joy, and bid him welcome upon the Way. As he drew near, they made him a Lane to receive him; and so with all possible Demonstration of Affection and Respect they conducted him to the City; still intermingling, with their Shouts and Acclamations, earnest Prayers and Importunities, to banish all the Jews out of the City. Titus gave them the hearing, in such a Manner as if he had not much minded what they said: Insomuch, that the Jews were in great Pain and Trouble to think what might come of it. Titus made no Stay in Antioch, but went immediately to Teugma, towards Euphrates; where he was attended with an Embassy from Vologesus the King of Parthia, and the Compliment of a golden Crown, to joy him of his Victory over the Jews. Titus accepted the Present, treated the Ambassadors, and so went back again to Antioch. He was no sooner upon the Place, but the Senate and the Magistracy invited him with great Earnestness to the Theatre; which he very graciously complied with, and there found a mighty Concourse of the Citizens waiting for his coming. The first thing they did, was to ply him over and over with fresh Instances for the expelling of the Jews; to which Titus, with his ordinary Presence of Mind, gave them this Answer: "That their own Country was destroyed, and that no other would receive them." When they saw this would not do, they tried him with another Request: That is to say; that the Pillars of Brass, with the Inscriptions upon them of the Jews Privileges, might be either removed or defaced. Titus would not interest himself in this neither; but left the Jews at Antioch in the same State as he found them, and so went his Way for Ægypt.

As he was upon his Journey, and saw the miserable desolate Condition of Jerusalem, and the Country all about it, he could not but compare within himself the Difference betwixt what he had known it formerly, and what he now found it: That is to say; the Difference betwixt a Desert and a Paradise, a Heap of Rubbish, and the most glorious Pile of Building under the Heavens. Upon these Thoughts, he could not but passionately

passionately deplore the Destruction of so famous a City, and curse the Authors of the Sedition that were the Cause of it. And so far was he from pretending to raise his Reputation upon a public Calamity, that he could not forbear execrating the Instruments that forced him upon this Extremity.

The City was infinitely rich, and a vast Treasure buried in the Ruins of it, as Gold and Silver, and other precious Goods, to an inestimable Value, that the Owners had hid out of the Way for fear of the Enemy: Some, the Romans found out; but the greatest Discovery was made by the Prisoners. Titus, being all this while upon his Journey into Ægypt, made what Haste he could over that forlorn wasted Country to Alexandria, and so to embark from thence to Italy; sending back the two Legions that came along with him to their old Quarters: That is to say; the fifth to Mysia, and the tenth to Hungary. But for Simon and John, the Heads of the Prisoners, and a matter of seven hundred more of them, all proper handsome Men; these were to be transported into Italy, for the Grace and Glory of his Triumph.

His Passage to Rome was as fair and prosperous as he could wish, and the People treated him with the same Offices of Honour and Respect, as they had done his Father: Beside that, Vespasian himself had the Goodness to go out with the rest in Person, and receive his Son upon the Way; which the People looked upon as an Earnest of greater Blessings, to see the Father and his two Sons brought together by so auspicious a Providence.

Some few Days after this, the Senate having resolved upon two several Triumphs a-part; one for the Father, the other for the Son, in Honour of their illustrious Achievements; Vespasian and Titus, this Decree notwithstanding, declared themselves for contracting both Triumphs into one. Upon the Day of Solemnity, there was not a Creature in that populous City that did not put in for a Spectator: Inasmuch that when they were all plac'd, there was hardly Passage for the Emperors. The Soldiers, with their Officers at the Head of them, marched in very good Order, before Day, up to the Gates, to wait the coming of the Princes; not the upper Palace-Gates, but those near the Temple of Isis; where these Heroes took up their Lodging that Night. At Break of Day, Vespasian and Titus stood forth, and advanced, with laurel Crowns upon their Heads, and purple Robes, after the Manner of their Country, to the Octavian Walks, where the Senate, the Nobility, and the Roman Knights, waited for them. There was a Tribunal erected before the Portal, with ivory Seats upon it, which they mounted; and sitting down, were there saluted with Harangues and Acclamations of the whole Field. They were unarmed, and, as I said, crowned with Laurels, and clothed with Purple. As they were going on, and amplifying upon the Emperor's Praises, Vespasian made them a Sign of Silence; and then when all things were hush and quiet, Cæsar stood up, and covering Part of his Head with his Garment, pass'd certain ejaculatory Vows and Prayers according to Custom; and Titus did the like. Vespasian, after this, gave the whole Auditory a short Speech, and so sent away the Soldiers to Dinner; who were, in Course, to be entertained at the Emperor's Charge. He went next to the triumphal Gate (together with Titus) so called from the triumphal Pomp passing that Way; and then taking their Repasts, and putting on their  
triumphal



triumphal Habits, they sacrificed to their Gods in the Gate, and so led on the Triumph through the middle of the Spectators, for the better View of the People, and the greater Glory of the Solemnity.

The Magnificence and the Variety of these Shews is not so much as to be imagined, and much less expressed, whether for the Nicety of Workmanship, Value, or Novelty; for the whole Stock of precious and agreeable Rarities, that the happiest of Nations had been so many Ages gathering, met all together in this one Day's Triumph, to the Honour of the transcendent Dignity of the Roman Empire. As for the choicest Works that were ever seen or heard of, in Gold, Silver, or Ivory; for Price, or Excellency; they were here so common and frequent, that they looked liker a natural Confusion of Things, than any Part of a regulated Pomp. And then for the admirable Variety of Purples, and Babylonian Embroideries, Jewels, and precious Stones, some enchafed into golden Crowns, and some set out with other Fancies, they were here so familiar, that they seemed to be no longer a Curiosity. They had the Images of their Gods also, that were every Way wonderful, both for Size, Art, and Matter; and likewise the Figures of several Sorts of living Creatures, dressed up suitably to their Kind. They had also a vast Number of People to carry all this, in Cloth of Gold and Purple; and all those that were set apart for the Service of the Pomp, had their distinguishing Ornaments of Splendor and State. Nay, the common Sort of the very Prisoners themselves, were not without somewhat that was graceful in their Habit, to disguise the Misery of their Condition, and the Marks of Slavery that they wore in their Faces. But nothing was more to be admired than the ordering of their Machiaes, and how the Bearers were able to support them, being many of them three or four Stories high: And the Cost was answerable to the Artifice, for the Hangings and the Furniture were all wrought with Gold, Ivory, and the like. There were also such Representations of War; and the Circumstances that attend it, that nothing was ever more to the Life. Here was in one Place the Figure of a fruitful Country laid waste; in another, whole Armies cut to Pieces; some flying, others pursuing, or taken Prisoners; strong Walls battered to the Ground, Forts demolished, Breaches made in fortified Cities, Towns taken by Assault, the Streets running Blood, and the Conquered begging Quarter; Temples burning, Houses beaten down upon the Heads of their Masters, Rivers lamenting their Misfortunes, that instead of watering and refreshing Fields and Meadows, and supplying Drink to Man and Beast, they find themselves forced to take their Course through public Conflagrations. What was all this now, but a lively Image of the Sufferings of the Jews; and so put together by Art and Fancy, that it may pass for an instructive History of the Ruin of that famous City, to those that never knew more of it!

Upon every one of the Pageants was represented the Governor of the Place that was taken, and the Manner of taking it. The Shipping came next; and then the Spoils that were dispersed up and down in several Places. But the most considerable Pieces, were the Golden Table, and the Golden Candlestick, that were taken out of the Temple of Jerusalem; the former weighing several Talents, and the other not applied to the Use it was intended for. There was a kind of a Pillar that came out of the Foot of it;

and

and out of that Pillar, as from the Stem of a Tree, seven Branches, and every Branch having at the Top the Resemblance of a Lamp; the Number of Seven intimating the Veneration the Jews have for their Seventh Day. After this, came the Jews Law, which was the last Trophy of their Conquests that the Romans exposed. This was followed by certain Images of Victory wrought out of Ivory and Gold. And last of all, to bring up the Rear, came Vespasian himself, with Titus in the next Place, and Domitian along with them on Horseback, well mounted, and well becoming the Dignity of his Station. So they marched together into the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there finished the Triumph.

Being now come to Jupiter's Temple, they made some little Stay there; it being according to ancient Practice so to do upon the like Occasion; 'till News should be brought them that their Enemies General was dead. This General was Simon Gioras (one of the Prisoners that was led in Triumph,) who was drawn through the Market-place with a Rope about his Neck, and put to death by those that drew him, according to the Roman Law and Practice in the Case of such Malefactors. Word being brought that Gioras was now dead, the whole Field rang with Shouts and Acclamations, and so they betook themselves to their Vows and Sacrifices; and when the solemn Part was over, the Princes returned to the Palace, where they made a mighty Treat; and there was nothing else all over the Town but Feasting, Rejoicing, and giving Thanks for the final Victory they had obtained over their Enemies, to the Glory of their Generals, and the moral Assurance of a public Repose.

When these Triumphs were over, and the Empire settled, Vespasian erected a Temple that he dedicated to Peace. It was as rich as Hands and Expence could make it, and the Dispatch of it in so short a Time, was little less than a Miracle. He spared for no Cost, over and above a Collection of the choicest Curiosities in Painting and Sculpture to adorn it; insomuch that People flocked from all Quarters of the World to see the Glory and the Order of this admirable Structure. In this Temple he deposited the Golden Table and the Candlestick, as the Rarities he valued most. And for the Jews Law, and the Purples belonging to the Sanctuary, they were lodged with great Care and Reverence in the Palace.

## C H A P. XXV.

*The Situation of Machæras. Herod the Great runs up a Wall and Turrets about it. Of the Plants Rue and Baaras. A strange Variety of Springs and Fountains. Bassus besieges Machæras. The Jews divide. The Natives defend the Castle; and the Strangers the lower Town. Daily Skirmishes. A bold and memorable Adventure of Eleazar's. Eleazar stripped and unmercifully whipped. Bassus discharges the Garrison, and sets Eleazar at Liberty.*

WHEN

**W**HEN Lucillius Bassus had his Commission from Cæsar for Lieutenant-General of Judæa, he took upon him the Command of the Army from Cerealis Petilianus, and made himself Master of the Castle of Herodion by Composition. After this, he drew his Troops together that lay scattered up and down; proposing, with the Help of the tenth Legion, to reduce Machæras, as a thing absolutely necessary to be done; for the Strength of that Place would be a dangerous Encouragement to a Rebellion; and as the Situation of it gave Confidence to the Town, so it struck an Awe, on the other Hand, upon him that should attempt it.

The Mountain that Machæras stands upon, is prodigiously high and rocky, to the Degree of being almost impregnable. But Nature has made it well nigh inaccessible too, by inclosing it with Vallies, that are neither to be passed, nor to be filled up; and so deep likewise, that it turns one's Brain to look down at them. It reaches to the Westward sixty Furlongs in Length, and borders upon the Lake Asphaltitis; and the Castle hath an unbounded Prospect over all that Quarter. On the South and North, it is encompassed with Vallies of the same Dimensions, and as secure from any Attempt as the other. The Depth upon the East is, at least, a hundred Cubits, and reaches to the Mountain that is over-against Machæras.

Alexander, the King of the Jews, was the first that fortified this Place, and raised a Castle upon it, which Gabinius afterwards demolished in his War with Aristobulus; and then Herod the Great found it so well worth his Care too, especially against his Neighbours the Arabians, who lay so conveniently to do him Mischief, that he ran a substantial Wall about it with strong Turrets; erecting also a fair City there, which he caused to be peopled, and from thence carried a Passage up to the Castle itself. This Castle he encompassed at the Top with another Wall, and Turrets at the Corners, of sixty Cubits in Height; and in the middle of all he raised a large beautiful Palace, which was abundantly supplied with Water from several Cisterns, wherever there was Occasion for it, as if Nature and Art had been at Strife, which of the two should out-do the other; the one by Situation, the other by Improvement. He likewise furnished this Castle with so plentiful a Magazine of Arms, Arrows, Machines, and all Sorts of Provisions, both for War and Mouth, that the Garrison should never need to fear either Force, or Famine.

There was in this Palace a Plant they call Rue; of so wonderful a Growth, that it was as tall and as well-spread as any Fig-tree. It had been there, they say, ever since the Days of Herod, and might have continued longer, if the Jews had not rooted it up upon taking the Place.

In the Valley, on the North-side of Machæras called Baaras, there grows also a Plant of the same Name. It is in Appearance of a Flame-colour; and toward the Evening it casts a Light like the Beams of the Sun. The Root is not easily plucked up, but it draws back if any body offers at it; and the only Way to fix it, is to sprinkle it with the Urine of a Woman, or a little menstruous Blood: And when all this is done, it is yet certain Death to touch it, without a Piece of the Root in your Hand; though they talk of another Way also of doing it without Danger; and it is this: They dig round about the Root 'till it is laid almost bare, and then tie a Dog to the remaining Part of it.

The

The Dog's Master that tied him there, goes his Way; and the Dog, following him, draweth the Root after, and dies immediately, as if it were to redeem his Master. When it has been once delivered, this Root may be handled as securely as any other Plant; but it has one Quality after all, that does more than countervail this Difficulty. For the Spirits that we call Devils are only the Souls of wicked Men, that have gotten Possession of living Bodies, and would undoubtedly destroy them if they were not prevented: Now this Plant is a sure Remedy against these Obsessions, and the very touching of the Patient with it, cures him.

In the same Place there is a wonderful Diversity of Springs and Fountains of very differing Qualities and Tastes, as hot, bitter, sweet, &c. And there are also cold Springs intermingled one with another in the lower Ground: But that which is most wonderful, is a shallow Cave there at Hand with a rocky Stone over it, and the Figure of two Breasts, like two Fountains, coming out of it; the one discharging hot Waters, and the other cold; and they make both together a most agreeable Bath, which cures many Diseases, and especially those of the Nerves. There are Mines also of Sulphur and Allum.

Bassus, upon a full View of Machæras, came to a Resolution of laying siege to the Place, proposing to himself the filling up of the Valley to the East of the Town, and the advancing of his Approaches that Way. The first Thing he did, was to run up a Mount against the Castle, with all possible Speed, as the most likely Way to facilitate the Attempt: The Jews of the Place divided themselves from the Stranger-Jews, and turned them off, as a pitiful Sort of People, into the lower City, to stand the first Shock; while they themselves took charge of the Castle, not only as the stronger and more defensible of the two, but as a Place where they might make better Terms with the Romans in case of the worst. They had a mind to try, however, what might be done to divert the Siege; and there passed not a Day without resolute Sallies and Skirmishes, and a considerable Loss of Men on both Sides; sometimes one getting the better of it, and sometimes the other: The Jews, when they fell upon the Romans by Surprize; and the Romans, when they were aware of the Jews coming, and providing for them. But the Siege was not to go off so, for there happened a surprising Accident that put the Jews upon an absolute Necessity of giving up the Castle.

There was in the Place a bold, and enterprizing, and a daring young Man, whose Name was Eleazar. This Eleazar made several vigorous Sallies, and did all that was possible, both by his Council and Example, to obstruct the Progress of the Romans, and to put a Check to their Undertakings; insomuch, that he made himself a Terror to his Enemies, as well as a Comfort and Support to his Friends: Being the first Man still upon all Encounters to come on; and the last, in case of a Retreat, that came off. There passed a Skirmish one Day, and when the Action was over, and both Parties withdrawn, Eleazar, in a vain-glorious Contempt of Danger, or of any Man that should dare to attack him, made a Stop without the Gate, and fell into a careless Discourse with some of the Defendants upon the Walls, without heeding any thing else. This being within View of the Roman Camp; and one Rufus, an Ægyptian, and a Soldier, spying the Opportunity, ran in upon him at unawares, seized him,

him, and carried him off, Arms and all, into the Enemies Quarter. Bassus presently ordered him to be stripped, and publickly whipped at his Length upon the Ground in sight of the City. The Jews were so confounded at the Calamity of this young Man, that the whole Multitude brake out into Tears and Exclamations in Pity of his Distress. When Bassus found the Generality of the People so passionately concerned for the Misfortune of one Man, he computed with himself, that, if he could but enflame their Compassion, he might gain his Point, and work them to a Composition of giving up the Place to save Eleazar's Life. This Fancy succeeded to his Wish; for upon the setting up of a Cross, as if Eleazar were to be forthwith crucified, the Timber was no sooner planted, but the Garrison brake out into an Out-cry with one Voice, That their affliction was altogether intolerable. Eleazar begged of them, upon this, to consider both his Case, who was now to die a wretched Death, and their own; and not to contend any longer with the Courage and Fortune of the Romans, since the whole World had already submitted itself to their Empire.

This submission and Supplication of Eleazar's, together with the powerful Intercessions of his Friends and Relations in the Castle (for his Family and Interest was very considerable) softened the Defendants into such a Tenderness, upon second Thought, that they sent Deputies immediately to the Romans, with Proposals to deliver up the Castle, upon Condition of discharging Eleazar, and leaving the Garrison at liberty to go wither they would. Bassus made no Difficulty of the Terms: but the People of the lower Town taking it ill, that an Agreement should be made without their Privy, resolved among themselves to slip away that Night by Stealth. Upon the opening of the Gates, Bassus had notice of it from the Castle, partly out of Envy to their Companions, and partly out of Fear for themselves, lest they should be thought of the Party. But the bravest however of those that went first, got off; and the rest, to the Number of seventeen hundred Men, were put to the sword; the Women and the Children made Slaves. Not but that Bassus yet made good his Articles in the dismissing of the Garrison, and setting Eleazar free.

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#### C H A P. XXVI.

*Bassus surprisēs the Jews in the Forest of Jardes. Thre Thousand of them cut off. A Poll Tax upon the Jews.*

SO soon as this was over, Bassus made all the haste he could with his Army to the Forest of Jardes, upon Intelligence, that great Numbers of the Jews, who had made their Escape from the Siege of Jerusalem and Macharas, were gathered together there; and when he came unto the Place, he found it to be true; so that the first thing he did, was to beset the whole Wood with his Horse: where he kept his Guard so strict, that not a Jew could break through. He employed his Foot, at the same Time, to cut down the Trees and Bushes of the Thickets where the Jews had taken

Sanctuary; infomuch, that they had now no Possibility left them to save themselves, unless they could cut out their Way through the Enemies's Troops, and so get off. This being the last Experiment they had to trust to, they drew all into a Body, and with an impetuous Clamour, made one desperate Push upon those that surrounded them, and were as bravely received: The Combat, in fine, betwixt the fearless Temerity of the one Side, and the firm Courage of the other, was hot and obstinate: But, in the Conclusion, the Romans carried the Day, with the Loss only of twelve killed, and not many wounded; whereas, of three thousand Jews, (for there were so many in this Action) not so much as one Man came off. There was Judas also among the rest, their Leader, and the Son of Jair, (of whom we have spoken heretofore) He had formerly a Command at the Siege of Jerusalem, and made his Escape at last out of a Vault.

The Emperor at the same Time wrote to his Officer Tiberius Maximus, to make sale of all the Jews Lands; for he would not trouble himself with rebuilding any other Cities, but take them all to his own Use; leaving only eight hundred Soldiers in Emmaus, some sixty Furlongs from Jerusalem; and imposing a Tax upon every Jew by the Poll, of two Drachmas a Year, to be paid into the Capitol, as formerly to the Temple. This was the miserable State of things at that Time with the Jews.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*Antiochus an unfortunate Prince. Cefennius charges him as an Enemy to Cæsar. He makes an Incurſion into Comagene. Antiochus returns no Act of Hostility. His two Sons Epiphanes and Callinicus give the Romans Battle. Antiochus retires into Cilicia; and the Brothers shift for themselves. Vologeses treats them like Princes. Cefennius orders Antiochus to be sent Prisoner to Rome. Vespasian sets him at liberty with all manner of Respect. The Father and the two Sons are conducted to Rome, and highly entertained. The Scythians break into Media, and carry off a vast Booty. The narrow Escape of Tiridates.*

**I**F so fell out in the fourth Year of Vespasian, that Antiochus the King of Comagene, with his whole Family, fell into a most deplorable Distress: And this was the Occasion of it. Cefennius Petus, being Governor of Syria, wrote Cæsar Word, that Antiochus and his Son Epiphanes were resolved to go off from the Romans; and that they had already treated about it with the King of Parthia: Insisting also upon the Necessity of preventing the Mischief by striking the first Blow. For it might be enough else to set the whole Empire in a Flame. Now whether this was Truth, or Malice, may be another Question: But whatever it was, Cæsar could not, in Prudence, neglect

neglect the Advice, either in respect of the Neighbourhood of those two Kings, which made the Case still more dangerous, or in regard that Samofata being the capital City of Comagene, and bordering upon the Euphrates, the Parthians might pass and repass at pleasure, and secure themselves of a safe Retreat at hand.

Vespasian was so possessed with the Credit of the Story, that he left Cæsennius to his own Discretion, and with a Commission to do in it what he thought fit. Cæsennius lost no Time, in making the best of his Deputation; for he fell immediately into Comagene, with the sixth Legion, and some Companies and Squadrons of Foot and Horse, with Aristobulus the King of Chalcis, and Sohemus the King of Emesa, to second him; Antiochus and his Companions never so much as dreaming of the Matter. His Entrance was without any Opposition at all; for the Natives were not in Condition to encounter him: And then for Antiochus, the News of this Incurſion was a most unaccountable Surprise to him, who never had so much as the least Thought of a Misunderstanding with the Romans. The Resolution he took in this Difficulty, was to leave the Kingdom just as it stood at that Instant, and to take his Wife and Children along with him as an Instance of his good Faith to the Empire, and likewise as a pregnant Proof of his Innocence. Hereupon he withdrew about a hundred and thirty Furlongs from the City, and encamped upon a Plain. Cæsennius, in the mean time, sends Soldiers to take possession of Samofata, and to keep Garrison there; while he himself, with other Troops, marches away after Antiochus. But all this Violence and Injustice was not sufficient yet to provoke the King to any unfriendly Act against the Romans: Or to do any thing more, than to lament his hard Fortune, and to bear all Things with Patience.

But for his Sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, that were youthful, martial, and brave; they could not in honour but betake themselves to their Arms: So that drawing out what Strength they were able to make, they gave the Romans Battle; fought it out all Day, and in the End shewed a Conduct answerable to their Valour; for they came off with very little Loss.

The Fortune of this Day was favourable to Antiochus; but all too little to put a Stop to the Retreat he had resolved upon; for he took his Wife and Daughters away with him into Cilicia: And this scrupulous Integrity of his went so far, that he had like to have broken the Hearts of his Soldiers. For what could they hope for, they said, when the King himself despaired; deserting their Prince in that Distraction, and going over to the Romans. All that Epiphanes and his Brother had now to do, was to save themselves before it was too late. And so with eight Horsemen more, (ten in all) they passed the Euphrates, (where they were now secure) in their Way to Vologeses, the King of Parthia. This generous Prince, upon their Arrival, did not treat them like Fugitives, but with that Royal State and Respect that became their Birth and Quality.

Antiochus being now come to Tarsus in Cilicia, Cæsennius sent an Officer to take him into Custody, and carry him bound to Rome. But Vespasian was too generous to treat a crowned Head at that Rate, and chose rather to shew a respect to the Memory of an ancient Friendship, than to revenge himself for a supposed Injury: Where-

fore he ordered his Chains to be taken off upon the Way; his Journey to Rome respited, and himself to make some Stay at Lacedæmon; where Vespasian furnished him with Provisions of Money, suitable to the Dignity of a Royal Expence.

This frank and honourable way of proceeding toward Antiochus did not only deliver the Brothers from the Dread and Anxiety they were in for fear of their Father; but put them in hopes even of a Reconciliation to Cæsar himself; especially upon the Intercession of Vologeses, that they might be permitted to go to Rome, and Cæsar to give way to it: For though they were very easy as it was, they had no Patience yet to live out of the Pale of the Empire. They came on, in fine, to Rome, and their Father was brought thither soon after, where they were all three entertained with high Demonstrations of Affection and Esteem.

The People now known by the Name of Alanes, formerly called Scythians, having their Habitations, as we have said elsewhere, near the River Tanais, and the Lake of Mœotis; joined in a Confederacy with the King of Hyrcania, to break into Media, and lay the Land waste: This King being the Master of the only Passage into that Country; which, they say, Alexander so ordered, as to have it shut up with Iron Gates. This Pass being now laid open, they possessed themselves of the Place, without either Suspicion or Resistance, and carried off a Booty, in Goods and Cattle, to a mighty Value. This Inroad put Pacorus (then King of the Place) into such a Fright, that left his Estate at Mercy, and flying for his own Safety into Crags and Strong-holds, made a shift at last to redeem his Wife and Concubines for a hundred Talents. At this Rate they pressed forward, spoiling and making Havock all the Way they went, without the least Resistance, up to the Borders of Armenia; Tridates being at that Time King there. This Tiridates pushed up to them, and fought them, and was within a very little of being taken alive in the Battle; by the Noose of a Halter that was thrown over his Head in the Action; but in the very Moment, while they were drawing him off, he cut the Rope with his Sword, and got away. The Success of this Combat made these Barbarians more bloody and insolent than before; insomuch that they depopulated all, wherever they came, and carried off a World of Men and Cattle along with them to their own Homes.

#### C H A P. XXVIII.

*Eleazar, the Governor of Massada. The lowdest Age since the Creation. The Sicarii lead the Way; but John of Gischala out-did them all. The brutal Barbarities of Simon. The Idumæans inhuman and bloody. The Zelotes the wickedest and the most wretched of Mortals. A Garrison of the Sicarii in Massada. Silvia besieges it. The Situation, Description, and Strength of it both by Art and Nature. Silvia advances his Batteries, and gains the Rock Leuce, but his Batteries failing, he sets all in a Flame.*



*Flamc. A Discourse upon the Contempt of Death; and the Immortality of the Soul. Reflections upon the Indian Philosophers and the Brachmans. Several Instances of the Sufferings of the Jews. The Question of Life and Death debated. The Jews so possessed with it, that they resolve not to out-live their Laws and Liberties: They agree upon a Method for the executing of that Resolution. The Romans advance the next Morning to the Assault, and find only a Pile of dead Bodies to receive them.*

**B**ASSUS was now dead in Judea, and Flavius Silva, his Successor in the Government; who, finding the whole Country be reduced, saving only one rebellious Castle, drew out all the Force he was able to make, with a Resolution to attack it. The Castle's Name was Massada; and one Eleazar commanded it, the Ring-leader of the Sicarii, or Cut-Throats; who had got in possession of it. This Eleazar was descended from one Judas, who, as we have said already, was the Man that most violently opposed the Jews entering their Names upon the Roll, when Cyrenius executed the Office of Censor, in Judæa. This Faction of the Sicarii were professed Enemies to all that shewed any manner of Respect to the Romans: And they treated them also like Enemies, even to the Degree of pillaging their Goods; driving away their Cattle, and burning their Houses. "For what are these Men better than Strangers, said they, that betray the Liberty of their Country for want of fighting for it, and had rather live Slaves than Freemen; notwithstanding that Freedom is a Blessing can never be bought too dear? Were it not better for such Men as these, they cried, to join barefaced with the Romans?" But these were only Words of course, for a Blind to their Inhumanity and Avarice; as most evidently appeared in the Conclusion. For when those very Men, whom they branded with Perfidy and Cowardice, came to join in the Revolt, and in the common Cause against the Romans, they were worse used than before: Especially these that laid open the Hypocrisy of their Pretensions and the Iniquity of their Practice.

There was never such an Age certainly since the Creation; for all manner of Impiety, as this Juncture among the Jews. They left no new Wickedness to be either done or thought of, or for Invention itself to work upon. Never such an Agreement, public and private, in all Sorts of Corruptions: Never such an Emulation in all Things that were ill, who should out-do the other: Men in Power oppressed the common People, and the common People were as sharp again upon Men in Power, the one for Dominion, and the other for Pillage.

The Sicarii were the first that led the Way to his licentious Course of Blood and Violence, without slipping any Opportunity, either by Word or Deed, of doing Mischief where they were set upon it. But all this was not a Flea-biting to the extravagant Cruelties of John; who did not only put particular Men to death, as common Enemies (Citizens especially) for presuming to advise Things necessary and profitable for the Public; but multiplied all manner of Outrages also upon his Country. And who could expect better from a Man that made no Conscience of affronting God himself? as in the Use of forbidden Meats; renouncing the Purity of his Profession, and departing from the Laws.

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and Customs of our Forefathers. What Wonder now, to see a Man inhuman to his Neighbour, that has no more Reverence for his Maker!

And so for Simon the Son of Gioras, what Villainy was not that Man guilty of? What Barbarities did he not inflict upon the very Men that raised him? Those, that of Freemen born, made themselves his Slaves! The natural Ties of Blood and Friendship had no other Effect upon this sort of People, than to inflame them to the Execution of more horrid Butcheries. They looked upon it as a mean, and a kind of scandalous Insolence, to tyrannize over Strangers, compared with the more generous and heroical Bravery of trampling upon their own Flesh and Blood.

And the Idumæans came not much behind them neither; those bloody Miscreants, that after the assassinating of the High-Priests, to cut off as much as in them lay, the whole Frame and Order of Religion at a Blow, confounded likewise the Polity of the City, without leaving so much as the Face of Justice or Civil Government; and setting up Tyranny and Oppression in the Stead of it. This was the Province of those they call Zelotes, and they had given themselves a Title to the Name by their Works, as the most passionate Patrons and Promoters of Vice and Lewdness upon the Face of the Earth, though under the Colour of Piety and Virtue, by seducing those they would impose upon by Fallacies and false Lights; and, at the same time, turning Evil into Good, and Good into Evil.

They had at last, however, the End they deserved, in the Manifestation of God's just Vengeance upon them: For they suffered all the Calamities and Torments that it is possible for Flesh and Blood to undergo, and this throughout the whole Course of their Lives.

It will be said, perhaps, that the Punishment fell short of the Offence. And it may be answered, that no Punishment could come up to it. But this is not a Time or Place to enter upon the History of those unhappy Creatures that fell into the Hands of these Monsters: So that I shall rather return to my Relation, and go on where I left off.

Silva the Roman General was now upon his March to besiege Massada, where there was a Garrison of the Sicarii under the Command of Eleazar, who was the Head of that Party. He made sure of the Country about it, without much Difficulty; settled his Garrison, as he saw convenient; and ran up a Wall about the Castle, to prevent Excursions or Escapes, and to secure his Guards. He made choice of a Quarter for his Camp, that he found most commodious for his Purpose: That is to say, upon the joining of the Castle-Rock to the next Mountain: Only Provisions were extremely scarce, for they were brought a great Way, and with much Trouble to the Jews, whose Business it was to supply them; beside the bringing of Water another Way too, for there was no Fountain near the Place.

Matters being thus ordered, Silva disposed himself to the Siege, which was like to be a Work of Time and Labour, as will appear by the Situation of the Castle. It stands upon a large high Rock, with deep and craggy Precipices round about it: And there is no discerning the Bottom from above, by reason of other Rocks that interpose and cover it. The Access is so difficult, that even the Beasts themselves cannot climb it, saving only by two Passages; one to the Eastward from the Lake Asphaltitis, which is very nice  
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and dangerous; the other from the West, which is the more practicable of the two. They call one of them by the Name of the Snake, from the several Windings and Turnings in the Ascent. For the Rocks in many Places double upon themselves, and run in and out so, that People are fain to go backward and forward to pass them. And the Passages so narrow likewise, that there is no walking upon them, but by standing upon one Foot while you advance the other: Beside that, one Slip, or a false Step, is certain Death; for it drops you into a Precipice that gives a Man a Horror but to think of it. They reckon thirty Furlongs of this Way from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountain, which brings you into a Plain, where Jonathan the High-Priest erected a Castle, and called it Massada; he himself being the first Founder of it. Herod the Great spared afterwards for no Cost or Care to adorn and fortify it. He carried a Wall about it, of seven Stadia in Compass; all of curious white Stone, twelve Cubits high, and eight over. He built likewise twenty-seven Turrets; each of fifty Cubits in Height: And these Towers entertained a Communication with all the Buildings on the Inside of the Wall. The Plain above was so well-conditioned, and so fruitful a Soil, that Herod ordered it to be set apart for Tillage; to the End, that whoever should take Sanctuary in that Castle, he might be sure not to want Necessaries. He caused also a royal and a stately Palace to be built for himself within the Compass of the Castle: The Entrance fronting Westward, and bending a little to the North. The Walls of it were very high and strong, with four Towers in four Corners, each of sixty Cubits high. The Apartments, Galleries and Baths, were for Variety, Ornament and Contrivance, very rich and glorious: And all supported with Pillars, each of one intire Stone; and so masterly put together, that nothing could be more substantial. The Walls and the Pavement were all checkered with Party-coloured Stone. To every Quarter about this Palace, the Plain above, and before the Turrets, there were a great many large Cisterns, hewed out of the Rock, for the preserving of Water; so that these Vessels abundantly supply the Want of Fountains. There was a Way also cut under Ground, from the Palace up to the Castle, which was not to be discovered from without; and the other was effectually impassable, as we have said already. But for the Western Pass, there was a Tower set up in the narrowest Part of it, a matter of a thousand Cubits from the Castle, that quite blocked it up. Not but that the Attempt would have been difficult enough, even without any Opposition: But this is to shew the State and Condition of the Place, both by Art and Nature.

Now this Castle was not only provided against Force and Stratagem, but against the very Dint of Famine too: For there was Corn in it, Wine, Oil, all Sorts of Pulse, Dates, &c. for many Years; which was all found in it, when Eleazar with his Sicarii surpris'd it: And it was all as fresh and sound too, (though a hundred Years deposited) as if it had been but newly laid up. And perhaps the Purity of the Air at that Height, abstracted from gross and feculent Vapours, might be the Reason of it.

There was also a Magazine of all Sorts of Arms for ten thousand Men, stored there by the King's Order; and a great Quantity of unwrought Iron, Brass, Lead, and the like; which we may presume was prepared for some great Design.

There goes a Tradition, that Herod finding himself upon a Pinch under two Difficulties,

ties, provided this Castle for his Retreat in case of Need: The one was for fear the People should depose him, and set the Asmonæan Family upon the Throne again; the other was a Matter of more dangerous Consequence. Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, had a Design, it seems, upon the Life of Herod: And she made no Secret of it neither; but owned the Thing, and had several Discourses with Anthony about it; pressing him, that Herod might be dispatched out of the Way, and she herself made Queen of the Jews in his Stead. It was a Wonder that the Passion Anthony had for Cleopatra could deny her any thing; but Herod, however, upon this Apprehension, put Massada into such a Condition, that there was hardly any Thought of taking it; and the Romans could never be absolute Masters of the Jews without it.

The Jews being now so close walled up in Massada; that there was no Possibility, as I said before, of their escaping, Silva advanced with his Machines; there being but one Place that he could fill up, to raise a Mount upon. For beyond that Tower that blocks up the Way upon the West, to the Palace and Castle, there was a large long Rock, called Leuce; larger than that the Castle stood upon; but not so high by three hundred Cubits as Massada. The General had no sooner gained this Rock, but he set his Soldiers at work to advance a Mount upon it; and they wrought so hard, that they carried it up to the Height of two hundred Cubits: Which not being as yet strong enough to support the Engines, they raised a kind of Platform upon it, wrought with great Stones, fifty Cubits high, and as much over. But beside these ordinary Machines, they had others also of the Invention of Vespasian, but improved afterwards by Titus. They erected farther upon this Platform, a Tower of sixty Cubits, all fortified with Iron.

The Romans from this Turret, galled the Defendants with their Stones and Arrows to such a Degree, that they durst not shew their Heads upon the Walls. Silva, in the mean time, kept battering the Wall with a most prodigious Ram; which by little and little made some small Impression upon it. But the Sicarii quickly supplied that Defect, by clapping up another Wall behind it, that feared no Machines; for the Matter of it being soft and yielding, it deadened the Stroke: And the Manner of the Structure was this. They took two Rows of large Timbers, and mortised them one into another. They were both of a Size, and together with a Space left betwixt them, just answered the Thickness of the Wall. This Space they filled with a kind of clayish Earth, and nailed up Boards a-crofs the Frame to keep the Earth from falling down: So that it stood as firm as the Wall of a House, and the more it was battered, the stronger it was, as if it had been rammed and consolidated into a better State of Defence.

When Silva found his Engines defeated, he resolved to attempt that by Fire, which he could not compass by Battery; and so ordered his Soldiers to try what might be done by Brands-Ends and Fire-Works, towards the destroying of their Defences. Their new Wall being most of it Timber-Work and hollow, took fire immediately, and burst out into a mighty Flame; which began with the Wind on the North, and beat so terribly upon the Romans, that they almost despaired of saving their Machines. But the Wind luckily chopping about all on a sudden into the South, drove so furiously upon the Wall, that it set all in a Flame from Top to Bottom. The Romans were so sensible of God's appearing in their Favour, that they returned chearfully to their Camp,  
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with a full Resolution to make an Attack upon the Enemy the next Morning by Peep of Day; and to keep strong Watches in the mean while, that they might not get off in the Night.

But Eleazar had no Thought of starting himself, or of suffering any of his People so to do. The Wall however being consumed to the Ground, and no Hope or Possibility left of Safety or Relief, the only brave Thing they had before them, was to consider how they might deliver their Wives and Children from the ignominious Outrages they might expect from the Romans, whenever they came to be Masters of the Place. Eleazar concluded, upon the ballancing of this Question, that a glorious Death was infinitely to be preferred to a Life of Infamy; and that the most generous Resolution they could take in the World, would be not to out-live their Liberties. This being his own Opinion, he called together the most courageous of his Friends and Companions; and did what he could, by Reason and Exhortation, to discourse them into the same Mind.

“ It is no new Thing, says he, my generous Friends, for our People to disclaim  
 “ any other Lord and Master, than the true and sovereign Lord and Master of the  
 “ Universe, God himself; and this without Exception to the Romans, or to any  
 “ other Nation whatsoever. The Time is now at hand to make good our Words by  
 “ our Deeds: Wherefore let us act like ourselves. We have hitherto run all Hazards  
 “ to preserve our Freedoms; but we are at present threatened with Chains, and the  
 “ worst of Torments together, if we fall alive into our Enemies Hands: As the first  
 “ that fell off from them, and the last that stood out against them. The Matter duly  
 “ considered, we are to look upon it as a singular Grace and Favour from above, to be  
 “ left still at liberty to choose our Death: A Blessing denied to many that are gone be-  
 “ fore us. We are certain to be all Slaves to-morrow, if we do not prevent it by  
 “ setting ourselves free this very Night: And it is not in the Power of our Enemies to  
 “ hinder it. Neither is there any thing they desire more, than to take us alive; and it  
 “ is now too late to think of contending any farther. Something might have been  
 “ done at first perhaps, if the Assertors of our Liberties had but duly considered  
 “ Things. For they would have found, that if God had not cast us off, though  
 “ formerly his chosen People, he would never have exposed us to what we have suffered,  
 “ both by our own Divisions, and from our Enemies; the Destruction of so many of  
 “ our principal Men, and the holy City itself laid waste with Fire and sword. But  
 “ how comes it at last, that we alone are the Men of the whole Nation to stand up for  
 “ our Liberties, as if we ourselves were innocent of those Iniquities that we have  
 “ taught to others? You see, by this Time, the Vanity of your extravagant Hopes,  
 “ and the Misery of your Disappointments. And what are we the better here for an  
 “ impregnable Castle, with an ample Provision of Arms, and all Necessaries for our  
 “ Support, when God hath manifestly doomed us to Destruction? What do you think  
 “ of that judicial Wind and Fire, that left the Romans to consume us and our new  
 “ Wall? Did it do this of its own Accord, do ye think; or was it not rather an In-  
 “ fliction upon us for the crying Sins we had been guilty of one towards another? Now  
 “ since our Punishment is just, and that there is no avoiding of it, will it not be much

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“ more reasonable for us to do Justice upon ourselves, than to leave it to the victorious  
 “ Romans, as the Executors of divine Vengeance? By this means, we secure the Ho-  
 “ nour of our Wives, and the Freedom of our Children? And next to them, let us  
 “ honourably take our own Terms, and die free; leaving that Memorial behind us as  
 “ the best of Monuments. But, in the next Place, see the Castle be set on fire, and  
 “ our own Gold and Silver melted down; for the Romans will be sick of their Purchase,  
 “ without the Possession, either of our Treasure, or of our Persons. Let the Provi-  
 “ sions for the Mouth and Belly be left behind, as a Testimony that we were not  
 “ starved into this Condition; but kept to our first Resolution of choosing Death ra-  
 “ ther than Bondage.”

This was Eleazar's Speech; but it did not relish with all alike: Some were very much pleased with the Proposal, and as forward to put it in Execution; reckoning upon Death as a desirable State upon those Terms. Those that were good-natured, or tender-hearted, had a Horror upon them to think of taking away the Lives of their Friends, and no less at the Thought of laying violent Hands upon themselves: And then, looking mournfully one upon another with Tears in their Eyes, they betrayed the Softnesses of their Hearts. Eleazar was not a little troubled at these effeminate Weaknesses, for fear of staggering others that seemed well enough resolved, and calling in question the Dignity of his Proposition. He followed his Point however, and went on with his Exhortation; but with another sort of Air and Spirit, advancing his Discourse upon the Subject of the Immortality of the Soul: And fixing his Eye upon those that he saw in Tears, he addressed himself that Way, in a vehement Earnestness of Exclamation, and in these or the like Words:

“ I am, says he, wonderfully mistaken, I perceive, in my Opinion, that brave Men  
 “ in a Contest for Liberty, had rather lose their Lives than their Cause. But it is  
 “ otherwise with you I find, that are afraid to die, though to deliver yourselves from  
 “ Calamities worse than Death itself: And in a Case too, that neither needs Council,  
 “ nor will bear Delay. We have it from Antiquity, the holy Scriptures, the Laws  
 “ and Customs of our Country, the Doctrine and Practices of our Forefathers: And  
 “ it is all by Consent, that it is not Life, but Death that makes a Man happy. For  
 “ what is it but Death, that sets the Soul at liberty, and transmits it into those pure and  
 “ blessed Regions where it shall never know Corruption? But so long as it commu-  
 “ nicates with the mortal Body, it partakes also with the Evils of that Body: and it is  
 “ in a manner dead; for what Affinity is there betwixt divine and mortal? Soul and  
 “ Body: in Conjunction, 'tis true, may do much; for the Body is but the Souls In-  
 “ strument, and their sacred Offices and Operations are unaccountable. But when  
 “ the Soul comes once to be discharged of its Clog and Weight that keeps it down,  
 “ and to recover its proper Station, it enjoys a vigorous and a perfect Liberty; not  
 “ visible to human Eyes, but invisible, as God himself is; and it is invisible also in  
 “ our Bodies. It comes into us unseen, and so it goes out again; incorruptible in  
 “ itself, but causing Variety of Changes in the Body: For whatever the Soul influen-  
 “ ces, it puts Life and Vigour into it: And whenever it withdraws itself, the Sepera-  
 “ tion is certain Death. But this does not hinder the Soul yet from being immortal.

“ As

“ As in Sleep, for Instance; how quietly does the Soul repose itself in that Respite  
 “ from the Distractions of the Body! Which shews the Happiness of the Soul is  
 “ wrapt up within itself, and likewise that it holds some sort of Communication with  
 “ the Almighty, in foretelling Things to come. But how can any Man pretend to  
 “ fear Death that loves Rest! or who but a Madmen, for the sake of a short Life,  
 “ will grudge himself a Life eternal? Beside that, we are trained up by the Laws  
 “ and Institution of our Profession, not only to the Contempt of Death ourselves;  
 “ but also to preach and practice it for an Example to others.

“ Or if there needed any Recourse to strangers for Argument or Authority, upon  
 “ this Subject, what shall we say to the Indian Philosophers and Brachmans? A wise  
 “ and a virtuous sort of People. They look upon Life only as a necessary Function of  
 “ Nature: An Office which they discharge uneasily enough, and not without some  
 “ Impatience to be quit of the Trouble. And they are not weary of Life neither,  
 “ upon the Account of Pain or Inconvenience; but for the Love of Immortality, and  
 “ a blessed Conversation that shall never have an End. Nay, they take solemn Leave  
 “ of their Friends too, as if it were but for a Journey, and tell them when they are  
 “ a going: Neither does any body offer to hinder them; but on the contrary, wish  
 “ them happy, and send formal Messages by them to their Acquaintance, in a full  
 “ and certain Confidence that they understand one another. And so when they have  
 “ received all their Orders and Instructions, they commit their Bodies to the Fire, as  
 “ a preparatory Purification, and go off with Acclamations, and to the Satisfaction  
 “ of all the Spectators. For, among them, Friends follow one another more cheer-  
 “ fully to death, than they would do to a long Journey; joying those that are now  
 “ entering into a State of Immortality, and only lamenting the rest that stay behind.  
 “ What a Shame will it be for us now to fall short of the Indians, in a Matter of  
 “ this Importance, and to bring a Scandal upon the excellent Laws and Religion of  
 “ of our Fore-fathers by an inglorious Abjection of Mind! Or put the Case now,  
 “ that we had been otherwise instructed, and brought up in the contrary Principles  
 “ from our very Cradle; as if Life were the sovereign Good of Mankind, and Death  
 “ the most dismal of Calamities: The very Occasion should make us resolute methinks,  
 “ in our Case, since Necessity and the Will of God will have it so: And we are now  
 “ to be punished with the Loss of Life, for our former Abuses of it, by the ordering  
 “ of a divine Providence; neither are we to ascribe it to our own Arms, or to the  
 “ Generosity of the Romans, that we were not every Man of us cut off in this War.  
 “ And it was not simply a Conquest neither; but the Mediation of a more power-  
 “ ful Cause, that made it look like one however. What had the Romans to do in  
 “ that bloody Massacre of the Jews at Cæsarea by the People of the Place, where  
 “ Man, Woman and Child were cut off upon their seventh Day's Festival, without  
 “ one Word of a Conspiracy, or the least Resistance: Whereas the Romans never  
 “ looked upon the Jews as their Enemies, but only when they revolted. Now it  
 “ will be said perhaps, that there was an old Grudge betwixt the Jews of Cæsarea  
 “ and the Citizens; and that the latter took this Opportunity for a Revenge. What  
 “ shall we say then of the Scythopolitans that joined with the Greeks against us,

“ and not with our Friends against the Romans; And what did they get at last for  
 “ their Good-will, but the utter Destruction of themselves and their Families? This  
 “ was the Thank, in fine, that we had for our Assistance; they brought us into the  
 “ same Extremity, out of which we rescued them.

“ It would be too tedious to run over particular Instances: For you know very well  
 “ that there is not so much as one City in Syria that has treated us better, and that is  
 “ not incomparably worse to us than the Romans. What do you think of Damascus  
 “ now, that without any Colour, or Pretence of a Disgust, butchered ten thousand  
 “ Jews, with their Wives and Children, in that single City? And then they reckon  
 “ upon at least sixty thousand killed in Ægypt. Now that is no Wonder, you will  
 “ say, in a strange Land, where they had no Seconds to stand by them. But to come  
 “ now to our own Case at home, that had the Courage to assert our Liberties against  
 “ the Romans in our own Country, and wanted neither Men nor Arms, fearless Spi-  
 “ rits, impregnable Cities, Strong-holds, or any other manner of Provisions that  
 “ might encourage or strengthen a Revolt, and intitle us to a reasonable Hope of a  
 “ victorious Issue. But how long did this last, and to what End did this pompous  
 “ Preparation serve us; save only to our greater Confusion! For all is lost, you see,  
 “ and only to the Honour of the Enemy; without any Advantage to ourselves, for,  
 “ and by whom, these Stores were provided.

“ How happy are they now that fell with their Swords in their Hands, contending  
 “ for their Liberty, and in the same Act preserving it! Compared with the surviving  
 “ Remainder of us that are reserved in Chains: Some for Torture, some for the Fire;  
 “ others for Spectacles; some for Combat, and others to be torn to Pieces with  
 “ Whips; some half eaten by Beasts, and set aside for a second Meal! Who would  
 “ not suffer a thousand Deaths, rather than lead such a Life? But the most deplorable  
 “ of all the rest, are those that are yet living, and calling upon Death, and yet have  
 “ not the Heart to give it themselves.

“ Pray summon up your Thoughts, and consider what is become of your glorious  
 “ Metropolis: your mighty Walls and Fortifications: Your impregnable Towers and  
 “ Castles; your vast Treasuries and Magazines (though too little for your Stores;)   
 “ your prodigious Multitudes of Men: And what is become of your holy Place too,  
 “ known by the Name of God's House? Is it not all torn up by the Roots, and no-  
 “ thing to be seen of it but the Ruins, that serve only for a Camp to the Conqueror;  
 “ a few unfortunate old Men mourning over the Ashes of the Temple, and a Provision  
 “ of unhappy Women set apart for the Use and Service of the Soldiers?

“ Can any Thing that hath but the Soul of a Man ever submit to look another Sun  
 “ in the Face again after this? Nay, though he might live without either Fear or  
 “ Danger: Can any Man, I say, be so unnatural to his Country; so mean and narrow-  
 “ hearted, as not to be grieved that ever he lived to see this Day? And it would have  
 “ been well, if we had been all in our Graves before ever we beheld these sacrilegious  
 “ Ruins, and this glorious Pile of Jerusalem laid in Rubbish. But so long as we had  
 “ Hopes and Courage, we flattered ourselves with the Possibility of a Redemption.  
 “ The Conceit however of that Fancy being now over, and nothing left us to truit to,  
 “ but



“ but the Consideration of an insuperable Necessity; we have nothing more to do than  
 “ to take Pity of ourselves, our Wives, and our Children; and to make all the Haste  
 “ we can to do it, while we have the Means in our own Hands. We are all born to  
 “ die, the Brave and the Coward alike; and all subjected to the same Fate. Now for  
 “ matter of Indignity and Slavery, the seeing of our Wives dishonoured, and our Chil-  
 “ dren led in Triumph; these are not Evils arising from the Necessity of our Nat<sup>l</sup> e,  
 “ but the Results of Cowardice, when a Man might have died and would not. But  
 “ for us that had the Hearts to abandon the Romans, and fly in the Face of our  
 “ Masters; and afterwards to refuse Quarter and Pardon, when it was offered us, and  
 “ not so much as to accept of an Indemnity, though they themselves begged it of us:  
 “ Can any body think, I say, that if ever they take us alive, this will be forgotten?

“ It makes one’s Heart ache, to think of the miserable Condition both of Young and  
 “ Old, betwixt the Strength of Body, on the one hand, to lie languishing under a lin-  
 “ gering Torment; and the Weakness of Age, on the other, that is not able to support  
 “ it. The Husband must expect to see his Wife dishonoured before his Face; and the  
 “ Father, to hear his Children begging in Chains for Relief. But while we are free,  
 “ and Masters of our Swords, let us make a glorious Use of them, and preserve our  
 “ Liberties. Let us die Freemen, with the Comfort and Company of our Wives and  
 “ Children about us. It is but what they themselves desire, what our Laws require  
 “ at our Hands, and what Providence itself hath made necessary for us. Only the  
 “ Romans are against it, for fear we should do their Work for them. Let us dispatch  
 “ then, for it will be to our immortal Honour to take the Prize they long for out of  
 “ their Hands, in leaving them only the poor Satisfaction of dead Bodies for their  
 “ Triumph.”

Eleazar would have gone on, if the Company had not broken in upon him one and  
 all, in this very Instant; violently pressing him to go through with his Work, and  
 every Man contending with a phantastical Emulation who should be foremost, as a  
 Mark of the bravest and wisest Man. Such was the Passion these People had for the  
 Destruction of themselves and their Families. And, which was yet more wonderful,  
 they did not one Man of them shrink when they came to the Execution; but kept up  
 their dear and natural Affection to the last, upon an Opinion that they could not do  
 their Friends a better Office. They took their last Leave of their Wives and Children  
 in their Arms, with a Kiss and a Stab; weeping over them at the same Time, and no  
 more concerned than if the Work had been done by other People’s Hands. The Ne-  
 cessity of the Action, (as they understood it) was their Comfort and their Excuse; for  
 considering what they should have suffered otherwise by the Romans, they thought they  
 could not do less toward their Deliverance. In short, there was not one Man’s Heart  
 failed him; but they killed their beloved Friends and Relations without Distinction.  
 This was a miserable Necessity, but they were driven upon it by a miserable Choice:  
 For the destroying of their Wives and Children, (as it appeared to them) was the least  
 Evil they had before them.

When they had gone thus far, they found their Grief for what they had done al-  
 ready intolerable; and being conscious to themselves, that they could not survive those  
 they

they had killed, (though never so little) without a manifest Injury to the Dead, they immediately piled up all their Goods together on a Heap and burnt them; and then choosing ten Men, by Lot, out of their Number to do Execution upon all the rest, they ranged themselves as near as they could to the dead Bodies of their Friends; gave them a parting Embrace, and cheerfully presented their Throats to those that were to do the inhuman Office. So soon as the ten had with a mighty Resolution discharged their Part, they cast Lots among themselves which of the remaining ten should dispatch the other nine, with a Condition that the surviving tenth Man should kill himself upon the Bodies of the rest: Such a Confidence had these People one in another. The nine died with the same Constancy as the rest. The last Man overlooking the Bodies, and finding that they were all stark dead, set fire to the Palace, and so cast himself upon his Sword among his Friends.

The Tragedy being now over; and upon a Presumption that there was not so much as one Jew fallen into the Hands of the Romans, it appeared afterwards that there was one ancient Woman; and another, a Kinswoman of Eleazar's (a Person of admirable Qualities) with five small Children, that lay close all this while in an Aquæduct, and escaped the Massacre. The Number of the Slain was nine hundred and sixty, reckoning Women and Children in to the Account. This Action fell out upon the fifteenth of the Month Xanthicus.

The Romans by break of Day next Morning, with their Ladders and Bridges, made ready for an Assault; but no Enemy appearing, nor any Noise to be heard, but the crackling of Flames, the Romans could not tell what to make of these Circumstances, and of so dead a Silence: So that they presently gave a Yell, like a Shout upon the playing of a Battery, to try if they could be answered. The Clamour alarmed the Women in their Hiding-places; so that out they came upon it, and told the Romans the Truth of the whole Story; which was so incredible however, that they could not believe it: But betaking themselves to the quenching of the Fire, and so following their Way up to the Palace, they found such a Carnage of dead Bodies, that without insulting and rejoicing as Enemies, they brake out into Admiration at the generous Greatness of the Jews Minds; the Steadiness of their Councils, and the obstinate Agreement of such a Number of Men in the Contempt of Death.

#### C H A P. XXIX.

*The turbulent and seditious Humour of the Sicarii. The Jews impute all their Misfortunes to that sort of People. They will rather suffer Death than own Cæsar for their Master.*

**A**FTER the taking of Massada, Silva the Roman General settled a Garrison there, and so marched away with his Army to Cæsarea, leaving the Country in perfect Peace and Quiet behind him. Now the Jews of Judæa were so absolutely broken and subdued

subdued by the Burden and Continuance of the War, that there was not an Enemy to be heard of in all that Quarter; but there were those also that felt of it as far as Alexandria in Ægypt, where several of them were put to death. But a Word or two upon this Occasion will not be amiss.

There were divers of the Faction of the Sicarii that fled to Alexandria for Sanctuary; and it was not enough for these People to live easy and quiet there, but they must be tampering the Citizens into a hankering after Innovations, and starting invidious Questions about Liberty and passive Obedience. They looked upon the Romans, they said, to be no better than themselves, and no other Lord would they own, than the Lord of Heaven and Earth. And still as they met with any Contradiction, though from the best of their own Profession, it was as much as their Lives were worth. Some they murdered, others they debauched from their Allegiance, or at least endeavoured to do it, and, in fine, these Practices of theirs became so bold and dangerous, that the leading Men amongst them did not think it safe to call them to any public Account. But the Course they took, was to summon a general Meeting of the Jews, and there to arraign the Folly and Temerity of the Sicarii, and to expose them to the People as the Root and Cause of all their Misfortunes. "Now what would be the End of it, said they, if we should force them to fly for their Security? They would be never the better for it, and we the worse. For so soon as ever the Romans shall be well informed of the Design, their Way will be to fall upon all promiscuously, and so destroy the Innocent with the Guilty." Wherefore they cautioned the Jews not to involve themselves with the Sicarii, but rather to provide for their own Safety, by delivering up those Cut-Throats to the Romans.

This gave them such a Prospect of the Hazard they were in, that they fell violently upon the Sicarii, and took six hundred of them immediately. The rest fled to Egypt, Thebes, and thereabouts; where they were retaken soon after, and brought back again, behaving themselves to Admiration, for the insuperable Hardiness of their Resolution. What a Variety of exquisite Torments did they endure, rather than acknowledge Cæsar for their Master; and not one Soul that would so much as deliberate upon the doing of it. But they stood all as firm, as if their Souls had not been concerned in what their Bodies endured. And the transcendent Miracle of all is yet behind; which is, that the Boys and Children stood the same Stress with the rest; and when they had suffered all that Malice or Invention could inflict upon them, not so much as one Soul of them would own Cæsar to save his Life; so much was their Contempt of Torments above the Sense of them.

## C H A P. XXX.

*Onias moves Ptolemy to give the Jews leave to build a Temple, and to enjoy the Exercise of their Worship. Ptolemy gives leave accordingly, and*

*and assigns them a Spot of Ground for it. This Temple was erected, and afterwards shut up.*

**L**UPUS being at that Time Governor of Alexandria, gave Cæsar early Advice of this Commotion, who was so well acquainted with the turbulent Humour of the Jews, that he thought he could not be too cautious of their Meetings and Cabals, for fear of making Factions and Parties; and therefore ordered Lupus to demolish the Jews Temple in the City of Onion in Egypt; of which Temple I shall say something, both as to the Name and the Founder.

Onias the Son of Simon, one of the High-Priests, being driven out of Jerusalem, in the Time of the War betwixt Antiochus the King of Syria, and the Jews; withdrew to Alexandria, where he was very kindly received by Ptolemy the King of Egypt; partly, as an Enemy to Antiochus, and partly upon a Condition agreed upon betwixt them; which was this. Onias undertook to bring the Jews over into Ptolemy's Interest, if he would but grant him one Request. The King promised that he would, if it lay in his Power; and so the other begged his Leave only for the Jews to erect a Temple somewhere or other in Egypt, where they might meet and worship God according to the Laws and Religion of their Country. By this means, says he, Antiochus will become still more and more odious to the Jews, and the Jews better affected to your Service; beside the vast Multitudes that will put themselves under your Protection for the free Exercise of their Worship.

Ptolemy was well enough pleased with the Proposal, and so assigned the Jews a Spot of Ground for their Purpose, a matter of ninescore Furlongs from Memphis, in the Tract of Heliopolis: Onias built a Castle there, and after that a Temple, though not comparable, 'tis true, to that at Jerusalem; but it had just such another Tower, made of vast Stones, and sixty Cubits in Height. There was an Altar also, after the Model of Jerusalem, and set out with Donatives and Presents, much like the other, saving only that there was no Candlestick, but a Golden Lamp as bright as the Sun instead of it, which hung upon a Gold Chain before the Altar. This Temple was encompassed with a Brick-wall, the Gates of Stone, and it was likewise endowed with a considerable Revenue, both in Land and Monies, that there might be nothing wanting to the Solemnity and Celebration of the Service. Now Onias did not do all this, as we say, for God's Sake, and out of the pure Simplicity of his Heart, but out of a Spleen he bare to the Jerusalem Jews that forced him away: And he propounded to himself by the erecting of this Temple, to draw the Jews back to him again that had forsaken him; especially reflecting upon an old Prophecy of nine hundred and seventy Years standing, which seems to look that Way; beside another Prediction of the Prophet Isaiah, of a Temple in Time to come to be erected in Egypt, by a Jew.

This Temple was built accordingly, and Lupus, in Pursuance of the Emperor's Orders, went directly thither, took away with him several Presents and Oblations that he found there, and so shut it up. But Paulinus, who succeeded to the Government after the Death of Lupus, not only stripped the Temple of what he found there, without leaving so much as one Piece behind him, but threatened the Priests bloodily too in Case of any Conceal-

Concealment; nor would he receive any Man whatsoever into the Temple upon the Account of Religion, but shut the Doors against them, without leaving so much as the least Appearance of divine Worship there. It was now three hundred thirty and three Years from the building of this Temple to the shutting of it up.

## C H A P. XXXI.

*Jonathan, an Enthusiast Weaver, draws a Party after him. They are taken, and brought Prisoners to Catullus; only Jonathan shifts out of the Way: But being afterwards taken, he comes to a better Understanding with Catullus. His Master-piece was Subornation and Corruption. 3000 Jews put to death at a Time. Jonathan sets up for a false Witness. Joseph, the Author of this History, is made Prisoner. Vespasian pronounces Joseph innocent, and sentences Jonathan to be whipped and burnt alive. Catullus ends his Days in Torments of Body and Mind not to be expressed.*

**T**HE audacious Insolence of the Sicarii spread like a Contagion every where about Cyrene. As for Example: There was one Jonathan, a Weaver, that made his Escape thither. He was a kind of an Enthusiast, and a wicked Man, that drew a World of simple People after him into Woods and Desarts, under a Pretext of shewing them Prodigies and Visions: And the Imposture passed for current with the common Sort. But the Story coming to the Ears of some eminent Jews at Cyrene, they presently traced it out, and gave timely Notice of it to Catullus, the Governor of the Pentapolitan Libya, how the Business stood, and which Way they marched. The Governor way-laid them with Horse and Foot, and easily mastered them, for they were but so many unarmed Men: A great Part of them were killed, and the rest taken alive, and carried Prisoners to Catullus.

Jonathan, the Ringleader of this wretched Multitude, made his Escape; but after a long and strict Search, he was at last found out and taken, and so carried to Catullus; where he found out a Way to divert the Storm from himself, and to furnish the Governor with an acceptable Occasion of turning it another Way: Which was, by bringing the wealthiest Jews of the Place into the Plot, as the Heads and Promoters of the Conspiracy. These Accusations, how false soever, were welcome to Catullus, who fell presently to discant and amplify upon Things with such Aggravations, that a War against the Jews was as good as declared already. And to make the Villany yet more execrable, he had not only the Faculty of believing against Truth and Reason; but instructed the very Sicarii themselves in the Art of Calumny: Inasmuch that he expressly directed the false Witnesses to accuse one Alexander, a Jew, by Name; to whom he had a long Time declared himself a professed Enemy, and his Wife Berenice

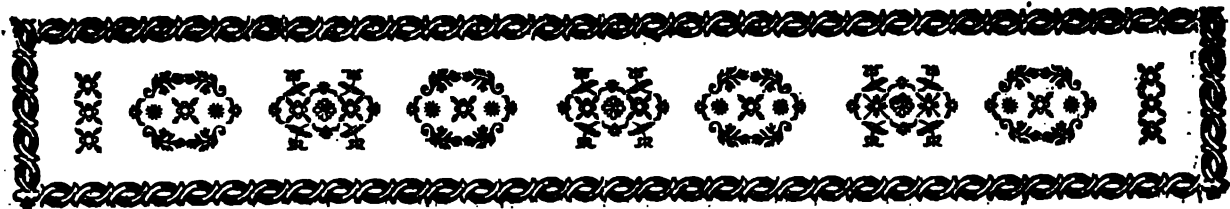
was also ensnared upon the same Evidence. These were the first that suffered, and, after them, a Train of three thousand more were put to death at once; whose only Crime was, that they were Men of Wealth and Credit. And this, he thought, he might safely do, though he took their Money to himself, so long as their Estates were confiscated to the Empire.

And then for fear of being detected by Jews of Credit elsewhere, he carried the Imposture further yet and dealt with Jonathan, and some other Prisoners, to make a Cul of the most eminent Men they had, for Honour and Integrity in Rome and Alexandria, and to exhibit new Matter against them. Joseph himself, the Author of this History, was one of the Number. Now Catullus coming to Rome, and bringing Jonathan, and the rest of the Prisoners in Chains along with him, he made no doubt but that the Imposture was all over, and the Fact given for granted, as he had represented and concerted it. But the Event of this Contrivance did not answer his Expectation; for Vespasian being a little suspicious upon the main, resolved to sift it out; and finding upon Examination the Iniquity of the Proceeding, he pronounced, at the Instance of Titus, Joseph and his Companions innocent, and thereupon they were discharged: But, at the same Time, he sentenced Jonathan to be whipped, and burnt alive; which was accordingly executed.

As for Catullus, such was the Lenity of the two Princes, that they proceeded no further against him at present. But in a short Time after this, he was seized with an incurable Complication of Diseases; horrid Gripes, and Pains all over his Body; and the Anguish of his Mind yet more insupportable; Torments of Conscience; ghastly Apparitions and Outcries, upon his being haunted with the Ghosts of those he had murdered; starting out of his Bed, and roaring out, as if he were upon the Torture, or in the Flames. His Affliction, in fine, increased upon him, till his Guts putrified, rotted, and came out: this was his End, being effectually no other than a divine Vengeance upon a wicked Man.

We are now come to the End of our History; wherein we have proceeded with all Faith and Candour, according to our Promise, for the Satisfaction of those that desire to be truly informed in the Particulars of the Wars betwixt the Romans and the Jews. How I have acquitted myself in the Manner of writing this Relation, let the Reader judge: But as to the Sincerity of it, upon the whole, I do here declare to the World, that I have kept myself strictly to the Truth of Things from one End of the Book to the other.

T H E E N D.



T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
F L A V I U S J O S E P H U S :

Written by his own Hand.



**S**EVERAL Nations value the Honour and Dignity of Birth and Extraction upon several Accounts; but, with us, nothing more illustrates a Family than a lineal Succession of holy Men in the sacerdotal Dignity: And, in that Respect, I may assume to myself the Advantage of somewhat better Blood in my Veins than ordinary, as I derive my Original through a long Train of religious Ancestors, and not only in a regular Descent from Men in sacred Orders, but from Priests of the first Rank of the four and twenty, which is yet a higher Advancement by so many Degrees. I might write myself also by my Mother's Side, of the Stock of Kings, for the Kingdom and the Priesthood went a long Time together in the Asmonæan Family, from which she was descended. But now to take the Succession in Order; Simon, otherwise called Psellus, was my great-great Grandfather, who lived when Hyrcanus the Son of Simon the High-Priest, and the first of the Name, had the Pontificate. This Psellus had nine Sons; Matthias for one, surnamed Aphlias, who, in the first Year of King Hyrcanus, married the Daughter of Jonathan the High-Priest, and had by her Matthias, surnamed Curtus; who, in the ninth Year of the Reign of Alexander, had a Son Joseph, from whom came Matthias, in the tenth of Archelaus; and from him, in the first Year of Caius Cæsar, came I myself; who have likewise three Sons; Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth Year of Vespasian; Justus, the second,

cond, in the seventh; and Agrippa, the youngest, in the ninth. This is a short and a true Account of my Extraction as it stands upon Record, beyond all Contradiction, and in Defiance of Envy and Detraction.

My Father Matthias was greatly esteemed in Jerusalem, from the Highest to the lowest, not only for the Honour of his Descent, but much more still for his Probity and Justice. I had a Brother of my Father's Name, and we two were trained up at School together from Children. Now having a tolerable Sense of Things, and an excellent Memory, I made so excellent a Progress in my Studies, that, at fourteen Years of Age, the High-Priest and Elders would do me the Honour, now and then, to advise with me, even in some intricate Cases of Law. At my Entrance into sixteen, I began to inform myself in the Doctrines and Opinions of the three Sects I have spoken of elsewhere; the Pharisees, the Saducees, and the Essenes; propounding to myself to take a Taste of them all, and stick to what I liked best. So I passed through all three, one after another, with much Labour and Mortification. And I did not rest there neither; but hearing of one Banus, that led the Life of a Hermit, in Caves and Solitudes, I made a Trial of his Way also. He wore no Covering but of the Bark of Trees: His Food was only what the Earth and Woods brought forth of their own Accord: and bathing himself Night and Day in cold Water to allay the Heat of unruly Appetites. When I had kept him company in these Austerities for a matter of three Years, and satisfied my Curiosity in the Experiment, I returned to the City, and being now nineteen Years of Age, applied myself to the Business of a civil Life, in the Way of the Pharisees, which is much after the Humour of the Stoics among the Greeks.

There fell out a very particular Occasion, in the six and twentieth Year of my Age, that carried me to Rome; and this was it. Felix being at that Time Governor of Judæa, had sent several Priests, many of them worthy Men, and my particulars Friends, Prisoners thither, upon a very frivolous Pretence, to clear themselves of what should be objected against them before Cæsar. They behaved themselves with so generous a Constancy, chusing rather to suffer any thing than to depart from their Duty, that upon this Consideration I resolved to run any Risk in the World to relieve them: So I embarked for Rome, and falling into a desperate Storm with about of 600 Persons in Company, we were cast away, and the Vessel lost in the Adriatic Gulph; only eighty Persons of the whole Number, by a wonderful Providence, preserved, being taken up early the next Morning by a Ship of Cyrene, when we had kept ourselves above Water a whole Night by Swimming. After this Deliverance, I came acquainted at Dicæarchia, (or Puteoli, as the Italians choose rather to call it) with one Alityrus, a mimical Comedian, and a Jew born; for whom Nero had a great Kindness. This Alityrus brought me to the Knowledge of the Empress Poppæa, who immediately, upon my Request, got the Priests set at liberty: and so I went back again into my Country, not without considerable Presents over and above. Upon my Return, I found Mischief a brewing, and the People dangerously disposed to a Revolt; whereupon I did what I could to bring the Mutineers to better Reason. I bade them consider well what they were about, and the Circumstances of the Enemy they had to do withal; a martial, a politic, a well-disciplined



disciplined and fortunate People, and so much an Over-match for them to all Purposes, that they must be worse than Madmen to venture, Life, Limb, Liberty, and Estate; Wives, Children, and all that could be dear to them, upon so unequal Terms. At this Rate I plied them with Arguments, Counsels and Importunities, to divert them from an Outrage that was likely to be attended with so many mortal Consequences. But this was only so many Words cast away; which, in truth, did more hurt than good; and instead of composing them one Way, hazarded the enraging of them another. For my pressing the same Thing over and over again, so often to them, looked all this while like a siding with the Enemy, which, upon the least Freak of Jealousy (that I had Reason enough to apprehend) would in all Probability have cost me my Life. The Faction being already possessed of the Fort Antonio, I had nothing to do but to take Sanctuary in the Inner-Temple. From thence, upon the Fall of Manahem, and the Ringleaders of the Conspiracy, I betook myself to the High-Priest, and the eminent Men of the Pharisees: Whom I found directly at their Wits End what Course to steer; for the People were all in Arms, and what to do with themselves they knew not. When we saw that thwarting and dissuading would do no good, we went a middle-way to work, betwixt closing with them and dissenting; pretending, upon the main, to be of their Opinion; but yet under such Cautions, that we advised them not to be too hasty; but let the Enemy draw off a little; for Gessius had a considerable Force, and would be with us time enough to put an End to that Tumult. Gessius came back indeed, to his Cost, for he was totally defeated; most of his Troops cut to Pieces: And this Blow, in fine, proved the utter Ruin of our Nation. For the Faction had the Vanity, after this Defeat, to flatter themselves, that they should with as much Ease run down the whole Power of Rome. But there happened at this Time a terrible Outrage, which was as follows:

The Syrians and Jews living promiscuously together in several great Towns bordering upon Judæa, the Syrian Inhabitants took their Opportunity, and cut the Throats of all the Jews, Man, Woman, and Child, that lived with them in those neighbouring Cities; and all this, without any sort of Provocation or Offence: For there was nothing of a Conspiracy, or so much as a Disaffection to the Romans, charged upon them. But above all the rest, the Barbarity of the Scythopolitans was the most inhuman and impious. For they not only forced the Jews of the Place, that were their Fellow Citizens, to bear Arms against those of their own Tribe that came before it, (a Thing expressly forbidden by our Laws) but when they had worsted the Enemy by their Assistance, without any Regard to Gratitude, Justice, or common Faith, they put them all to the Sword, without Mercy or Distinction, to the Number of several thousands. The Jews of Damascus were treated much at the same Rate too; but in our History of the Wars of the Jews, we have discoursed this Matter much more, at large. Neither would it be worth the while to mention it over again, if it were not to give the Reader to understand, that we did not undertake this War upon Choice, but we were driven upon it by the Force of an extreme Necessity.

After this overthrow of Gessius the leading Men of the Jews, finding themselves weak and unarmed, and in danger of a powerful and turbulent Faction, they thought it high time now to look about them, and provide for their own Security. So that  
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considering how Galilee was divided, and Part of it for the Romans, Part against them, they were pleased to make choice of myself for one, and two other Priests, Joazar and Judas, (very good honest Men) to send as Commissioners thither, to try if we could prevail with the seditious People there to lay down their Arms; not so as to part with them quite; but only to deposit them for the present in the Hands of their Governors, till they should have occasion to use them; but not to do any Act of Violence till they should be better informed what the Romans intended to do.

With these Instructions, I went my way into Galilee, where I found the Galileans, and the Sepphorites at hard Words, and ready to come to Blows upon this Point. The Galileans pressed upon the Sepphorites to make an Inroad into their Country; and the Ground of the Quarrel was, their standing up for the Romans, and their Adherence to Senius Gallus, then Governor of Syria. The Sepphorites, on the other Hand, opposed them, in Defence both of their Country, and of their League and Duty: But I found a Way to set the Sepphorites Hearts at rest, and to quiet the Galileans, by getting them a Licence to send as often as they pleased to Dora, a City of Phœnicia, to the Hostages there that they had given to Gessius.

As for the People of Tiberias, I found them all in Arms, and this was the Quarrel. There were three Parties in the City: The one consisted of Men of Honour and Integrity; and Julius Capella was the Head of them; who was joined by Herod, the Son of Miarus, Herod the Son of Gamalus, and Compfus the Son of Compfus: But as for his Brother Crispus, that Agrippa the Great had made the Governor of the Town long since, he lived at this Time upon his own Estate beyond Jordan. These were all for the King, and the People of Rome: Pistus being the only Man of the Nobility that went the other Way, in a Compliance with the popular Humour of his Son Justus. The second Faction was a kind of a Rabble of mean People: And the Head of the third was Justus, the Son of Pistus; who, though he would not give his Opinion point blank for a War, did most undoubtedly wish for one in his Heart, upon the Prospect of advancing his own Fortune by the Confusion. In order to this End he prepared the People for his Purpose, by a Discourse upon the Matter then in question, giving them to understand, "That their City was always reckoned to belong to Galilee; and in the Days of Herod the Tetrarch, who was the Founder of it, reputed the Capital of the Province; and by him kept in Subjection. This Right of Precedency was never so much as questioned from the Time of Agrippa the Father 'till the Government of Felix; when Nero gave it away to the younger Agrippa. The People of Sepphoris, in fine, never claimed any Privilege above their Neighbours, 'till the subjecting of themselves to the Roman Yoke, and the removing of the Records and Treasury, upon that Revolution." Justus went on at this rate, tampering and inflaming the People against the King, 'till he found them at last in tune for Mischiefs, and then he told them in plain Terms, That since the Sepphorites were so obstinately devoted to the Interest of the Romans, that there was no taking them off, they had no other Way in the World to vindicate their Rights and Liberties, once for all, but immediately to take up Arms, and join with the rest of their Companions to oppose the Sepphorites, wherein they needed not doubt to be well seconded against so hateful a sort of People. With this popular and plausible Way of paradoxing

radoxing-soberer Men than himself out of their Senses, he did his Business. Besides that, he was so far Master of the Greek Tongue, as to write the History of those Times; palliating and disguising the Truth of Things, as he found it most for his Purpose. But I shall now give a more particular Account of the Malice and Wickedness of this Man; and how near he and his Brother went to the total and irrecoverable Destruction of their Country, in the following Discourse. When Justus had gained over some of the Citizens by Persuasion, and others by Force, to take up Arms, he marched out with them in a Body, and set fire to the Habitations of the Hippenians and Gadarenes, about Tiberias and Scythopolis.

To pass over now from the State of Tiberias, to that of Gischala; John, the Son of Levi, finding several of his Fellow-citizens so violently impatient of the Roman Yoke, did all that in him lay to keep them within the Compass of good Faith and Duty: But his Endeavours were to no manner of Purpose; for the People bordering thereabouts, as the Gadarenes, the Gabaraganæans, and the Tyrians, joining their Forces together, attacked the Town, and took it by Force; burnt and destroyed all before them, and so went their Way back again. John was so exasperated with this Outrage, that he drew his Troops together, marched against the Rebels, fought, and defeated them; and after that, rebuilt the Place; and, for better Security, encompassed it with a strong Wall.

But the People of Gamala stood firm all this while to the Romans, as will be seen in what follows. Philip, the Son of Jacimus, King Agrippa's Lieutenant, having made a wonderful Escape out of Jerusalem, while the Enemy was before the Palace, fell into another Hazard of being destroyed by Manahem, and his cut-throat Companions; but was yet preserved by some of his Babylonian Relations, which were then at Jerusalem; and upon the fifth Day after his coming off, he put himself into a Disguise by a Cap of false Hair, and so shifted away till he came to a certain Village of his own, near the Castle of Gamala, where he sent for a considerable Number of his Subjects to come to him. In this Place he was seized with a sudden Fever, which, by a wonderful Providence, proved the Occasion of saving his Life. For upon falling into this Distemper, he wrote to Agrippa and Berenice by a certain Freeman of Trust and Credit; with Order to deliver his Letters to Varus, to whom the King and the Queen had at that Time committed the Care of the Palace; they themselves being upon a Journey at that Time to Berytus, to meet Gessius. When Varus came to understand, upon the Receipt of the said Letters, that Philip had made his Escape, he took it exceedingly to heart to find that he was at Liberty, for fear the King and Queen should discharge him of their Service upon the other's Return: So that Varus exposed the Messenger to the People as an Imposter, and one that had brought him a sham Story: For Philip, he said, to his Knowledge, was at that Time at Jerusalem with the Jews, making war against the Romans; and upon this Calumny he caused him to be put to Death. When Philip had waited a good while, and no News, either of the Freeman, or of the Letters; he dispatched away a second Messenger with another Packet, to inquire what was become of the former; and the same Pretence did his Business too as well as the other's. Now the Syrians of Cæsarea had put a Conceit into Varus's Head, that the Romans would certainly revenge themselves upon Agrippa for this Rebellion of the Jews, and that  
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376 The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

upon his Death, the Crown would naturally come to him, as a Branch of the royal Line from Sôhemus the Tetrarch of Libanus. Varus was so puffed up with this Persuasion, that he intercepted the King's Letters; way-laid all the Passes, that no body should get at him with Intelligence, and did all that was to be done, in fine, to keep him a Stranger to the whole Matter. He put great Numbers of the Jews to death, to make an Interest with the Syrians of Cæsarea; and so likewise for the Jews in Ecbatane, which they call Babylonians, he proposed the engaging of the Trachonites of Batanæa with him in a War against them too. In order to the Prosecution of this Design, he sent for twelve of the principal Jews in Cæsarea; and dispatched them away in his Name with this Message to their Friends at Ecbatane; that Varus had been told of a Conspiracy a-foot amongst them against their King, which he was not willing to believe, but however required them to lay down their Arms, as the most demonstrative Proof they could give him of their Innocence, and that the Report was false; adding to this, that they should send him seventy of the most eminent Men of their Party, that might be ready to answer all Objections on the Behalf of the rest. The twelve Deputies went accordingly, and acquitted themselves of their Commission; but upon a strict Inquiry at Ecbatane among the People of their own Tribe, not finding the least Colour for any such Rumour, they took, according to their Instructions, seventy of the best Men of the Place along with them, and so went their Way all in a Company together towards Cæsarea: Varus, in the mean Time, having planted himself in the Passage with a Guard of the King's Troops about him; who fell upon them on the Way, and cut off every Soul of them to one single Man; after which, he advanced upon his Design against the Jews at Ecbatane. But by a strange Providence, the Person that escaped the Massacre, got there before him, with the News of this abominable Treachery; whereupon the Inhabitants immediately put themselves in Arms, and with their Wives and Children withdrew into the Castle of Gamala, leaving their Goods and Cattle behind them, to a mighty Value. So soon as ever Philip heard of this Adventure, he went thither to them; where he was welcomed with the universal Acclamations of the People, and with the Tender of their Lives and Fortunes at his Service, in a War against Varus, and his Cæsarean Abettors, if he would but do them the Honour to command them: For it was now bruited about, that the King was slain. But Philip did all he could to compose them, by putting them in mind of the generous Obligations the King had laid upon them; the formidable Power of the Romans, with the desperate Hazards of a Rebellion: Insomuch that they were brought in the Conclusion to better Reason. When the King came to understand what had passed, and that Varus had taken up a Resolution of putting to death all the Jews in Cæsarea, with their Wives and Children, to the Number of a great many thousands, he removed Varus from his Government, and made Equus Modius his Successor; as we have said elsewhere: Philip keeping Gamala, and the Country bordering upon it firm to the Romans.

Upon my coming to Galilee, being given to understand by certain Intelligence, the Condition of this Affair, I wrote to the Council at Jerusalem, to receive the Honour of their Commands; and the Answer they sent me was an Order to stay in Galilee, and

to provide the best I could for the Security and Defence of the Place, and to keep my Collegues still about me, if they thought fit. Now having by this Time gathered up a considerable Sum of Money, that was in Arrear for the Priests Tenths, they were bethinking themselves of going home again; but, upon my Request, to stay a little longer with me, 'till Things might be put into some sort of Order, they agreed without any Difficulty. So we went all together from Sepphoris to Bethmaus, a Place within some four Furlongs from Tiberias; from whence I sent a Messenger to summon the Senate of Tiberias, and some of the Principals of the People to come over to me. Upon their Arrival, and Justus among the rest, I told them that I was ordered by the Council of Jerusalem, together with my Companions, to confer with them about the demolishing of the Palace which Herod the Tetrarch had erected there, and adorned with several curious Images and Figures of living Creatures, being a Thing absolutely forbidden by our Laws; earnestly desiring that it might be done out of hand. Capella, and the People of his Faction, opposed it a long Time; but at last, after a hard Contest, we carried the Point: Now while this Controversy was a-foot, Jesus, the Son of Sapphia, at the Head of a scandalous Crew of Tarpaulins, and other beggarly Fellows, with the help of a Band of seditious Galileans, set fire to the Palace-Royal, in expectation of a considerable Booty; for every Thing they saw, was rich and gilded: And, in Effect, they spoiled and carried away a great many good Things, in Despite of all that could be done to hinder it. So soon as this Conference with Capella, and the Governors of Tiberias was over, we betook ourselves from Bethmaus into the Upper Galilee; at which Time the Faction of Jesus put all the Greeks in Tiberias to the Sword, and all others likewise that had been Enemies to them before the War. Upon the News of this Outrage, I went in a great Passion to Tiberias, to try what I could save or preserve, of the King's Goods upon this Pillage; as there were several rich Candlesticks of Corinthian Work; precious Tables; a great deal of Silver in the Mass: And, in fine, resolving all this while to deposit what Goods soever I seized, for the King's Use: So that sending for ten of the chief Senators, and Capella the Son of Antyllus, I delivered all the rich Vessels, and other Things of Value, into their Custody, with a Charge express not to part with them to any Body but myself. I went from thence with my Companions to Gischala, to inform myself what John intended to do; whom I found manifestly engaged in the making of a Party, and setting up for himself. The Emperor had several Magazines of Corn up and down in the Upper Galilee, and John would fain have had the exporting and vending of it, with an Intent, he said, to employ the Profit upon the building of Walls and Fortifications. I found what he would be at, and told him plainly, that it was a Thing I could not give way to. For being obliged, by virtue of my Commission from Jerusalem, to take Care of all Things within that Jurisdiction, I could not dispose of those Stores any other Way, than either to the Service of the Emperor, or the good of the Province. When he found I was not to be wrought upon, he applied himself to my Collegues, who, betwixt want of Foresight, and the love of Money, were brought over by Bribes and fair Words to comply with his Demands; and being two to one, they must needs carry it. John had no sooner gained this Point, but he bethought

himself of another Invention. The Inhabitants of Cæsarea Philippi were complaining to him, he said, for want of pure Virgin Oil, and desired him to supply them; the Greek Oil being forbidden them, and the King's Prohibition barring them from going out of Town to fetch it. Now this was not so much Religion in him, as Interest; for he knew that this Oil bore forty Times the Price at Gischala that it did at Cæsarea; so that he sent away all the Oil from one Place to the other, under a Colour of my Licence. Now the Truth of it is, I did so far license the transporting of it, that I durst not pretend to hinder it, for fear the People should Stone me; and so far only I yielded to it. This, in short, was a Device that John made a great Advantage of.

From this Place I sent my Collegues back again to Jerusalem; and after that, made it my whole Business to arm, fortify, and in short, to provide the best I could for the Defence of my Province. The Free-Booters I found were not to be reduced by Force; and so I put the People upon trying what might be done by Composition; whereupon we entered into a Treaty with several leading Men among them to take them into Pay; being all convinced, that the charge of the Pension would not be comparable to the Spoil they would make by Rapine and Pillage. We came, in fine, to an Agreement; and I took their Oaths for Performance of Articles, and so dismissed them. The Conditions were these: That they should not offer any Violence; either to Romans or Natives, nor ever set foot into our Country, but when they were called; or else behind hand in their Pay. But above all other Things, it was my Care, in the first Place, to keep Galilee quiet; and in order to that End, I made Choice of seventy of their best Men to go along with me, whom I made use of, both as Companions, Counsellors, and Assistants: Nay, and I governed myself in a great Measure too, by their Advice, saving an inviolable Respect all the while to Integrity and Justice: So that under the Appearance of Friends, they served me likewise in the Quality of Hostages.

I was now in the thirtieth Year of my Life; an Age wherein all the Virtue and Precaution in Nature is not able to secure a Man from the Lash of Envy and Detraction; especially in a Post of Honour and Power. But I can say this for myself however, that I was never charged with any Misdemeanor, either in matter of Women, or Corruption. I wanted nothing, and I coveted nothing: Nay, I was so far from taking any thing that did not belong to me, that I refused my very Tenths, though properly due to me as a Priest, even when they were offered me. As for the Spoils upon the Defeat I gave the Syrians, it is very true that I sent Part of that Booty to my Kindred at Jerusalem; and so after two Overthrows given to the Sepphorites; four to the People of Tiberias; the Gadarenes, once at my Mercy, and John himself, after several treacherous Practices, made my Prisoner, I passed it all over without taking any Revenge, either of the one or the other; and God that saw the Innocence of my Heart in this whole Matter, was so gracious as to deliver me from the Snares of my perfidious Enemies; and not upon that Occasion only, but divers Times afterwards, as will be seen in its proper Place.

The People of Galilee had all of them such a Respect and Tenderness for me, that though they saw their Towns destroyed, and their Wives and Children hurried away into Captivity before their Faces, they had much a greater Concern yet for my Hazards  
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and Sufferings than their own. John was ready to burst all this while with Envy at the Thought of my being so popular; and under the Pretext of a present Indisposition, he wrote to me for Leave to go to the hot Baths of Tiberias for his Health; which I not only granted him at first Word, without so much as dreaming of any Trick in the Bottom of it, but gave him recommendatory Letters also to provide for the Entertainment of himself and his Train, with Meat, Drink, Lodging, and all other Conveniencies, and to take Care that they wanted nothing. I was at this Time in a Village of Galilee, called Jana. John was no sooner come to Tiberias, but he fell presently to work upon debauching the Inhabitants into a Sedition, and inveigling them over into his Party. There were a great many among them forward and factious enough, to hearken to any Thing that might lead to a Change; and glad at Heart too, of such an Occasion: As among others, Justus, and his Father Piftus, who immediately closed with the Proposition, and joined Interests with John against me. But by God's Providence the Plot was seasonably disappointed; for Silas, my Deputy Governor of Tiberias, sent me the whole Story of it from Point to Point, how the Case stood at that Time, and what they intended: Advising me by all Means to hasten thither all I could, and prevent the Mischief before it was too late; for the Government would be quickly in other Hands else. Upon reading this Intelligence, I posted away for Tiberias with 200 Men; sent a Messenger before, to let my Friends know I was a coming, and so travelled the whole Night. The People, early in the Morning, came out of the Town to meet me upon the Way, and John himself among the rest; but so out of Countenance and confounded, that he betrayed his Guilt in his Face. Being now conscious to himself that his Neck was at Stake if he was discovered, he made a hasty Reverence, and that Instant withdrew to his Lodging. In the mean Time, away went I to the public Place of Exercises, where I discharged my own Train all but one Man, and ten Soldiers that I kept about me. After this, I mounted a high Standing that I took up there, from whence I made a Discourse to the Tiberians, upon the Subject of good Faith and Allegiance; the Honour of a generous Constancy; and the dangerous Consequences, as well as the actual Baseness, of betraying a Trust; for one Treachery, I told them, would most certainly be avenged upon the Head of the Traitor by another, and that after one Act of Perfidy, their Credit would be lost for ever. The Words were hardly out of my Mouth, but I heard some Body call fiercely and earnestly to me immediately to "come down, and provide for my own Security, for my Enemies were just upon me; and that this was no Time for Speeches." Now the Truth of it was, that having me at an Advantage in a Place where I was little better than alone, John drew a select Number of Men out of the Thousand that he commanded, with Orders to fall upon me there by Surprise: And they were already advanced within a very little of executing their Design; which they had certainly done, if I had not leaped down that very Moment by the Help of one of my own Guards, whose Name was Jacob, and one Herod of Tiberias, who led me off to the Lake; where, by great Providence, I found a Vessel ready, that carried me off to Taricheæ, beyond all Expectation, and out of the Reach and Power of my Enemies. The People of the Place were so enraged at the Tiberians, upon this Story of their barbarous Treachery, that

they betook themselves to their Arms, and begged of me, in a Body, only to march at the Head of them against those perfidious Wretches, that they might do me Right upon them for so horrid a Villany. The Report of this Outrage was quickly spread all over Galilee, with an Invitation to come in and join with them against Tiberias, and to remit themselves to the Direction and Conduct of their Governor, to do whatever he should think fit. The Galileans gathered together presently in great Numbers; and with great Earnestness intreated me to assault Tiberias, and upon the taking of it, utterly to demolish it; and to expose the Inhabitants with their whole Families to sale for Slaves at a public Outcry. And this was not the Sense of the Galileans alone, but my very Friends that came to me out of Tiberias, were of the same Opinion too. But I was so tender of making myself the Author and Beginner of a Civil War, that I could not bring myself to resolve upon those Extremities: And, in Truth, I was very desirous to put a Stop to the Dispute before it came to Blows: Beside that, I pressed it as their own Interest also, not to fall to cutting one another's Throats for a Spectacle to the Romans, that were to stand looking on. By this Means I took off the Edge of the Galileans, in the Conclusion; though not without much ado. When John found that all his juggling Practices against me still failed him, it was high Time now, he thought, to look to himself: So that taking along what Men he had about him, he quitted Tiberias and went to Gischala, and from thence wrote me a kind of an excusatory, acknowledging Letter: Setting forth, that it was indeed a very ill Thing done, but without any Privity of his, as he called God to Witness. He begged of me that I would believe him, with most hideous Oaths and Imprecations in his Letter, to the Truth of what he told me, to a Syllable. But this did not satisfy the Galileans at all; for they knew him too well, for a perjured Wretch, to believe one Word he said, ever the more for his swearing it: So that they pressed me still, (being a mighty Body of Men got together) to lead them on to the Assault, that they might destroy him, and Gischala, the Place of his Nativity both at once. I gave them a thousand Thanks for the Respect and Good-will they had shewed me; and assured them of all the best Offices I could do them in Requital: But at the same time, I advised them by all means to be temperate, and patient, and to give me leave to try a little if the Quarrel might not be made up without Blood, and to their liking too, before it came to farther Mischief. The Galileans yielded, and they came soon after to Sepphoris. The Inhabitants, being resolved to keep Faith with the Romans, were not without some Apprehension upon my Advance, and so contrived for their own Security, how they might give me a Diversion some other Way. Jesus, the Head of the Outlaws, was at that Time upon the Borders of Ptolemais, with a Body of 800 Men under his Command; and they could not do better, they thought, than presently to dispatch a Messenger to him with the Promise of a considerable Sum of Money to make War upon us. The Temptation prevailed; and the Way he pitched upon was to take us at unawares, and unprovided; and so to do the Work by Surprise. Upon this, he sent Word to me by a Messenger, that he should be glad if I would give him Leave to make me a Visit. I made no Difficulty of doing it; for I had no Jealousy in the World of foul Play; so that he took a Troop of his Robbers, and hastened his Journey all he could. But the Design miscarried: For upon his Approach within a little of the Town, I had Intelligence brought me by



a Defeſter from him that came over to me, of the whole Contrivance. Upon this Information, I went directly into the Market-Place, as if I had known nothing of the Plot upon me; and I was there attended with a numerous Train of Galileans in Arms, and ſeveral Tiberians among them. I gave Order then for the Guard of the Paſſes, and to the Porters of the Gates, to let in only Jeſus himſelf, with ſome few of his Followers, and then ſhut the Gates upon the reſt: Or if they ſhould attempt to break in by Violence, they ſhould repel them with Blows too. They did as they were ordered, and admitted Jeſus with ſome few of his Train, and then ſhut the Gates upon the reſt. So ſoon as he was in, I bad him throw down his Arms, or expect to die, which he did, finding himſelf ſurrounded with a Guard of Soldiers. Upon this, thoſe of his Men that were ſhut out, hearing how it was with their Leader, betook themſelves immediately to Flight. So calling Jeſus apart, I told him ſomewhat to this Purpoſe: "I have you now in my Hands, you ſee; I knew all your Contrivances, your Counſels and your Advifers; and yet after all theſe Provocations, if you paſs your Word now to be an honeſt Man, and a good Subject, for the Time to come, all that you have hitherto done ſhall be forgiven, and forgotten." He promiſed he would, and ſo I gave him his Liberty, and his Men again, leaving him as I found him. And for the Sepphorites, I only charged them to be quiet and peaceable for the Future at their Peril.

There came to me, at the ſame Time, two Noblemen, and Subjects of the King of Trachonitis, with Horſes, Money, and Arms. The Jews were abſolutely againſt the receiving of them, unleſs they would be circumciſed; but I told them, that every Man was to worſhip God according to the Rules of his own Conſcience, not of another Man's; and therefore I was utterly againſt the giving of them any Trouble upon that Account: Beſide that, it would be an inhospitable Rigour, to make People that came to them for Sanctuary in their Diſtreſs, repent the good Opinion they had of their Charity. Upon diſcourſing the Matter, the Multitude were all of the ſame Mind, and ſo I gave them an Entertainment ſuitable to the Circumſtances and Occaſion.

King Agrippa, in the mean time, ſent Equus Modius with a conſiderable Force to take in the Caſtle of Magdala. He was not in a Condition to lay ſiege to it; but all that he could do was to poſt Guards upon the Avenues, and ſo to block up Gamala. Æbutius, the Decadarch, that had the Command of the great Plain, underſtanding that I was to come to Simonias, a Village upon the Skirts of Galilee, and about ſixty Furlongs off from the Place where he was; drew out a hundred Horſe that he had then about him, near 200 Foot, and ſome auxiliary Troops from Gaba, and making one Night's Journey of it, came up to the Village; whereupon I faced him with a Body of the beſt Men I had. He was too ſtrong for me in Horſe, and would ſain have drawn me into the open Field; but my Strength conſiſting principally in Foot, I found it would not be ſafe to venture myſelf upon that Odds of Ground, and ſo kept to my Station. Æbutius did what he could to force me from my Poſt: but ſeeing it was not to be done with Horſe, he quitted his Deſign, and marched off to Gaba, with the Loſs only of three Men in the Action. I followed him immediately upon the Heel, with a Body of 2000 Men; and when I came to Beſara, a Town upon the Border of Ptolemais, and ſome twenty Furlongs from Gaba, where Æbutius at that Time was, I took Poſſeſſion of all the Paſſes about it, to ſecure my Quarters, and in the mean  
Time

Time carried off the Wheat, and other Grain, to a prodigious Quantity, that had been taken from the neighbouring Villages belonging to Queen Berenice, which was there laid up in Store. This Provision I caused to be transported to Galilee upon a Multitude of Camels and Asses that I brought thither on Purpose. So soon as this Work was over, I offered Æbutius Battle, but when we saw he durst not venture upon an Engagement, I bent my Course toward Neapolitanus, who was then in Garrison with a Body of Horse at Scythopolis, and committing Ravage in the Country about Tiberias. By this means, I delivered Tiberias from any farther Vexation from this Enemy: And my whole Care was, in the next Place, how to provide for the settling of Galilee.

Now John the Son of Levi, being, as you have heard, at Gischla, was galled at the very Soul to see Matters go so well with me, and to find how much I was beloved by my People, and feared by my Enemies; and in the Rancour of this Envy, proposed to himself how he might turn the Hearts of my Subjects against me, soliciting the Tiberians and the Sepphorites to join against me, and flattering himself that he might get the Gabarenes to fall off too; these being the most considerable People in Galilee; insinuating, how much easier their Condition would be under his Government, than they found it in mine: and reckoning upon it all the while, that just so much Advantage, or Reputation as I got, he himself lost. The Sepphorites were, in Truth, neither for him, nor for me, but for the Romans. The Tiberians would not be persuaded to revolt, but promised, however, to entertain an amicable Correspondence with him; only the Gabarenes closed with him to all Purposes, by the Means of Simon an eminent Citizen, and a peculiar Friend and Companion of John's; and they were not altogether barefaced neither in the new Alliance, for fear of the Galileans, of whose Friendship, and Respect to me they had seen so many Experiments, but they never failed however, of coming in for a Part in any underhand Practices against me; and it was very narrowly that I escaped them upon one particular Instance. There was a Party of Dabarittenians, a Parcel of bold young Fellows, that upon Intelligence that the Wife of Ptolomy, the King's Intendant, was travelling with a pompous Train of Horse, and other Equipage over the great Plain, out of the King's Jurisdiction into a Province of the Romans; way-laid, and set upon the Company, forced the Lady to shift for herself, and made Prize of what she had. This passed while I was at Taricheæ, and thither they brought four Mules laden with rich Clothes, and other precious Furniture, a great Number of Silver Vessels, and 500 Pieces of Gold. Now these being the Goods of Ptolemy, a Man of my own Tribe; (and our Law not allowing us so much as to rob our very Enemies) I told the People that brought them, that they were by any means to be preserved, till they could be sold to the best Advantage, and the Money then to be laid out upon repairing the Walls of Jerusalem. These Ruffians laid it so to heart to be disappointed of a Booty, they thought themselves as good as sure of, that they gave it out, up and down all about Tiberias, that I had a Design in my Head to betray the Province to the Romans. I pretended indeed, they said, to employ the Profit of the Purchase upon rebuilding the Walls of Jerusalem; but upon the whole Matter, that my Business was to restore it to the former Master; and they were not much wide of the Matter; for after the Departure of the young Men, I called two Citizens to me  
of

## The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS. 383

of the first Quality; that is to say, Daffion, and Jannæus the Son of Levi, both in great Esteem with the King; and ordered them to make restitution of the Prize, and upon pain of Death not to discover the Secret to any Mortal. The Rumour was, by this Time, spread all over Galilee, that I was in a Conspiracy to deliver them up to the Romans; and all People were tampered against me to take a Revenge. The Men of Taricheæ, among others, gave so much Credit to the Story, that they dealt with several of my Guards, and other Soldiers, to steal away from me in my Sleep, and come into the Circus to confer there with other People concerned, how to dispose of the Government: When they came thither, they found a huge Concourse of People gotten together before-hand, all with one Voice calling out for Justice upon the Traytor; but the Ringleader of the Tumult was Jesus, the Son of Saphia, who was at that Time the head Magistrate of Tiberias; and one of the falsest and the most seditious Wretches under the Sun. He presented himself with the two Tables of Moses in his Hand, and pressing into the Crowd, he spake to them after this Manner. “ If so it be, says he, “ that you have no Regard at all to your own Good and Safety, let it be recommended “ to you however, to preserve a Reverence still for these holy Laws, which that same “ Joseph your Governor, has made no Difficulty to betray, and consequently to ren- “ der himself so odious to all good Men, that no Punishment can be too exemplary and “ severe.” These Words were entertained with Acclamations and Applauses; so that the People gathered together, and taking Soldiers along with them hurried away immediately to my Lodging, with a full Determination to take away my Life. And there lay I, quite tired, and fast asleep, without so much as the least Sense or Thought of a Tumult. But at last, all on a sudden, Simon, one of the Guards, and the only Man that staid with me, upon the Sight of a Crowd of People pressing in upon me, roused me up and waked me, shewed me the Danger I was in, and advised me in one Word, rather to suffer a generous Death from my own Hand, than to be insulted upon at the Will and Pleasure of an insolent Enemy. Upon this Advice I committed myself to Providence, changed my Clothes, disguised myself in Black, put on my Sword, and out I went through the Middle of the Throng; and so by a By-way, where I was sure to meet none of my Adversaries, I shewed myself in the Circus, where I fell upon my Face, weeping and wailing in so moving a Manner, that the Generality of the Multitude themselves could not but pity me. When I found the Humour of the People in some Measure wrought upon, and softened, I did what I could to divide them in their Opinion of me, and of my Condition, before the Return of the Soldiers from my Lodgings. I did not deny it, I told them, but that there was somewhat indeed of Truth in the Matter that was objected against me. I desired only, that they would first understand the Fact, and what Use I intended to make of that Booty; and then, if they thought me worthy of Death, let them take my Life in God’s Name. The Multitude were for hearing me, and bade me speak on, only the Soldiers being just now returned, they were for cutting me to Pieces out of hand: But upon the Clamour of the common People, and second Thoughts, they were prevailed upon to respite their Execution, taking for granted, that after the Discovery, and Confession of the Treason, and that I did really intend to reserve that Money from the King, they should have a  
better

384 The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

better Excuse and Pretence for going through with the Work at last; and so do the same Thing that way as well as the other. Upon this they gave me the Hearing, and Silence being proclaimed, that which I said was short, and to this Effect.

“ Men and Brethren, if it shall be your Opinion that I have deserved to die, so let  
 “ it be; provided I may but give you a true State of the Case I suffer for, before I go.  
 “ I have ever looked upon this City as a Sanctuary to Strangers; and indeed so great  
 “ and general a Comfort to Mankind; that betwixt the Conveniences of the Place,  
 “ and the agreeable Manners and Conversation of the Inhabitants, Multitudes of Peo-  
 “ ple have been prevailed upon to quit their Native Soil; and, transporting themselves  
 “ hither, to take their Fortunes, good or bad, with the Country: And what is my  
 “ Crime now, but the dedicating of a Sum of Money, out of a Zeal to the public  
 “ Service, toward the repairing of your Walls? This is, in short, the Ground of  
 “ your Displeasure.” The Tarichæans and Foreigners, with infinite Thanks and En-  
 couragement, bad me go on, and fear nothing; but the Galileans and Tiberians, on  
 the other hand, were as untractable and outrageous; so that it came to a direct Feud  
 betwixt them; the one Side plying me with Menaces and hard Words, and the other  
 undertaking for my Security and Protection. But upon promising the Tiberians to do  
 as much for them too, and so likewise for other Towns, where the Situation would  
 bear it, they let fall the Contest, took my Word for the Performance, and slipt every  
 Man away, one after another, to his own Home; after which unexpected and won-  
 derful Deliverance, I returned with some Friends, and about twenty Soldiers, to  
 my own Quarter. The Ruffians, and the Heads of this seditious Tumult, finding  
 themselves now in some Danger to be called to an Account for what they had done,  
 gathered together about 600 of them, and marched right out to the House where  
 I lodged, with a Resolution to set fire to it. Having notice of their coming, and of  
 their Purpose, it would have looked scandalously, methought, to fly before them: So  
 that I rather chose to shut the Doors against them, and make the best of a bad Game.  
 Upon this, I called to them out of my Window, that if Money was their Business,  
 they had no more to do then, but to appoint any body they thought fit to receive it,  
 and never trouble their Heads with any further Squabble for the Matter. So they sent  
 over a Party to fetch the Money, and upon their entering the House, finding one par-  
 ticular Person to be more insolent and troublesome than the rest of his Companions, I  
 ordered him to be seized, whipped, one Hand cut off, and hanged about his Neck,  
 and so turned out again, to tell his Tale to those that employed him upon this Errand.  
 The whole Company were so surprized at this Treatment, that taking for granted I had  
 a strong Guard in my House, they all scoured away immediately for fear of being ser-  
 ved with the same Sauce; and by this Stratagem, I brought myself off for this Bout.  
 After this Disappointment, they had recourse to another Invention (as they would  
 never be without some Pretext or other to move the Multitude.) They picked a Quar-  
 rel with the two Noblemen that applied themselves in their Distress to me for Sanctuary.  
 They were Spies and Poisoners, they said, and not to be protected in any Place where  
 they would not conform to the Fashions of the Country. This popular way of Hint  
 and Insinuation, put the Multitude into their Freaks again; but upon hearing which  
 way

way it wrought, I told them plainly, that it was not either generous or discreet, to provoke and to insult upon People that cast themselves upon us for Succour; for we did not know how soon their Case might come to be our own. And then to fancy their coming hither to poison us, nothing could be more ridiculous; for what should the Romans be at the Charge for, of maintaining so many Legions in arms, and in pay, when there would need no more, if they were that way given, than a Spell, or a Bolus, to do the Work? This pacified them a little for the present: But their Choler was up again immediately; insomuch that away they went with a Band of desperate Ruffians together to Taricheæ, to beset the Lodgings of these Strangers, and fall upon their Persons. In the very Instant of hearing what they were about, I got what men I could together, and so posted away with all possible Speed to prevent the Mischiefe; for the Sufferance of so barbarous an Inhumanity, would have made me odious to Mankind. Briefly, I made a shift to get up time enough to shut the Door, and make good the House, till I could run a Trench from the Backside into the Lake there at hand, where I took a Boat, and so crossed over to the Borders of the Hippenians, with my two noble Guests aboard, where I allowed them the Value of their Horses, which in such a Hurry they could not take along with them; and for a Farewel, earnestly besought them to bear their present Lot with Constancy and Honour. It went to the very Heart of me to do a Thing so like Treachery, as to deliver up any Man to the Mercy of an Enemy's Country, that had thrown himself into my Arms, in Confidence of good Faith and Protection; but, of the two, I rather chose, how hazardous soever, to leave them to Providence one way, than to a certain Destruction by the Perfidy of my own People, on the other. But after all this, they were preserved at last: Agrippa pardoned them; and this was the end of these Broils.

The Tiberians having it now in their Heads to go over to King Agrippa, offered him their Service by Letter, provided he would furnish them with Troops sufficient to protect them. Upon the first Notice of this Overture, I went to look after them, and upon my Arrival, they minded me of my Promise for the rebuilding of their Walls, being informed, it seems, that I had been as good as my Word at Taricheæ already. I told them it should be done, and gave Orders for the Providing of Materials and Workmen to go in hand with it immediately. After three Days Stay there I made a Journey to Taricheæ some thirty Furlongs off: In which Time it so happened, that certain Roman Troops being upon their March within sight of Tiberias, the Inhabitants took them to be of Agrippa's Party, falling presently into the highest Admiration of the King in the World; and at the same Time reflecting upon me as bitterly and contemptuously as was possible. The next news I heard, was brought me by a Messenger in great haste, that the People were upon the very Point of a Revolt, which put me to my Wits End what to do. For the Sabbath being now at hand, I had dismissed the Soldiers from Tarichæa for the quieter Celebration of the Festival: Beside that, I seldom kept a Guard about me in that Place, in confidence of the tried Loyalty and good Affection of the People. So that having only seven Soldiers, and some few Friends about me, I found myself in a great Perplexity what Course to take. It would have been to no purpose to recal my Troops now in the Evening, which I could have no

Use at all of the next Day: And then for the People of Taricheæ, Strangers and all, if I could have engaged them to my Assistance, as perhaps I might, by the Hope and Promise of Pillage and Booty, they would not have been sufficient yet at last to have done my Business: And there was no Room for Consideration or Delay; for fear of the Enemies prepossessing the City in the Interim, and shutting me out; so that I bethought myself of this Invention: I gave it in charge to some of my very particular and trusty Friends, to keep a strict Eye upon the Gates, and not suffer any Creature to pass out of the Town. They were likewise to appoint the Heads of the chief Families in the City, every Man to mount his Boat, and put out into the Lake, with only one Mariner to every Bark, and so to follow me, while I myself, with seven Soldiers, and some few of my Friends, in another Boat, stood right way for Tiberias; where the People were by this Time informed of their Mistake; and that there were no Troops of the King's at hand, as they imagined. The Inhabitants seeing the Lake however covered over with Vessels, and surmising nothing less than an Army aboard, ready to break in upon the City; betook themselves upon this Fright, and second Thoughts, to other Measures. For they laid down their Arms, and coming out with their Wives and Children, and with all the Submission in the World, they joyed me of my Arrival; wished me Success in my Undertaking, and invited me into their City: Little dreaming all this while that the Plot was discovered. Upon drawing near the Shore, I gave Order for all my Followers to come to an Anchor so far from Land, that the People might not discern this formidable Fleet at such a Distance to be only an Amusement of empty Boats. In the mean Time I came up myself to the very Key, and after a Rebuke severe enough, for the Wickedness and Folly of their Breach of Faith; I was content yet in the End to pass it all over, upon Condition that they should send me aboard ten of the best Men they had for a Caution; which they did at first Word, and by this Trick I got the whole Senate, and a great Part of their principal Citizens, one after another, by little and little into my Hand. The Remainder of the Multitude reflecting upon the Condition they now were in, cast the Fault wholly upon one Clitus, a bold hot-headed Fellow among them, as the chief Incendiary, and desired me that I would command Justice to be done upon him. I could not in Conscience put a Man of my own Tribe to death, and yet lying under an absolute Necessity of making him exemplary some way or other, I commanded one Levi, a Soldier in my Guards, to cut off one of his Hands. The Fellow durst not venture upon it alone for fear of the People; and I was as much afraid on the other Side, lest the People should take Notice of his boggling at the Execution. So that without any more ado, I called out to Clitus myself. "Come, said I, thou basest of Men, I do here condemn thee to the  
 " Loss of both thy Hands for thy Ingratitude and Treachery, and as much as in thee  
 " lies, to be thine own Executioner, wherefore be quick and dispatch, or thou shalt  
 " not come off so." The Man begged hard to be excused for one of them, and after some seeming Difficulty having obtained it, he forthwith cut off his Left-hand with his Right, to save the other, and this put an End to the Tumult. From hence I returned to Taricheæ; leaving the Tiberians in great Admiration at the putting of a Stop to so furious an Uproar, without Blood-shed: Matters being now quiet, I sent for the  
 Tiberian

Tiberian Prisoners, to eat with me; Justus and his Father Pistus among the rest. I was saying in the Freedom of Table Discourse, that I looked upon the Romans as the greatest People under the Sun; but yet, in regard of the present Faction I had to do withal, I reckoned it good Discretion to keep my Thoughts to myself; and it would be well if they did so too, I thought, till Times should be better; and in the mean while to live quiet under my Administration; for they should never find any Governor easier to them than myself. So I minded Justus, of the Galileans cutting off the Hands of his Brother upon a Pretence of Forgery, and before my coming from Jerusalem; and likewise how the Gamalites, upon a Dispute they had with the Babylonians after Philip's Departure, put his Kinsman Chares to death: Whereas I had not treated his Brother-in-law Jesus, I told him, at that barbarous rate. This was the Substance of what passed at Supper, and the next Morning early, Justus and his Companions were all discharged.

It was a little before this, that Philip the Son of Jacimus, went away from Gamala, upon this Account. News being brought him of the Revolt of Varus from Agrippa, and Equus Modius, his very good Friend put in his Place, he gave Modius to understand by Letter, how it was with him, and the present State of his Affairs, with a Packet also for the King and the Queen, who were then at Berytus. Modius was overjoyed to find him in health, and in so good a Condition, and sent away the other Packet according to the Address, So soon as the King perceived by these Letters, that the Story of Philip's putting himself at the Head of the Jews against the Romans was a false Report, he sent for him to Court by a Party of Horse; and taking him into his Arms upon his Arrival with great Honour and Kindness, told the Commanders about him, that this was the Person they heard was gone off from the Romans. He sent him, soon after this, with some Troops of Horse to the Fort of Gamala; with Instructions to bring away all his Family; resettle the Babylonians in Batanæa, and to take all possible Care to keep the People quiet. Philip had no sooner received his Orders, but away he went immediately upon his Commission. About this Time, up started a kind of a Quack Doctor, whose Name was Joseph, with a Crew of mad young Rogues at his Heels, and not without some considerable Citizens in the Medley, for the better countenancing of the Tumult. The Business of this Mountebank was to debauch the People from their Allegiance, by encouraging them to take up Arms, and with Sword in hand to assert their antient Rights and Liberties. The Faction grew quickly to such a Head, that it was certain Death to oppose them; as in this Riot they killed Chares, and his Kinsman Jesus, with the Sister of Justus of Tiberias, of whom we have spoken already. They wrote to me after this, to send them troops for a Garrison, and Workmen to run up a Wall about the Town, which I agreed to, both the one, and the other.

At the same Time the Country of the Gaulanites fell off from Agrippa, as far as the Village Solyma. I walled in Sogannis and Seleucia, two very Strong Places by Situation; and I fortified several Towns in the upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerytha, and Charabe, among the rocky Mountains. In Galilee I fortified the Towns also of Tarichez, Tiberias and Sepphoris, and the Villages of the Cave of Arbela, Beriobe, Selame, Jotapata,

## 388 The LIFE of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

Capharath, Comofagana, Napapha, and the Mount Itabyr. In these Places I had my Magazines of Corn and Arms.

This prosperous Course of my Affairs was such an Eye-sore to John the Son of Levi, that he took up a Resolution some way or other, at what Rate soever to destroy me: So that after the walling in of Gischala, he sent away his Brother Simon, with a hundred Men, to Simon the Son of Gamaliel at Jerusalem, to try if he could get the Council of the City to remove me from my Government, and to substitute John in my Place. Now this Simon was a Citizen of the first Rank; by Sect a Pharisee, and consequently a strict Observer of the Laws of Moses; a Person of extraordinary Prudence, and no Man better qualified for the obviating of any Difficulty at a Pinch: Over and above that, he was John's ancient and particular Friend, and at that Time known to be my Enemy. He was, in short, so far wrought upon by Solicitation and Intreaty, that he put it in the Head of the High Priest Ananus, and Jesus the Son of Gamala, with others of the Party, to have a care of me betimes, before I got up to be too strong for them; for they were highly concerned, he said, to have me turned out of the Command of Galilee, and to see it done without Delay too, before the Design could take air; for fear of my preventing the Execution of it, by falling in upon them with a powerful Army. Ananus the High-Priest told him on the other Hand, that I had so many of the High-Priests and Heads of the People, that could bear witness to the Conduct and Justice of my Administration, that it would be a hard Matter to obtain a Vote against me: Neither would it appear reasonable to proceed to a Judgment upon any Man without assigning his Crime. So Simon desired them to make no Words at all of what had passed, but leave it to him to take care for the displacing of me some other Way: Upon this, he applied himself to the Brother of John, and proposed the Distribution of Money and Presents among the Friends of Ananus, as the most likely Course he could take for the gaining of his Point. By this Method, in fine, Simon compassed his End; for Ananus and his Companions, upon the receiving of these Bribes, laid their Heads together immediately how they might depose me from my Government, and without making so much as any one Man besides privy to the Counsel, the Way they pitched upon was to employ four Agents upon the Commission; two of them noble, and the other two, private Persons; but all four equally qualified for their Learning, and Skill in the Law, as there was Jonathan and Ananias, both Pharisees, for two of them: Joazar, a Man of a sacerdotal Family, and a Pharisee also, for a third; and then the fourth was Simon, of the pontifical Line too, and the youngest of the four. These Men had their Instructions given them to reason the Matter at the next Meeting of the Galileans, with the Members of the Assembly, and to expostulate, why they should choose me before another. If they should say, because I am a Native of Jerusalem; it might be answered, so were they: And then for my Knowledge of the Laws, the same Thing might be said for them too; or if they should say, they did it out of a Respect to the Priesthood, they might make answer, that two of their Number had the very same Pretence. With this Lesson, and 40,000 Pieces of Silver out of the public Treasury, Jonathan, and his Companions, went away about their Business. There came at this Time one Jesus a Galilean, with a Band of 600 Soldiers, to Jerusalem; with whom these Commissioners agreed for three Months Pay advance to follow Jonathan, and his Col-  
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legues, and to obey them, and their Orders, joining to these Soldiers 300 Mercenaries more out of the City. With this Train the Deputies went their Way; and the Brother of John with his Company of 100 Men along with them. Their Order was this; in case I should voluntarily lay down my Arms, to take me Prisoner, and send me alive to Jerusalem; but upon any Opposition, they were to kill me out of hand; and their Order should bear them out in it. There were Letters dispatched away to John also, to be in Readiness to make War upon me. And the Sepphorites, the Gabarenes, and the Tiberians, were likewise engaged to fall in with the Party. Now Jesus the Son of Gamala; that wished me well, and was privy to the whole Contrivance, sent my Father Word, it seems from Time to Time, of every Thing that passed; and from him I received a particular Account of the whole Matter. It went to the Heart of me to consider the Ingratitude and malicious Practices of a Faction in the City against me; and my Affliction was not much leis neither, to find the Trouble my Father was in for my Sake, and with what Earnestness he pressed me to come over to him, upon a Suggestion that it was only to see me yet once again before he died. I took my Friends into Counsel with me upon this whole Affair, and told them, That I had resolved within the Compass of three Days, to lay down my Command, and go back again into my Country. They all fell into Tears and Lamentations upon the hearing of it; begging of me, not upon any Terms to leave them to the Certainty of perishing when I was gone. But my Life being at stake on the one hand, against their Prayers and Importunities on the other, I still persisted in my Purpose. The Gallileans had such an Apprehension of being over-run and destroyed by the Thieves and Out-Laws, after my Departure, that they presently sent Notice up and down through the whole Province, that I was upon the Point of leaving them. This News brought a World of People together, with their Wives and Children, into the great Plain of Asoch, where I then was, to try if they could get me to stay; not so much of an Affection to me perhaps, as for fear of the Danger they were in themselves; for they reckoned all to be safe so long as I was among them.

It was a wonderful Dream I had that very Night. As I was in my Bed, my Heart sad, and my Head extremely troubled. Upon the Receipt of these Letters from my Father, I had the Vision of a Man at my Bed-side, and a Voice speaking to me after this Manner: "Comfort thy Heart, good Man, and fear nothing; for all these Calamities will blow over, and only lead to thy greater Advantage and Satisfaction; not only for the present, but likewise for the Time to come; wherefore stand firm, and remember what I told you before-hand, that you are to have a War with the Romans." Upon waking out of this Dream, I got up with an Intent to go into the Air, and I had no sooner shewed myself at the Door toward the Plain, but a World of the Gallileans, Men, Women, and Children, cast themselves down upon their Faces at the very Sight of me, and with Tears and Supplications besought me not to leave them in this Extremity, at the Mercy of their Enemies. When they found Prayers and Importunities would do no good, they pressed me with Adjurations, not to forsake them, and with many a heavy Curse upon the People of Jerusalem, that would never let them be quiet. This to me was so sad a Hearing, and so rueful a Spectacle, that it made my very Heart bleed to consider the Distress of so many thousands of miserable Creatures, and brought me over,

in the End, to a Resolution of running any Hazard whatsoever for the Service of so vast a Multitude of forlorn, harmless, People: So that in the Conclusion, I was over-persuaded to stay. Upon this, I bade them draw me five thousand Men out of their whole Number, and furnish them with Arms and Victuals for a March, the rest immediately to depart every Man to his own Home. So soon as this five thousand was ready, I joined them with three thousand more that I had of my own, and eighty Horse; and so advanced with them to Chabolo, a Village upon the Borders of Ptolemais; where I took up my Station, as if my Design had been to fall upon Placidus whom Cestius Gallus had sent into those Parts, with a Troop of Horse and two Companies of Foot, to burn all the Villages of the Gallileans thereabouts. Placidus intrenched himself not far from the Walls of Ptolemais, while I lay at the same Time about sixty Furlongs toward Chabolo. We drew out several Times on both Sides, with a Countenance of pushing it immediately to a Battle; but there passed only some few Skirmishes, and that was all, For the more I pressed the bringing of it to a Combat, the more the other declined it; not daring to shew his Head out of the Protection of the Town.

While Matters were in this Posture, John and his Companions came into those Parts, the Persons who, as I told you, were sent to Jerusalem by the Faction of Simon, and Ananus the High-Priest: And the Plot was now how to compass their Ends by Treachery, which they durst not attempt by down-right Force. To this Purpose they laid their Heads together, and sent me this following Letter.

*Jonathan and his Deputy-Collegues from the Council at Jerusalem, to Joseph, Greeting.*

‘ **W**HEREAS our Principals are given to understand, that John of Gischala hath been engaged in several perfidious Practices against your Person, they have sent me in their Name to give him a severe Reproof for so doing, and to require him for the future to pay all Respect and Obedience to your Commands. And to the End that we may agree upon some better Provision for the Regulation of Things hereafter; we make it our Request that you will come hither to us with all Speed; the Village is but small; and therefore we desire you will not bring any great Train along with you, for fear of being scanted for Room.’

This Letter was a dangerous Dilemma upon me: For if I trusted myself without a strong Guard, they might take me up, and use me as they pleased: And on the other hand, if I marched with the Formality of military Troops, I might be liable to be prosecuted as a Rebel. This Letter was brought me by a Horseman; a daring young Man, that had been formerly in the King’s Service. It was now pretty late in the Night, and being at Supper with some of my Friends, and several Galileans of Quality about me, Word was brought me at the Table, of a certain Jew on Horseback, that desired to speak with me, I bade he should be called in; and accordingly he came, and without any manner of Respect to the Company, he delivered me the Letter, which he brought, he said, from the Jerusalem Deputies, and it required an immediate Answer:

swer: For he was to be back again presently. The Company were all amazed at the Confidence of the Soldier. But however I spake to him to sit down, and take part of a Collation with us; but he excused himself; and so keeping the Letter in my Hand, without opening it, I took Occasion to while away Time with my Company upon Discourses by the bye, and passing now and then out of the Door, as in Civility to some of my Guests that were going to bed, I took the Opportunity, when I was out of sight, to break up the Letter, and run it over with my Eye, so as to guess at the Contents of it; and then instantly folding it up again, I held it still in my Hand, as before; without discovering that I had read it. The Company was now all gone, but four intimate Friends, and a Boy to fill the Wine. I gave the Soldier twenty Drachmas for a Gratuity, and he was so wonderfully thankful for it, that I found the Love of Money was his weak Side, and so I resolved to attack him on that Quarter. Come, said I, if you will drink with us, and do as we do, you shall have a Drachma for every Cup you take. The Fellow was very well content to drink upon the Terms, of the more Drink the more Money, and swilled himself so brutishly drunk, that out came the whole Mystery of the Villany, without so much as pumping; for he told me of his own accord, that there was a snare laid for me, and a Sentence of Death pronounced against me: Upon which Discovery, I gave him this following Answer to his Letter.

*Joseph to Jonathan and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting.*

“ I Am very glad to hear that you are in health, and that you are come into Galilee: And the rather, because I am disposing myself for a Journey into my own Country, which I have been thinking of a long Time; and this will be a fair Opportunity for my delivering up the Care of the public Administration into your Hands. I should think myself happy to wait upon you, and not only at Xallos, but a great deal farther, even without any other Motive to invite me to it. But alas! I am not now at liberty for such a Journey, being forced to stay at Chabolo to observe the Motions of Placidus, and keep him from breaking into Galilee; and therefore I think it more adviseable, upon the Receipt of this Letter, for you to come hither: And so I bid you farewell.”

This Letter I delivered to the Soldier, and ordered thirty Persons of the best Quality among the Galileans to go along with him, giving them Orders only to do their reverence to the Deputies, without mentioning one Word of Business: And I set one of my own Soldiers that I could best confide in, for a Spy upon each of the other, to watch them narrowly, if they entertained any private Conversation with Jonathan. After the Departure of these People; the Deputies finding that their Plot did not take, wrote a second Letter to me, to this following Effect.

*Jonathan and his Collegues, to Joseph, Greeting.*

“ THIS is to require you, to appear within three Days from the Date hereof, before us at Gabara, without any Guard of Soldiers to attend you, to make good the Charge that you have exhibited against John of Gischala.”

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After the Reception of the Galileans, and the writing of this Letter, they went to Japha, one of the largest, strongest, and most populous Villages of Galilee. They were no sooner entered the Place, but the People were all up with open Mouth, Men, Women, and Children, crying out, to bid them be gone again, and to let them alone, while they were well; for they would never own any other Governor than Joseph. This was the Voice of the whole Multitude, one and all. So that the Deputies finding that was not a Place for their Turn, went their way to Sepphoris, the Fairest City of all Galilee, and a People well affected to the Romans. Many of the Citizens went out of the Town, indeed to receive them; but without one Word speaking of me, either good or bad: And from thence they went to Asoch, where they had the same Entertainment as before at Japha. These Contempts made them so outrageous, that they ordered the Soldiers to quiet them, with Clubs and Cudgels: They went forward to Gabara, where they were joined by John, with a Body of 3000 Men to second them. Now being forewarned of the Practices that were a-foot against me, I drew out 3000 Soldiers, and took them along with me to Jotapata, some forty Stadia from the Place, to be within Distance of communicating upon any Occasion with the rest, which I left behind me in the Camp, under the Command of a trusty Friend. And from thence I wrote the Deputies this following Letter.

‘ If you find it so absolutely necessary for me to come to you; there are four hundred Cities and Villages in Galilee, name any one of the four hundred, and I will meet you there, saving only Gabara, and Gischala; the one of them is the Place of John’s Nativity; and the other of his Alliance.’ The Deputies gave over writing, upon the Receipt of this Letter, and conferred Notes with their Friends, John himself being one of the Council, how to do my Business some other Way. John was for sending circulatory Letters to all the Towns and Villages of Galilee, upon a Presumption of finding some one or more in every Place, that would be forward enough to do me any ill Office; and easily suborned to join in an Information against me as a public Enemy: Now there would need no more toward the gaining of the Citizens of Jerusalem over to the Opinion of my being an Enemy to the Galileans, than to send them these Attestations well certified, which would undoubtedly have put me out of Credit with that People. The Resolution being taken, Sacchæus, a Deserter, brought me a particular Account late at Night of the whole Transaction.

I found I had now no Time to spare; so that I called for Jacob immediately, (a brave Man and my true Friend) and sent him away with 200 Men upon the Scout, betwixt Galilee and Gabara, with Instructions to take up what Passengers he thought fit, and send them to me in Custody: Especially if they had any Letters about them: And at the same Time I dispatched Jeremy, (my very particular Friend too) with 600 Soldiers, another way, to watch the Passes from Jerusalem into Galilee, and with Orders to seize all Letter-Carriers, committing the Men to Prison, and bringing me their Papers. I sent abroad my Mandates also through the whole Province of Galilee, requiring all Persons to attend me at Gabara the next Morning, with their Arms and three Days Provisions. The Soldiers I had about me, I distributed into four Bodies, under the choicest Officers I had to command them, with a strict Order not so much as

to admit a strange Face into their Company. About eleven next Day, coming to Gagara, I found the whole Plain before the Town, covered with armed Troops out of Galilee, to my Assistance; beside a confused Multitude of Country People. Just as I was beginning to say somewhat to them, my Mouth was stopt with such Outcries of Rejoicing, that there was nothing to be heard but Shouts and Acclamations at the Sight of their Benefactor and Preserver, as they thought fit to call me: And this was the unanimous Voice of the whole Company. I gave them my Acknowledgments for this Instance of their Good-will and Respect, but desired them, at the same Time, to make an innocent and a temperate Use of their Power, without wronging any Creature, either in their Persons, or their Goods. They had Provision enough, I told them, for the present Occasion; and there was nothing my Heart was so much set upon, as to put an End to the Tumult without Blood.

The People I had employed to way-lay the Roads, had the good Fortune, the very first Day they went out, to intercept Jonathan's Messengers in their way toward Jerusalem; together with their Packets. They made the Men Prisoners, according to my Order, and brought me the Letters, which I found, upon the Perusal, to be stuffed with calumnious and scurrilous Invectives against myself. I took no Notice at all of the Matter, but kept on my Journey directly toward them as if nothing had been done. So soon as ever they understood I was upon my March that Way, they retired every Man of them, John and all, into the House of Jesus; a large and a strong Place, and built much after the Manner of a Citadel. They kept a Party of Soldiers privately in the House; all the Gates shut but one, and the Guards ordered, that upon my coming thither (as they expected a Visit from me) to take me in alone, and not one Man of my Train to follow me: By which means they made no doubt of getting me absolutely into their Power. But, by great Providence, having some Light and Jealousy of the Treachery, I went immediately, upon my Arrival, to a Lodging over-against the House, and so the Plot was disappointed. I pretended to be very weary and sleepy, and the Deputies depending upon it that I had laid myself to rest, went out into the Plain to debauch the Multitude, and to possess them with both an Envy and a Hatred of me and my Administration. But Matters wrought quite another way than they imagined; for the Galileans had no sooner got sight of the Deputies, but they fell foul upon them with Clamours and Reproaches. They had done no Wrong, they said, and they would take none; and so bade them be gone about their Business, and meddle with what they had to do withal. As for their Governor, they had a very good one already, they said, and him they were resolved to stick to. Upon this Encouragement, I took the People in the good Humour, and went out into the Field to understand what Jonathan and his Accomplices had to say. The Multitude had no sooner set eye on me, but they came thronging about me with all the Demonstrations of Joy, Satisfaction, and Acknowledgments, in their Looks, Words, and Actions, imaginable; amplifying upon the Obligations I had laid upon them, to such a degree, that Jonathan and his Fellows could not think themselves safe under so violent a Prejudice. They would fain have slipped away, I perceived; but upon my Entreaty they stayed; (that is to say, in Truth, there was no getting off) so that there they stood in an Amazement, like so many

Stocks, without Sense or Reason. Upon this, I quieted the Noise, set Guards of the best Men I had upon all the Avenues, for fear of any Incurſion or Surpriſe; and ſo, with my People about me in Arms, I addreſſed myſelf to the Deputies. I minded them in the firſt Place of a Letter they had ſent me; pretending a Commiſſion from Jeruſalem, to hear and determine upon certain Matters in Controverſy betwixt John and myſelf, producing the Letter at the ſame Time in proof of my Suggestion. Now put the Caſe, ſaid I to Jonathan, that you and your Companions had any Pretence to call me to an Account for the Management of my Government, upon John's Information or Complaint, would not you yourſelves pronounce me innocent, upon the clear Teſtimony of two or three Witneſſes of unqueſtionable Probity, in my Juſtification? But what will you ſay now if I appeal, not only to two or three competent Vouchers, but to every Soul that is here preſent, whether I have behaved myſelf or not, both in my private Converſation, and in the Exerciſe of my Function, as became a Perſon of Honour and Juſtice? As for you, good People of Galilee, ſpeak the Truth, and the whole Truth, I adjure you, as if you were ſworn Evidences in the Cauſe, and theſe Men the Judges. Pray tell them, and ſpare not, the worſt you know of me. The Words were hardly out of my Mouth; but the whole Multitude, with one Voice and Conſent, made a frank open Declaration of the Comforts and Benefits they had enjoyed under my Care and Protection, as their Benefactor and Defender; and that they were ſo well ſatisfied with me for what was paſt, that they wiſhed no more than the Continuance of the ſame Goodneſs for the Time to come: Affirming alſo with Oaths, that I had been likewise as tender, of either offering, or ſuffering any Violence, upon the Perſons of their Wives and Daughters, as I had been of invading the common Freedom and Property of the Subject. I read, after this, in the hearing of a great many Galileans, the two intercepted Letters of Jonathan, that were brought me by my Scouts. They were falſe, ſcandalous and impudent, to the higheſt degree, and giving me the Character of a Tyrant rather than a Governor, with a great deal of ſhameleſs Ribaldry over and above. I was not willing to let my Enemies know that I had their Meſſengers in Cuſtody, for fear it ſhould hinder them from ſending that Way ſome other Time: So that I pretended they were brought over to me voluntarily by the Meſſengers themſelves. The Inſolence and Villainy of theſe two Letters put the People into ſuch a Heat and Outrage againſt Jonathan and his Fellows, that they were ready to tear them to pieces; and they had undoubtedly done execution upon them, if I had not in the very Height of their Rage prevented it. So I gave the Deputies their Liberty and their Pardon both together, upon Condition that they would repent and mend, which they promiſed to do, and ſo I diſmiſſed them to their own Homes again; bidding them ſpeak no otherwiſe of my Government, than as they found it. With theſe Words, I gave them their Diſcharge: But taking for granted before-hand, that they would never do as they ſaid. The People were ſo implacably bent upon the Ruin of theſe Men, that all the Skill and Intereſt I had was little enough to prevent it. How did they beg of me, only to be turned looſe upon them! But when a Sedition is once a-foot, no Body knows where it will ſtop: So that I did what I could to divert them; but in the Rage of this Impatience, they took up a Reſolution, one and all, to fall upon Jonathan in his Quarters.

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When I saw there was no restraining them, I took Horse immediately, and bade them follow me to Sogane, a Village of Arabia, some forty Stadia distance, and by this Artifice I escaped the Scandal of making myself the Author of a civil War. When we were advanced within a little of the Place, I ordered my Troops to make an Halt; and after a few Words of necessary Precaution to them, not to be intemperate and vindictive, I made a Cull of a hundred of the best Men for Quality and Understanding that I could pick out of the whole Number, and bade them prepare themselves for a Journey to Jerusalem, with a Complaint against the seditious Heads and Ringleaders of these Broils. I gave them moreover in Charge, that if they found the People well inclined and easy to me, they should endeavour to procure me a new Commission for my Continuance in the Command of Galilee, and to get John recalled. With these Orders I dispatched them away on the third Day after this Meeting, and gave them 500 Soldiers for their Convoy. I wrote also to my Friends at Samaria, to grant my Commissioners a safe and a free Passage through their Country; for the City was at that Time under the Power of the Romans; and this was the shortest Cut to make a three Days Journey of it to Jerusalem. I conducted them myself to the Frontiers of Galilee, and set such Watches upon the Way, that there was little Notice of this Expedition: After which I made a short Stay at Japha.

Jonathan and his Companions, finding themselves wholly disappointed, sent back John to Gischala, and they themselves went in the mean Time to Tiberias, in hope to prepossess themselves of that Place: Jesus being the chief Magistrate there, and having undertaken, by Letters, to bring the People over to their Interest: In confidence of having this made good to them, they undertook the Journey. But Silas, my Lieutenant there, sent me word, from time to time, how every thing proceeded, and pressed me back again by all means with what Speed I could. I followed his Counsel, and by so doing fell into a Strait that had like to have cost me my Life.

Jonathan and his Companions having made a dangerous Faction against me in Tiberias, were not a little startled upon my coming thither; but gave me the Compliment however of a Visit, joying me over and over of the Reputation I had gotten in the World by the Conduct and Justice of my Administration in Galilee; and not without assuming to themselves some Share in the Honour of it, both as their Fellow-citizen, and, in some sort, their Disciple; professing all along, that they had much a greater Kindness for me than for John; advising me, without any more ado, to go back again, and depend upon them for the delivering of John into my Hands very suddenly; and to this they bound themselves with Oaths and Imprecations, so sacred and dreadful, that I must have been a Villain not to believe them: After which, they desired me, by all means, to draw off to some other Place; suggesting, for the better Countenance of the Matter, that the Sabbath was coming on, and they should be very sorry to have the People fall into any Disorder on that Day. Upon this Pretence, I went my Way to Taricheæ, not suspecting any Thing; but yet, for better Security's sake, I planted my Spies and Informers up and down in the Town, to watch and hearken out what was said and done concerning me: And I had my Agents all along the Road too, from Taricheæ to Tiberias, to bring me the Intelligence. On the Day

following, the People met together in the Oratory, a place of public Worship, and large enough to hold a vast Number of Persons; and thither came Jonathan among the rest. "It was a thousand pities, he said, that this City had not better Governors:" And there he stopped; for he durst not put them downright upon a Rebellion at first Dash: But Jesus, the head Magistrate, came a little more home to the Point, and told them without any more Ceremony, That it was infinitely better for them to have four Rulers than one; especially if they were Men of honourable Extraction and known Prudence, as those Persons were; pointing to Jonathan and his Companions that stood by. Justus was of the same Opinion too with Jesus; and he brought over a great many more to be of the same Mind: But the common People were so violently bent another Way, that without all Dispute, it would have come to a desperate Tumult, if the Hour of the Day had not parted them; for it was now twelve at Noon, which is the Sabbath-day Hour for all our People to go to Dinner: So the Deputies put off the Debate till the Day following, without coming to any present Issue. Upon the first Notice of this Proceeding, which was as early as Hands could bring it, I took up a Resolution to be going the next Morning by Break of Day towards Tiberias; and there did I find all the People gotten together in the foresaid Oratory, without so much as understanding the true Reason or Intent of that Meeting. The Deputies did so little expect to see me there at that Time, that the Surprise put them to a stand what to do next, till, at last, it came into their Heads to raise a sham Story of a Body of Roman Horse, that were seen near Homonea some thirty Stadia from the City. This Rumour was so improved, even by the Inventors of it themselves, that the People were presently in an Uproar, bawling and clamouring what an intolerable Scandal it was to have their Country burnt and destroyed under their Noses, and they to stand still all the while looking on. Now the true Intent of this Stratagem was to draw me out of the Town to encounter the Enemy, and, in the mean time, get possession of it themselves by turning the Hearts of the Citizens against me. I saw well enough what it was they aimed at, and yet for fear of appearing less solicitous for the Good of the Tiberians than I ought to be, in case I should have declined the Undertaking, I found myself under some kind of Necessity to comply with the very Design of my Enemies: So that I marched away immediately to look after these Troops according to the Intelligence. But discovering upon the Place, that there was no such Body to be seen or heard of, I made all the haste back again that was possible; and there did I find the Senate and the People close at it in Council, and the Deputies in the Middle of a bitter tedious Invective against myself; representing me for a Man that minded his Pleasure more than his Business, and taking no Care at all for the Defence of the Public. Upon this Occasion, they produced four Letters, which they pretended to receive from four of the most remote Parts of Galilee; setting forth the Danger they were in, and the Necessity of a present Succour. The credulous Tiberians swallowed the whole Story for current, and brake out unanimously into Exclamations, that it was high Time now to look about them, and to send a seasonable Relief to their Allies. Upon this Outcry, (understanding by this Time the Mystery of the Cheat) I told them, That I was ready to make one, which way soever the Necessity of the  
War



War should call me, but in regard (said I) that your Advice comes from four several Places, and of four several Incurfions, I am of Opinion for dividing your Army into fo many Bodies; and the four Deputies to command every Man his Party; for it is the Duty of good Patriots and valiant Men, to ferve their Country with their Hands, and in their Perfons, as well as with their Conduct and Counfel; and it is not for me to undertake, upon this Distribution, the Command of any more than one Part of the Army. The People were all abundantly fatisfied with the Reason of what I faid, and ordered the Matter fo, that the Deputies were forced to take their Parts in the Adventure; but mightily enraged over and above, to find all their underhand perfidious Practices defeated and countermined. One of the four pretended Deputies, whose Name was Ananias, (a Man of a false, venomous Nature) propounded the indicting of a public Faft for the next Day, with a Command, that they should all meet at the fame Hour, and without Arms; amplifying upon it, that they depended upon the Affiftance of the Almighty, without any need of human Force. Now the Intent of this Propofal was under this Pretext of Piety, to difarm me and my Soldiers. And I was fain to comply again with this Propofition, that I might not feem to undervalue fo religious a Motion.

Immediately upon the breaking up of the Affembly, Jonathan and his Collegues wrote in all hafte to John, to be fure to be early with him next Morning, with all the Force he could make; for if they could but get me into their Hands once, the Bufinefs were done. The Letter came fafe, and John made no difficulty at all of complying with his Orders. On the Day following, I called out two of the bravest trueft Fellows I had in the Guards; accoutred myfelf with a Corflet and a good Sword, as fecretly as I could, and bade the Soldiers take each of them a fhort Sword, privately too and follow me. This I did, that we might be in condition to defend ourfelves, in cafe of any Affront. And fo to the Oratory we went together, where I myfelf and my Friends were admitted; but Jesus having the Guard at the Door, would not fuffer fo much as any one of the reft of my People to enter with me. As we were juft upon the point of addreffing ourfelves to our Devotions, after our manner of Worfhip, Jesus flood up, and asked me, What was become of the rich Furniture, and the Maſs of Silver, that was taken away upon the firing of the Royal Palace? Where it was to be found? And who had it in Poſſeſſion? Now theſe were only Words thrown out to while away Time, till John might come up with his Army: But I told him in ſhort, that it was all deposited in the Hands of Capella, and ten of the prime Citizens of Tiberias: So that it was but asking them whether I ſpeak Truth or not. Whereupon, Capella and the reſt, owned the having of it all in their Cuſtody. They put it to me then, What I had done with the twenty Pieces of Gold that I received for the like Value in Silver that I diſpoſed of? My Answer was, That I had given them to my Envoys that I had ſent to Jeruſalem, for the Charge of their Journey. Jonathan and his Companions replied, That it was very ill done, to pay my particular Agents out of the public Treafure. This malicious Humour of wrangling and cavilling, tranſported the common People into ſuch an Impatience, that it fell little ſhort of a violent Sedition; and finding how it wrought, I could not do better,

I thought, than to help it forward. And so I went on telling him, that if in Truth it was ill done, (as he said it was) to gratify my Messengers out of the public Stock, I bade him never trouble his Head any farther about that Money, for I would see it repayed. The fairer Matters appeared on my Side, the more outrageous was the Multitude upon it, when they found the whole Story, from End to End, to have nothing more in it than Spite and Calumny. This fell out so contrary to Expectation, that Jesus ordered the clearing of the Place of all but the Senators; for the Business they were about was not to be done, he said, in such a Hurry and Confusion: The People crying out on the other Side, that they were resolved, whatever came of it, not to leave Joseph alone with them. While they were in the Heat of this Clamour, in came a Messenger, and whispered Jonathan in the Ear, that John would be with him immediately with his Party: So that Jonathan, upon this Encouragement, breaking out into a most providential Impatience, (for I had certainly been lost else,) "Good Men of Tiberias, says he, do not imagine that I would have Joseph punished for the Business of the Gold, but for oppressing and imposing upon the silly Multitude, in the tyrannical Affectation and Exercise of an arbitrary Power." At that Word, certain Bravoës, that were of the Plot, set upon me; and had undoubtedly destroyed me, if my Friends there upon the Place had not immediately drawn and kept them off. The common People, at the same time, also threatening Jonathan to stone him: So that betwixt them both, I was rescued for that Bout, out of the Hands of my Enemies. Upon my withdrawing to make my Escape, whom should I meet upon the Way, but John with his Troops, upon their March to the Assistance of Jonathan? The Surprise startled me, but I made a shift however to give them the Slip, by a By-way, and get to the Lake, where I presently took Boat, and away to Taricheæ: A Deliverance beyond all Expectation.

The first Thing I did after my Arrival, was, to call a Council of the chief Men of the Province, and give them the History of the barbarous Treatment I had received from Jonathan, and the Tiberians, contrary to common Faith, Humanity, and Justice. This put the whole Multitude of the Galileans into such a Fury, that nothing would serve them, but immediately to declare War against John, Jonathan, and their Companions, and utterly to confound them: Which they themselves, they said, would undertake for, if they might but have leave to enter upon the Work. I did what I could by fair Means, towards the composing of this impetuous Humour; advising them for the present, rather to respite the Matter a-while, till we might see what our Deputies had done at Jerusalem; for there was no Resolution to be taken without their Approbation. With these Words they were pacified; and John, after another Baffle, went his Way back again to Gischala.

Some few Days after this, our Deputies brought us this Account from Jerusalem, that the Government there was mightily offended with Ananus, and Simon the Son of Gamaliel, for presuming, without any public Authority, to send their Agents to remove me from my Government of Galilee; and that the Commons were so incensed at this Proceeding, that they had much ado to keep them from setting fire to their Houses. They brought Letters also, by which the head Men of Jerusalem, with the  
 Authority

Authority and Consent of the People, confirmed me in my Government, and commanded John and his Associates instantly, upon the Notice of that Order, to depart the Place. Upon the Receipt of these Letters, I went to Arbela, where I had appointed an Assembly of the Galileans; at which Meeting my Deputies made a Report of what passed at Jerusalem; how heinously they resented the Insolencies of Jonathan; and thereupon sent me a Commission, ratified, for the Government of that Province; with a Command to Jonathan and his People immediately to quit their Pretences. This Order was sent them accordingly, with an Express Charge to the Bearer of it, to observe their Countenances upon the Delivery of the Message. The Surprise of this Letter put them to such a Plunge, that they presently called a Cabinet to advise what was to be done: John himself, and the chief Men of Tiberias and Gabara, being of the Council. The Tiberians were for their keeping the Power still in their own Hands, and not to abandon a People that had delivered themselves up to their Protection: Especially against an Enemy that threatened them with an Invasion, as they falsely and maliciously pretended I had done. John was of the same Opinion, with this Addition, that they should send two of their Deputies to Jerusalem, with a Charge of Male-Administration against me. Which, betwixt the Credit of the Accusers, and the variable Humour of the Men they had to do withal, could not fail, he said, of making an Impression upon the common People. The Thing, in fine, was agreed upon, and so they sent Jonathan and Ananias soon after to Jerusalem, upon the Commission, with a Guard of a hundred Soldiers for their safe Passage; the other two staying behind at Tiberias. The Tiberians fell to work immediately upon repairing the Walls; betook themselves to their Arms, and sent for John's Troops, which were then at Gischala in a considerable Body, to be within Distance of assisting them against me, if there should be any Occasion.

Jonathan and his People being now upon their March, and advanced as far as Dabarritta, (a large Plain upon the Borders of Galilee) fell about Midnight into a Party of my Out-Guards, who took away their Arms, and kept them Prisoners upon the Place, according to my Order. Levi, that commanded the Party, gave me Notice of the Encounter, which for some two Days I made no Words of; but sent Messengers to Tiberias, to advise the People to lay down their Arms; who sent me only Ribaldry and foul Language back for Answer, in confidence that Jonathan was by this Time gotten to Jerusalem. This coarse Usage did not at all discourage me from making a farther Attempt upon it by Art and Stratagem: For I would not for the World have made myself the Ring-leader of a civil War. It came into my Head, to try if I could inveigle them out of the Town: And so I took to the Number of some 10,000 choice Men, and divided them into three Bodies: Part of them I planted privately in Dora: A thousand of them in another Village upon the Mountains, some four Stadia from Tiberias, with Orders to be ready upon the first Signal to make a Sally. Upon this, I shewed myself out of the Village within sight of the Tiberians, who presently made toward me with the utmost Scorns and Reproaches imaginable. Nay, so extravagant was their insolent Vanity, that they had provided a Mock-Funeral for me in Derision, and with a fantastical Pomp of Solemnity, exposed my Body in the Field, with my

Mourners

Mourners about me. But it was my Business to see, and say nothing, and to leave them to the Fate of their own Folly. I had a great Mind all this while, to get Simon and Joazar into my Hands; and the best Way I could think of for the gaining of my Point, was to try if I could decoy them and their Friends out of the Town, with what Troops they themselves thought fit for their own Security, under the Pretence of an Expedient I had thought of for the adjusting of all Differences, by sharing the Administration among us. Joazar that was crafty and suspicious, kept himself at a Distance for fear of a Trick; but Simon being weak and covetous, swallowed the Bait, and came over to me at first Word with his Friends and his Guards about him. I received him with all becoming Respects and Acknowledgments, for the Honour he had done me; and upon walking and discoursing together a pretty while, I made it my Business to draw him off a little farther from his Company, as if it had been only to be a little more private, when all on a sudden I took him up by the Middle, and sending him away by safe Hands to the next Village, I gave the Signal at the same Time for my Men to come out to me, and so marched away with them directly for Tiberias. We had a very sharp Encounter by the Way, and the Enemy fought it so hard, that I had the most to do in the World to make by People stand their Ground. But in the End, however, with extreme Difficulty and Hazard, we forced the Tiberians into the Town. I had now sent another Party by the Way of the Lake, with Order to set the first House on fire they could come at; which being done in this Nick of Time, the Tiberians giving it for granted, that the City was taken by Force, threw down their Arms, and with their Wives and Children cast themselves at my Feet for Mercy, as a conquered People. Upon this Submission, I put a stop to the Fury of the Soldiers, caused a Retreat to be sounded, and it being now toward Evening, I withdrew to refresh myself, and sent for Simon to Supper with me; with this comfortable Assurance, that I would see him sent safe back to Jerusalem, with all Necessaries and Conveniences for his Journey.

On the Day following, I marched into Tiberias with ten thousand Men; called the Chief of the Town together into the public Place, examined the Business of the Revolt, took the Ring-leaders into Custody, and sent them all Prisoners to Jotapata; saving only Jonathan and his Companions, whom I set at Liberty, with a Convoy of 500 Soldiers to conduct them to Jerusalem, and an Allowance for the Expence of the Journey. The People of Tiberias came to me now a second Time to beg my Pardon, with the most solemn Assurances, that they would make amends by their future Fidelity and Services, for what they had hitherto done amiss; desiring me withal, that the Pillage, which the Soldiers had taken, might be restored to the right Owners. Hereupon, I gave order for the whole Booty to be forthwith brought in, and laid before me. The Soldiers, I perceived, were not so forward in it as I could have wished; insomuch, that observing one of them finer than his Fellows, I put it to him, How he came by that Habit? The Man could not deny it to be Part of the Plunder, and so I caused him to be soundly cudgelled for detaining it, with the Menace of a greater Severity upon any Man that should afterward presume to withhold any Part of what he had taken. Upon this, the whole Booty was brought in, and every Man, as far as possible, had his own again.

I must not pass over this Subject and Occasion, without taking notice of some notorious Falsities, imposed upon the World, and transmitted to Posterity, by Justus, and certain other Writers that have had the handling of this Argument: Some out of Favour, others out of Ill-will, misrepresenting the Truth of Things, and thereby turning History into the worst of Forgeries, in regard both of the Quality and Impunity of the Crime. Now Justus taking upon him to deliver an Historical Account of that War, hath launched out into a great many extravagant Falsities, not only to my Dishonour, but he has not spared his own Country neither, but values himself upon those Inventions, as the Ornaments of his Story. So that I am forced, in my own Defence, to lay him open, by a Discovery of certain Privacies to the World, which I had hitherto concealed. And let it not be wondered at, after all, that I have put it off so long; for though I look upon Truth to be peculiarly the Province and the Duty of an Historian, there may be yet some bitter Truths themselves, which a grave and a modest Author will make some Difficulty to mention even in the Case of the worst of Men; not for their Sakes, but for the Dignity of his Profession and Office. But to come to my Point.

“ Say, Justus, thou that art the greatest Pretender of all Men living, to the good Faith  
 “ of a candid Author; How was it possible for me and the Galileans to be the Cause of  
 “ the Revolt of thy Countrymen from their Prince, and from the Roman Empire, when  
 “ you yourself, Justus, and your Tiberians, had already made War upon the Decapoli-  
 “ tans in Syria, and burnt their Villages? By the Token that one of your own Servants  
 “ fell in the Action; and all this before ever I received my Commission from Jerusalem for  
 “ the Government of Galilee? And I do not deliver this barely upon my own Credit nei-  
 “ ther, but refer the Reader, for his better Satisfaction, to the Memorials and Records of the  
 “ Emperor Vespasian: Wherein it will appear, that while he was at Ptolemais, the Peo-  
 “ ple of Decapolis were still pressing him with restless Importunities to do them Justice  
 “ upon you, as the principal Promoter of all their Troubles; which he had undoubted-  
 “ ly done, if King Agrippa, to whom the Care of the Execution was committed, had  
 “ not given you your Life upon the Mediation of his Sister Berenice: And this Pardon  
 “ did not yet hinder, but that you were still kept in Prison a long Time after. Besides  
 “ that, the whole Course of your Life was all of a piece, as may be seen in your fol-  
 “ lowing Practices; for I shall make it as clear as the Sun, that it was upon your Tam-  
 “ pering and Instigation, that your People brake out into a Rebellion against the Romans.  
 “ I must now give the Reader to understand, that neither you yourself, nor the rest of  
 “ the Tiberians, were ever faithful, either to your King, or to the Emperor.

“ The two fairest Cities of Galilee, are Sepphoris and Tiberias; the latter, the Place  
 “ of your Birth, Justus, the former seated in the Middle of the Province, with several  
 “ Villages depending upon it; and the People so true to their Masters, that they did  
 “ not only refuse me Entrance into the Place; but by a public Edict prohibited all their  
 “ Citizens from bearing Arms for the Jews. And for their better Security, they tricked  
 “ me into a Promise to wall in their Town for them; which I had no sooner done, but  
 “ they turned me off with Contempt for my Pains; submitting also at the same Time,  
 “ without any Difficulty, to a Roman Garrison under Cestius Gallus, who was then Go-  
 “ vernor of Syria; and this at a Season too, when I had the whole Neighbourhood in  
 “ awe. Nay, so tender were they of giving the least Colour for a Suspicion of their  
 “ breaking Faith with the Romans, that when the Temple of Jerusalem was besieged,  
 “ and the common Cause and Interest of our Nation at stake upon that Action, they  
 “ would not so much as contribute in any sort to their Relief. But, Justus, for your  
 “ Country

“ Country, considering the Situation of it; as it stands upon the Border of the Lake of  
 “ Gennesareth, some thirty Stadia from Hippos, sixty from Gadara, and a hundred and  
 “ twenty from Scythopolis; Places under the King’s Allegiance, and none of the Jews  
 “ Garrisons thereabouts; (over and above that, they wanted neither Men nor Arms:)  
 “ What should hinder you now, with all these Advantages on your Side, from discharg-  
 “ ing your Duty to the Romans, if you had a mind to it? Or supposing the Matter to  
 “ be as you say, and that, in Truth, I was at that Time in some measure the Cause  
 “ of the War: Who was to blame afterward, I beseech you? For you know very well,  
 “ that the Romans had gotten me into their Power before the Siege was laid to Jeru-  
 “ salem: Jotapata, and divers other Castles, taken by Assault, and great Numbers of  
 “ the Galileans cut off upon several Encounters. Now if it be true, as you suggest,  
 “ that the War was altogether against your Will; and that you were driven upon it by  
 “ Force, how came it to pass, that you did not lay down your Arms, and cast yourself  
 “ at the Feet of your Prince, and of the Romans, when that pretended Necessity was  
 “ over? For you were now out of danger of any Hurt that I could do you. But you  
 “ were still upon the Humour of standing it out, ’till Vespasian was advanced with his  
 “ Army up to your very Walls; and it was then high Time for you to call for Quarter,  
 “ when you found yourself certainly ruined without it. And that Submission would not  
 “ have served your Turn neither, without the Intercession of the King to Vespasian, on  
 “ your Behalf; for the City had been razed to the very Ground, if he had not obtained  
 “ the Emperor’s Pardon for your Madness and Folly: So that your Enmity to the Ro-  
 “ mans was purely out of the Malice of your own Heart, without any Fault of mine.  
 “ How many Times have I protected you, and had you at Mercy, without spilling so  
 “ much as one Drop of your Blood? Whereas it is notoriously known, that in the Rage  
 “ of your intestine Broils; not in the King’s Cause, nor in the Romans, but out of a Spirit  
 “ of Animosity and Rancour one against another, you put to death no less than a hun-  
 “ dred eighty-five Citizens at a Time, when I was blocked up in Jotapata. Well! And  
 “ were there not 2000 Tiberians killed and taken at Jerusalem? Were you no Enemy,  
 “ do you think, because you were at that Time with the King? Not out of Love or  
 “ Duty; but because I frightened you thither. If you will needs have me to be an ill  
 “ Man, pray what was Justus then? A Wretch that Vespasian pronounced a Sentence of  
 “ Death upon, though the Execution of it was afterwards remitted by King Agrippa;  
 “ twice a Prisoner, as often an Exile; once redeemed from the very Gibbet, upon the  
 “ Mediation of Berenice the Emperor’s Sister; and finally, after all this, so false to the  
 “ Trust of a Secretary, which he had the Honour to have conferred upon him, that his  
 “ Master banished him his Court and his Presence for ever, But Justus, without raking  
 “ any further into your Misdemeanors, I cannot sufficiently admire the Impudence of  
 “ your setting up for the most perfect and exact Historian of this War, to the Disparage-  
 “ ment of all others; when effectually, you are but a mere Stranger to the whole  
 “ Matter, even to what has passed in Galilee itself; for in the Time of that Action, you  
 “ were with the King at Berytus: And so for the Siege of Jotapata, how was it possible  
 “ for you to make any Report of my Behaviour in that Adventure, when there was not  
 “ one Man left alive but myself to tell you the Story? Or you will say, perhaps, that  
 “ the Relation you have given of what passed at Jerusalem, may be more correct. But  
 “ it is a Thing hardly to be imagined, that you, who were neither personally in the  
 “ Action, nor ever so much as read Vespasian’s Commentaries upon that Part of the War,  
 “ *should be so well informed in the Story,* Now I take for granted that you never read  
 “ Vespasian,

“ Vespasian, for there are several Cases wherein you do point-blank contradict him : But  
 “ if you are really so vain, as to fancy to yourself that you have in this Relation out-done  
 “ all Mankind ; how came it that we were not blessed with the Sight of this admirable  
 “ Piece, while Vespasian or Titus, the Generals themselves, were yet living ? Or in the  
 “ Days of Agrippa and his Relations, who were all great Masters and Critics in the  
 “ Greek Tongue ? What was this History of yours kept so long in the Dark for, (for it  
 “ had been now finished a matter of twenty Years) when you might have had so many  
 “ Living and Eye-witnesses of the Fact, to vouch for the good Faith and Credit of  
 “ the Work ? Why was it suppressed thus long I say, and now published at last ? But  
 “ that you durst not stand the Test and Censure of the World, while so many People  
 “ were yet alive that were able to disprove you. Now I went quite another way to  
 “ work with my Papers, and put them into the Hands of the Emperors themselves,  
 “ that had the Government of the War ; and this, while all the Particulars of it were  
 “ still fresh in every body’s Memory : My Conscience, in fine, acquitting me, that I  
 “ delivered the Truth without adding or diminishing ; upon which Account, my  
 “ Writings have received as favourable an Acceptance in the World as I could desire :  
 “ These Memorials I communicated to several Persons one after another, that had  
 “ borne a Part in the War ; as King Agrippa for one, and some certain Relations of  
 “ his. Nay, Titus himself gave such a Testimony in Approbation of this History of  
 “ mine, that he recommended it to the World as an authentical Record ; and by an  
 “ Order under his own Hand, assigned it a Place in his Library. King Agrippa was  
 “ so pleased with the Integrity and Candour of it, that he wrote me sixty-two  
 “ Letters in Confirmation of the Credit of it ; two of them I have here subjoined, to  
 “ the End, Justus, that the Matter may be allowed to speak for itself.

*King Agrippa, to his dearest Friend Joseph, Greeting.*

“ I Have read your Book with very great Delight, and look upon it to be the most  
 “ pertinent and exact Account of any I have yet seen. Pray send me the Remainder ;  
 “ and so I bid you Farewel, my dear Friend.”

*King Agrippa, to Joseph, his dearest Friend, Health.*

“ UPON the Perusal of your Writings, I perceive you have little need of any  
 “ Thing further that I can tell you ; only when we meet next, I may perhaps  
 “ suggest some certain Passages to your Consideration that have escaped your Knowledge.”

This was the Testimony that King Agrippa gave to the Truth of my History ; not out  
 of Flattery, for that was below him ; nor in a way of Mockery or Merriment, for he  
 was a Man of too much Honour and good Faith, to be guilty of so ill-natured a Levity ;  
 but purely out of a Desire to recommend the Candour and Authority of my Writings to  
 Posterity, upon the Credit of so authentic a Certificate.

This is all I have to say to Justus, and it is no more than what I found absolutely ne-  
 cessary in my own Defence ; so that I shall now return to my Text again, where I  
 brake off.

After the quieting of Tiberias, I called a Council of my Friends, to advise with upon  
 the Business of John, and what Course to be taken with him. They were all of Opinion  
 for drawing the whole Strength of Galilee into a Body, and falling upon him, as the  
 principal Head and Author of the whole Broil and Confusion. But my Judgment was

utterly against the taking of so barbarous a Revenge; and rather to make Trial of some other Way for composing the Tumult without Blood. Upon bethinking myself, this Expedient came into my Head. I gave Order for an exact List to be procured of the whole Faction; and having gotten the Names of the most considerable Men of John's Party, I published an Act of Amnesty to all that should come in within twenty Days, and laying down their Arms, return to their Duty; with an Assurance of Indemnity for what was past, upon their Compliance with this Edict; but for those that should stand out beyond that Time, they were to expect all the Extremities of Fire, Sword, and Pillage. This was an Invitation as well as a Menace, and wrought so effectually upon John's Followers, as well by Fear, as otherwise, that four thousand of them threw down their Arms immediately, and came over to me; only his Fellow-citizens of Gischala staid behind, and fifteen hundred Mercenaries of Tyre. This Way of Proceeding kept John under such an Awe, that he durst not shew his Head after it out of his own Country.

Sepphoris was a well walled Town, and the Inhabitants a sturdy sort of People: So that betwixt their Confidence in the Strength of the Place, and the Thought of my having my Hands full elsewhere, they laid hold of this Opportunity to betake themselves to their Arms; sending to Cestius Gallus, who was then Governor of Syria, either to come presently, and take Possession of the City himself, or to put in a Garrison sufficient to protect them. Gallus sent them Word back again, that he would come, but not when. Upon the Intelligence of what had passed betwixt them, I marched directly up to the Place, and attacked, and carried it. The Galileans were willing to improve this Advantage, and reckoning upon it that the Time was now come for the taking of a thorough Revenge upon the Sepphorites, whom they mortally hated, they took up an outrageous Resolution of destroying both Men and City in one common Ruin. The People had quitted their Habitations, and withdrawn into the Castle for Protection; while the Soldiers set fire to the empty Houses, pillaging and rifling whatever they could lay Hand on, without any Distinction, whether Friends, Kindred, or Strangers. It wounded me to the Heart to see these barbarous Violences; insomuch that I called out to the Soldiers to give over for shame, that inhuman unnatural Way of Proceeding against Men of their own Tribe and Profession. At this rate, I went on doing all I could, both by Intreaty, and by Authority, to reclaim them; but when I found their Fury so implacable, that neither the one nor the other would work upon them, I betook myself to this Stratagem. I gave it in Charge to some of my particular Friends, to get a Report put about, as if the Romans had entered the Town on the other Side with a mighty Army: for I fancied to myself that such a Rumour might turn the Thoughts of the Galileans another Way, and so preserve the City. This Invention succeeded to my Wish; for the Alarm of an Assault frightened the Galileans presently from their Plunder, to shift for themselves; and their Apprehension was so much the greater, when they saw that I myself ran away too for Company.

By this means Sepphoris was delivered beyond all Expectation; and Tiberias afterward escaped every Jot as narrowly as the other. Some of the chief Senators and Citizens of the Place applied themselves by Letter to the King, that he would do them the Honour to come thither in Person, and take them and the City into his royal Protection; who sent them word in Writing, that he would be with them out of hand; and so dispatched away one Crispus, a Jew by Extraction, and a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, with his Answer. The Galileans had the Hap to meet Crispus upon the Way, and knowing the Person of the Man, took him into Custody, and brought



him over to me to be examined. So soon as ever they came to understand the Contents of his Letters, and the Business he was going about, the whole Multitude immediately betook themselves to their Arms. I was at that Time at Asoch, where I was importuned next Morning by a prodigious Rabble of People, gathered together from all Quarters, with Clamours and Outcries, that the Tiberians were all Traytors, and of the King's Faction. They were, in short, so furious, that nothing less than the demolishing of the City, and my giving way to it, would quiet them. The Tiberians, they said, were as bad, if not worse, than the very Sepphorites. The Madness of the People, I found was implacable; and as there was no Good to be done upon them by Reason, so they were too many to be dealt withal by Force. As for the Letters, and the Subject Matter of them, there was no denying, or palliating of any Thing; for the King's Answer cleared all. After I had been a good while turning my Thoughts from one Thing to another, and contriving which way the People might be fairly brought to their Wits again, and the Place preserved: it came into my Head, at last, to take a middle Course betwixt opposing and complying with them; and so I reasoned the Case with them after this Manner. "The Tiberians, said I, are mightily  
 " to blame, and you shall have my Consent with all my Heart, to make them smart  
 " for it, provided you do nothing hand over head; for upon a farther Scrutiny, you will  
 " find a Faction among the noble Galileans as deep in this Plot upon your Liberties, as  
 " the Tiberians themselves. And therefore I am clearly for a little Patience, 'till you  
 " can get a thorough Discovery of your Enemies; and then when you have them all in  
 " the Toil together, you may deal with them according to their Deserts." The Multitude was so well satisfied with the Fairness of the Proposal, that they dispersed upon it, without any more Noise, and went their Way in Peace.

The King's Messenger being all this while in Prison, I made a Pretence, some few Days after, of a little Business that called me out of Town; and, in the mean while, I sent privately for Crispus, and put it in his Head to fuddle his Keeper, and to try if he could give him the slip, and make his Escape away to the King. This was the second Time that Tiberias was saved from utter Ruin by my Means.

While Matters were in this State, Justus, the Son of Pistus, stole away to the King. I knew nothing of his going; and the true Reason of it was this. Upon the breaking out of the Jewish War, the Tiberians had resolved with themselves to stand firm to the King and the Romans. Justus, on the other Hand, debauched them into a Revolt, in the Hope and Prospect of playing his own Game in the Hurry of those Confusions, and making himself Master of the Government: But the Project did not work his Way, for the Galileans had contracted such an Aversion to the Tiberians for the Affronts they had put upon them before the War, that they would never suffer Justus to establish himself in his Pretensions; and truly I myself, when the People of Jerusalem had put me into the Government of Galilee, was many Times provoked to such a Degree by the wicked Practices of this lewd Man, that I had very much ado to forbear putting him to Extremities. Justus was so well aware of the Danger he was in, that for fear of the worst, and not knowing how far Passion and Affronts might transport a Man under my Circumstances, he thought it his best and safest Course to withdraw, and betake himself to the King.

The late Deliverance of the Sepphorites was little less than miraculous; and yet the Danger was no sooner over, but they sent once again to Cestius Gallus, either to come away immediately himself, and take Possession of the Town, or else to furnish them  
 with

with a Force sufficient to secure it against the Inroads of the Enemy. Upon their Importunities, Gallus ordered them a considerable Body of Horse and Foot, which they received into the City by Night. The Roman Horse made such Havock up and down every where, that I was fain to draw my Men to a Rendezvous near Garizim, and there I encamped, about twenty Furlongs from Sepphoris. In the dead of the Night I gave an Assault to the Walls of the Town, which my Men mounted, and took Possession of them: So that we were for a-while Masters of a good Part of the City; but for want of knowing the Streets and Passages, we were forced to quit what we had gotten, without pursuing the Advantage any farther, than the killing of twelve of the Roman Foot; two of their Horse, and some few of the Sepphorites, with the Loss only of one Man on our Side. Soon after this, we had a sharp Encounter with the Roman Horse, and fought it very bravely for a long Time, 'till coming in the End to be overcome with Numbers, and surrounded by the Enemy, and myself in the Middle of them, my Men were forced to give way in the Hurry of that Confusion. In this Action I lost Justus, one of my Guards, and formerly one of the King's.

There came, at the same Time, a Body, of the King's Horse and Foot, under the Command of Silas, the Captain of his Guards, who encamped within about five Furlongs from Julias, having posted strong Parties at all the Avenues that led to Cana, and the Castle of Gamala, to cut off all Relief. Upon this, I sent out Jeremiah at the Head of 2000 Men to the Bank of the River Jordan, about a Furlong from Julias, where there passed only some slight Skirmishes, till I joined them with 3000 more myself. On the Day following, after planting a strong Ambush in a Bottom, at a convenient Distance from the Enemy, I proffered the King's Troops Battle, with Orders to my Men, to turn their Back upon the first Charge, and so to fly before the Enemy till they had drawn them within reach of the Ambuscade. This was done accordingly; and Silas taking it for a Rout in earnest, followed us so far, that the Ambush fell upon his Rear, and put the King's Troops in so great a Disorder, that upon my facing about, and charging them in the Front, they were so absolutely broken, that if it had not been for one spiteful unlucky Accident, it had been the clearest Victory under the Sun; but my Horse coming over with me in a Bogg, the Fall put my Wrist out of Joint: So that I was forced to be carried off to Cepharnome, a Village near at hand there, for Relief. Upon this Disaster, my People fearing the Matter might be worse with me than in Truth it was, gave over the Pursuit, and applied themselves wholly to provide Surgeons and Physicians for me. After one Day's Stay there, and falling into a Fever too, I was removed that Night, by the Doctor's Advice, to Taricheæ. Upon the Intelligence of this Misfortune, Silas and the King's Friends took heart again, and hearing that our Out-guards were loose and careless, they sent away a Troop of Horse Privately beyond Jordan to lie in wait there for the Opportunity of a Surprise, daring us out early the next Morning to come to a Battle. My People accepted the Challenge; but upon drawing out to fight them, they fell into this Ambush of the Enemy's Horse, by whom they were charged, routed, and put to flight, with the Loss only of six of our Men; who, upon Information of some Troops we had that were passing by the Way of the Lake from Taricheæ to Julias, went presently off again, without daring to pursue the Victory any farther.

Vespasian came a-while after this to Tyre, with King Agrippa in his Company; where he was entertained with the most virulent Outcries and Exclamations of the People against their

their King that could be imagined. He was an Enemy and a Traitor, they said, both to the Tyrians and Romans, and that it was by his treacherous Order and Command, that his General Philip delivered up both the Royal Palace at Jerusalem, and the Roman Garrison there. Vespasian gave the Tyrians a severe Check for the Sauciness of so audacious a Calumny upon a crowned Head, and a Friend to the Romans; but advised Agrippa however, for Quietness sake, to send Philip to Rome, to clear himself to the Emperor, and he went accordingly upon that Design; but finding Nero in a miserable Distress by reason of his civil War, he went his way back again to Agrippa, without seeing the Face of the Emperor.

Not long after this, upon Vespasian's coming to Ptolemais, the Governors of Decapolis came thronging to him, with grievous Complaints against Justus for burning their Country; who delivered him up to Agrippa, to have him severely punished for the Injuries done his Subjects. The King, upon this, made him a Prisoner, without ever consulting the Emperor in the Matter, as is said heretofore.

The Sepphorites went out to attend Vespasian upon the Way, and received a Garrison from him of his Appointment, and Placidus for their Governor, who was the Man I had to do withal, till the Emperor came into Galilee himself: But as to what concerns the Story, and the Manner of his coming; my Retreat to Jotapata, after the first Encounter I had at Taricheæ; what I did in defence of the Place; how I came after a long Siege to be taken Prisoner; how afterwards to be set at liberty again; and how I behaved myself, in fine, throughout the whole Course of the Jewish War; these are Points that I have handled so very particularly in that Story, that there remains little more to be added upon this Subject, than some few Privacies of my own Life.

Upon the Romans reducing Jotapata, in which Action I was taken Prisoner; I was under a strict Guard, but received great Respect from Vespasian; upon whose Persuasion I took to Wife a certain Virgin of Cæsarea, who was at that Time a Prisoner. She and I did not live long together; but upon my being set at Liberty, and entering myself in the Train of Vespasian, who was then going to Alexandria, she left me, and went her way. I married another Wife after this at Alexandria, from whence I was sent with Titus to Jerusalem, where my Life was several Ways, and upon several Occasions, in danger; the Jews lying in wait to destroy me on the one hand, and the Romans on the other: For when any thing went amiss with them, all Miscarriages were still laid at my door, and the Emperor could never be quiet for the Clamours of the People, to have the Traitor (meaning myself) taken out of the way. But Titus (who was now declared Emperor) was too well read in the Humours of Men, and in the Chances of War, to give any heed to the clamorous Importunities of an impetuous Multitude: Insomuch that after the very sacking of the City, he was so generous, as many and many a Time to offer me my Choice of whatever I had a mind to out of the general Ruins; and for a Word speaking, I should have it. But alas! in the Calamity of that inconsolable Loss and Desolation, I could find nothing worth my asking, but the Liberty of my Countrymen and Friends, and the Possession of the *Holy Bible* in my Custody, which was immediately granted me with all the Frankness imaginable: My Brother, with about fifty of my Acquaintance being pardoned, and discharged soon after, at my Request. With the Emperor's Leave, I went after this into the Temple, where I found, shut up, a vast Multitude of Women and Children; and among the rest, to the Number of about a hundred and ninety Persons of my Familiars

liars and Friends, who, upon my Mediation, were all absolutely set free, without so much as any sort of Condition or Ransom.

I was then sent by Titus, with Cerealis and 1000 Horse, to a Village called Thecoa, to take a View of the Situation and Disposition of the Place for the forming of a Camp there. At my coming back, there were a great many Prisoners crucified upon the Way, and, among others, three Men with whom I had a Friendship of a long standing. I was so surpris'd with this wounding Spectacle, that I went presently, with Tears in my Eyes to Titus, and told him the Story. He had no sooner heard it, but at the same Instant he ordered the Bodies to be taken down, and all possible Means used for their Recovery. Two of them died under the Surgeon's Hand, and the third survived the Experiment.

When Titus had settled the Affairs of Judæa in a State of Order and Peace, he assigned me a Portion of Lands at a Distance, in exchange for others I had in the Neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This he did out of Kindness and Respect, for he knew it would be neither commodious nor profitable for me to have my Habitation in the Middle of the Roman Troops that were of Necessity to be quartered about Jerusalem, for the Security of the Province. The Emperor Vespasian did me the Honour also, upon his return to Rome, to take me into the same Vessel with him, and, upon his Arrival there, he was pleas'd to treat me after the most favourable and gracious Manner that could be. In the first Place, he made me free of the City, and then lodged me in the Palace, that he himself had lived in before he was Emperor. He settled upon me a yearly Pension, and kept up his Bounty and Goodness to me at the same Rate, so long as he lived, which drew upon me the mortal Envy and Hatred of my own Nation. For there was a certain Jew, Jonathan by Name, that got together a Rabble of some 2000 Countrymen into an Uproar at Cyrene, but they were all destroyed, and himself sent to the Emperor in Chains, by the Governor of the Province. This Jonathan suggested, that I had assisted him toward this Tumult, with Money and Arms; but Vespasian, without giving any Credit to the Calumny, ordered his Head to be struck off. After this, there were several other false Practices and envious Subornations advanced against me; but, by God's Providence, I escaped them all; and had a fair Establishment allotted me in Judea, by the Bounty of Vespasian. About this time, my Wife and I could not agree. I did not like her Ways, and so we parted, having had three Children by her, two of them dead, and only Hyrcanus living. After Divorce, I took another Wife, by Birth a Candian, and by Profession a Jew, a Woman nobly born, and of a most exemplary Honour and Virtue. She brought me two Sons: Justus the Elder; and Simonides, surnamed Agrippa, the other. Thus it stood with me and my Family: Besides that, I was so happy as to be still in favour with the Cæsars. For after the Death of Vespasian, Titus had the same Kindness for me as his Father; and Domitian conferred upon me still greater Honours. He put to Death several Jews that were my Accusers, and ordered an Eunuch Slave, that I made use of for my Son's Tutor, to be severely punished for a false Information against me. And which is yet a more honourable Mark of his singular Goodness toward me, he hath been pleas'd to grant me the Privilege of an Exemption from all Taxes and Duties for the Estate that I am possess'd of in Judæa. Neither have my Obligations been less in proportion to Domitia, the Wife of Cæsar, than to the Emperor himself. This is, in