

C H A P. VI.

JUDAS and MATTHIAS inveigh against the Golden Eagle. They, with forty others, taken Prisoners. They justify their Conduct, but are sent in Bonds to JERICHO. MATTHIAS deposed, and JOZAR advanced in his stead. The Ringleaders of the Sedition burnt alive. HEROD sends for SALOME and ALEXAS. A horrid Order given by HEROD.

Illness of Herod, and some particulars of his will.

HEROD being taken extremely ill, made his will, and having, through the aspersions of Antipater, lost all good opinion of Archelaus and Philip, he appointed, his youngest son to succeed him. He bequeathed a thousand talents to Cæsar, and five hundred more to Julia the empress, his children, friends and freemen. To his sister Salome he bequeathed a large fortune, in consideration of her unceasing affection for him; and the rest of his possessions, in money, lands and revenues, he left to his sons and grand-children. Herod was now on the verge of seventy years of age, and as his illness increased greatly, his recovery was despaired of: he was exceedingly passionate and furious, and his disposition was so much soured by his illness, that it was impossible to do any thing which would afford him satisfaction. In fact, what gave him the most uneasiness was his own pride, in consequence of an idea which he entertained that the people had taken an antipathy to him, and hated him to such a degree as to take satisfaction in whatever made him unhappy: and he was rather confirmed in this opinion than otherwise, by a disturbance which happened during his illness, occasioned by the instigations and artful management of certain men of eminent distinction, who took the lead in the affairs; of which the following are the particulars:

Sedition raised by Judas and Matthias.

Among the Jews there were two men who had acquired a singular degree of reputation, for their distinguished knowledge in general, and their singular skill in the practice of the law in particular. These persons were likewise very great favourites with the people, in consequence of the care they took in educating their children in the knowledge and practice of their several duties, and the professions for which they were intended, to which the preceptors devoted almost the whole of their time. The names of these men were Judas, the son of Sariphæus, and Matthias, the son of Margolothus. These two eminent persons had no sooner received information that the king's friends despaired of his life, than they immediately impressed the young men with an idea of setting about the business of reformation: advised them to destroy all these new erections and structures which Herod had caused to be built, contrary to the ancient laws of the country; and they assured them, that they should infallibly meet with an ample

reward, if they approved themselves valiant champions in defence of the truth: they advised them likewise to reflect, that all the disturbances and contentions which had happened in the royal family, as well as the desperate disease under which the king laboured, were simply denunciations of the divine vengeance against him for having violated the ancient customs: and this point was particularly insisted on by Judas and Matthias.

Among others, a singular instance of superstitious magnificence was the dedication of a golden eagle, of extraordinary weight, and immense value, which was placed over the portal of the temple. Now this being clearly contrary to the directions contained in our laws, which positively prohibit the use of such ornamental figures in such situations, Judas and Matthias advised their followers to pull down the eagle, in an address to the following purport: "We confess that it will be an enterprise attended with some danger; but an honourable death is to be preferred to a life of ignominious ease. You cannot forfeit your lives in any way that will redound more to your credit, than in the assertion of the laws and rites of your country, which will immortalize your names. If this distinction be not sought for, the brave and the ignoble will be equally undistinguished in the same common grave: wherefore persons of unsullied honour, and superior virtue, would act well even to court death, which is but a common fate, by seeking a proper and glorious opportunity to embrace it; and thus depart from a troublesome world with satisfaction. The dread of mortality, and even the pain of dying are taken away, when a man departs this life in the consciousness that he has acted a proper part in it, and he at once transmits both the fame and the reward of his actions to those that may succeed him."

They advise the people to pull down the golden eagle.

This address was no sooner ended than a report was spread of the death of the king; which added to what they had just heard, had such an effect upon the people, that they were animated in the highest degree, and though it was now noon-day, they got upon the portal, pulled down the eagle, and cut it to pieces with their axes, in the presence of an immense number of spectators who were assembled in the temple. The news of this outrage had no sooner reached Herod's commander in chief, than he assembled a large body of troops, and hastened away to the spot, to prevent the perpetration of farther mischief; though, in fact, he found what had happened to be much less considerable than he had imagined. When he came to the spot there was no appearance of an enemy to be seen, except a rabble of people might be deemed such, who had neither arms, nor were under discipline, and were easily dispersed, on the first attack made upon them: the leaders, however, Judas and Matthias, with about forty of their adherents, maintained their ground, as they made it a point of honour not to fly on this occasion.

It is destroyed by the populace.

These

Judas and
Matthias
taken into
custody, and
examined by
Herod.

These being immediately taken into custody, were conducted to Herod, who demanded of them how they dared to commit such an outrage upon the sacred figure of the eagle; on which they made a reply in substance as follows: "We have for a considerable time past entertained thoughts of this affair, and having at length come to a resolution of carrying it into execution, we conceive that we have acted as men of honour and spirit ought to have done. As to the deed we have done, it was in assertion of the honour of Almighty God, in pursuance of that great teacher whose disciples we are proud to be thought. We beseech you, Sir, not to deem it an act worthy your astonishment, if we have given a preference to the laws which were transmitted to us by Moses, and which he received from God himself, to any other laws or commands whatsoever. We cannot conceive of ourselves as sufferers for any criminal action; but for having done our duty, and obeyed the dictates of our consciences: and, in a cause of this kind, we are ready to submit to death, or to any other punishment that may be inflicted." It was evident that in all they said and did respecting this matter, there was a perfect correspondence between their sentiments and actions, and that they were as ready to abide the consequence as they had been to transact the deed.

They are sent
bound to
Jericho.

Soon after this Herod sent them in bonds to Jericho, where he convened a large assembly of the Jews, and being himself at this time very much indisposed by illness, he was carried into the council-room in a chair, where he made the following speech on the occasion: "You are not insensible of the unabating ardor, and unwearied pains with which I have consulted the interest of the public: you know that at an immense charge, I have re-constructed the temple, for the accommodation of the people: a work which, in the space of an hundred and twenty-five years, the whole race of the Asmonæan family were unable to accomplish. You are apprised that I did not only rebuild this fabric, but endowed it, and enriched it with ornaments, and presented it with ample donations, correspondent with the magnificence of the work: yet at length, when I conceived that, after my decease, my memory would have been preserved by the distinguished splendor of my works, and that the good offices I had done would have perpetuated my glory, I am insulted while living; for benefits conferred, indignities are offered: the people are witnesses of the affronts given to me at noon day: the gifts and ornaments I have bestowed on the temple are torn from thence: and sacrilege is the consequence of a pre-determined malicious

proceeding: but it is not to me so much as to God, that the affront is offered."

The principal people of the council, unable to judge how far Herod might be transported by the impulse of his cruelty, thought it the most prudent method to secure themselves by an early declaration of their opinion. This they did by averring, that they were wholly innocent of the fact complained of, and, that according to their sentiments, the rioters merited the severest punishment. This declaration was very pleasing to the king: but he deprived Matthias of the office of high-priest, presuming that he was concerned in the contrivance, and bestowed it on his brother-in-law Jozar. While the above-named Matthias exercised the pontifical office, it happened on a particular night, preceding a day appointed for fasting, that he dreamt he slept with his wife; by which circumstance he became unqualified for the discharge of his duty the next day, on which occasion his near relation Joseph, the son of Elemus, was commissioned to supply his place for that day. Herod having deprived Matthias of the office of high-priest, issued orders that the other Matthias, the principal in the late tumultuous proceedings, should be burnt alive, together with all his associates. There happened to be an eclipse of the moon on the night these orders were carried into execution.

The high-
priesthood
taken from
Matthias, and
given to Jozar.

Herod's illness now increased to a shocking height, and was universally deemed to be a judgment on him for the excess of his crimes. He had an inward fever which parched him to an excessive degree, that it seemed as if his inside was burnt. His appetite was voracious as that of a dog: he was tormented with a cholic, and ulcers in the bowels; his feet and groin were swelled with tumours; his secret parts were filled with worms, and putrifying; he had a pestilential and painful tertigo, with cramps, contractions of the nerves, and an asthma: in a word, so extraordinary were his sufferings, that men of skill, philosophy, and religion, combined in the opinion that he was visited by the immediate hand of God*. Yet though his pains were as severe as his disorder was hopeless of cure, he himself was the only person who did not despair, but still continued to send far and near for fresh physicians, and to inquire for new remedies.

Herod's severe
distemper, and
the torments
attending it.

At length he passed over the river Jordan to the hot baths at Callirrhoe, which make their way into the lake of Asphaltites. These waters are very agreeable in taste, exclusive of the mineral virtue they possess. When he was at this place, his physicians gave orders that he should be placed up to the shoul-

* We need not wonder that the vengeance of heaven should fall uncommonly heavy upon this monster of barbarity and wickedness, when we reflect on the many enormous crimes he had been guilty of during his government; among which we may reckon his murdering, soon after the birth of Christ, "all the children that were

in Bethlehem, and all the coats thereof, from two years old and under," Matt. ii. 16. In short, his whole life seemed to compose one unvaried scene of pride, ambition, vice, and cruelty, rendering him detestable both to God and men.

ders in a vessel of oil; which being done, he was seized with such a fainting fit, that his attendants, supposing him to be dead, burst out into such cries and lamentations, that he was, for the present, recovered by the noise they made.

Herod by this time began to see that he had but flattered himself with that continuation of life which was not to be expected; whereupon he ordered a donation of fifty drachmas to be given to each of his soldiers, and having directed larger sums to be distributed among his officers and friends, he returned to Jericho: but he had not been long at that place before the wickedness of his disposition tempted him to think of taking leave of the world, by an act more dreadful and diabolical than perhaps ever entered into the mind of any other man to conceive. He issued a summons to all the Jews of the greatest distinction in the country, to attend him at Jericho without loss of time, and denounced the penalty of death on their omission. Having made their appearance agreeable to the order, he directed that they should all be shut up together within the circus, or tilt-yard, without the least inquiry as to their guilt or innocence.

This being done, he sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and on their attendance, addressed them in the following manner. "I am now drawing towards my end. My pains are very great; and I must yield to the inevitable stroke of death, the fate which is allotted to mankind in general. I must acknowledge that it would give me some kind of concern, to think that I should be deprived of those funeral honours which is customary to pay to sovereign princes. I am not insensible what kind of treatment I am to expect at the hands of the Jews. They have detested me during my life, and will rejoice to learn the news of my death: but it is yet in the power of you two to afford me some satisfaction even in my last moments: and I think that you owe me this obligation, in return for all the favours I have conferred on you. I therefore beseech you to attend to the orders I give, and I yet promise myself one of the most honourable funeral solemnities by which any prince was ever distinguished: the thought even now glads my heart, that at the conclusion of my life there should be a general mourning, in which every tear that is shed shall proceed from the unfeigned dictates of the heart. That this purpose may be effected, I direct that as soon as ever my body shall be breathless, the circus be encompassed by soldiers, and the word of command being given, let every man within it be put to death. But let no mention be made of my decree till this work be accomplished. By the careful performance of this order you will doubly oblige me: in the first place by the execution of my will, and in the second by occasioning a general mourning to celebrate my death." Herod accompanied this speech with incessant tears, and besought Salome and Alexas, by all the sacred ties of friendship, mutual confidence, and consanguinity, to be punctual and faithful in the discharge of what he had committed to their care; and

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they solemnly promised him an unreserved obedience to all his commands.

I am aware that some persons, on reflection on the horrid barbarities of Herod to his nearest relations in former instances, will be of opinion that the steps taken may be in some measure justified by the necessity of his being cruel in his own defence, to prevent the ill effects of their mutual jealousies and competitions: but his character, in this last act, marks him for one of the most unnatural savages that ever was distinguished by the human form. When he found his life advancing hastily to a period, he left orders to doom others to destruction, taking effectual care that the whole nation should mourn for him, since, in obedience to his commands, it must happen that at least one in each family would fall a sacrifice to the rigid order. What adds to the infamy of this proceeding is, that there was no provocation, or injury intended, nor any plausible reason or pretext for the perpetration of it. Among persons actuated by any sense of religion or the common feelings of humanity, the greatest enemies are reconciled by the approach of death, and all animosities are buried in the grave.

CHAP. VII.

CÆSAR writes to HEROD, that ACME is put to Death, and ANTIPATER left to his Father's Disposal. HEROD prevented from killing himself by AHIAB. ANTIPATER, supposing the King dead, offers to bribe the Keeper to let him escape. The Keeper gives the King Intelligence of this Circumstance, who orders one of his Guards to kill ANTIPATER. HEROD appoints ARCHELAUS to succeed him: he is acknowledged King. HEROD's pompous Funeral.

AT the period that Herod was giving his final orders to his relations, his ambassadors arrived from Rome, with an answer to the letters they carried to Cæsar, the purport of which was in substance as follows: "That Acme had been put to death by the order of Cæsar, for having held a correspondence with Antipater, but that the emperor left the death or banishment, or other punishment, of Antipater to the discretion of the king his father." Herod seemed to be greatly pleased at the consideration that Acme had received condign punishment, and much gratified by the permission to act as he thought proper with his son. But the pains of his illness soon increased to a great degree; and in a kind of greedy fit of hunger, he asked for a knife and an apple, as it was his common custom to pare his own apples, and eat them by degrees, as his inclination demanded them. He was no sooner supplied

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Herod attempts to destroy himself, but is prevented.

plied with the knife, than he was observed to look about him as if he entertained an idea of stabbing himself; but being attentively watched by his nephew Ahiab, he was prevented from perpetrating the deed just as he had lifted his right hand to make the stroke; Ahiab seizing it, and making a loud exclamation. The noise occasioned by this circumstance alarmed the court a second time; and the people in general entertained no doubt but that the king was at the point of death.

Antipater being informed of this circumstance, was confident in his own mind that his father was dead; and as he had no doubt but that he should now procure his liberty, he likewise entertained sanguine hopes of obtaining possession of the throne. Impressed with this idea, he spoke to his keeper to admit of his discharge, making him ample offers of gratification, at present, and promising that he should be preferred when he came to the crown, if he would comply with his request: but the keeper, so far from acceding to the terms, went immediately and informed the king of all that had happened. Now

Antipater slain by Herod's order.

Herod entertained no small degree of enmity to Antipater before this circumstance, which however inflamed his passions to such a degree, that, though he was in the agonies of death, he started up in a violent rage, and with the utmost bitterness of language, and vehemence of action, gave orders to one of his guards to go that instant, and dispatch Antipater, and commanded that his body should be buried in the castle of Hyrcania, in a private manner.

Herod appoints Archelaus to succeed him.

Herod, before his death, gave orders for an alteration in his will, by which he gave the kingdom to Archelaus; and having in his former will declared that Antipas should succeed to the government, he now appointed him tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. He gave to his son Philip, the brother in law of Archelaus, the provinces of Trachon and Gaulon, with those of Batanæa and Pannias, under the denomination of a tetrarchy. To his sister Salome he gave Jamnia, Azotus, and Phœlæis, with fifty thousand pieces of coined money; and to his other relations he bequeathed cash or land as legacies. He left ten millions of pieces of ready coin, with gold and silver plate, and variety of all kinds of rich furniture to Cæsar; and to the empress Julia and her friends five millions in coin. This will being executed, Herod died, in the thirty-seventh year after he had been declared king of the Jews by the Romans, thirty-four years after Antigonus had been expelled, and five days after the death of Antipater.

His character

Herod was distinguished by the cruelty of his disposition; he was greatly influenced by the violence of his passions; arbitrary in his conduct, yet generally successful in his undertakings. He arose from the condition of a private man to that of a king; he encountered many difficulties, but got through them in an extraordinary manner, and lived to a full age. With regard

to his disturbances with his children and family, though I should deem him unhappy, yet he was far from being so in his own opinion, as he generally prevailed against all opposition.

Salome and Alexas made a point of keeping the death of Herod a profound secret, and going immediately to those eminent persons who were confined in the circus, told them, in the name of the king, that they were at liberty, and might immediately depart and follow their lawful occupations, for there was no farther reason to restrain their conduct: and this generous device was extremely acceptable to the Jews in general.

The leading men in the circus discharged.

As it was now deemed proper to make the king's death public, the troops were ordered to assemble at the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Herod's letters to the army were read. These contained the most liberal acknowledgments of the zeal and fidelity of their past services, and they were requested to continue the same affectionate obedience to Archelaus, who was now appointed to succeed to the throne. This being done, Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's seal, now read the will of Herod, in which was this particular clause, "That the will itself was not to be allowed valid, or of force, till it had received the sanction of Cæsar's approbation." As soon as the will was read, the people shouted, with loud acclamations of "God save king Archelaus!" the officers and soldiers uniting in wishing him a happy reign, and promising that the same degree of duty and fidelity which had been paid to his predecessor, should be continued to the new king.

The king's death made public.

Archelaus saluted as king.

It now remained to take proper care of the funeral solemnity, and this was the particular business of Archelaus, who directed that it should be conducted with the utmost pomp and grandeur, and determined to appear himself in the character of principal mourner. The body was placed on a litter adorned with gold, and embellished with precious stones of great value: it was covered with purple, and on the head was a diadem, over which was a crown of gold, and in the right hand was a sceptre. By the side of the corpse marched the sons and relations of Herod: These were followed by numbers of soldiers in different divisions: the royal guards going first; next to them the troops of Thrace; then the Germans, and after them the Galatians: all of them dressed and armed as if going to battle. These were followed by the rest of the army, each division commanded by its proper officers; and five hundred domestics of the court, carrying spices and perfumes, brought up the rear. In this funeral pomp they proceeded to Herodium, eight furlongs distant from Jerusalem, where the body was interred, according to former orders given for that purpose.

Pomp and order of Herod's funeral.

Archelaus having, agreeable to the custom of the country, devoted seven days to the celebration of the funeral rites of his father, and the customary term of

Courteous behaviour of Archelaus to the people.

mourning

mourning being now ended, he entertained the people assembled on the occasion, and then departed to the temple; where being seated upon a throne of gold, he received the congratulations and good wishes of the public. These he answered in the most affable and respectful manner, saying that he deemed it a proof (after the ill treatment they had received from his father) of their great good-will, that they received him so favourably; and assuring them that he would never forget this instance of their friendship. "For the present (said he) I do not pretend to assume the name of king, as I think that I have no right so to do till Cæsar has ratified my claim by an approbation of the contents of my father's will. The want of Cæsar's authority prevented me from assuming the dignity, when the army at Jericho pressed my acceptance of it, as I was not lawfully invested with the possession: but when the time shall arrive when my title to govern shall admit of no farther dispute, it shall be the business of my life to consult your pleasure and advantage in all things, and to give you occasion to acknowledge that my reign over you is more agreeable than ever you found that of my father."

The modesty and affability of discourse and behaviour by which the new prince appeared to be distinguished, was extremely acceptable to the people, who seemed to rely (as is common in such cases) with the most implicit confidence on the sincerity and veracity of every thing that he said. Indeed such was their apparent confidence in him, that they determined to make an immediate trial of his liberality by a request of various favours. Some of them entreated a remission of taxes, others requested the liberty of their friends, many of whom had been apprehended, and confined a long while in prison, by the command of Herod; and a third sort exclaimed vehemently against several duties and impositions which had been laid on such of the necessaries of life as were brought to the public markets. Archelaus having considered the nature of their demands, and the critical juncture in which they were made, thought it a point of prudence to comply with them all: and after the sacrifice was ended, he invited his friends home with him, where a splendid entertainment was provided.

He grants their requests.

CHAP. VIII.

A Faction seek to embroil the Government. A Tumult approaching to Rebellion. The Temple crouded by factious JEWS. ARCHELAUS cuts off Three Thousand. SALOME an Enemy to ARCHELAUS. ARCHELAUS departs for ROME, and VARUS for ANTIOCH. ANTIPAS repairs to ROME, and claims the Succession. ARCHELAUS informed against by SABINUS. He gives in his Defence. A Council summoned by CÆSAR. ANTIPATER speaks against ARCHELAUS, who is charged with

Usurpation, and arbitrary Proceedings. ANTIPATER appeals on the Matter of Fact. CÆSAR's Behaviour to ARCHELAUS.

AT this period there was a faction of Jews, who, being discontented with the measures of government, used to hold frequent and private meetings, in which they concerted schemes of opposition to the public proceedings. After some consideration they could not fix on any more proper subject of complaint, than the affair of Matthias and his companions, whom Herod had executed for destroying the golden eagle. While the king lived, they were afraid to make any open attempt to vindicate the honour of the reformers, or to justify their conduct: but now he was dead, they were outrageous in their invectives, and clamorous in their abuse, loading his memory with every opprobrious epithet. They would frequently assemble in the most tumultuous manner, demanding that Archelaus should give them satisfaction by a rigorous execution of justice on those friends of Herod who were most instrumental in procuring the death of the reformers; as if the dead could be benefited by punishing the living: and they particularly required that the high-priest whom Herod had promoted should be removed, and some man of character be advanced in his stead.

A factious tumult among the Jews.

Archelaus was far from being pleased with this peremptory behaviour; but as he was on the point of departing to Cæsar, for the ratification of his power, and instructions for his conduct, he thought it prudent to accommodate matters on the best terms possible; wherefore he sent a principal officer to try what effect a moderate conduct and reasonable arguments might have on the people; who addressed them as follows:

An officer sent by Archelaus to pacify them.

"This is certainly an improper time to think of revengeful measures. The persons who were punished were lawfully convicted; and your interposition in the present manner is an assumption of power to which you have no right. You will do well to reflect that Archelaus is now on the point of his departure for Rome; and on his return with a ratification of his commission, there is no doubt but that every grievance will be redressed: in the interim it is requisite that you should live in peace and friendship with each other, and not incur the penalties of seditious practices."

So violent an opposition was made to this speech, and it was followed by such outrageous exclamations, that the man who should have attempted to quell the tumult, would have done it at the hazard of his life. The multitude said that they had the law in their own hands, and as Herod was dead, they would be revenged for the destruction of those friends whom he had assassinated while living; and they were astonished that any hesitation should be made on this subject. So violent were their passions, that they confounded

The outrageous multitude refuse to hearken to terms.

confounded all ideas of right and wrong, conceived that their present humour ought necessarily to prevail, and seemed to forget the means of consulting their own safety, while they sought the destruction of others. Mean time, the king himself, and several other persons, made proper application to them, to soothe their passions; but an effect was constantly produced contrary to what was wished; they became more violent than ever; and if their numbers had been equal to their spirit, a rebellion would have concluded what commenced only in a tumult.

A party of the seditious crowd into the temple at the passover.

At this time the feast of the passover, or unleavened bread (which is the memorial of the deliverance of the Israelites from the land of Egypt), being near at hand, an immense number of people more than was usual, from contiguous as well as more distant parts, came up to Jerusalem, to worship God, and offer sacrifices on the occasion. A number of factious Jews now crowded into the temple, and there remained, declaring that they would not abandon their situation, though they had no other resource to prevent their starving than begging their bread. It was found that their intentions in taking up this situation was to console with the multitude for the loss of their two favourite teachers, Judas and Matthias, and to infligate the people to revenge their deaths. This tumult seemed to wear a threatening aspect, when, in fear of ill consequences, Archelaus sent an officer, with a party of the guards, to suppress it in time, before the rebellious disposition had spread among the people in general: orders being given, that if any obstinate resistance was made, the ringleaders of the mutiny should be seized, and carried before Archelaus, that they might be punished by way of example to the rest.

Archelaus sends a body of forces to restrain their rage; and good are cut off.

Immediately on the appearance of the soldiers, the factious crew abused them in so clamorous and outrageous a manner, that the whole multitude seeming to be inspired with a general spirit of revenge, assailed them with stones, and other weapons, and killed them all except the commanding officer, and a few wounded men, who made their escape with him. This being done, the people proceeded with their sacrifices as before. At length the contest grew to such a height, that Archelaus was under a necessity to suppress the insurrection, or he must have fallen a victim to its rage: wherefore he sent all his troops to encounter the rabble, issuing particular orders to his cavalry to prevent any succours being sent in, and to put to the sword every person who should attempt to make his escape. Three thousand of their men were cut off by this body of horse during the action, and the rest of them fled to take shelter in the adjacent mountains. This contest was no sooner ended than proclamation was made that every man should peaceably return to his own habitation; and notwithstanding the boasts of the mutineers, they now appeared to be all happy to save themselves by a compliance with these terms; and in

the fear of worse consequences, they were contented to abandon the celebration of the festival.

Archelaus now departed on his journey to Rome, taking with him his mother and Nicolaus, and Ptolemy; with many others of his friends: the care of the kingdom, and the management of the household being left to his brother Philip during his absence. Salome and her family were likewise of the train, and a number of his other relations, who went under the pretence of uniting their interests with his, in order to insure him the succession to the government; but, in fact, their design was rather to hinder than to promote his interest; for they had come to a previous resolution to exhibit a complaint against him, respecting the business of the temple. However, all the company set out together, and when they arrived at Cæsarea they met Sabinus, who was procurator for Cæsar in Syria; and who was travelling with all expedition towards Judæa, to take charge of the money that had belonged to Herod; but Varus happening to meet him on the way, prevented his journey, as he himself was going on the same business, Ptolemy having given him an invitation, by the command of Archelaus. Sabinus therefore, in respect to Varus, gave himself no concern with regard to the

Departing for Rome, Archelaus appoints Philip to the administration during his absence.

Sabinus and Varus meet in Judæa.

forts of Judæa, nor sealed up their treasure; but left every thing as he found it, in the possession and under the controul of Archelaus, till Cæsar should finally determine on the business: but soon after this, when Archelaus had embarked for Rome, and Varus set out on his journey towards Antioch, Sabinus proceeded immediately to Jerusalem, where he took up his residence in the palace, and having sent orders for the king's officers, civil and military, to attend him, he demanded their keys and their books; but they told him that, by the command of Archelaus, all was made secure, for the use and emolument of Cæsar, and every article was to remain in the state they received it till Archelaus should return.

Treacherous conduct of Sabinus.

About this period, Antipas, another of the sons of Herod, set out on a voyage to Rome, in the hope of obtaining possession of the kingdom for himself. Salome exerted her influence to persuade him to this measure, pretending that he had a prior right to the government, arising from the tenor of Herod's former will, and insinuating that the first will ought to remain in force. Antipas took with him in this expedition, his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; a man who had been, for a long time, the intimate friend of Herod, and was always particularly attached to his party. But the person who, above all others, encouraged Antipas to this ambitious pursuit, and who had the greatest degree of interest with him, was Irenæus, a man famous for the arts of persuasion, and who had been greatly concerned in the king's business, and for a long period of time. Other persons were not wanting in their

Antipas goes to Rome, in order to obtain the kingdom to himself.

advice

advice to the prince, desiring him to recollect that Archelaus, as his elder brother, had the right of seniority, exclusive of that which had been conferred on him by the will of his deceased father: but the arguments of Irenæus, added to the impulse of his own ambition, bore down all other considerations, and determined him to proceed to Rome. When he arrived at that city, his relations universally joined his interest; not out of any particular regard they had for him, but from an aversion they entertained for Archelaus: though in fact, what they principally wished was the possession of their liberties under a Roman governor: at any rate, however, they conceived that they should be more agreeably governed by Antipas than Archelaus, and for this reason they employed their interest for the former.

Sabinus
lleges a com-
plaint against
Archelaus.

By this time an information against Archelaus had been presented to Cæsar by Sabinus; and hereupon Archelaus commissioned Ptolemy to present the emperor with a memorial of what he had to urge in his own favour. This memorial contained the foundation of his claim; the heads of his father's will; an account of what cash he left behind him, and with it was sent the ring with which the money was sealed up: Archelaus referring himself, on the whole, to the good pleasure of the emperor. When Cæsar had read these writings, perused the letters of Varus and Sabinus, considered what value Herod had left in money, what the annual revenue of the government amounted to, and what arguments Antipas had urged in Cæsar calls a council. behalf of his own claim; he summoned an assembly of his friends to meet in council, and deliberate on the whole matter; and then gave audience to the claimants.

The president on this occasion was Caius, the son of Agrippa, by the emperor's daughter Julia, whom Cæsar had adopted. The first person who stood up to speak was Antipater the son of Salome, an admirable orator, and an irreconcilable enemy to Archelaus. He delivered his sentiments in terms to the following purport:

Accusation of
Archelaus, be-
fore Cæsar, by
Antipater the
son of Sa-
lome.

"I confess I am not a little astonished that Archelaus should be at this time seeking to ratify his title to a kingdom, over which he hath already exercised so absolute and sovereign a power, without having previously applied for, or given himself any concern about the obtaining the ratification or consent of Cæsar. What I refer to is, his late massacre of such a number of the Jews on one of their solemn festivals. If we should, for the sake of argument, allow that the punishment itself was merited, yet that must be considered as murder in an usurper, which, in a lawful prince, would have been but an act of justice. If he took upon him to exercise regal authority without permission obtained from Cæsar, it was an insult to the emperor; and his conduct was yet more atrocious if he presumed to behave in this manner in his character of a private man: so that he has now no right to expect a delegation of power from Cæsar, after he has done what ought to deprive

No. 16.

him of the original right of dispensing that power. He has taken on himself, at his own will and pleasure, to change the officers of the army; he has placed himself on the throne, and, as a sovereign prince, has heard and determined causes: he has received public addresses and petitions, and given answers to them: and in all these matters he has acted without that proper warrant or authority which could have been granted to him by no one but Cæsar. Exclusive of all these matters, he likewise discharged from the circus those that were committed thither, and on his own single authority."

Antipater, on this occasion, made many other objections to the conduct of Archelaus, some of which were undoubtedly true, and others not altogether improbable, if we reflect on his youth, and allow for that ambitious heat by which he might be impelled by a sudden rise to the summit of power and fortune. Among other things to his disadvantage was mentioned the extravagant impropriety of making a sumptuous entertainment on the very night succeeding that of the death of his father; which the people themselves deemed so ungrateful an insult on the memory of so kind a parent, that they were struck with horror on the occasion, and were on the point of breaking into an outrage, from a consideration that he could so far impose on the public, as to personate so perfect a grief in the day-time, and immediately spend the night in all the licence of unbounded riot and luxury.

Antipater's
other charges
against Ar-
chelaus.

Antipater having urged these particulars, continued his speech as follows: "Is it possible that Cæsar can imagine that a man of this wicked turn of mind will evince any greater share of gratitude to the emperor for the possession of a crown, than he has shewn to a father, who has acted so tenderly towards him? What proof could be given of an unfeeling heart, greater than that of singing, feasting, revelling and rejoicing on the death of a parent, as he might have done on the destruction of an enemy? What pretence can this man have to solicit Cæsar to make him a king, after he has already presumed to invest himself with the regal authority, without the emperor's permission? The horrid murders perpetrated in the temple are greatly aggravated by the sacredness of the place in which they were committed; nor less so that they were done on a solemn festival, when strangers and citizens were equally offered up as so many sacrifices to brutal rage: the holy place was filled with human bodies; nor was this atrocious crime committed by a stranger, but by one who had usurped the dominion, and acted as invested with royal power, to give the better countenance to his savage and inhuman proceedings. His father was so well acquainted with his disposition, that he never entertained a thought of him for a successor, while he continued in the possession of his rational faculties: on the contrary, he had devised the government to Antipas, by his former will, made when he was in his full senses, and in perfect health both of mind and body. Or let us

His appeal to
and record of
matters of fact

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but suppose that the opinion which Herod entertained of Archelaus, was the same when he made his former will, as when he made the latter: has he not since been guilty of crimes sufficient to shew that he will make an execrable king, since he has presumed to act by a self-delegated power, and has not scrupled to murder people, even in the temple, when he was only a private man?" Antipater having said thus much, concluded his discourse by appealing to several of his relations, who attended on this occasion, for the truth of what he had advanced.

Nicolaus speaks in the defence of Archelaus.

This speech being ended, Nicolaus stood up on the behalf of Archelaus, and argued in the following manner. He said that the tumult in the temple was carried to such a height, that there was no other way of suppressing it but by the destruction of the rioters; and therefore that the blood of those who were slain on that occasion rested on their own heads: that the behaviour of the rioters might seem an act of insolence to Archelaus; but, in fact, the affront was offered to the authority of Cæsar, when, contrary to the law of nature and nations, and in violation of the sacredness of the place and occasion, those men were murdered, who were only sent thither in a regular manner to put an end to the mutiny. "Now (said he) these are the men that Antipater (equally void of honour, and destitute of shame) would seek to defend, provided that, in so doing, he may but gratify the rancour of his malice against Archelaus. It is evident that they who first began to offend are to answer for the crime, and not they whom necessity compelled to take arms in their own defence. With regard to the remainder of the articles that have been charged on Archelaus, the accusers themselves are equally blameable with respect to them, since they themselves consented to the very deed against which they now complain; exclusive of all which, they have represented the affair as much worse than it really was; through envy to the principal person concerned, though he was a near relation, one that had merited every bounty his father could bestow, and had conferred many favours on the family in general. With regard to the authority of the king's last will, I cannot help remarking, not only that he was in his full and perfect senses when he caused it to be written, but that second wills, equally with second thoughts, are generally the best. One full proof that Herod was deliberate in the making this will, arises from his having submitted the validity of it to the determination of Cæsar; and Cæsar possesses too liberal a mind to think of encouraging an ungrateful behaviour in a set of people, who having, during the life-time of Herod, been under innumerable obligations to his bounty, now seek, on his death, to destroy the effects of his will. It is to be presumed that Cæsar will give full scope to his benevolence in favour of a faithful friend and ally, who submits to his imperial determination with the utmost reliance; and not permit that dignity and justice by which he has been distinguished through the whole world, to be insulted by envious and calumnious

reports. Is Antipater equally ready with us to pay a proper deference to the will and authority of Cæsar? I confess it would be no easy matter to form a judgment how Herod could be so far mistaken as to the person on whom he intended to bestow the government, and yet so perfectly right in the disposition of it."

As soon as Nicolaus had ended his speech, Archelaus cast himself at the feet of Cæsar, who immediately raising him from the ground, said, with an air singular humanity and kindness, that he had approved himself worthy of a crown; which was deemed a kind of tacit acknowledgment of his right to sovereignty. Cæsar, finding that the young prince was happy in his present reception, dismissed the assembly, declining for the present to give his final resolution on the business, and allowing himself time to consider whether he should establish Archelaus alone in the government, or divide it among the whole family, since they all equally depended upon the imperial bounty.

Archelaus behaves submissively before Cæsar, who gives a favourable opinion of him.

CHAP. IX.

The JEWS grow seditious. SABINUS opposes them in the Absence of VARUS; to whom he applies for Assistance. The JEWS attack the ROMANS from the Galleries of the Temple. The Galleries fired by the ROMANS, the JEWS destroyed, and the Temple plundered. The Country harrassed by JUDAS, a Robber. SIMON, late a Servant of HEROD, pretends to the Crown. A Battle between SIMON and GRATUS. SIMON conquered, taken, and beheaded. ATHRONGES aspires to the Government. Himself and his four Brothers taken. SEPPHORIS reduced to Ashes by VARUS. The JEWS fly at the approach of VARUS, who puts two Thousand to Death. VARUS returns to ANTIOCH. An embassy of JEWS sent to CÆSAR, who gives them Audience in the Temple of APOLLO. Complaints of ARCHELAUS, who, as well as HEROD, is defended by NICOLAUS.

WHILE the above-mentioned affair remained unsettled, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, was seized with a fit of illness, which deprived her of her life. About this time intelligence arrived from Varus, the governor of Syria, that the Jews, who from the time of the departure of Archelaus, had been exceedingly disposed to acts of mutiny, had lately revolted; but that Varus, by suddenly attacking them with his troops, before they had time to assemble in very great numbers, had the happiness to suppress the sedition; and having punished the principal muti-
neers

Sedition and revolt of the Jews.

neers in an exemplary manner, he returned to Antioch, leaving at Jerusalem only one legion, to prevent farther commotions.

Sabinus opposes them.

It appears, however, that this provision was insufficient for the purpose: for no sooner had Varius departed, than Sabinus, the deputy-governor in Syria for Cæsar, thinking the above-mentioned reinforcement would enable him to be at least on equal terms with the multitude, determined to turn his arms against the Jews. Thus resolved, he worried and provoked them in every possible instance, rendering them impatient of such cruel treatment: he made attacks on many of their castles and forts; and under pretence of rendering service to the public, made a general search to discover the deposits of concealed treasure; but his real intentions were to obtain money sufficient to enrich himself.

Disturbances at the passover

At this time the feast of the passover (which is the most distinguished festival kept by our nation) drew nigh; and on this occasion many thousands of Jews, from all parts of the country, repaired to Jerusalem: some of them came with an intention of paying their religious adoration, but great numbers were inspired only by motives of revenge. They assembled together, not only from the adjacent country of Judæa, where their sufferings had been the most severe, but from Galilee, Jericho and Idumæa, and likewise from the towns beyond Jordan, with a resolution to punish the conduct of Sabinus in the most exemplary manner. Being assembled, they parted their troops into three divisions, one of which took possession of the circus; the second placed themselves on the north-east side of the temple; and the third took their station in the west, adjacent to the royal palace. Being thus situated, they inclosed the Romans between them, and began to make preparations for the attack.

Sabinus sends to Varus for relief.

This intrepid behaviour of the people furnished no small degree of surprize to Sabinus, who perceiving that there was no doubt but that they were resolutely determined either on death or conquest, he instantly dispatched messengers to Varus for reinforcements, urging that if the expected relief was not immediately sent, the legion that he had left in the city would be infallibly destroyed.

In the interim Sabinus ascended to the top of a high turret, a part of the castle of Phasaël, which was built in honour of the brother of Herod, who was killed in battle by the Parthians. From this place he made signals with his hand, that the Romans should rally forth, and make an attack upon the Jews; insolently expecting that others would venture their lives in support of measures brought about by his avarice, while he was afraid to make one of the number, and take his share of the common danger. Notwithstanding the unreasonableness of this expectation, the Romans obeyed the orders, and a smart engagement ensued. The soldiers behaved in a manner that did great honour to their personal courage; but the Jews were by no means

dismayed, though their people fell in considerable numbers. At length the Jews took possession of some of the outward galleries of the temple, which having ascended, their archers and slingers annoyed the enemy with stones and arrows, appearing in safety, rather as spectators of the battle than actors in it; for such was their situation, that the Romans could not do any execution on them in return. For a considerable time the battle was continued under these disadvantages; till at length the Romans made a large fire under the galleries, which being built of wood, the flames spread with great rapidity, and soon ascended to the roof; the pitch, wax, and oil, that had been used in those parts that were gilt, contributing greatly to the increase of the fire, the whole was soon in such an universal blaze that there was no prospect of escaping: death surrounded them on every side: great numbers met their fate by the fall of the building, others were put to the sword on the ground; so that, upon the whole, of all those who had taken possession of the galleries, not a single person escaped. Several astonished even to distraction, devoted themselves to the flames in mere despair: others threw themselves on the points of their swords: a number thought to save themselves by retiring to holes and corners; but these were all put to death by the soldiers; for being totally unprovided with arms, it was impossible they should make any defence. When the fire began to abate, the Romans made their way through the ruins till they came to the place where the sacred treasure was deposited: a great part of which the soldiers stole and carried off; but Sabinus pretended that not above four hundred talents of the whole booty came to his hands.

The Jews galled the enemy from the temple galleries, which are fired by the Romans, to the great destruction of the Jews.

The temple rilled by the Roman soldiers.

The place beset by the Jews, who threaten to burn it.

The distresses of the Jews were now aggravated in a very high degree; numbers of them having lost many of their dearest friends and relations; and all of them having occasion to lament the sacrilegious robbery of the temple. Yet notwithstanding the reason they had to abandon themselves to despair, a considerable number of the most resolute among them assembled together, and surrounding the palace, they threatened that they would set fire to it without loss of time, and if any one should attempt to escape from the flames, he should be instantly put to the sword; but this vengeance was not to take place, if they would immediately abandon their station, and depart: and they likewise promised indemnity to Sabinus and all his adherents, if they would instantly retire: and the majority of the court was on the side of Sabinus.

At this period Rufus and Gratus departed to the Roman interest, having with them three thousand of Herod's select troops, exclusive of a party of horse that was under the immediate command of Rufus; which afforded a considerable and well-timed relief. Still, however, the Jews continued their operations with

Rufus and Gratus depart to the Romans.

unceasing

unceasing ardor: they mined the walls, threatened the enemy, yet advised them to depart while there was any degree of safety in so doing; nor run the risk of driving to desperation a people who were resolved, whatever might be the consequence, to maintain their liberties inviolate, and to preserve those laws and rights sacred which their ancestors had transmitted as their inheritance. Sabinus seemed not ill-disposed to have complied with these injunctions, but he was afraid to trust to the promises of the Jews, from a consciousness how ill he had deserved at their hands: besides, he thought that the terms which were offered him were too advantageous to be ratified: and for these reasons he resolved to attempt the maintenance of his present post, in the hope that Varus might send him assistance before he should be compelled to abandon it.

Commotions
in Judæa.

While affairs at Jerusalem were thus situated, many other insurrections took place in different parts of Judæa, and in the adjacent countries, partly arising from motives of revenge, and partly from a view to advantage. On this occasion a number of forces which Herod had disbanded, amounting to about two thousand, assembled in a body, under the command of Ahiab, a nephew of Herod, with a resolution to attack a party of the troops of Archelaus: but Ahiab, not infensible that those he had to cope with were veteran soldiers, and men of approved valour, did all in his power to avoid coming to action, by retreating to secure places, where it was not an easy matter to encounter him.

The country
harrassed by
Judas a robber.

Nor were these the only disturbances that happened: for Judas, the son of Ezekias, the famous robber that formerly gave so much trouble to Herod (though in the end he subdued him), occasioned fresh scenes of confusion. This Judas, having put himself at the head of a number of desperate men, whom he had raised at Sepphoris, a city of Galilee, caused all his adherents to take arms, and made an incursion into the king's country, where he made seizure of the magazines and military stores, took possession of the money belonging to the king; rendered himself an object of terror to the inhabitants; ravaged and destroyed the country wherever he came, and at length aspired even to the regal government: this, however, he did not by the usual arts of ingratiating himself with the people, or by giving any proof of his attachment to the laws of honour (for of these he had no idea), but by the wanton perpetration of every mischief that lay within his power.

Simon, late
servant of He-
rod, aspires to
the sovereignty,
and commits
great ravages.

During the confusion occasioned by this state of public affairs, there came into notice one Simon, heretofore a servant of king Herod, who was remarkably distinguished by his uncommon strength, the height of his stature, and the singular grace and comeliness of his person. The vanity and impudence of this man impelled him to aspire to the crown. He procured a number of guards to attend him, and was every where received as a prince, by the undiscerning multitude, who saluted him with

exclamations of "God save the king!" In fact, he considered himself as the most fit person in the world to be advanced to the regal government. That he might give a proper specimen of his dignity, he began by burning and rilling the palace at Jericho, ravaged several others of the king's houses in the same manner, and permitted his adherents to make booty of whatever they found therein. Nor would his depredations have ended here, if his career had not been prevented in time; but Gratus, one of the king's captains, who was at that time associated with the Romans, advancing with his troops against Simon, a most violent and obstinate engagement happened between them. The forces under the command of Simon, which came from the other side of the river Jordan, exhibiting much greater proofs of courage than skill in the action, were soon routed and cut in pieces: Simon, who attempted to make his escape over some difficult passes, was taken prisoner, on which Gratus gave orders for his being beheaded.

He is routed
by Gratus,
and loses his
head.

This rage for a new mode of government was every where prevalent among the common people. A licentious multitude, not unlike those who followed the fortunes of Simon, burnt to the ground the royal palace of Amatha adjoining to the river Jordan. The people appeared to be universally inspired with a violence of sentiment that approached even to madness; occasioned principally by the absence of their king, who by the arguments of reason, and the enforcements of law, might have kept them within the bounds of their duty. It is true that foreigners were brought in to reclaim them: but so insatiable was their avarice, and so unbounded their pride, that the people at large were only sufferers by what was intended for their advantage.

The palace of
Amatha burnt
by the popu-
lace.

At this time there appeared a man named Athronges, who was distinguished neither by birth, virtue or fortune, being a shepherd of the lowest rank: but he was remarkable for the enormous size of his person, and the uncommon strength of his limbs. Thus qualified, he sought to obtain a share in the government, and resolved to risk his life that he might acquire to himself the prerogative of doing as much mischief as might be agreeable to his own inclination. Now Athronges had four brothers, neither of which was less remarkable than himself for bulk and stature; and under the command of each of them was a number of soldiers, which they deemed an essential circumstance towards obtaining the principal point which they had in view. Great numbers of people flocked to the standards of these five brothers: Athronges sent out his four brethren on different parties, to act as deputies to him, while himself acted the part of a sovereign, sitting in council with a crown on his head, making resolutions and issuing orders respecting affairs of state.

Ambitious
views, and
outrageous
acts of Ath-
ronges and his
brothers.

This mock monarchy continued for a considerable time, during which the royal style and title were kept up, and he seemed to have more obedience paid to him

Particulars of
their irregu-
larities and
cruelty.

than

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Great Numbers of Jews crucified by command of Varrus.

than was requisite; for Athronges exercised unlimited authority, and his decrees were not to be controverted. When the Romans or the king's soldiers became subject to his will he acted with the utmost cruelty, for he was equally an enemy to them both; to the one party for the freedom they had taken during the time of Herod, and to the other on account of injuries of a later date. Animosities now grew daily to a greater height; one enormity made way for another; the resentment became implacable; cruelties were committed for the sake of cruelty, and the destruction made with the view to the obtaining of booty was so great, that no person could possess his own life in safety.

They are all taken, and the tumult suppressed.

The partizans of Athronges, issuing from an ambush near Emmaus, attacked a Roman convoy that was bringing corn and arms to the camp, and killed on the spot Arius the captain, with about forty of his troops, all men of distinguished bravery; and it is probable that the rest of the forces would have shared the same fate, if Gratus had not joined them with a party of soldiers, and relieved them just in the very moment of danger: but, as it was, they were obliged to leave their dead behind them, so narrow was their escape. The brothers of Athronges and himself still kept fighting for a considerable time, doing material injury to the Romans, but sustaining much greater themselves; and in the end they were all taken prisoners in the following manner: One of them was made captive in a battle with Gratus; a second by Ptolemy; Archelaus took the eldest into custody; and the other two finding their case desperate, that their men were worn out with toil and sickness, and that they had no hope of redress, or prospect of receiving fresh recruits, at length likewise surrendered themselves to Archelaus, who pledged his honour, and took an oath for the performance of certain stipulated conditions: but this happened a considerable time after the surrender of the other brothers.

Confused state of Judæa.

While things remained in this state of licentious confusion, every party of malecontents wished to impose kings of their own choice on the public; by which the government was greatly disturbed, and the Jews, in particular, were perpetually dividing into fresh factions; but things were not altogether so unhappily situated among the Romans.

Varus prepares to relieve Sabinus.

The intelligence that Sabinus had conveyed to Varus respecting the danger of his situation, made the latter extremely apprehensive for the safety of the third legion, which was all the force that they had in Syria; wherefore he assembled the other two legions, with four troops of horse, and the auxiliary forces of the king and the tetrarch, and proceeded immediately towards Judæa, to give succour to the besieged, appointing a rendezvous at Ptolemais, in his way to which he took fifteen hundred men with him from Berytus.

Aretas assists the Romans.

Exclusive of this reinforcement, Aretas the Patræan (the same who through a misunderstanding with Herod had gone over to the Ro-

No. 17.

mans), furnished him with a large body of cavalry and infantry. When all these united forces were met together at Ptolemais, Varus deputed a command of part of the army to his son, in conjunction with one of his particular friends, directing them to march into Galilee, which is in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. On this incursion into the country, the son of Varus met with some opposition; but he was every where successful: he took Sepphoris, sold the inhabitants thereof as slaves by public auction, and reduced the city to ashes. In the mean time Varus proceeded with his army towards Samaria, but he did no injury to that city, as he knew the inhabitants were disposed to acts of loyalty, and of a very peaceable disposition. He now encamped in the village of Arus, which was the property of Pompey: but this village was burnt by the Arabians, who sought to do every injury to the friends of Herod, in detestation of the memory of that prince. The army proceeded to Sampho; but that place, though exceedingly well fortified, was rilled by the Arabians, who afterwards set fire to it: in fact, great ravages were made, both by fire and sword, during the whole of this expedition. Varus gave orders for the burning of the city Emmaus, in resentment on account of a number of his soldiers having been there slain; but he first permitted the inhabitants to quit the city. Proceeding from this place towards Jerusalem, his army no sooner came in sight of that place, than the Jews, who had besieged the legion stationed therein, abandoned their situation, and every one began to consult his own safety. Varus censured the Jews of Jerusalem with the utmost severity on account of the past transactions; but they urged in their defence, that the circumstance happening at a time when such immense multitudes of people had crowded to Jerusalem, the inhabitants had not occasioned the war, but the strangers; and that the former, so far from having acted in opposition to the Romans, had run an equal risk with them in the consequence of the encounter. With regard to Sabinus, he had left the city privately, and retired towards the sea-coast, so that Varus could not by any means get him in his possession.

Arus and Sampho burnt by the Arabians.

Varus orders Emmaus to be burnt.

Things being thus situated, Varus sent messengers through the country, to inquire who were the principals in the late revolt; and having convicted a great number on the clearest evidence, he caused about two thousand to be executed on this occasion; but others he pardoned and dismissed. The troops under Varus having, contrary to his intentions, and in the violence of military rage, committed many very unjustifiable actions, he now dismissed the greater part of his army, for which he had little farther occasion. After this, however, being informed that ten thousand Jews had collected themselves together, he gave orders that a large detachment should attack them in their quarters; but this attack was unnecessary; for they delivered themselves prisoners at discretion to Ahiab, without offer-

Varus punishes the most guilty ringleaders of sedition, and pardons many of the rest.

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ing to make the least resistance. Varus now gave the common people their liberty, and pardoned all the rioters in general, except the principal people concerned in the commotion, among whom were some persons related to Herod, who had engaged in the contest, in defiance of regard to their affinity, and the laws of honour and conscience. The public disturbances being thus in great measure composed, Varus returned to Antioch, leaving the same legion in garrison at Jerusalem that was there before.

The Jews send an embassy to Cæsar, who gives them audience.

The insurrection in Judæa was no sooner ended, than Varus found a fresh scene of difficulty by a circumstance that happened at Rome, of which the following are the particulars. Varus had given permission to the Jews to apply to Cæsar, for leave to live among themselves, and act according to their own laws. In consequence hereof fifty of them were joined in a commission to make the necessary request, and above eight thousand more were to second their application. On this occasion Cæsar gave orders that several of his particular friends, and other persons of the greatest eminence in the city, should attend him in the temple of Apollo, a sumptuous edifice which himself had built. To this place the deputies repaired, followed by a great number of Jews; and Archelaus and his friends likewise attended: but the relations of the king knew not how to act in this emergency; for as, on the one hand, they had an utter antipathy to Archelaus, and therefore could not espouse his interest, so, on the other, it was impossible that they should take part with the deputies, without making it apparent to the emperor that they were enemies to a prince to whom themselves were related. Philip, the brother, likewise attended on this occasion, having, in consequence of the advice of Varus, come out of Syria, with a view to assist Archelaus, for whom he entertained the most singular esteem and regard. Philip, however, was not at this time destitute of hope, that if the deputies should succeed in their application, and the children of Herod should be adjudged to share in the dignity, he might himself obtain a portion of the kingdom.

The Jewish ambassadors accuse Herod and Archelaus

The deputies began their address by making an humble and earnest application that, for the future, kings might no longer reign over them, whose power was intolerable. They recounted the history of the iniquity and mismanagement of Herod, who, they said, though a king in name, was a tyrant in the exercise of his power. They urged that he was not only an adept in the vulgar modes of oppression, but artful in new contrivances to improve on the wickedness of those who had gone before him. "It would be needless (said they) to attempt the making a calculation of the number of lives that have fallen sacrifices to his inhumanity, since they who survived were yet more wretched than others who were destroyed; for terror and danger perpetually surrounded them, under a master devoid of every principle of humanity, who equally disposed of their persons and fortunes as his humour directed. Where-

fore did his vanity inspire him to lavish such an uncommon expence on strangers? Why did he repair, rebuild, beautify and enrich such a number of their cities, but that he had devised a mode, peculiar to himself, of distressing his own subjects in the highest degree, in order to gratify his vanity by the applause of foreigners; and prided himself by making a desert of what had been a plentiful and flourishing country? What numbers of the nobility has he doomed to death, on the slightest pretences, and in violation of all law and equity, simply to reap the advantage of their forfeited estates! And has he not received the fortunes of many others as a compensation for their lives, which he pretended were forfeited? With regard to the collection of the customary taxes, he could not be satisfied with the payment which each person made, according to the sum for which he was taxed, but bribes and farther gratifications must be given to collectors and other dependents of the court, as well as to those who were their agents, to prevent their being otherwise ill treated. We say nothing of the horrid insults offered equally to virgins and to married women: but chuse to let them rest in oblivion, in tenderness to the reputation of those that sustained the injury: but, in fact, the most savage beast of the forest could not have ruled over us in a more tyrannical manner than Herod did. The misfortunes consequent on his reign were indisputably the greatest that ever were endured by the people of our nation: wherefore they might very reasonably be permitted to pay their compliments to Archelaus on the death of his father, since they were certain that it was impossible a worse prince should succeed him. The people too, to shew the respect they entertained for the son, were not less forward to promote the funeral honours of the father; and were anxious, by every instance of obedience and affection, to testify the desire they had of obtaining the favour of the reigning prince: but it was not long before they had melancholy occasion to know that Archelaus was the true son of such a father: for he was not even established in his government before he gave them a specimen of what they were hereafter to expect, when they should be wholly at the disposal of his mercy. For the present his whole fortune was dependent on the bounty of Cæsar; yet willing to give his new subjects an instance of his regard to justice, his modesty, and his virtue, he caused three thousand citizens of his own tribe to be sacrificed, and this even in the temple, with as little remorse as if they had fallen victims to the rigid laws of their country. It now remains that the public should form an opinion of the insolence of this wicked man, who with the most shameless effrontery, after having been guilty of committing so violent an outrage, can think of charging the crime upon others, and at the same time of making pretensions to the government."

Recapitulation of Herod's criminal actions.

Odious character of Archelaus.

In a word, the deputies concluded what they had to say by making a short request

Their request to Cæsar.

to Cæsar, the purport of which was, that he would alter the form of their government, and no longer permit them to live under the oppression of a monarchy: they intreated that they might be annexed to Syria, and ruled by such persons as Cæsar should think proper; saying that it would then be evident whether they were a people who sought to make innovations, and to live in the perpetration of acts of turbulence; or were disposed to obey the laws of order, and to pay a proper deference to the authority of legal government.

Nicolaus pleads in defence of Herod and Archelaus As soon as the deputies had concluded their address to Cæsar, Nicolaus began to speak in defence of Herod and Archelaus; and what he said was to the following purpose: "I would wish to ask, that if Herod was guilty of all the crimes that have been charged upon him, how it happened that his accusers never thought fit to call him to an account for it during his life-time, when the justice of Cæsar would so readily have afforded them satisfaction? With regard to what is charged on Archelaus, the act was not so properly his own, as impelled upon him by the violence of a turbulent faction, which had first insulted the laws by the most seditious kind of behaviour, and then destroyed those who were delegated to quell the uproar. And to what does the crime of Archelaus amount, more than that, by being at the head of a stronger power, he has suppressed a dangerous insurrection?" Nicolaus now turning to those who had made the complaint, said, "No peace is to be expected during the prevalence of the present spirit of confusion; and while these people are permitted to judge for themselves, and direct as they please, they will never acknowledge that they are satisfied with any grants in their favour."

CHAP. X.

*The Generosity of CÆSAR to the Sons of HEROD.
The Allotments granted to them severally.*

Cæsar's decision respecting the succession. CÆSAR having heard what arguments were advanced by each party, dismissed the assembly, and having taken a few days for consideration on the business, declared that Archelaus should succeed to the half of Herod's dominion, under the title of an ethnarch, though not of king; but yet that he should come into possession of the kingdom when his merit should entitle him to so honourable a distinction. The other half of the kingdom was divided between the two sons of Herod, Philip and Antipas, the latter being the same who opposed Archelaus with regard to the government of the whole. The share allotted to Antipas was the country beyond Jordan, and the district of Galilee, with an annual revenue of two hundred talents. To Philip was given a yearly revenue of one hundred talents, with the lands of Batanæa, Trachonitis,

His generous allotments to Herod's sons,

Auranitis, and part of the palace which bore the name of Zenodorus. To Archelaus were given the countries of Judæa, Idumæa and Samaria, to which last Cæsar remitted a fourth part of their duty customarily paid, on the account of the inhabitants having remained loyal, when those of the other districts rebelled. The tower of Straton, with Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem, likewise came to his share; but the inhabitants of Gaza, Gadara and Hippon, having conformed to the Grecian mode of living, Cæsar had annexed them to Syria, and they were no longer considered as dependencies on the kingdom. On the whole, six hundred talents was deemed to be the revenue of Archelaus.

and bountiful grant to Salome. This was the adjustment of the patrimony of the sons of Herod. With regard to Salome, Cæsar granted her a palace in Ascalon, within the dominions of Archelaus, exclusive of the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Paphlæis, which her brother had bequeathed to her by will, together with five hundred pieces of minted money; so that her whole revenue was estimated at six hundred talents annually. The rest of the legacies which had been left to the relations of Herod, were likewise confirmed to them by Cæsar, agreeable to the tenor of his will. Exclusive of what Herod had bequeathed to his two unmarried daughters, Cæsar made them a present of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of silver each, and caused marriages to take place between them, and the two sons of Pheroras. But what distinguished the conduct of Cæsar for a generous magnificence beyond every other circumstance, was the division which he made of his own legacy among the sons of Herod, of all which valuable bequest he retained only a few pieces of plate, and these rather as a remembrance of the giver, than from any particular regard he had to the articles bequeathed.

CHAP. XI.

A JEW personates ALEXANDER the Son of HEROD. He goes to ROME in great State and Splendor. The Imposition is discovered by CÆSAR. The Man, confessing the Cheat, is condemned to the Gallies, and the Person by whose Advice he acted is put to Death.

The Jews imposed on by a spurious Alexander. ALL matters respecting the will and legacies of Herod being now adjusted, the public attention was engaged by a singular circumstance. There was a young man, of the nation of the Jews, who had been educated at Sidon with a freeman of Rome. Now this young Jew happened to bear so perfect a likeness to Alexander, the son of Herod (whom his father had ordered to be put to death) that they who recollected the former could not discern any difference in their persons. The Jew thinking to make advantage

of this circumstance, would frequently throw out hints that he was related to the royal family; and intimate in an artful manner, that he had some prospect of obtaining the possession of the crown.

Method adopted for carrying on the imposture.

While he was ruminating on this business, he happened to fall into conversation with an artful man of his own nation and tribe; one who understood the nature of court intrigues and contrivances, and was admirably calculated for the carrying on any scene of extraordinary wickedness. Having deliberated together on the subject, the substance of the sharper's advice was, that the young fellow should assume the name and character of that very Alexander who was said to be dead; and they agreed to propagate the story in this manner: that the person to whom the care of the execution of the two brothers (Alexander and Aristobulus) had been entrusted, had substituted two other persons in their stead, and by this means preserved both their lives. This device not only pleased the imagination of the impostor, who was happy in the thought of the part he had to act; but the people in general seemed to give a ready assent to the imposition; insomuch that in going to the isle of Crete, and from thence to that of Melos, the Jews placed the most implicit confidence in his story; and to the supposed credit of his affinity to the royal family, and advanced him several considerable sums of money. By this time the young adventurer was so impressed with the idea of his imaginary consequence, that he formed a hundred romantic schemes, and began to consider whom he would take into his favour, and what places and preferments he would bestow.

He goes to Rome;

Filled with these great, but airy imaginations, he proceeds towards Rome, being accompanied by a number of his new courtiers and adherents. Having reached Puteoli, he had no sooner landed at that place than immense numbers of Jews crowded about him, and all those who had any acquaintance with, or knowledge of Herod, acknowledged and received him as their king. The credulity of the populace had now ample matter to work on, and was a strong presumption in its favour; for the likeness between this person and the prince was so very extraordinary, that many of the intimate friends of the latter, on the very first sight of the impostor, did not only say, but swear that he was Alexander, and could not possibly be any other person.

The Jews resort to him;

Intelligence of this extraordinary affair being conveyed to Rome, all the Jews in that city came out to meet the supposed prince, offering praises and thanksgivings to heaven, for that Providence which they thought had decreed a deliverance so truly surprising. No expence was spared to celebrate his arrival: he was carried in a litter, with the state and magnificence of a prince, and followed by immense crowds of people, who shouted for joy, and offered up their prayers and vows for his safety and prosperity, as is common in cases of such a nature; but these honours took their rise chiefly from the respect they bore to Mariamne, his supposed mother.

Cæsar, having reflected on the matter, could not be induced to believe the story, for he thought Herod was not a likely person to have been imposed on in an affair of such importance. However, not to determine too hastily, he dispatched a freeman of his, named Celadus, who had been a cotemporary and companion of the two princes, to bring to him the supposed Alexander, that he might see and converse with him. But when Celadus came to him, he was as much deceived as to his identity as the rest of the world had been. Notwithstanding this, however, Cæsar could not be imposed upon in the affair; for though the two persons bore as strong a resemblance to each other as imagination can conceive, yet, upon a clear inspection, some circumstances were discernible in which their persons disagreed; particularly with regard to the hands of the supposititious Alexander, which had become hard and callous through labour; and his skin was observed to be coarser than that of persons generally is who are brought up in all the refinements of court delicacy. Cæsar likewise remarked, that the supposed prince and his tutor agreed exactly in their tale; yet he was still convinced that the whole was an imposition. He enquired of the youth what was become of his brother Aristobulus; and since they both obtained their liberty at the same time, how it happened that they did not make their appearance together, and put in a joint claim to the crown. To this the impostor answered, that Aristobulus remained at Cyprus, being apprehensive of danger on the voyage, since, if it had happened that they had both been lost, there would have remained no one of the race of Mariamne; for which reason care was taken for the safety of Aristobulus, to prevent such a contingency.

Cæsar examines into his claim.

The impostor continuing positively to affirm this, and his coadjutor agreeing with him in every part of the story, Cæsar took the young man into another apartment, and addressed him in the following manner. "Remember that it will be at your peril if you impose upon me by falsehood; but if you speak the truth, your life shall be spared. Therefore I desire that you will immediately inform me who and what you are, and who it was that instigated you to this procedure; for you are yet too young to have engaged in so diabolical a plan, if you had not been encouraged by the artifice of others."

He expostulates with him

When the youth found that he was thus hard pressed, and that evasions would no longer answer any good purpose, he recounted to Cæsar the whole history of the affair, and gave up his adviser; and told all the manner of their proceeding. Hereupon Cæsar condemned the adviser to death; but kept his promise with the impostor, whom he condemned to the galleys, as he was of a stout habit of body, and well able to endure such labour. With regard to the Jews of Melos, they were deemed to have been sufficiently punished in the expence they had sustained by way of supporting the imposition.

Detects the imposition, sends the pretender to the galleys, and puts his adviser to death.

C H A P.

CHAP. XII.

ARCHELAUS, for mal-administration, banished, and all his Goods confiscated. Recital of his Dream, which is expounded by SIMON an Essene. GLAPHYRA's Dream, respecting her former Husband.

Conduct and transactions of Archelaus.

THE ethnarchy having been bestowed on Archelaus, he took possession of it on his return to Judæa; and not long afterwards removed Joazar, the son of Boethus, from the office of high-priest, having been charged with being concerned with a seditious faction; and Archelaus now conferred the office on his brother Eleazar.

The ethnarch now, at a very great expence, rebuilt the palace of Jericho; and of a fine stream watering the village of Neara, he conveyed the half to a grove of palm-trees, which he had lately planted in a meadow adjacent thereto. He likewise caused a new village to be erected, which he denominated Archelais, in imitation of his own name. Soon after this, in opposition to the laws of his country, he married Glaphyra, the daughter of king Archelaus, and the widow of his brother Alexander, though intermarriages with the wives of brothers are expressly forbidden by the laws of the Jews; and by this wife he had several children. Eleazar, the high-priest, was but a short time in possession of that elevated station; for he was deposed from the office, and Jesus, the son of Sias, appointed in his stead.

His subjects' complaint of him to Cæsar, who brought him to Vienne.

When Archelaus had held the reins of government about ten years, the principal people among the Jews and Samaritans were so greatly displeased with his mode of administering public affairs, that they united in an address to Cæsar, complaining of his conduct. They were the more emboldened to make this complaint, because they knew that a too rigorous execution of justice was contrary to the will and inclination of Cæsar, who had given him the most positive commands to rule over his people by the laws of equity, impartiality, and benevolence. When Cæsar became acquainted with this complaint, he sent for Archelaus, who was his agent at Rome, commanding his attendance without loss of time, and directing him to go immediately, and bring to him the other Archelaus; without even honouring him with a letter to notify his business. Archelaus had no sooner received his commission, than he hastened into Judæa, where he met with the other Archelaus at an entertainment with his friends, told him the command of Cæsar, and desired he would instantly come with him. On their arrival at Rome, Cæsar heard the charge and defence, and then sentenced Archelaus to be banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and ordered that all his goods should be confiscated.

Not long before the above-named Archelaus was sent for to Rome, he had a singular dream, the particulars of which he recited to several of his friends, and which are as follows. He imagined that he beheld ten ears of wheat, all ripe and full, and some oxen devouring them. When he awaked, this dream so strongly impressed his mind, that he could not refrain asking the meaning of it from some persons who were eminent for their skill in the explanation of such kind of mysteries. However, the interpreters differing in sentiment, Simon, an Essene, obtained permission of the rest, to give his explanation of the above-mentioned dream: and his determination was, that it foretold some misfortune that was to happen to Archelaus; for he said that the dreaming of oxen, which are animals destined to slavish labour, implied misery; and likewise a change of affairs, because when the ground was turned up the situation and appearance of things were changed. He said that the ten ears of corn seemed to intimate an equal number of years, which revolve in a regular course; and that it was apparent that the reign of Archelaus was nearly concluded. Thus did Simon explain the above-mentioned dream; and on the fifth day after it happened, Archelaus the agent of Cæsar arrived in Judæa, with orders for the other Archelaus to wait upon the emperor.

Account of his singular dream.

Glaphyra his wife, the daughter of Archelaus the king, had likewise a dream of a singular kind. This Glaphyra (as hath been before observed) was first married to Alexander, the son of Herod, and the brother of Archelaus. After her first husband was put to death by the order of his father, she was married to Juha, king of Mauritania; and after his decease she remained a widow with her father in Cappadocia, till Archelaus fell violently in love with, and married her, having first discharged his former wife, Mariamne. While she was the wife of Archelaus, she had the following dream: Her imagination painted the figure of her first husband, Alexander, advancing towards her: and then, when she intended to have clasped him in her arms, with every demonstration of love and joy, he began to expostulate with her in the following manner: "Alas! Glaphyra, thou hast verified the old observation, that there is no confidence to be placed in women. Was I not the husband of thy virginity; and had we not children, the pledges of our mutual love? How then couldst thou so far forget the mutual obligations we were under to each other, as to engage in a second marriage; and after that to be wedded a third time, and even then to my brother Archelaus; thus violating the honour of my family in a most shameful manner? However, our former love shall not be forgotten, and it shall be my care to deliver thee from the ignominy of this last connection." Glaphyra repeated the particulars of this dream to several of her female acquaintance, and died within a few days after it happened.

and that of his wife Glaphyra, who soon after died.

B O O K XVIII.

Containing the HISTORY of various TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the
WORLD 3973. to 4003.

C H A P. I.

*The Government of SYRIA committed to CYRENIUS.
Dreadful Outrages committed by JUDAS, a GAULANITE, and SADDUCUS, a PHARISEE.
The burning of the Temple. A fourth Sect set up by JUDAS and SADDUCUS.*

Cyrenius
made gover-
nor of Syria.

AT this period Cæsar sent as a governor into Syria, Cyrenius, a man distinguished by the eminence of his character, a senator of Rome, and one who had arrived at the dignity of a consul, after having gone through all the offices of honour which lead to that eminent station. He was attended by Coponius, the master of horse, who went with him in the character of governor of Judæa; but as Judæa was at this time annexed to Syria, Cyrenius was charged with the business of taxing the people, and likewise directed to seize on the money and effects that had belonged to Archelaus.

The Jews
murmur, and
excite a re-
bellion on ac-
count of the
taxes levied
by Cyrenius.

For some time, at first, the Jews were extremely uneasy at this mode of taxation; but they were at length induced to submit to it, and comply without giving any farther trouble, partly by the advice, and partly by the authority of Joazar, the high-priest, and son of Boethus. About this time, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, began to distinguish himself. This man combined with a Pharisee, named Sadducus, to entice the people to revolt. They urged that taxes were only badges of slavery; and that it would become the dignity of the whole people to unite in an assertion of their liberty: they said that one fortunate and well-timed stroke would render them independent for ever; and would contribute no less to the security of their possessions than to the advancement of their reputation.

Shocking out-
rages commit-
ted by them.

There were but few arguments necessary to excite the multitude to acts of violence; nor is it in the power of language to describe the havoc that was made in the country by these outrageous depredators: friends and enemies were equally robbed and murdered without distinction: massacres and assassinations were dreadfully frequent; and all this was done under the pretence of promoting the common good; of advancing li-

berty, and securing property; but the fact is, that malice and private interest were the leading motives. While the people were thus mutually seeking the destruction of each other, by all the severities of an intestine war, they were likewise engaged in a foreign war, and had to struggle with all the aggravated calamities of a severe famine; yet, for a considerable time, nothing could put a period to the course of destruction in which they were engaged, till at length a fire seized the temple, and burnt it to the ground.

War and fa-
mine follow,
and the tem-
ple destroyed
by fire.

Such was the unhappy consequence of seeking after new laws and customs, and endeavouring to abolish those established. Judas and Sadducus were the authors of this confusion, who, from a particularity of disposition, were inclined to add a fourth sect to the three former: and the idea of innovation so charmed the multitude, that a great party joined them; which not only occasioned the present disturbances, but laid the foundation of much future calamity: in this place, therefore, it will be proper to treat of those mischievous principles and opinions from which such fatal consequences have arisen.

Judas and Sad-
ducus the
principal in-
cendiaries.

C H A P. II.

Opinions and Practices of the PHARISEES and SADDUCEES. Mode of Living, and Sentiments of the ESSENES. Their Doctrine and Government. Account of a fourth Sect who were for absolute Liberty.

IN ancient times, among the Jews, there were three distinguished sects of religion; known by the names of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, of each of which it may not be improper to say something in this place, though a farther account of them will be found in my second book of the wars of the Jews.

The manner of living among the Pharisees is simple and austere: they indulge not in any luxury. They are extremely conscientious

Different sects
among the
Jews.

The Pharisees

ous in an adherence to the dictates of their reason; and listen to their elders without presuming to contradict them, for they pay the highest veneration to their advice. They hold that Fate governs all things; but yet not in so absolute a manner as to exclude the operations of free will: for they say that though God orders and appoints every thing that is done; yet that, in matters which have a regard to good and evil, this does not prevent the concurrence of the will. The immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments in another world, form a part of their faith. They say that the righteous will arise to the possession of happiness, and the wicked be condemned to endless chains and darkness. Their reputation was highly advanced among the people, by the propagation of these doctrines; and agreeable to their ideas and advice, all things were transacted in the solemn offices of prayer, and other acts of devotion: so great was the opinion that the people entertained of the equity, temperance, and wisdom of these men.

The Sadducees.

On the other hand, the opinion of the Sadducees was, that the soul and body die at the same time; and that the only obligation people are under, is, to observe the law: with these sentiments, they pride themselves on a right they have to dispute with their teachers on matters of the highest importance. There are but few of these people, but they are generally persons of distinction. Now when these are advanced to bear public offices, they are compelled, though against their sentiments, openly to adopt the opinion of the Pharisees, or otherwise the common people would not permit them to hold their stations.

The Essenes.

The third sort, the Essenes, say that the world is absolutely governed by the providence of God, without any other interference. They acknowledge the immortality of the soul, and say that justice is the chief of all virtues, which they assert by their practice as well as doctrine. They send gifts to the temple, but do not attend in person, as they sacrifice in a way peculiar to themselves, and with a greater degree of religious ceremony. They are singularly strict in their morals, rigid in conversation: husbandry is the only business they follow. They are more distinguished for their love of justice than either the Greeks or Barbarians: and boast of it as a virtue to which they have unceasingly applied. They enjoy their effects in common, knowing no such thing as the distinction of rich and poor. They neither marry nor keep servants; considering marriage as an encroachment on the natural rights of mankind; and the other circumstances as attended with more trouble than convenience; wherefore they rather incline to give assistance to each other, by a mutual interchange of good offices. This is the mode of living among these people, who are deemed to be above four thousand in number. From among their priests they chuse their treasurers and commissaries, who are men of unsullied honour; and it is their business to distribute the fruits of the earth sufficient to feed and support the whole people. On

the whole, their living resembles that of the Plisti among the Dacians.

Judas Galilæus was the founder of the fourth sect of religion, which did not differ in any great degree from that of the Pharisees; principally, indeed, in their holding the maxim of uncontrollable liberty. They asserted that there was no other Lord or superior than God; and rather than call any man by the name of Master, they would expose themselves, and their nearest relations, to any degree of punishment, though ever so severe. But this fact is so well attested, and has been confirmed by such repeated observation and experience, that it is unnecessary to urge any thing in proof of it: besides, no language can convey a tolerably adequate description of the fortitude which these people evinced in their contempt of pain.

A fourth sect, who disallowed human government.

The animosities mentioned in the former chapter were greatly inflamed by the tyrannical cruelties of Gessius Florus, at that time governor of Judæa; the consequence of which was, that the people at length absolutely revolted from the Romans.

It is the cruelty of Gessius Florus.

CHAP. III.

HEROD and PHILIP settled in their Tetrarchies. The Temple profaned by the SAMARITANS. The Death of SALOME. The Death of AUGUSTUS, who is succeeded by NERO. JUDÆA governed by VALERIUS GRATUS. Changes in the High-Priesthood. GRATUS succeeded by PONTIUS PILATE. A City built by HEROD, and called TIBERIAS. ORODES killed. ANTABANUS beaten by VERONES, who is himself routed in a Second Battle. The Death of ANTIOCHUS King of COMOGENA. GERMANICUS sent to settle the Government. PISO poisons him.

THE forfeited effects and estates of Archelaus having been sold by Cyrenius, he adjusted a mode of taxation, agreeable to the orders he had received. This happened in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium, in which Antony was conquered by Cæsar. At this time a violent insurrection happened among the people, in opposition to Joazar, the high-priest, whom Cyrenius deprived of his dignity, and directed that he should be succeeded by Ananus, the son of Seth.

Effects of Archelaus disposed of.

Ananus made high-priest in the room of Joazar.

Herod and Philip had now taken possession of their tetrarchies, and adjusted affairs in the best manner possible. Herod fortified Sepphoris, encompassed it with a wall, and made it the capital bulwark of Galilee. This being done, he fortified a town, which had borne the name of Betaramphtha; but, ambitious to do honour to the empress, he changed its name to that of

Transactions of Herod and Philip, the tetrarchs.

of Julius. Philip employed himself in enlarging and beautifying Paeas, which was situated at the head of the river Jordan, and he called it by the name of Casarea; likewise the village of Bethsaida, on the bank of the lake Gennesareth, which he increased till it was equal in size to a capital city. This place grew populous and rich, and in respect to Julia, the daughter of Caesar, it likewise received the name of Julius.

Disturbance in the temple. Previous to this (as hath been remarked) Coponius was sent with Cyrenius into Judaea: and during his government the following disturbance arose. On the feast of the paschal, otherwise called the feast of unleavened bread, it is customary for the priests to open the doors of the temple after midnight. Now it happened that a number of Samaritans had come privately into the city of Jerusalem, and having waited till the doors were opened, they immediately rushed into the temple, and taking up the bones of the deceased, threw them about into the galleries, and other parts of the building. For the future the priest directed that a better guard should be kept, being warned by the insolence of this proceeding.

Marcus Ambivius succeeds Coponius as governor.

Death of Salome, and her bequests.

palm trees, famous for the admirable fruit they produced.

Rufus made governor, in whose administration Augustus Caesar died.

Not long after this Coponius returned to Rome, and was succeeded in his government by Marcus Ambivius, during whose administration died Salome, the sister of Herod. She bequeathed to Julia, exclusive of her toparchy, the city of Jamnia, Phaelis on the plain, and Archelais: together with several plantations of

Nero succeeds Augustus.

Ambivius was succeeded by Annus Rufus, during whose administration Augustus departed this life, at the age of seventy-seven years. He had ruled the commonwealth fifty-seven years, six months,

Gratus appointed governor of Judaea.

and two days, having been an associate with Antony in the government for the space of fourteen years of that time. He was the second of the Roman emperors.

Pontius Pilate succeeds Gratus.

Augustus was succeeded by Tiberius Nero, his son in law, and the son of his wife Livia, being the third emperor of Rome. Now Nero bestowed the government of Judaea on Valerius Gratus, in the place of Annus Rufus. From

Tiberius built by Herod.

Ananus he took the office of high-priest, and bestowed it on Ismael, the son of Fabius, who, in a very short time afterwards was removed, to make way for Eleazar, the son of Ananus, the late high-priest. Eleazar held the office for about a year, when he was deprived of it, and it was bestowed on Simon, the son of Camith; who had likewise possessed it about a twelvemonth, when he was directed to resign it, in favour of Joseph, who

was surnamed Criaphas. At this time Gratus, having been eleven years in possession of the government, returned to Rome, and was succeeded by Pontius Pilate. Nero was now the particular friend of Herod, the tetrarch, to whose honour the latter built a city, to which he gave the name of Tiberias. He caused this city to be erected near the hot-baths of Enmaus, on the borders of the lake Gennesareth, the most commodious spot of ground in the whole country of Galilee. This city was peopled partly by strangers, and partly by the people of Galilee, some being compelled to go and reside there, and many persons of some distinction fixed on this place for their habitation by choice. It was peopled much sooner than it would have been, because great numbers flocked thither from all parts of the country: persons of all ranks and degrees, down to the meanest; some of whom were thought to be slaves. Several considerable privileges and immunities were bestowed on them by Herod, to encourage them to settle in this place: to some of them he gave houses, and to others lands, that the violation of the laws might be the less regarded: for as the place was filled with sepulchres, and polluted by dead bodies, the inhabitants were deemed unclean for seven days after their residence there.

About this period Phraataces, the son of Phraates, king of the Parthians, treacherously murdered his father. The circumstances hereof are related in the following manner. Caesar having sent to Phraates a variety of presents, among the rest was an Italian woman, whose name was Thermusa. Phraates took this woman to his bed, and had by her a son, to whom he gave the name of Phraataces. At length being enamored of her beauty and conversation, he married her, though he had several legitimate children of his own before. Now Thermusa entertained an idea of putting her son in such a situation that he should stand a chance of becoming king of Parthia: but she was conscious that it could not be effected unless the legitimate sons of Phraates were removed out of the way. She therefore applied to her husband on this subject, and he readily agreed to yield to her request; for she was so great a favourite, that he found it impossible to refuse any thing that she asked. The young princes were therefore dispatched to Rome as hostages, and Phraataces was educated at home, as heir-apparent to the throne. But he grew uneasy in his situation; and being impatient to wait for the reversion of a crown, which he thought he might have in possession, he entered into a conspiracy with his mother, to pave an easier way to the government by the murder of the king; and this was accordingly effected: and threwd suspicions arose, that Phraataces lived in a course of incestuous familiarity with his mother. The consequence was such as might have been expected; for the people were so enraged against Phraataces, for the known murder, and the supposed incest, that, before he had taken possession of the government, an insurrection happened among the people, by whom he was destroyed.

Now the lascivious conduct of the above-named Thermusa being deemed sufficient to have polluted the blood of Phraates; and the Parthian nobility considering that their nation could not well be governed without a king; they de-

Phraates, king of Parthia, murdered by his son, who is afterwards destroyed by the people.

Orodes invited to take the crown of Parthia; but is soon after killed by conspirators.

terminated

terminated that they would place any king upon the throne, who was not of the family of the Arsacidæ; and in consequence of this resolution, they sent ambassadors to invite Orodes to accept of the government. It is true he was of the royal line; but the singular cruelty of his disposition had rendered him so obnoxious to the people at large, that he was attacked by a band of conspirators, and killed on the spot: the Parthians being always provided with their swords. Different accounts have been given as to the way in which he fell: some say at a sacrifice, others at a banquet; but the most generally received opinion is, that he was hunting when he met with his fate.

The Parthians send an embassy to Rome, whence Vonones is sent to take the kingdom.

Hereupon the Parthians sent an embassy to Rome, requesting that one of their hostages might be appointed their sovereign, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the late death: and having fixed their choice on Vonones, preferably to the rest of the brothers, a recommendation was given of him, as a prince every way deserving of the honour that was offered him, in the command of two of the most distinguished empires in the universe; meaning those of Rome and Parthia. But the Parthians soon repented of the choice they had made, he being at once of a proud disposition, and fond of variety. They said they had too much spirit to submit to be governed by a slave, which was the sense in which they understood the word hostage; and they were perpetually applying this word to their sovereign, as a term of reproach. They said he was not a king whom the laws of arms had compelled them to obey; but one who had been imposed on them, in consequence of the making a scandalous peace. While their passions were agitated by the most violent emotions, they dispatched messengers to Artabanus, at that time king of the Medes, who was of the family of the Arsacidæ; and he very readily came to them, attended by a numerous army.

Artabanus repulsed by Vonones, who is afterwards totally defeated.

As the greater part of the people of Parthia yet continued unshaken in their loyalty, Vonones immediately attacked Artabanus, and drove him back again to his own country: but the latter soon procuring a considerable re-inforcement to his army, immediately advanced, and attacking Vonones, in a second battle totally routed him, and it was with great difficulty he saved his own life, escaping into Seleucia with a few horsemen. Artabanus, taking advantage of the confusion into which he had thrown the Parthians, pursued them with uncommon ardour, committing great slaughter; and then retired to Ctesiphon with his victorious troops. The kingdom of Parthia now fell into his possession, in right of this conquest.

Vonones flies to Armenia, and afterwards delivers himself up to Syllanus, governor of Syria.

In the interim Vonones retired into Armenia, having conceived an idea that he should be able to subject that country to his dominion: and he directly dispatched an embassy to Cæsar, intreating assistance to carry this project into execution; but

whether the emperor had not sufficient confidence in his personal courage, or whether he himself did not think it prudent to disoblige the Parthians, who at this time threatened to make war upon him, he absolutely refused to comply with the proposal, and would not afford the least assistance. This refusal was fatal to the hopes of Vonones, who likewise found that the principal people of Armenia, which bordered on Niphates, all espoused the cause of Artabanus. Wherefore, having deliberated on his situation, he surrendered himself to Syllanus, the governor of Syria, who, in consideration of a former acquaintance that he had with him at Rome, received and entertained him in the most distinguished manner. Artabanus, having now happily settled his affairs, bestowed the kingdom of Armenia on his son Orodes.

Antiochus, king of Comogena, dying about this time, there ensued, on his decease, a violent dispute between the principal people and the vulgar: the latter wishing to be governed by a king, as they had heretofore been; and the former inclining to reduce the kingdom into the state of a province. Hereupon the senate of Rome issued a decree, that Germanicus should depart into the east country, to adjust the differences that had arisen; but Providence ordered that this circumstance should end in the ruin of this excellent prince; for after he had composed the commotions in Syria, he fell a sacrifice to poison, through the management of Piso; as will be related in another part of this work.

Death of Antiochus king of Comogena.

Death of Germanicus by poison.

C H A P. IV.

Account of planting Standards in JERUSALEM, with the Image of CÆSAR on them. The Author's Testimony concerning JESUS CHRIST. DECIUS MUNDUS enamoured of PAULINA. His criminal Intercourse with her in the Temple, for which the infamous Authors are punished with Death, and himself banished.

A Body of troops having removed from Cæsarea, to take up their winter-quarters in Jerusalem, Pilate, the governor of Judæa, permitted their bringing a number of standards into the city, on which were the image of Cæsar, in direct contradiction to the laws of the Jews, which expressly forbid the use of all such emblems and devices: and, for this reason, colours with pictures on them had never been brought into the city by any former governor. This general rule was first transgressed by Pilate; and what added to the offence was, that they were brought into the city in the dead of the night, and there planted, unknown to the inhabitants. In the morning, when the citizens observed what had been done, they assembled in great numbers, and immediately went to Pilate at Cæsarea, requesting of him that the obnoxious images might be removed

Images of Cæsar brought by Pilate into Jerusalem.

The Jews petition against them.

removed to another place. They continued several days, in the hope that Pilate would comply with their request; but he was peremptory in his refusal, pretending that such a request could not be complied with, as it would be an affront to the emperor.

On the Jews' earnest importunity, and determined conduct, the images are at length removed.

The Jews still continued importunate in their demands: when at length, on the seventh day of their attendance, Pilate gave directions to a party of soldiers to provide themselves with their arms, and take their station at an appointed place. This being done, he ascended a tribunal, which he had ordered to be placed in the circus, as a spot the most convenient from which to surmise the people. All this time the Jews thronged about him, urging him to give an answer respecting the business that so greatly agitated their minds. Hereupon Pilate gave a signal to his soldiers, and ordered them immediately to advance, and cut the throats of all those who did not depart home, and remain at peace. On this the Jews threw themselves flat on the ground, and stretched out their necks; thereby intimating that the laws of their country were much more dear to them than their lives. This unparalleled instance of resolution had such an effect upon Pilate, that he issued immediate orders for the taking down of the images, and that they should be carried back to Cæsarea, from whence they were brought.

By order of Pilate, a great havoc is made of the Jews.

At this time Pilate having formed a design of bringing to Jerusalem an aqueduct, from the distance of two hundred furlongs from the city, he demanded that money should be advanced from the holy treasury, to discharge the expence of this undertaking. This gave such great offence to the people, that they assembled in a body amounting to many thousands, thinking that the clamour of an outrageous multitude might prevent his carrying his scheme into execution. It happened (as it frequently does in popular insurrections) that among the immense number of complainers, there were some who abused Pilate personally, and insulted him by the most opprobrious epithets. Provoked by this circumstance, he gave directions to a number of his soldiers to disguise themselves in the dresses of countrymen, to conceal clubs under their coats, and form a ring about the multitude; intimating likewise, that if the former scurrilous behaviour should be continued, he would give them a signal, on which they should act agreeable to instructions they had received. All this was done according to order; and the abusive language being renewed, Pilate gave the signal; on which the soldiers began to attack with their clubs; and, in fact, exceeded the commission they had received; for the innocent were equally involved in the calamity with the guilty. The contest, however, proved very unequal; for one party being armed, and the other altogether defenceless, many of the Jews were killed, great numbers wounded, and the whole body

dispersed, so that there was a total end of the insurrection.

About this period there arose to notice one JESUS, a man of consummate wisdom, IF INDEED HE MAY BE DEEMED A MAN. He was eminently celebrated

The author's honourable testimony concerning Jesus Christ.

for his power of working miracles; and they who were curious, and desirous to learn the truth, flocked to him in abundance. He was followed by immense numbers of people, as well Jews as Gentiles. This was that Christ whom the princes and great men of our nation accused. He was delivered up to the cross by Pontius Pilate; notwithstanding which, those who originally adhered to him never forsook him. On the third day after his crucifixion he was seen alive, agreeable to the prediction of several prophets: he wrought a great number of marvellous acts: and there remain, even to this day, a sect of people who bear the name of CHRISTIANS, who acknowledge this Christ for their head. ✕

About this time a most disagreeable misfortune befell the Jews: but the account of this I shall postpone till I have related the particulars of a very scandalous transaction that happened at Rome, on occasion of a sacrifice to Isis. At the city above-mentioned was a woman equally distinguished by her birth and her virtue. Her name was Paulina. She was very rich; beautiful beyond the power of description, and of a deportment so modest that there was not the slightest taint on her character. She was the wife of Saturninus, who was a man every way worthy of the possession of such a woman.

Relation of a scandalous act in the temple of Isis.

Now it happened that Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, who was himself young and accomplished, fell violently in love with Paulina, whose rank exempted her from all necessity of yielding through the force of money or presents: but this circumstance did but so much the more inflame the passions of Mundus, who proceeded so far as to make her an offer of two hundred thousand drachmas, on the condition of sleeping one night with her. This offer being rejected with the contempt it deserved, he found that his passion increased to such a degree, that life became altogether insupportable; wherefore he formed a resolution at once to end his life and passion, by starving himself to death.

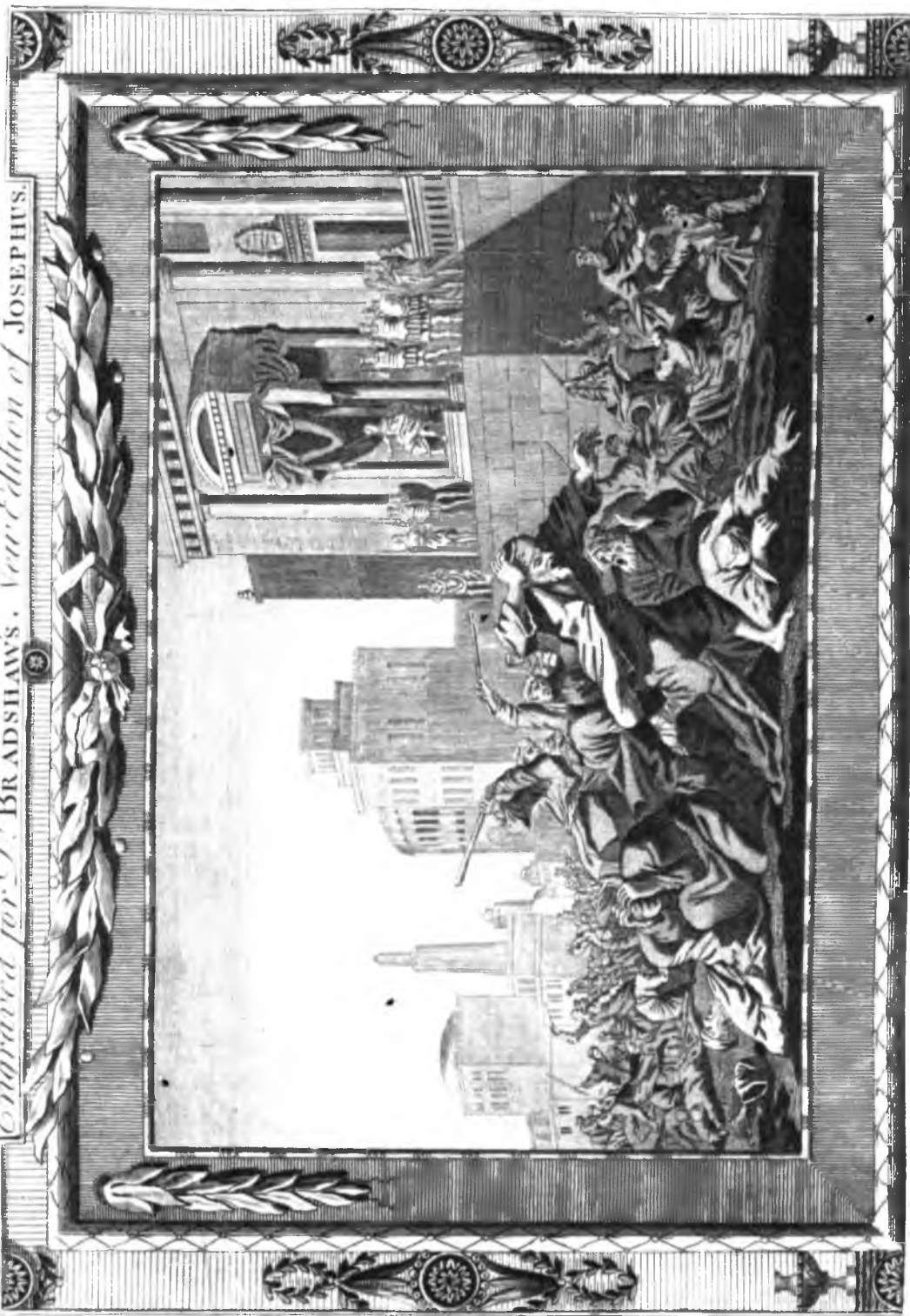
Decius Mundus enamoured of Paulina.

Now it happened at this time that there was a freed-woman, a servant of the father of Mundus, an artful creature, named Ide, who was rather more versed in intrigue than was consistent with the character of a person of reputation. This woman, remarking the behaviour of Mundus, and thinking that the arguments of reason would have no weight to influence his conduct, she proceeded in a different manner; encouraged him to hope for a happy issue of his passion, and said that she did not despair of obtaining him the possession of Paulina, which she thought might be procured for the sum of fifty thousand drachmas.

Ide's vile and artful conduct.

This is a great error to suppose that the author intended to show that the Jews were not the only people who were guilty of idolatry.

Engraved for G. BRADSHAW'S, New Edition of JOSEPHUS.



Josephus recommended a party of soldiers to arm themselves privately with shot, and order their coats in the habit of country people, selling them what they were to do, when he gave the word, the soldiers surrounded the multitude, & beat them with impunity.

Method
whereby the
proceeds a cri-
minal inter-
course.

This proposal afforded the highest satisfaction to Mundus, who deposited the money in her hands: but the woman was conscious that Paulina was not to be won by a bribe: wherefore, having considered of the affair, and reflecting on the extreme reverence that she entertained for the goddess Isis, she devised the following contrivance. Having assembled a number of the priests of Isis, she swore them to keep inviolably secret what she had to reveal to them; and the better to insure their compliance, she gave them twenty-five thousand drachmas, and promised them the same sum when the business should be completed: this being a prevailing argument, she related to them the circumstances of the affair, and warmly solicited their interference, to introduce Mundus to the company of Paulina. The temptation was so great, that the priests found they had it not in their power to resist it, and promised their best assistance; in pursuance of which, the eldest of them immediately went to Paulina, and having demanded a private audience, informed her that he waited upon her with a message from the god Anubis, who was violently enamoured of her, and could not refrain from requesting that she would pay him a visit. Paulina made the priest extremely welcome; and was so delighted with the idea of the great honour that was to be conferred on her, that she could not help mentioning to the ladies of her acquaintance the singular regard that was entertained for her by the god Anubis. She likewise recounted the circumstance to her husband; told him that an appointment was already made, and that she should eat and sleep with the god. The husband, having had the most indubitable proofs of the virtue of his wife, seemed very well pleased with a circumstance so much calculated to raise his jealousy.

Mundus ex-
pects his pur-
pose in the
temple of Isis.

At the time appointed Paulina repaired to the temple, where she supped; and the hour of rest being come, one of the priests locked her into a room, where, in the dark, instead of meeting with the god, she found Mundus, with whom she passed the night, without having the least idea but that she had been honoured by the embraces of Anubis. Early in the morning, before the priests who were in the secret had arisen, Mundus got up, and quitted the temple; and some time afterwards Paulina returned to her husband, to whom she related the story of the honour that had been done her: and she likewise recounted it to her female friends, in terms of grateful rapture. There was something so singular in this affair, that they could scarcely credit it; and yet they hardly knew how to doubt it, from the high character that Paulina had acquired for her inviolate modesty.

Paulina in-
sulted by her
lover.

Three days after this extraordinary adventure, Mundus happening by chance to meet the lady, said, "O Paulina! what obligations am I not under to you, for your kindness in saving me the two hundred thousand drachmas with which I would have presented you, and at length complying without a bribe! It is a matter of

indifference to me whether you entertain a regard for Mundus or not, so you will but permit him to gratify his passion in the character of Anubis:" and having said this, he departed.

When Paulina came to reflect on what had happened, and to consider how vilely she had been tricked out of her virtue, she tore her garments through vexation, related the affair to her husband, and intreated him, by the love he bore her, to procure some punishment to be inflicted on the offenders. Hereupon Saturninus acquainted the emperor of the affair, who having strictly examined into it, gave orders that the priests should be crucified, together with Ide, who was the contriver of the plot, and the principal occasion of its being carried into execution against a woman of such an amiable character. He likewise ordered that the temple of Isis should be pulled down, and her statue thrown into the river Tiber. With regard to Mundus, he was only banished: allowance being made for the force of passion in so young a man. Thus much with regard to the story of Paulina. I now proceed to give an account of the calamities of the Jews at Rome, agreeable to my promise.

Punishment of
the priests and
other parties
concerned.

CHAP. V.

Four abandoned JEWS assume the Characters of Doctors of the Law. Complaint of their disorderly Proceedings being made to TIBERIUS, by SATURNINUS, the JEWS are commanded to leave the City. Account of a SAMARITAN Impostor. PILATE routs the SAMARITANS. MARCELLUS appointed Governor of JUDEA, and PILATE ordered to ROME.

THERE was at Rome at this time a Jew, of the most infamous character imaginable, who had been compelled to leave his country, to avoid the rigour of the law. Now this man, combining with three others, of characters equally infamous and abandoned, they assumed the appearance of rabbies, read publicly on the laws of Moses, and pretended to expound them to the people. By this conduct they obtained a number of disciples, and among the rest a woman named Fulvia, who was a person of honour and character, and inclined to the profession of Judaism. Now Fulvia having altogether submitted to the authority and discipline of these men, they prevailed on her to entrust them with oblations of gold and purple, for the use of the holy temple at Jerusalem; but as often as they received her bounty they converted it to their own use. Now this abusive practice coming to the knowledge of Fulvia, the wife of Saturninus, she prevailed on her husband to make the affair known to Tibe-

Account of
four Jewish
impostors.

They deposed
Fulvia of
much wealth;
but, being de-
tected, are ex-
pelled from
Rome, and
great numbers
of Jews ban-
ished.

rius;

rius; in consequence of which the emperor issued orders that all the Jews should immediately leave the city. Of these, four thousand were entered upon the consul's roll, to serve as soldiers, and sent into Sardinia; exclusive of whom there were great numbers who refused to bear arms, on account of their religion; and these were punished by a variety of torments, and then banished; the whole body of the Jews suffering on account of four men of abandoned characters.

A Samaritan deceiver imposes on the credulous.

Nor were the Samaritans, at this time, without their share of misfortunes. It happened that there was a notorious impostor among these people, who by the most ridiculous stories, and extravagant lyes, would frequently assemble a croud about him. This man told the multitude, that if they would but meet him at Mount Gerizim, he would give them a sight of the holy vessels which Moses had buried in that place so many ages ago. Now such was the credulity of these ignorant people, that great numbers of them assembled in arms, and besieged Tirathaba, expect-

His adherents routed by Pilate, and many of them beheaded.

ing others to come and join them; on which they determined to go up to the mountain with a large army. But Pilate having intelligence of their proceedings, got together a body of cavalry and infantry, and took possession of the mountain, whence he attacked the Samaritans who had assembled near the village, gave them a total rout, with considerable slaughter; and took and brought off a large number of prisoners; and among this number he ordered those to be beheaded who were men of rank or interest.

The Samaritans exhibit a complaint against Pilate, who is cited to appear at Rome.

Soon after this defeat, the chief persons among the Samaritans made application to Vitellius, a person of the rank of consul, who was at that time governor of Syria, complaining of the conduct of Pilate, and insisting that he had been guilty of murder. They said that there was no intention of departing from the authority of Rome, by their meeting at Tirathaba; since they meant only to take refuge against the arbitrary conduct of Pilate. Hereupon Vitellius commissioned his friend Marcus to undertake the office of governor of Judæa, and directed that Pilate should be sent to Rome, to answer, before the emperor, to the complaints that had been brought against him. Pilate had now been possessed of his government ten years; but, on this order, he prepared to depart for Rome: however, Tiberius died before he arrived at that city.

CHAP. VI.

VITELLIUS remits the Duty on Fruits, &c. HYRCANUS builds the Castle ANTONIA. CAIAPHAS deprived of the Office of High-priest, and JONATHAN advanced to it. A Treaty between

TIBERIUS and ARTABANUS. Death and Character of PHILIP.

THE feast of the passover, as it is denominated among our people, now approaching, Vitellius departed into Judæa, and going onward to Jerusalem, the Jews received him with a distinction due to his rank; and he was bountiful enough to remit them the whole of the duty on fruits. He likewise restored to the priests the possession of the pontifical robes and habits, which they deposited in the temple, where they had been kept previous to the castle of Antonia being the place of their reception.

Vitellius honourably received, and his liberality to the Jews,

Now the first high-priest of the name of Hyrcanus, having erected a castle adjacent to the temple, resided there the greatest part of his time; and in this place, in his own custody, he kept the robes and ornaments of the high-priest, which were to be worn by no one but himself. As often as he changed his habit, he constantly deposited the sacred vestments in that castle; a practice which was followed by his successors for a considerable time. On Herod's accession to the throne, he was so highly delighted with the situation of this place, as well as with its strength and beauty, that he made improvements in it, at a great expence, and gave it the name Antonia, in honour of his worthy friend Antony. In this place Herod found the sacred vestments, and there he caused them to be kept, from an idea which he had conceived that the Jews would be held in obedience as long as he had those in possession. On the same principle Archelaus, his son and successor, acted in the very same manner: and their example was followed by the Romans, after the kingdom was reduced into a province: for these holy habiliments were constantly deposited in a cabinet which was made on purpose for their reception, and kept under the seal of the priests, and the keepers of the sacred treasury; and a lamp constantly burnt before the place, in consequence of directions given to the governor of the castle for that purpose. These vestments used to be regularly delivered by the governor to the high-priest, on the seventh day preceding the three solemn festivals; and the latter having caused them to be made perfectly clean, wore them in the discharge of his office, and on the following day restored them to the place from whence they had been taken: and this was constantly done on the solemn fast, as well as on the three other annual festivals.

The high-priests deposit their vestments in the castle of Antonia.

But now it became the will of Vitellius to discharge the governor from being any way answerable for the care of the pontifical habits, which, in favour of the Jews, he committed to the custody of the priests, who had been the ancient keepers of them. Not long after this he deprived Joseph, called Caiaphas, of the office of high-priest, and bestowed it on Jonathan, the son of the high-priest Ananus: and departed

Jonathan advanced to the high-priesthood, and Caiaphas deposited.

departed to Antioch, soon after he had made this alteration.

Vitellius concludes a league with Artabanus. About this time Vitellius received letters from Tiberius, directing him to make a league with Artabanus; for he was apprehensive that the empire might be endangered, if the latter should make a conquest of Armenia: but Vitellius was directed not to ratify the league, unless one of the sons of the king was delivered as an hostage. Hereupon Vitellius offered considerable sums of money to the kings of Iberia and Alania, on the condition of their immediately engaging in a war with Artabanus. The people of Iberia could not be induced to lend any farther assistance to this plan, than to admit the Alanians to a free passage through their city, that they might pass by the Caspian mountains, and thus obtain easy admission into the kingdom of Artabanus.

The Parthians lose Armenia. This inroad occasioned the immediate loss of Armenia to the Parthians; and this was followed by so violent an incursion into their own country, that most of their nobility were destroyed, together with the son of their king, and such immense multitudes of the common people, that the land was in a great degree depopulated by this invasion. By this time Artabanus began to discover that he was betrayed by those in whom he had placed the greatest degree of confidence; and that Vitellius, by the means of bribes, had induced his friends and near relations to join in a plot for his destruction: wherefore, not knowing in whom to

Artabanus, after having been betrayed, recovers his kingdom. place any confidence, lest, under the mask of friendship, he should be treated in a treacherous manner; and having very good reason to believe that persons of the first rank and quality were engaged in

the scheme against him, he instantly made his escape to the interior provinces, where he met with immediate protection; and an army of the Dahi and Saci coming to his assistance, he was not only enabled to vanquish his enemies, but to recover his kingdom.

Treaty between Tiberius and Artabanus. On this change in the state of affairs, an alliance with Artabanus was proposed by Tiberius; and the proposal being accepted, the two parties consented to meet, each attended by his guards, to treat of the business, on the middle of the bridge over the river Euphrates. As soon as the treaty was concluded, a most sumptuous and superb entertainment was provided for them both by Herod the tetrarch, in a tent which, at a great expence, had been erected over the same river. Not long after this Artabanus sent his son Darius as an hostage to Tiberius, together with a number of presents, among which was one Eleazar, a Jew, known by the name of the giant, remarkable for being of the astonishing height of seven cubits. In a little time Artabanus returned to Babylon, and Vitellius to Antioch.

Herod gives offence to Vitellius. It was the wish of Herod to transmit the first account of this good news respecting the hostages; wherefore, without loss of

time, he dispatched a messenger to Tiberius, with all the particulars relating thereto. Some time afterwards Vitellius, a consular governor, sent intelligence of the same kind to Caesar, on receiving of which he returned simply this answer: That he had informed him of nothing new, for that Herod had previously acquainted him with every particular. This anticipation of the good news by Herod, gave the utmost offence to Vitellius; but he stifled his indignation for the present, nor took farther notice of the affair till Caius succeeded to the government.

At this period, which was in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, died Philip, the brother of Herod, after having been tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulanites, and Batanæa, for the space of seven and thirty years. He was a man distinguished by his moderation, and devoted to the quiet enjoyment of his ease; his whole life being spent within the district over which he was appointed to preside. He very seldom left his own house, and when he did, it was in company with a few select friends; and he had a chair carried after him, which, on particular occasions, he used to convert into a seat of justice. As it sometimes happened that he met persons on the road who had need of his judicial assistance, it was his custom not to lose any time, but to hear the cause immediately, and to acquit or condemn the party, according to the strength of the evidence. His death happened at Julias, and he was interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence, in a monument which he had caused to be erected for his reception. As he left no children behind him, the emperor decreed that his estate should be annexed to Syria, but on the condition that the country should not be deprived of the tributes hereafter to be raised in the tetrarchy.

Death and character of Philip, Herod's brother.

C H A P. VII.

HEROD the Tetrarch, being married to the Daughter of ARETAS, falls in Love with HERODIAS, and proposes to marry her, and abandon his present Wife. This is discovered by the Wife, and resented by ARETAS, who conquers HEROD in Battle. The Death of JOHN BAPTIST, by Order of HEROD. Account of the Family of HEROD the Great.

AT this period a war took place between Herod and Aretas king of Petra, occasioned by the following circumstance. Herod the tetrarch had been for a considerable time married to the daughter of Aretas; but having business that called him to Rome, in his way thither he visited Herod, his brother-in-law, who was grandson of Simon, the high-priest, by the daughter's side. While on this visit he became violently enamoured of Herodias, the wife of his brother, and the daughter of Aristobulus,

Herod and Aretas engaged in war, and the causes of their disagreement.

bulus, their brother; and she was also sister of Agrippa, who was afterwards king. Impelled by the force of his passion, he proposed to marry her when he should return from Rome, and to part with the daughter of Aretas; and on this condition the match was mutually agreed on.

Herod's wife betrays to Aretas her husband's design to marry Herodias.

This contract being made, he pursued his voyage to Rome, and having dispatched his business there, returned to the place of his own residence. In the interim his wife, having obtained some information of what had passed between him and Herodias, told him in a manner that could not give him the least cause of suspicion, that she should be happy if he would but permit her to pass a little time at Machæras, which was a castle on the borders of the dominions of Aretas. Now Herod, not having the least idea of her real intention, readily consented to the journey. It is to be remarked that Machæras, being a place devoted to the wife's father, every thing was properly prepared for her farther journey: immediately on her arrival the governor of the palace furnished her with Arabian guards, who lost no time in conveying her from place to place, till at length she arrived at the palace of her father, where she related to him the particulars of the new connection that had been formed by Herod.

Herod's army routed by Aretas.

Great uneasiness arose from this circumstance, and as, previously thereto, there had been a dispute between the parties respecting the boundaries of some lands in Gamala, and as two armies were already in the field, for the purpose of adjusting this difference, the above affair was made a pretext for an immediate battle, in which Herod's party was utterly routed: but this was principally owing to the treachery of a number of deserters, who were at this time in the pay of Herod, after having abandoned the cause of Philip. Herod lost no time in acquainting Tiberius with the particulars of the above affair; who being enraged at the conduct of Aretas, directed Vitellius to make war on him immediately, and either to send his head, or to bring him prisoner to Rome.

Particulars relating to John the Baptist, and his disciples.

It was at this time the prevailing opinion among the Jews, that the above disaster was a proof of the vengeance of Heaven against Herod and his army, on account of John, surnamed the Baptist, whom this tetrarch had caused to be inhumanly murdered. Now the Baptist had not been guilty of any crime. His custom was, to exhort the Jews to the love and practice of every virtue: he principally insisted on their lives being regulated by the rules of piety and justice; urged the necessity of regeneration by baptism and a new life; and insisted, that it was not by abstaining from any particular offence, but by a constant course of goodness, that they could receive the benefit of such regeneration.

He is held in great veneration and esteem.

The Baptist had now acquired great credit and authority among the people, by the holiness of his life; and this was evident by the number of his disciples,

and the veneration they entertained for his doctrine. In fact, they seemed to be so totally devoted to his will, as to be altogether under his influence; inso-much that Herod was jealous lest his high degree of reputation should tempt them to revolt. To prevent, therefore, the dreaded consequences, he determined on his destruction before he could have an opportunity of perpetrating any act of mischief; rather than wait the event, and repent after the act was committed. Urged by this consideration, he dispatched him to Machæras (the place above-mentioned) as a prisoner, directing that he should be immediately put to death; and the sentence was executed agreeable to the instructions; but the impiety of the deed was followed by an almost immediate divine vengeance on Herod; agreeable to the idea of the Jews, that he had been punished for spilling the blood of that holy man.

The Baptist imprisoned and put to death by Herod.

At this time Vitellius was making preparations for the war in Arabia, and was actually on his march towards Petra, having under his command two legions of horse and foot of the Roman auxiliaries. When he had got as far as Ptolemais, and was on the point of crossing Judæa, he was met by the principal people of the country, who most earnestly solicited him that he would take a different route; for that the Jewish law was insulted, and their religion profaned, by the images that the Romans usually carry in their colours. This reason had its proper weight with the general, who directed that his army should march about, by the way of a large plain; and in the mean time he took with him Herod the tetrarch, and several other friends, and went up to Jerusalem, to offer public worship, on occasion of a solemn festival which was then approaching. He made three days stay in this city, during which time he was treated with all possible marks of honour and respect; and while he remained there, he deprived Jonathan of the office of high-priest, and conferred it on his brother Theophilus: and on the fourth day he received letters which announced the death of Tiberius, whereupon he caused the people to swear allegiance to his successor, Caius Caligula; and this being done, he gave orders for the recall of his troops, and directed that they should go into winter quarters; the change in the government having determined him to put a period to the war; and after this he returned to Antioch.

Vitellius marches towards Judæa.

He arrives at Jerusalem, and deposes Jonathan the high-priest.

A tradition is current, that when this expedition of Vitellius was talked of, Aretas consulted the wizards and fortune-tellers, respecting what should be the issue of the affair; and that the answer which he received was to the following purpose: "That the army then on the march should never arrive at Petra; for that either one of the princes should die, or he that commanded the army, or the person that was deputy in the command, or the party against whom the war was levied."

The event of Vitellius's proceedings said to be foretold by wizards.

At

Account of
Herod the
Great.

At this period Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, had been at Rome about a year, having matters of great importance to transact with Cæsar. But before I say any thing farther of him, it will be proper that I mention something with regard to Herod and his family; since in them is exhibited a singular instance of the wisdom and power of the providence of God. In the case of Herod, we shall see that the having a numerous family, the possession of a splendid fortune, with royal power and dignity, are of no avail, without the more valuable possessions of piety and justice: since there was scarcely any remains of the very large family of Herod in the space of a hundred years. This consideration is sufficient to humble the pride of the arrogant, and to raise the contemplation of the virtuous man, on the wonderful advancement of Agrippa, who, from a private station, contrary to all human expectation, was raised to a degree of power so very extraordinary.

His family
and progeny.

I have heretofore mentioned something of this affair in the general, but shall now descend to particulars. By Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, Herod the Great had two daughters; one of them was named Salampso, who was married to Phasaël, the son of Phasaël, elder brother to the king, by the consent of the father. The name of the other daughter was Cypros, who was married to Antipater, Herod's nephew, by his sister Salome.

Salampso had five children by Phasaël, viz. three sons, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander; and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; the former of whom married Timius, a nobleman of the isle of Cypros, and died childless; and the latter was married to Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus. Cypros bore to Agrippa two sons and three daughters. The sons were named Agrippa and Drusus, the last of whom died while he was under age; and the daughters were called Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla. Agrippa the father was educated under the care of his grandfather Herod the Great, as were likewise Herod and Aristobulus, and also Berenice, who was the daughter of Salome and Costabarus. At this time the children of Aristobulus were infants, when their father, and his brother Alexander (as hath been before noted), were put to death by the command of Herod. On their advancement to years of maturity, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, wedded Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was daughter of king Herod), and of Joseph, the brother of Herod; and of this marriage Aristobulus was born. Now Aristobulus, Agrippa's third brother, was married to Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeram, king of Emesenes; and by her he had a daughter, born deaf, who received the name of her mother. The above is a list of the children of the three brothers: their sister, Herodias, was married to Herod, the son of Herod the Great, by his wife Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest; and of this marriage was born Salome; but after her birth, Herodias, in defiance of all the laws of honour and conscience, did not hesitate to take, for her second hus-

band, Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, though she was wife to his brother by the father's side; and had likewise a former husband living at the time of this second marriage. The daughter, Salome, was married to Philip, the son of Herod the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who died without issue: after which she was married to Aristobulus, the son of Herod, and brother of Agrippa; and three sons were born of this marriage; viz. Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. Thus much with regard to the family of Phasaël and Salampso.

To Antipater Cypros bore a daughter, which took her own name, and who was married to Alexas Selcius, the son of Alexas, by whom he had one daughter, likewise named Cypros. Herod and Alexander (as hath been mentioned) were the brothers of Antipater, and died without children. Now Alexander, the son of Herod the king (the same who was put to death by his father), had two children, named Alexander and Tigranes, by Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

The above-named Tigranes died without issue: he was king of Armenia, and the same who had an accusation brought against him by the Romans. Alexander had likewise a son named Tigranes, after his uncle, who was promoted by Nero to be king of Armenia. He had also a son named Alexander, who was married to Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus king of Comagena, and was advanced by Vespasian to the dignity of king of Lefis in Gilitia. The family of Alexander soon departed from the laws and customs of the Jews, and embraced those of the Greeks. There were no children left by the rest of the daughters of Herod the Great. Thus having given an account of the posterity of this prince, down to the reign of Agrippa, I shall in the next place recount the history of Agrippa himself, together with that variety of providential incidents, which in the end advanced him to so distinguished a station.

CHAP. VIII.

Account of the Rise of AGRIPPA. ARISTOBULUS the Enemy of AGRIPPA. AGRIPPA Visits TIBERIUS. He is appointed Governor to TIBERIUS NERO. His Imprisonment, which is rendered tolerable by ANTONIA. TIBERIUS bestows the Government on CAIUS, and charges him to act generously by his Brother, whom he afterwards destroys. Death and Character of TIBERIUS, who is succeeded by CAIUS. The Declaration of CAIUS CÆSAR, who orders AGRIPPA to be released. The Crowning of AGRIPPA. The Government of JUDÆA given to MARCELLUS.

SOME small time previous to the death of Herod the Great, Agrippa residing at Rome, and being often in the family of the emperor, became a very great favourite of his

Agrippa's exaltation and profusion.

his son Drusus, and also obtained the good opinion of Antonia, the wife of the elder Drusus, through the interest of his mother Berenice, for whom Antonia had a most particular esteem. Agrippa was by nature rather inclined to extravagance; but during the life of his mother, he restrained himself within some reasonable bounds; her death at length making him master of his own conduct, he began to give expensive treats, and make profuse and costly presents, particularly to the dependents and domestics of the court, where it was that he hoped to raise his fortune. By these means he involved himself in debt to such a degree, that he could no longer make his appearance at Rome; besides, at this time, Tiberius having the misfortune to lose his son, he could not now endure the sight of any of the favourites of Drusus, lest he should be reminded of the loss he had sustained.

He retreats to Maltha, where he abandons himself to melancholy.

Agrippa having thus squandered his money, and destroyed his reputation, by the irregularity of his conduct; and his creditors being anxious with him to discharge their demands, which it was not in

his power to do, he returned to Judæa; and when there, seeing no hope of retrieving his fortune, and blushing for the folly he had been guilty of, he retreated to Maltha, a castle in Idumæa, having conceived an intention that, in that place, he would put an end to an existence that was no longer supportable. Cypros observing the desponding humour of her husband, and remarking that his melancholy seemed to forebode the most fatal consequences, exerted her utmost endeavours to prevent the misfortune which she dreaded; and particularly wrote to her sister Herodias a circumstantial account of the calamitous situation in which he lived; and most earnestly urged her, by all the ties of honour and consanguinity, to afford him some immediate relief: she said that she did every thing that was in her own power, and hoped that her example would be followed by her sister.

Herodias intercedes herself in his behalf, and obtains a pension for him.

Herodias was so much affected by this representation, that she joined with her husband in sending a message, desiring that Agrippa would attend them; when they gave him a pension, and bestowed on him the government of Tiberias, for his immediate support: but Herod did not long continue in this generous disposition, nor was Agrippa very well contented with his present situation. Now it happened that, on a certain time, when they were drinking at Tyre, Herod made many ungenerous reflections on Agrippa, on account of his poverty; and intimated, among other things, that he was supported by his bounty.

Being insulted by Herod, he applies to Flaccus, who favourably receives him.

This insult was too great to be borne by one of Agrippa's spirit; he therefore repaired to visit Flaccus, an old particular friend of his when at Rome, who was at that time governor of Syria. Flaccus received him in the most free and hospitable manner: but at this time Aristobulus, the brother of

Agrippa, was a visitor in the same house: the former was his enemy, though his brother: yet Flaccus divided his favours and civilities indifferently between them, as if no animosity had subsisted. Aristobulus, however, urged by the most implacable malice, still kept up the quarrel, and would not rest till he had inspired Flaccus with a bad opinion of Agrippa, which was effected in the following manner: The inhabitants of Damascus, and those of Sidon, had a violent dispute between them, respecting the boundaries of their territories, and Flaccus was fixed upon to hear and determine the cause. Now the people of Damascus, being informed that Flaccus and Agrippa were on terms of the utmost intimacy, thought it would be a stroke of good policy previously to engage the interest of Agrippa, by bribing him with a sum of money. The bargain being made, and promises of mutual secrecy given, Agrippa exerted all his interest for the people of Damascus against those of Sidon.

Now Aristobulus, having discovered that Agrippa had received a bribe to transact this business, went to the governor, and complained of the conduct of his brother; and Flaccus, examining into the merits of the affair, and finding proof against Agrippa, dismissed him from his favour, and left him to seek a support in the best manner he was able. Hereupon Agrippa went back to Ptolemais; and being in absolute want of the necessaries of life, he came to a resolution to return into Italy. Thus distressed, he gave directions to Marfyas, a freed-man of his, to apply to the brokers, to raise a sum of money, on any terms whatever, to answer his present demand. In consequence of these directions Marfyas went to Protus, a freed-man of Berenice (the mother of Agrippa, his late patroness, who, by her last will, had recommended him to the service of Antonia); and proposed to him to advance a sum of money to Agrippa, on the security of his own bond. Protus said that he was already in his debt: yet Marfyas prevailed upon him to lend twenty thousand attic drachmas, on the security above mentioned; but of this sum he gave no more to Agrippa than seventeen thousand five hundred pieces, retaining the other two thousand five hundred to himself, for the trouble taken in procuring this advance: nor was Agrippa in circumstances to dispute about this extortion.

He incurs the hatred of his brother Aristobulus, and is rejected by Flaccus.

As soon as he was possessed of this money, Agrippa proceeded to Anthedon, where he met with a ship calculated for his service, and made preparations for going to sea: but Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, hearing of this circumstance, sent a number of soldiers to him, to demand the payment of three hundred thousand pieces of silver, the property of the king, which he had borrowed when he was at Rome. This circumstance occasioned some little delay in Agrippa's proceeding; but he amused the soldiers with fair promises, and, when night came on, cut his cable, and slipped out to sea, steering his course

His deceitful conduct towards Herennius.

Success of his
artifices to ob-
tain money.

course towards Alexandria. On his arrival at that city, he made application to Alexander, the principal officer of the revenue, requesting that he would lend him two hundred thousand pieces of money on his bond. To this the officer replied, "With regard to yourself, I have not faith enough in you to credit you with such a sum; but your wife appears to be a woman of exemplary character and amiable deportment; and she shall have the money if she will give her security for it." In this manner the matter was settled; and Cyprus becoming bound for the sum wanted, Alexander furnished Agrippa with five talents on the spot, and gave him letters of credit, to receive the rest at Puteoli; for he was unwilling to trust the whole sum with him at once, lest he should apply it to improper purposes. By this time Cyprus was convinced that there was no possibility of preventing her husband's proceeding; wherefore she and her children went over land to Judæa.

Goes to Rome,
and is kindly
received by
Tiberius.

When Agrippa arrived at Puteoli, he sent a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who was then at Capræ, informing him that he had come so far to pay his humble respects to him; and requesting his permission to wait on him. Tiberius did not hesitate to send him an answer replete with kindness, in which he informed him that he should be happy to see him at Capræ. Thither Agrippa went, and on his arrival Tiberius received him with open arms, and welcomed him to the palace, where he entertained him in the most generous and hospitable manner, thereby proving his sincerity when he gave him the invitation. But on the following day letters to Tiberius arrived from Herennius Capito, complaining of the conduct of Agrippa, and stating, "That when he demanded payment of a bond for three hundred thousand pieces which had been long since due to the emperor, Agrippa departed in a secret manner, so that the money would probably be lost."

Being charged
by Herennius
with a defraud,
he is dismissed
the court.

This conduct was so highly offensive to Tiberius, that he commanded the officers of his bed-chamber not to permit Agrippa to depart till the debt was discharged. On the contrary, Agrippa did not seem to remark the displeasure of the emperor, but immediately applied to Antonia, mother of Germanicus and Claudius, who was afterwards advanced to the sovereign power. To her he related his distresses, and told her that he was likely to lose the favour of the emperor, for want of the above-mentioned three hundred thousand pieces: whereupon she lent him the money, in honour of the memory of Berenice, and the mutual friendship they had entertained for each other; exclusive of which, Agrippa had been the companion and play-fellow of her son Claudius, almost from his earliest infancy. Having received this money, he discharged his debt, and was reinstated in the favour of Tiberius. This conduct had such an effect on the emperor, that he committed his grandson, Tiberius Nero, the son of Drusus, to the care and government of Agrippa, requesting that he

No. 17.

would be constantly in his company, and regulate his whole conduct. Agrippa, however, had so strong an idea of his obligations to Antonia, that he paid his principal attention and respect to her grandson Caius, for whom the people in general had the highest esteem, not only respecting his personal virtues, but on account of the reverence which they entertained for the memory of his father, Germanicus. At this period a Samaritan, one of Cæsar's freed-men, lent Agrippa a million of pieces, with part of which he discharged his debt to Antonia, and employed the remainder in paying the expence incurred by his attendance on Caius, with whom he had now contracted the utmost friendship.

Suspicious
words spoken
by him, and
heard by Eu-
tychus.

It happened that on a particular day Caius and Agrippa were riding out in a chariot, without any other company, when Tiberius became the subject of conversation; on which Agrippa exclaimed, "From my heart I wish it would please God that Caius was in his place!" Now Eutychus, a freed-man of Agrippa, who at that time drove the carriage, heard these words spoken; but took no notice of them for the present. Some little time afterwards Eutychus was charged with robbing Agrippa, and carrying off some of his cloaths. The man was really guilty of the offence; and was apprehended, and carried before Piso, the governor of the place, to undergo an examination. Among other questions, Piso asked him how it happened that he ran away; to which he replied, "That the life of Tiberius was in danger, and he was going to make a discovery of the plot." On this declaration he was sent bound to Capræ, where Tiberius still kept him in chains: for the emperor, in all affairs of state, was certainly the most dilatory man that ever existed. Embassadors could not obtain an audience of him without a tedious delay; nor would he nominate people to succeed to governments of provinces, till he had certain knowledge of the death of the former possessors. It was his custom, likewise, to permit prisoners to remain a long time unexamined; and when his friends asked the reason of this singular conduct, he would address them in the following manner:

Reasons given
by Tiberius
for his delays.

"If I were too easy of access, and gave too ready an admission to embassadors, I should find that they who were speedily received, would be speedily dismissed; and that others would soon be sent to supply their places; so that by this mode of proceeding, I should be perpetually embarrassed by giving fresh audiences; and a great part of my life would be spent in the receiving and dismissing of embassadors. With regard to officers, when they are once fixed in their stations, it is more advantageous to the subject to retain them, than change them for others; for covetousness is the vice of magistrates: now persons who imagine they hold their offices during their good behaviour, will be less rapacious than they who expect to be speedily dismissed. I will illustrate this matter to you by reciting an ancient fable.—A wounded man lay by the
side

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side of a road, unable to help himself, while numbers of flies swarmed on his sores, and gave him no small degree of uneasiness. A man of humanity happening to pass that road, expressed his readiness to drive them away, and relieve the poor man from his sufferings:—By no means, cried he; leave them in their present situation; for these flies, when their hunger is satisfied, do not torment me nearly as much as a new set would do, that may come half starved. Now this is precisely the case between subjects and newly appointed magistrates, who are to be considered only as fresh flies, come to suck the blood of the people."

It is unnecessary to adduce any other proof of this being the true character of Tiberius, than the circumstance of his appointing only Gratus, and his successor Pilate, to be governors of Judæa, during a reign of twenty-two years: and he governed the other parts of his empire in the same manner. The reason that he assigned for the not bringing of prisoners to a speedy trial, was, that their sufferings might be so much the more tedious, as a punishment for their former offences; since protracted torments were worse than death.

Antonia desired by Agrippa to solicit an hearing for Eutychus.

Eutychus being kept so long in chains was evidently the consequence of this disposition of Tiberius; but the emperor at length coming from Capræa to Tusculanum, distant only one hundred furlongs from Agrippa, he requested Antonia to solicit that Eutychus might be examined, that what he had to say against his patron might be known at once. Now Tiberius entertained a singular respect for Antonia, partly on account of affinity, for she was his sister-in-law, and the widow of Drusus; and partly for her steady virtue, in refusing a second marriage in the prime of her life, to which she had been earnestly pressed by Augustus himself. In fact, her whole life exhibited a pattern of the most exemplary virtue. Exclusive of the above considerations, Tiberius was under personal obligations to Antonia, which he could not forget; since her wisdom, fidelity, and diligence, had saved his life from the desperate machinations of Sejanus; for he was possessed of great power and credit, a captain of the guards, and had engaged in the conspiracy a number of the most eminent senators, many of Cæsar's freed-men, several of the favourites at court, and some of the military officers. The escape, therefore, of Tiberius was rather extraordinary, and the effects of the treasonable intention were evidently defeated by the resolute industry of Antonia; for no sooner was she informed of the horrid intention, than she wrote down a narrative of all the particulars of the plot, as they came to her knowledge, and sent them, from time to time, to Tiberius at Capræa, by the hands of Pallas, who was an approved and confidential servant of the emperor: and in consequence of this discovery, the confederacy and those concerned in it being made known, Sejanus and his accomplices received the reward due to their demerits.

The conspiracy of Sejanus discovered to Cæsar by Antonia.

It may be presumed that if Antonia's merit was great with Tiberius before she had rendered him this piece of service, it was much greater afterwards: so that when, at the request of Agrippa, she had repeatedly urged the emperor to hear the charge of Eutychus, he could not refuse to comply with her solicitations: but he addressed her to the following purport: "If this man has reported falsehoods respecting Agrippa, he has been already sufficiently punished in the length of his imprisonment: but let Agrippa beware how he prosecutes this matter with too great a degree of rigour; lest, on a clear investigation of the affair, the punishment he intends for Eutychus should fall on his own head." Antonia reported the contents of this speech to Agrippa; but the more earnest she was in advising him to decline all farther thoughts of prosecution, the more resolved he seemed to have the matter determined by a full examination.

Tiberius endeavours to evade the examination of Eutychus.

When she found that he refused to be advised, she took an opportunity, when the emperor was passing by in a chair, after dinner, with Caius and Agrippa walking before him, to advance immediately to Tiberius, with a repeated request that Eutychus might be brought to an immediate examination; on which he addressed her in the following manner: "I call heaven to witness, that what I am now about to consent to, is contrary to my own inclination, and merely in compliance with your urgent request." Having said this, he gave orders to Macro, who had succeeded Sejanus as captain of the guards, to direct that Eutychus should be immediately brought before him.

Cæsar yields reluctantly to the solicitations of Antonia.

The prisoner having made his appearance, Tiberius interrogated him in the following manner: "What have you to alledge against your patron, Agrippa, to whose bounty you owe the possession of your freedom?" To this Eutychus made answer; "One day, as I was driving Caius and Agrippa in a chariot, and sitting at their feet in the discharge of my duty, I heard the substance of the conversation that passed between them; and, among other things, I particularly recollected that Agrippa addressed Caius in the following manner: "Devoutly do I wish that the old man was but safely deposited in the grave, and you were left governor of the world; for if he was departed, you might easily dispose of his grandchild, Tiberius; and exclusive of the general advantage that would arise to mankind from this circumstance, I might reasonably hope to share in the particular blessing of the revolution."

Examination of Eutychus, before Tiberius, and his charge against Agrippa.

There wanted nothing to induce Tiberius to give credit to this information; and he was inexpressibly chagrined to think, that after he had committed the education of his grandson, Tiberius, to the particular care of Agrippa, he should totally neglect that important charge, and devote his whole time

The emperor incensed against Agrippa, orders him to be put in chains.

time to an attendance on Caius. The emperor, therefore, turning about to Macro, cried "Put him in chains;" but Macro, not knowing who it was that he meant (for he could not think of such a circumstance respecting Agrippa), hesitated a while, till he should be more fully informed of his intentions. In the interim Tiberius took a walk in the circus, and observing that Agrippa was still at liberty, he again called to Macro, and said, "Have I not given orders for the putting that man in chains?" To this Macro cried "What man?" Agrippa said, "Tiberius."

He is committed to prison.

Hereupon Agrippa had recourse to the humblest supplications and intreaties, beseeching Tiberius, by the regard he entertained for the memory of his son, who had conferred on him the honour of his acquaintance, and on account of the services he had been happy enough to render his grandson Tiberius, that he would grant him his pardon. But his solicitations had no effect; for he was immediately dragged away to prison by the guards, in his robes of honour, as they found him. Now the weather being remarkably sultry, and Agrippa ready to perish through the intenseness of thirst, he observed one Thaumastus, a servant to Caius, who had a pitcher of water in his hand, and requested that he would give him a draught of it. Thaumastus readily complied with this request; and when Agrippa had quenched his thirst, he addressed his benefactor in the following manner: "Since

His gratitude to Thaumastus, a slave.

you, Thaumastus, have been so generous as to confer this obligation on me during my present disgraceful situation, with the same readiness that you formerly served me in a more elevated station of life, be assured that you shall never have cause to repent the liberality of your present conduct: for you may depend upon my word of honour, that as soon as my present difficulties shall be overcome, I will make use of my utmost interest with Caius, that you shall be restored to your liberty." And Agrippa was afterwards as good as his promise; for no sooner was he advanced to the crown, than he begged Caius would make him a present of Thaumastus, to whom he gave his freedom, and entrusted him with the management of his affairs; and when his death approached, he recommended him to his son and daughter, Agrippa and Bernice, advising that he might continue in the same situation during the remainder of his life; and this he did, with credit to himself, and possessing the esteem of all who knew him.

Prediction in consequence of an owl's perching on Agrippa's head.

While Agrippa was standing, bound with chains, with other prisoners, before the palace, leaning in a melancholy manner against a tree, an owl perched thereon; which being observed by a German prisoner, he asked a soldier who was the person dressed in purple; and being told that he was a Jew of the first distinction, he begged the soldier would let him approach him, for he wished to know some things respecting his country. This request being complied with, and an interpreter being allowed,

the German addressed Agrippa to the following effect: "I perceive, young gentleman, that you are dejected by this sudden and amazing change in your fortune: yet it is not in your power to conceive, nor will you easily credit, how very near your deliverance approaches, under the special care and protection of that providence which is your peculiar guard. I now invoke all the gods which are worshipped either by your nation or ours, by whose permission we are thus imprisoned, to witness, that I say not this to flatter you with idle hopes by which you will be deceived; for I am not insensible that such prognostications, if the event should not prove answerable to the prophecy, are productive of more injury than service. But I conceive it to be my duty, at whatever risk to myself, to inform you, that you will see such a surprising turn of affairs, as will elevate you from this distressful situation, and place you on such a summit of honour and power, that you will become the envy of those who have heretofore affected either to despise or pity you. The remainder of your days will be prosperous, and your good fortune will be possessed by children whom you will leave behind you.—I now intreat your particular attention to what I have farther to say. When you shall again behold this bird, you shall die at the end of five days from that time. Thus much I am commissioned by Heaven to give you to understand by this auspicious omen. What I declare is founded in fact, and I tell you the simple truth, that you may not be borne down by the weight of your present afflictions; but be happy in the prospect of future events. All I have farther to desire of you is, that when you shall find these predictions verified by the event, you will not be unmindful of your fellow prisoners; but procure the freedom of those you may leave in this place." When Agrippa heard this prophecy of the German, it appeared to him altogether as ridiculous, as it did afterwards wonderful when it came to be accomplished.

During this time Antonia was exceedingly unhappy on account of the hard treatment of her friend; and conceiving that the inflexibility of the disposition of Tiberius was such, that the making of application or intercession to him would but be a mere loss of time, she therefore took a different method; and applied to Macro to render his confinement as easy to him as possible, by directing that he should be attended by soldiers of a civil and humane disposition, that he should constantly sit down at table with the officer in whose immediate custody he was; that he should be permitted the use of the bath daily, and that the visits of his friends and freedmen should be admitted. All these favours were granted: whereupon he was visited by his friend Silas: and Marfyas and Stychnus, two of his freedmen, constantly conveyed to him the food of which he was most fond; and under pretence of carrying blankets to sell, they supplied him with those articles on which to repose in the night; the soldiers, agreeable to the hints they had received from

Antonia's distress on account of Agrippa, and her successful intercession in his behalf.

from Macro, making no opposition to these proceedings.

Tiberius, seized with a violent illness, orders his adopted children to be brought to him.

At the expiration of about six months from the commencement of Agrippa's imprisonment, Tiberius, on his return from Capreae, was attacked with an illness that was at first but slight; but which gradually increasing, he grew worse till his life was despaired of. When he came

to perceive that there were no hopes of his recovery, he dispatched Evodus, his favourite freed man, to bring his children to him early on the following day, to take a final leave of their dying parent. When I speak of his children, I mean those he had adopted; for Drusus, his only son, was deceased: but Tiberius, the son of that Drusus, was yet living, as was Caius, the son of his brother Germanicus, who by this time was arrived at

Caius and Germanicus universally beloved.

the years of maturity, and was a youth distinguished by his learnings, and by every other excellent qualification. He

was a very great favourite with the people, on account of the respect they entertained for the memory of the virtues of his father, who was a prince singularly distinguished by the modesty of his deportment, and the ease of his conversation, never pretending to that superiority which was undoubtedly his due. A character thus eminently distinguished could not fail to attract the favour of the senate and people, and of the provinces in general, which owed him many obligations for the repeated good offices he had conferred. In fact, his death was not celebrated with so much outward pomp and mourning, as by a sincere sorrow, and tears that flowed from the real impulse of the heart. The people in general lamented the death of this prince with such an unfeigned grief, as if each man had wept for the decease of his own father. Caius was highly advantaged in the public opinion by the reputation of Germanicus; but particularly among the soldiers, who were ready, at the first call, to devote their lives to do him any kind of service.

Tiberius implored the gods to direct him concerning a successor.

Orders having been given by Tiberius, that Evodus should bring his sons to him early in the morning, the emperor offered up a prayer to the gods of his country, that he might be directed, by some particular signal, which of the two he should make

choice of for his successor: yet privately wishing that Tiberius might be distinguished by the happy omen: however, he did not dare venture to make a prejudication in a matter of such high importance, but thought proper first to consult his oracle. Wherefore he determined that he would be governed by this circumstance, that the young prince who should first wait upon him in the morning should succeed him in the government. Having formed this resolution, he gave particular orders to the tutor of his grandchild, to bring the youth to him by day-break, not entertaining a doubt but that the gods would declare in favour of Tiberius; but the event

He proposes an omen, which is frustrated, in favour of Caius.

proved the contrary; for the emperor sending out Evodus, as soon as day-light appeared, to see if the young princes were at the door, and to bring into the palace the first he saw, he found Caius alone, informed him that he must wait on his father, and immediately introduced him. Now it happened that Tiberius, being unapprised of the intention of the emperor, had stayed to breakfast, and thus missed the favourable opportunity.

The emperor was astonished when Caius entered the room, and wondered at that providence which had defeated his design in the disposal of the government, by thus settling it in a way totally contrary to what he had intended. Nor did he deem the present disappointment of his expectations the worst circumstance attending the affair; for he did not consider the loss of the empire as of equal consequence with the personal safety of his grandchild: since, where the acquiring of dominion is the object, the question will be decided by force: ambition is deaf to the calls of humanity, and where there is a rivalry for power, the ruin of one party is generally deemed the security of the other.

Now Tiberius paid great regard to the predictions of fortune-tellers, judicial astrologers, and people of that kind; and he acted, in a great degree, pursuant to their advice and direction. Happening one day to look upon Galba, he turned about to some friends who stood near him, and said, "That man will be emperor of Rome." It must be confessed that not one of the Roman emperors ever had such faith in prognostications as Tiberius; yet some of his ideas were not altogether absurd. Nothing, however, made a deeper impression on his mind than the late determination respecting the two princes, which had such an effect on him, that he already considered his grandson in the light of a man doomed to destruction; and what aggravated his wretchedness was, that himself was only blameable for that inquisitiveness of disposition which destroyed the peace of his own mind: whereas he might have lived at his ease, and in perfect freedom, without seeking to know the hidden counsels of providence, and destroying his repose by perpetual inquiries into the knowledge of future events: but this anxiety to know what in nature must be hidden from him, was the curse of his disposition.

Tiberius addicted to fortune-tellers and astrologers.

Being disappointed in the wish that he had formed respecting the succession, he was but ill disposed to congratulate the future emperor on the good fortune that awaited him; yet, as on this occasion it was necessary that something should be said, he addressed the fortunate prince in the manner following: "It is unnecessary, my son Caius, for me to inform you, that Tiberius is more nearly allied to me in blood than you are; yet I now commit the government of the Roman empire into your hands, in consequence of having consulted the will of the gods, and debated on the affair in my own mind. But I command you, that in the exercise of the power with which you are invested, you constantly

His charge to Caius.

constantly remember the obligations you are under to him who bestowed it on you; and that your gratitude to your patron be testified by every possible instance of affection and regard to your brother Tiberius. All that I have to request of you, in grateful acknowledgment of the honour I have now conferred (for, next to Heaven, it is owing to me), is that you will in every particular treat him with the utmost kindness, since he is equally endeared to me by nature and affection. I would likewise wish to remark to you, that it is no less your interest than your duty to comply with the injunctions I have given: for on the life and happiness of your brother, the dignity and security of your situation will, in a great measure, depend; and your unhappiness will speedily succeed the day of his death. The situation of a sovereign prince is equally dangerous and uncertain: he stands on a giddy and slippery elevation: nor will the divine vengeance fail to follow any actions he may be guilty of, in violation of the laws of nature and consanguinity."

Caius promises obedience, but afterwards destroys his brother Tiberius.

Tiberius having thus made his last address to Caius, he promised a punctual and exact obedience to every article of his commands; but he did not intend that his actions should correspond with his words; for no sooner did he come into the possession of power than he caused his brother to be put to death (as Tiberius had foreseen); but within a few years he himself lost his life by assassination.

Death and character of Tiberius.

In a few days after Tiberius had declared Caius his successor, he departed this life, having reigned twenty-two years, five months, and thirteen days. Caius, who succeeded him, was the fourth in the list of the Roman emperors. The first news of the death of Tiberius afforded the highest satisfaction to the Romans; but they scarcely dared give credit to the report; for though the confirmation of this news was the first wish of their hearts, and there was nothing in the world which they would not have freely given to be ascertained of the truth; yet they were afraid of even seeming to believe the report, or of evincing the happiness they felt on receiving the intelligence, before they were certain of the fact; for so great a number of spies and informers were stationed in different places, that it might have been very dangerous for a man to declare his sentiments. Tiberius was of a most fierce and tyrannical disposition, and behaved to the nobility with a rigour never before experienced. His animosities were not known to have any other foundation than in the influence of the present turn of his mind; and his cruelties were frequently carried to such a horrid length, that death from his hands was often deemed an act of mercy. It was therefore necessary for the people to appear cautious how they credited the news which they wished, as a mistake might have been attended with so much danger.

Marfyas informs Agrippa of the emperor's death.

As soon as Marfyas, the freed-man of Agrippa, received information of the death of the emperor, he instantly hur-

ried away with the good news to his patron, who was then going to bathe, and whispered him, in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." Agrippa immediately comprehended his meaning, and exclaimed, "How is it possible that I should requite thee for this favour, and the many other obligations thou hast conferred on me, provided that thy present intelligence should prove true!" The officer, to whose custody Agrippa had been committed, observing in what a hurry Marfyas delivered his message, and how well pleased the prisoner was with the news, immediately conjectured that the intelligence was of the satisfactory kind, and therefore desired Agrippa to inform him of the particulars. At first he made some kind of hesitation; but on being urged to discover what he knew, he related the plain matter of fact. The officer having congratulated him on the good news, invited him to partake of an elegant supper: but while they were in the midst of their entertainment, a messenger arrived with an account that Tiberius was out of danger, and would soon arrive in town.

This intelligence astonished the officer in the highest degree; and being apprehensive that his life must pay the forfeit for his having rejoiced with a prisoner on the news of the death of Tiberius, he pushed Agrippa violently from his seat, and exclaimed in a rage, "Is it thus that you seek to impose upon me by lyes and artifices; and could you find no other person to amuse with a pretended story of the death of Cæsar? Depend upon it, that you shall pay severely for the liberties that you have taken." Saying this, he directed that he should be put in chains, and more closely watched than he was before. Agrippa having passed the night in this situation, the report of Cæsar's death prevailed in the morning, and the people offered sacrifices of joy on the event.

Soon after this report, two letters were brought from Caius, one to the senate, informing them that he was appointed successor to Tiberius; and another to Piso, governor of the city, to the same effect.

These letters ordered that Agrippa should be discharged from prison, and allowed to live in his former house; so that, though still in a kind of custody, he was eased of all fearful apprehensions, and considered himself as in a state of enlargement. Soon afterwards Caius came to Rome, and brought with him the body of Tiberius, which was interred in a most sumptuous manner. The emperor would instantly have discharged Agrippa, but this was opposed by Antonia; not for want of affection to the party, but that she thought it would be rather indecent to hasten the discharge; and, as Tiberius had committed the prisoner, would be deemed a kind of insult on his memory. In a few days, however, Caius sent for him to his palace, and having given directions that he should be shaved and properly dressed, he caused a crown to be put on his head, as successor to the tetrarchy which had been pos-

On a rumour to the contrary, Agrippa is more severely treated.

Caius releases Agrippa, and confers many honours on him.

He is crowned king, and made tetrarch; Marcellus appointed governor of Judea, and Agrippa returns home.

fessed by Philip: he likewise created him king, bestowed on him the tetrarchy of Lyfania, and gave him a chain of gold of the same weight as that of iron which he had worn in prison. Marcellus was now sent as governor of Judæa by Caius.

When Caius Cæsar was in the second year of his reign, Agrippa intreated his permission to retire into his own country to adjust his private affairs, promising to return at a limited time. It was matter of astonishment to his countrymen to behold Agrippa with a crown on his head; as he appeared a singular instance of the instability of fortune, and the fluctuation of human affairs, having so soon changed his situation from one excess to the other. Some of them considered him as a wise and fortunate man, who could so firmly support himself against all difficulties; while others were so astonished at the revolution that had happened, that they could scarcely credit the evidence of their own senses.

CHAP. IX.

HERODIAS envies her Brother, and advises her Husband to solicit Favours for himself. HEROD accused of Conspiracies. He acknowledges his Guilt, is removed from his Government, and condemned to perpetual Exile. CÆSAR offers a Favour to HERODIAS, which she refuses to accept of, and is ordered into Banishment with her Husband. The Moderation of CAIUS, and his subsequent Arrogance.

Envy of Herodias to Agrippa, and the cause of it.

HERODIAS (sister of Agrippa, and wife of Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, the country beyond Jordan) was exceedingly chagrined at the great success of Agrippa. She could not endure the idea that her brother, who so lately had been obliged to abscond from his creditors, should now be so greatly advanced above her husband, in honour, rank, and dignity. The pride of her spirit gave her infinite mortification, when she beheld him dressed in all the pomp of royalty, shewing himself to the people who surrounded him in crowds. This sight, and the ideas that it occasioned, raised so much of envy in her mind, that she was anxious for her husband to repair immediately to Rome, and solicit the emperor to confer equal honours on him. "I should be inexpressibly wretched (cried she) to behold my husband, who was the son of a king, and who, by his own personal qualifications, and in consequence of the affections of the people, had so good a right to succeed to the throne, stand tamely looking on, with perfect indifference, while the son of Aristobulus, at once a bankrupt and a criminal, who has undergone the rigour of the law, is promoted to a throne." Then turning to her husband, she said, "If you could patiently submit to live to this period, below the dignity of your family, certainly no time is now to be lost in doing credit to the name of your

father, nor ought you longer to think of ranking beneath an abject wretch, who, not long since, was supported by your bounty. Never let it be said, that, while you had every advantage of fortune and reputation on your side, Agrippa, borne down by the weight of his necessities, should have an opportunity of superseding you in the means of advancing his fortune. It will ill become the dignity of Herod to acknowledge the superiority of that man whom his own bounty has kept from starving. Therefore, I intreat you, without hesitation, or regard to the expence that may attend the expedition, we immediately depart together for Rome: money has no farther value than in the satisfaction it procures us from the having disposed of it in a proper manner."

Herod was of a disposition calculated to indulge himself in his ease; nor had he formed any favourable opinion of the court of Rome; wherefore he endeavoured all he could to divert his wife from her intention, thinking that abstaining from the journey would be the safest proceeding; but in proportion as he was for declining, she was for pursuing the plan; and urged him in so importunate a manner, that he was at length obliged to comply with her request; on which they proceeded together towards Rome, with a splendid retinue. Now Agrippa, having taken care to be informed of all their motions, had laid a plan for the counteracting their designs. Having prepared letters, and presents for the emperor, he kept his freed-man, Fortunatus, ready to sail for Rome, as soon as it should be known that Herod was put to sea; with particular instructions for his conduct on his arrival.

Herod, after much persuasion from Herodias, consents to apply to Caius for favours.

Fortunatus having a favourable passage, arrived at Puteoli at the same time that Herod did; but it happened that the emperor was now at Bajæ, a small town in Compagne; five furlongs from Puteoli, a place distinguished by its royal palaces; as the emperors who frequented the hot baths, either for health or pleasure, were ambitious of excelling each other in the splendor and elegance of their buildings. When Herod arrived here, he paid his respects to Caius; and Fortunatus, almost in the same moment, delivered his letters, which the emperor having read, found they contained two charges against Herod; the first of which was, his being concerned in the conspiracy of Sejanus against Tiberius; and the other, taking part with Artabanus, the Parthian, against Caius; in proof of which Agrippa urged that he had then a magazine of arms for seventy thousand men.

He meets Fortunatus, Agrippa's spy, at Puteoli.

Caius, inflamed at this news, instantly asked Herod if he was thus formidably provided; nor could he deny so indisputable a fact. The emperor sought for no farther proof of his treasonable designs; but immediately deprived him of his government, and seized on his money, both which he gave to Agrippa, as a reward for the discovery he had made. Herod he doomed to perpetual exile at Lyons, a capital city of France; but with regard

The emperor, on hearing the articles of accusation against Herod, deprives him of his government.

regard to Herodias, who was sister to Agrippa, he permitted her to retain all her private property, not dooming her to a share in her husband's misfortunes, saying, he would treat her with lenity for the sake of her brother. When Herodias heard this determination, she addressed Caius, saying, "You have decreed like a magnanimous emperor; permit me to behave like an obedient wife. It will be out of my power to enjoy the effects of your liberality; for I cannot deem it just or honourable to abandon my husband in his distress, after having partaken of all the advantages of his more auspicious fortune." Caius was exceedingly offended at this dignity of mind in a woman, and considering her behaviour as an affront to himself, he seized her effects, and ordered that she should be banished and confined with her husband. Thus was Herodias subjected to the vengeance of heaven, as a punishment for the envy she had entertained towards her brother; and Herod was thus afflicted in consequence of having taken her advice in the prosecution of a malicious act.

Caius begins to rule well, but soon after shamefully degenerates.

During the two first years of the reign of Caius, his government was directed by the rules of prudence and moderation, and was equally acceptable to the people at Rome and in the provinces; but, after that period, his arrogance and vanity increased to such a degree, that he became intoxicated with his power, considered himself as something more than mortal, blasphemed the gods, assumed the state of a deity, and demanded that divine honours should be paid him.

Tumult at Alexandria between the Jews and Greeks.

An unhappy difference arising at this period between the Jews and Greeks who were resident at Alexandria, they agreed that each party should send three ambassadors to adjust the affair in the presence of Caius; and of these Apion and Philo were the principal. Apion made many objections to the conduct of the Jews, the chief of which was, that "Whereas in all the various parts of the dominions of Rome, temples and altars were erected to Caius, and equal adoration paid to the emperor as to the gods, the Jews alone were refractory, and refused to wear by the holy name of Cæsar, or to dedicate images to his honour." This inflammatory remark having been made by Apion, he said all he could

Philo's short and animated speech and conduct.

farther to irritate Caius against the Jews. Now Philo, the brother of Alexander, who was overseer of the customs, and a man distinguished by his learning and other accomplishments, prepared himself to reply to this speech, in behalf of the Jews, as was his duty as their principal ambassador: but Caius, in a transport of rage, commanded him to depart the place; whereupon Philo, turning about to the Jews who were near him, advised them not to despair, addressing them in these remarkable words: "Now God will be our friend, since Caius is our enemy."

JUDÆA. The JEWS remonstrate against it. PETRONIUS assembles the JEWS at TIBERIAS. His Letter to CAIUS, which arrives when AGRIPPA is at ROME. AGRIPPA gives CAIUS a most sumptuous Entertainment, who promises ample Amends.

THE refusal of the Jews to submit to the orders of Caius, incensed him in so high a degree, that he immediately dispatched Petronius into Syria, to supply the place of Vitellius, and gave him orders to enter Judæa with a powerful army, and there erect his statue in the temple; saying, that if the Jews readily acquiesced in this proceeding, no farther notice should be taken: but if they made any opposition to it, they should be compelled to a compliance by force of arms.

Caius, offended with the Jews, orders his statue to be erected in Judæa.

Petronius readily engaged in this business, and lost no time in making preparations to execute the commands of the emperor; for which purpose he assembled two Roman legions, and a number of auxiliary troops, which he fixed in winter-quarters at Ptolemais, that they might be ready for action in the spring. He sent repeated accounts of his proceedings to Caius, who made proper acknowledgements of his diligence, and gave him directions to proceed with resolution, saying he was determined to reduce the obstinate Jews to obedience.

At this time immense multitudes of Jews resorted to Petronius at Ptolemais, intreating him in the most earnest manner, not to compel them to act against the dictates of their consciences, and the customs of their religion. They said, that if it was absolutely necessary to erect a statue in their temple, the best previous step that could be taken would be to sacrifice their lives, and then the troops might act as they thought proper: but that while they lived, they would never admit a violation of those laws and precepts which they had received from their illustrious ancestors, through such a long line of generations. In answer to this Petronius said, "Perhaps what you urge might have a proper effect on me, if I could act agreeable to my own inclinations; but as I have received the commands of the emperor, I must comply with them; nor dare I disobey my orders." In reply to this the Jews said, "If you conceive yourself thus bound to obey the orders of your master, we do not hold those of ours to be less sacred. By the blessing of Heaven we are resolved to follow the example of our forefathers, agreeable to our practice till the present moment. We are not so mean and abject as to trifle with the laws of our God, and hazard the loss of a glorious immortality, for the sake of preserving our present existence. No, Sir, we are indifferent what becomes of our persons and fortunes, so that our laws and religion are but protected. We place our reliance in Heaven, and, assured of the divine providence and protection, we are determined to run every hazard. Ought we at once to incur the wrath of God, and the infamy of cowardice?"

The Jews remonstrate against it.

CHAP. X.

CAIUS orders PETRONIUS to erect his Statue in

cowardice? Shall we obey our Maker, or the commands of Caius? Do you determine with regard to the propriety of our conduct."

*Petronius assembles the Jews at Tiberias, who ex-
postulate with him there.*

As it was now evident to Petronius that these people were inflexible in their resolution, and that nothing but the violence of slaughter, and the effusion of human blood, could procure the erection of the statue of Caius; he assembled a number of his friends and domestics, and went to Tiberias, there to remain till he should be more particularly informed of the manners, customs, and disposition of the people with whom it was his business to treat. The Jews were alarmed with the apprehension of a war from this approach of the Romans: but their principal fear was lest their customs and religion should be invaded. Hereupon, many thousands of them assembled in a body and went immediately to Petronius, requesting him, in the most earnest manner, not to urge the people to desperate measures by presuming to profane their holy temple with forbidden images. Petronius exclaimed, "Will you seek to contend with Cæsar? Are you disposed to make war against the emperor, without considering his strength, or your own weakness?" In answer hereto they said, that they had no intention of fighting, but would rather yield to death, than to the sacrifice of their laws. Having said this, they threw themselves to the ground, and made bare their necks, thereby intimating their absolute will, and determined resolution. In this manner they continued for about forty days, neglecting to plow or sow their land, and omitting every other business of husbandry which the season of the year required: for they had unanimously agreed rather to submit to death, than that the statue should be erected.

Aristobulus, and other eminent Jews, apply to Petronius for redress against the grievance.

When affairs were in this situation, several Jewish noblemen of great families, and others of eminent distinction, among whom were Aristobulus the brother of king Agrippa, and Elcias, who bore the surname of Great, made application to Petronius, requesting that he would consider how determined a people he had to do with, and what fatal consequences might attend the driving them to acts of desperation. They therefore advised him to represent to Caius the peculiar difficulty of the case, and the obstinacy of his opponents, who had permitted their lands to lie uncultivated, not, indeed, with any view to acts of rebellion, but with a resolution rather to die than to suffer an infringement in the article of religion: that a disability of paying their taxes must result from their neglect of husbandry, exclusive of the danger to which the country would be exposed from rapine and robbery. They hinted that on these representations, Caius might possibly relent, and then it would not appear that there had been any idea of rebellion; but if the emperor was absolutely determined to carry on a war, no hindrance would arise from this representation. This is the substance of the arguments used by Aristobulus and his friends.

Petronius was well acquainted with the impetuous and revengeful disposition of Caius, particularly when his commands were not strictly and immediately executed: but so great a reverence did he entertain for the laws of God, and the rights of conscience, and so dreadful was the idea he had of sacrificing so many lives to the rage of a madman; that having considered on the affair, reflected on the credit of Aristobulus, who had interceded for them, the importance of the business itself, and the danger of rendering desperate a people who had given full proof of their determined temper, he resolved, at whatever hazard to himself, to write to Caius, stating all the difficulties that attended the affair; and he reasoned with himself in this manner: "Suppose that what I attempt should not be productive of any good consequence, and that instead of arguing the emperor into a better disposition, my expostulations should tend only to provoke his rage, and draw down on my own head that vengeance which I am seeking to avert from others: yet still I shall have this consolation, that I shall die in the duty of an honest man, who did not fear to risk his own life, even when ruin stared him in the face, to protect a people whom he conceived to be at once innocent and oppressed." Having thus deliberated on the affair, Petronius issued orders for the Jews to assemble at Tiberias, where they met together in immense numbers, and he addressed them in such a courteous manner as inspired them with the most sanguine hopes of success.

Petronius hesitates, but at length inclines to favour the Jews.

In the letter which Petronius wrote to Caius, he laid before him a particular account of all that had happened, and represented to him what would be the probable consequence of rendering desperate such immense multitudes of people who were obstinately bent on retaining their own opinions. He said that nothing but absolute force would compel them to yield, and that if the emperor pursued them with violence, he would thereby lessen his own revenue, make himself unhappy, and entail eternal disgrace on his name. To all this he added, that the Jewish people were peculiarly acceptable to God, who had given singular demonstrations of his particular regard for them.

He writes to Cæsar, representing their cause to him.

When this letter of Petronius arrived at Rome, king Agrippa happened to be there with the emperor, who seemed to be greatly attached to him, and the other took singular care to cultivate his friendship by every act of liberal behaviour: particularly, he made an entertainment for Caius, which for its magnificence, order, elegance, singularity, and the expence that attended it, exceeded every thing of the kind which had been seen; the entertainments of the emperor himself not being fit to be put in competition with it. Caius was highly pleased, not only with the elegant profusion of this treat, but with the spirit with which it had been conducted; for the expence of it was greater than Agrippa could well afford: wherefore the emperor conceived an idea of making him an equal compliment in return.

Agrippa makes a splendid entertainment for the emperor, who promises a requital.

When he was a little warmed with wine, he called to Agrippa, and addressed him in the following manner: "Exclusive of the present instance, I have had many other proofs of your friendship and regard. In the time of Tiberius you gave me several evident proofs of it, at the risk of your own safety; and you have less consulted your own convenience, than my honour and satisfaction. And as it would ill become my dignity to lay under obligations that I had no idea of repaying, I am determined to make you some immediate recompence, for any deficiency in my former favours: and what I propose now to do for you shall be such an addition to my past bounty, as may be deemed no small increase of your fortune."

Modest reply
of Agrippa to
Caius.

Having thus said, Caius waited in expectation that Agrippa would have solicited lands, commissions, or even provinces and revenues, which he was well disposed to have granted: but Agrippa, though previously determined what to ask, omitted to make his request at present, conceiving it might be done with a better grace in the sequel of the conversation: but he addressed the emperor as follows: "As I had no private view in the little services I was happy enough to render you in the days of Tiberius, so I have no farther wish at present than the honour of your friendship; and though I am not unacquainted that you have many valuable gifts in your disposal, permit me now to make my most grateful acknowledgments for the favours I have received, and to declare that I am not ambitious of any farther gratification."

He requests
that the order
to Petronius
may be revoked.

Caius wondered at this instance of moderation in a man to whom such an offer had been made; but still he was determined that he should ask some favour, and that, whatever it was, it should be complied with: and having intimated his sentiments, Agrippa said, "Since your benevolence lays this command upon me, I will presume to offer you one request: I will neither ask you for wealth or honour, since your bounty has already bestowed enough of both on me; but your compliance with my present requisition will render you equally the favourite of God and man: and if I can but obtain this favour in addition to all those with which I have been already obliged, my fame will be established to future times. All I have to request is, that your order to Petronius, for the erecting your statue in the temple of the Jews, may be recalled."

Caius yields
to Agrippa's
integrity.

Agrippa was not insensible that by making this request, which was a direct opposition to one of the decrees of Caius, he was in immediate and imminent hazard of his life: but the emperor conceiving himself much obliged by the elegance of his entertainment, and being ashamed to refuse a request which he himself had ordered to be made; besides the respect he thought due to a man who preferred the sacred obligations of conscience, and the welfare of his country, to his own private emolument, he determined to grant the favour: and, in consequence of this determination, wrote to

No. 18.

Petronius to the following effect: "I approve of what you have already done, in collecting the troops together, and in observing my orders. With regard to the statue, if you have already erected it, let it remain; but if not, concern yourself no farther about that affair; but dismiss your troops, and return into Syria. I am willing to pardon this act of disobedience in the Jews, on account of Agrippa, for whom I entertain so perfect a respect, that I can refuse nothing to his request."

This letter from the emperor to Petronius was written before it was known that the Jews intended to break out into absolute rebellion: but Caius being a man void of honour, above blushing for any thing that he did, and exceedingly abandoned to the influence of his passions, thought he should consult his own dignity, by assuming an unreasonable degree of stateliness: wherefore, as soon as the report was confirmed that a commotion had happened among the Jews, he broke out into a most violent passion, conceiving that his authority was trampled on by that rebellious people, and immediately wrote a letter to Petronius, in a very different style from the first; and it ran in the following terms: "As I find you pay more respect to the bribes you have received from the Jews than to the authority of my commands, as is evident by your neglecting my business to attend to theirs, I leave it to your imagination what you ought to expect from my vengeance. I am determined to punish you in an exemplary manner, as a warning to the present times and to posterity, that the power of princes is not to be trifled with." This letter was sent to Petronius during the life of Caesar; but as

Hearing of a
commotion among
the Jews, Caesar
writes a second and menacing letter
to Petronius;

but dies before
it was delivered.

the person who carried it had a slow passage, it was not delivered till after his decease; so that Petronius received the news of his death before the letter. Thus did the gracious providence of God interfere in his behalf, to reward him for the zeal he shewed, and for the dangers he sustained, in support of his own honour, and the religion of the Jews. While Caius, who had usurped to himself divine honours, was cut off in the midst of his vanity and presumption, Petronius received the thanks of the Romans, as well as of the people of the province, for the singular greatness of his public services: in particular he was complimented by the chief persons of the senate, whom Caesar had frequently insulted and ill treated, by methods that testified the singular pride of his heart. Caius died soon after the dictating the last threatening letter to Petronius. With regard to the foundation of a conspiracy, and the mode of executing it, I shall treat of it in another part of this work. Soon after Petronius received the letter informing him of the emperor's death, he got that which denounced his own; and as, in his situation, he could not do otherwise than rejoice at the former event; so was he equally bound to extol the goodness of Providence, which immediately afterwards rewarded his regard to the holy temple, and his zeal to serve

Singular instance of the
interposition
of Providence

the Jews in their distressed situation. Thus was the life of Petronius preserved by the immediate interference of Heaven.

CHAP. XI.

The Misery of the JEWS of MESOPOTAMIA and BABYLON. Account of NEARDÆ and NISIBIS; and of the two Brothers, ASINÆUS and ANILÆUS. The Command of BABYLON given to ASINÆUS. ANILÆUS, his Brother, enamoured of a PARTHIAN Lady, destroys her Husband, and marries her. ANILÆUS makes an Incursion into the Country of MITHRIDATES, takes him Prisoner, and puts his Army to the Rout. ANILÆUS and his People slain. The GREEKS and SYRIANS unite against the JEWS. Above Fifty Thousand JEWS slain, and the rest retire to different Places.

Calamities of the Jews, in Mesopotamia and Babylon.

SO confused and calamitous was the situation of the Jews of Mesopotamia and Babylon at this period, that their ancient histories relate nothing in any degree approaching to it: but in order to give an exact state of the case, as it is my intention to do, I must trace the affair from its original. In the province of Babylon is a city named Neardæ, a place distinguished by its populousness, yet so fruitful that the inhabitants can subsist on its produce: it has a wall and fortifications for its defence, and is almost surrounded by the river Euphrates. In this province and on the same river is a city called Nisibis. These places being exceedingly strong, in them the Jews from time to time deposited their holy treasure, as it was received and dedicated, in order for its being transmitted to Jerusalem, whither, at appointed times, it was carried under strong convoys, lest it should be seized on by the Parthians, who were at that time in possession of Babylon.

A strong party formed by Asinæus and Anilæus.

Among the Jews of Neardæ were two brothers, named Asinæus and Anilæus. They were the sons of a widow, who had placed them out to learn the art of weaving sail-cloth, which is no disreputable profession in that country, where it is even common for the men to card and spin. As it happened that the two brothers came too late one day to their work, their master was severe upon them for their neglect, in resentment for which they armed themselves with the first offensive weapons they could seize, and retired to a place where the river divided, which was distinguished by its affording plenty of corn, grass, fruit, and every sort of provision proper for winter store. While they were in this situation a number of stout young men, whose necessities tempted them to seek some relief, resorted to them, and enlisted under their command, and taking up arms, no

person dared to oppose their proceedings. The brothers being thus reinforced, erected a strong fort, and sent out a great number of emissaries and marauders, to raise contributions throughout the country. These were commissioned to offer friendship and protection to all that submitted to their demands, and to denounce vengeance against all that refused compliance; so that the people were under a sort of necessity of coming into any terms: for by this time the party was grown so numerous, that there could be no thought of resisting; and even the king of Parthia began to be alarmed at the insurrection.

On receiving intelligence of this affair, the prince of Babylon, deeming it his duty to suppress the sedition before it grew to too great a head, collected his troops throughout the districts of Parthia and Babylon, and immediately marched with the greater part of his army, hoping to come up with the mutineers time enough to surprise them. Having, by defiles and cross-paths, advanced to the edge of a piece of moorish ground, he there halted; and presuming that, as the next day was the sabbath, they would not venture on a battle, he slowly moved forward, intending to fall suddenly upon them, when victory would follow of course. At this time Asinæus and his companions were reposing themselves on a bank with their arms laying by them, when Asinæus called out, "I think, fellow-soldiers, I hear the neighing of horses that seem to be urging forward to a battle; and I can even fancy that I hear the champing of their bits; wherefore it becomes us to take care that we are not surprised: let some persons, therefore, instantly go out, and learn the truth of the affair, respecting which I wish I may happen to be deceived."

Their power alarms the king of Parthia.

Agreeable to these directions scouts were immediately sent out, who soon returned on the full gallop, with information that Asinæus had formed a right conjecture; for that the enemy were so near as to be on the point of executing their design. The messenger said, they had horses sufficient to trample them to death, as they were but defenceless men, and dared not make any resistance on the sabbath, which was forbidden by the laws of their religion. Asinæus, however, was of a contrary opinion, and said it was a ridiculous thing to think of standing still, and submitting to be destroyed, merely to gratify the rage of an enemy: "On the other hand (said he) resume your courage; reflect on the urgent necessity of the case: follow my example, that if we fall it may not be unrevenge; and leave the issue to the determination of Providence." Having thus exhorted and encouraged his people, he seized his arms, and led them to battle; and finding the enemy in an unprovided state, rather prepared to take possession of a victory already gained, than to fight for conquest, they attacked them, and put the main body to flight, after killing great numbers on the spot.

Scouts bring advice of the enemy's approach.

Asinæus totally routs the Parthians.

The news of this victory being brought to the king of Parthia, he conceived so

Artabanus courts the al-

high

fluence of the
brothers.

high an idea of the courage of the two brothers, that he was extremely impatient to have an interview and converse with them; wherefore he dispatched to them one of his attendants, in whom he placed great confidence, with the following message: "I am commanded by Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to inform you, that though you have done him great injustice in the inroad which you have made into his dominions, yet he is willing to forget all past offences, and bury all animosities in oblivion, in consideration of the advantageous character which he hath heard of you. I am farther commissioned, in my master's name, to assure you that he wishes to join in a league of friendship with you, without any fraud or collusion. On his honour and faith I am likewise to offer you all possible assurance of your safe conduct on your journey to him and back again. Your own experience will inform you that my sovereign is a prince of great bounty and munificence, and that he will be inclined, on every occasion, to give you all possible proofs of the generosity of his disposition."

Anixus dis-
patched alone
on the embassy

The apparent candour of this invitation was insufficient to prevail on Asinæus to undertake the journey; but procured such presents as he could, and sent his brother Anilæus to wait on the king. On his arrival he found his reception as agreeable as could have been wished; but the king observing that he came alone, asked him how it happened that his brother did not accompany him: to which Anilæus answered, that he considered himself to be safe in his present situation, and was unwilling to leave it on the confidence of his majesty's promise. Artabanus being sensible that fear had given rise to this cautious conduct, swore by his gods that neither of the brothers should receive the least degree of injury; and in ratification of this oath he gave his right hand to Anilæus, which, among the barbarians, is deemed the most sacred pledge of good faith that can be given by one man to another; since, that ceremony being once past, there remains then no suspicion of deceit, no room for jealousy, nor even an idea that falsehood can possibly take place.

Policy of the
Parthian king
on this occa-
sion.

Artabanus having given this assurance to Anilæus, sent him back to his brother; and conceived great hopes of the services that might be rendered to him by their joint endeavours to keep in awe those provinces that seemed inclined to revolt during the king's absence; as they had a considerable party that adhered to their interest. The king likewise considered, that while he was employed in suppressing a rebellion in one part of his dominions, Asinæus might do him great injury in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by supplying himself with men, and taking possession of the strong forts. His sending for Asinæus, therefore, was founded in good policy.

The two bro-
thers wait on
the king to-
gether, and
are received

Anilæus having made a report to his brother of the singular respect that Artabanus had expressed for them both, and informed him by what solemn oaths and

protestations he had ratified the sincerity of his regard, Asinæus was induced to think of waiting on the king, and in pursuance of this sentiment they set out in company. They were received by Artabanus with great politeness, and appearance of friendship; but the king remarking the disagreeable figure of Asinæus, and considering the dignity of his mind, would frequently observe, that "the soul of that man was not formed for his body." Being one day at table with him, the king, addressing himself to his general, Abdagafus, spoke in the highest terms of the martial exploits of Asinæus, whom he represented as a miracle of valour. To this Abdagafus made no other reply, than simply to beg the king's permission to cut his throat, in revenge for the injuries sustained by the Parthians. In answer hereto Artabanus said, "Most certainly I shall never permit such an insult to be offered to a man who has entrusted his safety to my honour, and whom I am bound, by the sacred obligation of an oath, to protect: but if you are disposed to give a convincing proof of your courage, you may find a method of vindicating the honour of the Parthians, without a violation of my oath: for you have only to attack him on his return, and not inform me of your intention."

in a friendly
manner.

The king no-
bly rejects his
officer's re-
quest to kill
Asinæus.

Early on the following morning the king sent for Asinæus, whom he addressed to this purpose: "It is now proper that you should return to your own place of residence, lest, while you wait, the resentment of my officers may be carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and you may receive an injury not in my power to prevent. I recommend to you the care of Babylon; preserve the peace of that province to the utmost of your power, and protect it from robberies. Since you have not hesitated to trust your life to my honour, be assured that I will always consult your safety as much as my own." Having said this, the king gratified him with a number of valuable presents, and sent him to the care of his own government, in which he was no sooner settled than he applied himself to the building, repairing, and beautifying of forts, wherever it was found necessary. In fact, he acted in all things with so much prudence and discretion, and gave such universal satisfaction, that no man before ever arrived at such a degree of power and credit from such a beginning, and in so short a time. The great men of Babylon, and the governors and commanders in Parthia, were equally his friends. His authority increased with his arms and adherents; so that Mesopotamia was, in a great degree, under his immediate government.

The com-
mand of Ba-
bylon is given
to him.

He acquires
great reputa-
tion for his
wise conduct.

Affairs prospered in this manner with the two brothers for the space of fifteen years, equally to their own honour and the satisfaction of the public; but at length, when they began to deviate from their exemplary piety and good behaviour; when they abandoned the study of virtue, and the precepts of

Anilæus, en-
amoured of a
Parthian
lady, kills her
husband to
obtain her.

of

of their ancestors, and gave themselves up to the gratifications of sense, and admitted foreign innovations, their credit likewise decayed. It happened at this period, that a certain Parthian governor came into those provinces, and brought with him his wife, who was greatly and equally distinguished by the super-eminent beauty of her person, and the uncommon qualifications of her mind. It is uncertain whether Anilæus had seen this woman, or only heard of her uncommon merit; but he became violently in love with her; and having no other method to obtain his end, and being impelled by the violence of his passion, he waged war against her husband, whom having killed in the first attack, he got the lady into his possession, and took her to his bed.

Source of the calamities which befall the brothers.

From this circumstance arose a scene of dreadful misfortunes which afterwards befall the brothers. It was the custom of this woman at all times to carry with her some images of the gods of the barbarians; and being now a widow and a prisoner, she had concealed some of those idols, which, for a considerable time, she worshipped privately, as she could find opportunity: but some time afterwards, when Anilæus openly acknowledged her as his wife, she exercised her religion in the most public manner, without any farther endeavour to make a secret of the affair.

Anilæus marries the barbarian woman, and thereby displeases his friends. He murders one that reproved him.

This marrying a barbarian woman, and an idolatress, in defiance of the laws, rites and customs of the Jews, gave the utmost disgust to those friends who had heretofore been most zealous in behalf of the brothers. Future princes ought to be cautioned by this example, not to depart from the duty they owe to God, in seeking a gratification of their carnal appetites. In the instance above-mentioned it was in vain to think of opposing the cool voice of reason to the turbulence of passion; for a person of eminence having taken the liberty to discharge his conscience by giving reasonable advice, was stabbed to death on the spot. As he was dying, he breathed out the following prophetic denunciation against the brothers and their abettors: "May they be pursued by signal vengeance, on account of the insults they have offered both to religion and friendship! May the treatment they have given to others fall on their own heads! May the brothers be punished as the principal authors of this violence, and the others for assisting in the murder of the protector of their liberties and laws, whom it was their duty to shield from all harm!"

The Jews complain to Asinæus of the conduct of his brother.

The people were concerned, in a very high degree, for the death of the worthy governor: but the sense they entertained of the former goodness of the brothers, to which, in a great degree, their present happy situation was owing, had such an effect upon them, that, for a while, they restrained their resentment: but at length the open and undisguised profession of idolatry offended them beyond all human endurance; wherefore they assembled in great num-

bers, repaired to Asinæus, and complained of the conduct of his brother. They were very plain in their remonstrances; said that the unhappy affair had been better wholly omitted; but that since it was past, it became his duty to act in a determined manner, to prevent farther ill consequences; for otherwise the commotion among the people would become general. They said that the marriage was such a violation of their religion, that it was generally disapproved: and with regard to the idolatrous practices of his brother's wife, they were a base insult on the worship of the true God. Asinæus acknowledged that the wickedness which his brother had been guilty of was replete with the most dangerous consequences both to himself and his people: but having the most affectionate tenderness for so near a relation, and making all possible allowance for the frailty of nature, in a case where his heart was so deeply engaged, he sought rather to extenuate his crime, than to criminate his conduct. But the people becoming every day more clamorous with Asinæus, he at length came to a resolution to apply to his brother, whom he censured for what was past, and cautioned him with regard to his future conduct; intreating that he would, without hesitation, send his wife back again to her friends. But this proceeding had no influence on the conduct of Anilæus; and, the woman, finding that the spirit of the populace began to increase; and, apprehensive of some fatal consequence to her husband, on her account, she caused Asinæus to be poisoned, not entertaining the least fear of her own personal safety, when a fond husband was to be the judge of her conduct.

He extenuates his brother's crimes, but remonstrates with him thereupon.

Asinæus poisoned by his brother's wife.

The whole power having now devolved to Anilæus, he collected his army, and made an incursion into the country of Mithridates, the son of Artabanus, and a person of great distinction among the Parthians. Here he found a great plenty of money, slaves, and cattle, with other effects of considerable value; all of which he carried away. At this period Mithridates was at no great distance, and being informed of the inroad that had been made on his dominions, not only without all provocation, but through the mere impulse of insolence, he selected a considerable number of his best troops, and advanced to give battle to Anilæus. The following day being the sabbath of the Jews, which it is their custom to celebrate as a day of perfect rest, he stopt that night at a village, intending to fall upon them by surprise on the following day. Now it happened that a Syrian in the neighbourhood had intelligence of the design, which he communicated to Anilæus, and gave him particular information where Mithridates was to be that night at a grand supper. Anilæus, having received this intelligence, directed his people to take the customary refreshment, and marched immediately to surprise the enemy: in which his success was equal to his wishes; for falling on their quarters about the fourth watch, he took some asleep, while others

escaped

escaped under favour of the night. Mithridates being made a prisoner, was placed on an ass, naked, which is looked on as the highest degree of infamy among the Parthians. In this manner he was conveyed to a wood, where several of the friends of Anilæus were for putting him to death; but this he himself opposed, and addressed them to the following effect: "This man is one of the most distinguished in all the country, and allied to the royal family. Now he is in your power, spare his life; and you need not doubt but he will forgive past offences, and always remember the obligation; besides, you will, by this proceeding, preserve an interest that may in all events lead to an accommodation. On the contrary, if you put Mithridates to death, you may depend on it that the king will avenge his blood on all the Jews in Babylon: and we ought to interest ourselves in the welfare of those people, not only on account of affinity, but in point of prudence: for as the chance of war is uncertain, it is right to secure a retreat for ourselves in case of a defeat."

He recovers his liberty, and is persuaded to renew the war.

The people in general seemed to be of the same opinion as Anilæus, on which Mithridates had his liberty granted by the common consent: but when he returned home, and his wife learned on what condition he had obtained his freedom, she reviled him in the most opprobrious terms; hinting that he, who was the son-in-law of a king, after having fought so many battles with, and been so often disgraced by the Jews, and at length made captive by them, ought not meanly to have submitted to owe his life to their bounty. She concluded her invectives by saying, "Retrieve your character, or, by the powers that protect the thrones of kings, I swear that I will instantly abandon you!" As she was continually addressing him to this effect, he grew tired of her reflections, and was afraid that her pride would at length induce her to procure a divorce; wherefore, though against his own inclination, he put himself at the head of an army; but not without a mental conviction, that the Parthian who would submit to a Jew was deserving of death.

Anilæus marches to meet and engage Mithridates, who defeats his army.

Anilæus being informed that Mithridates was marching towards him, resolved, on a principle of honour, to hazard a battle in the open field, rather than take advantage of the security of his present situation; wherefore he advanced to meet the enemy, at the head of a body of troops that were almost strangers to defeat; and, exclusive of his veteran forces, he was joined by a number of volunteers, who took arms in the hope of sharing the booty; so that, on the whole, they deemed the victory obtained before the battle was commenced. Full of these sanguine hopes they travelled about eighty furlongs, through a dry sandy country; and when they were so fatigued with heat and excessive thirst that they were scarcely able to support themselves, Mithridates attacked them with fresh troops, totally routed them, and killed several thousands in the flight. Anilæus,

No. 18.

and others who escaped, retired to an adjacent forest, in a state of confusion which is beyond description; leaving Mithridates in full possession of the honours of the field.

After the defeat, great numbers of idle and disorderly people resorted to the army of Anilæus, so that its original number was soon completed; but these troops were altogether undisciplined, and by no means so valiant as those he had lost. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, he marched into the quarters of the Babylonians, and made great devastation: whereupon the Babylonians sent to the Jews at Nearda, requesting that Anilæus might be delivered up to justice; but this requisition could not be complied with, as he was not in their power. Proposals were now sent to Anilæus, offering terms of peace, and requesting that a treaty might be set on foot, that affairs might be adjusted on equitable terms. This being agreed to, commissioners were deputed by the Jews and Babylonians to manage the whole business in dispute between them. The Babylonians having carefully observed the place where Anilæus and his companions were assembled, suddenly surprised them in the dead of the night, and finding them sleepy and intoxicated they killed all they met with; and among the rest Anilæus fell a sacrifice to their rage.

Anilæus makes depredations on the enemy, but himself and his party are soon after slain.

In ancient times perpetual variances had happened between the Babylonians and Jews, respecting their rights, customs, and mode of living; sometimes one party having the advantage, and sometimes the other: so that the debate commonly ended without a decision. During the life of Anilæus, and while he was supported by his friends, the Babylonians were kept in some sort of awe; but in consequence of his violent death, they now assumed courage to affront the Jews on every occasion, till they rendered their lives a burden to them; and by their insufferable insolence, many of them were compelled to abandon their habitations, and to retire into Seleucia, the principal city of that province, and which received its name from Seleucia Nicanor, who was the founder thereof: now this was a place sacred to Liberty, where great numbers of Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians lived together in a promiscuous manner. In this city the Jews resided, much at their ease, for the space of five years, and in the sixth year a violent plague raging in Babylon, many more of that people were compelled to retire into Seleucia; a circumstance that gave rise to greater distress than they had yet known; as will appear from the following short narrative.

Many of the Jews are forced into Seleucia.

There were perpetual quarrellings between the Greeks and Syrians of this city, but in all their disputes the advantage lay on the side of the Greeks, till the Jews came thither, who being a brave and warlike people, the Syrians procured their assistance, and obtained the advantage. The Greeks, finding the inconveniences they lay under, and that they should

Variances between the Greeks and Syrians.

be ruined unless they could destroy the connection between the Syrians and Jews, they privately resorted to some particular friends they had among the Syrians, for their advice how to heal the breach, and bring matters to an accommodation. The proposal was received in an amicable manner, and referred to the consideration of some principal people of both parties, who were to advise on the most proper mode of proceeding; and they soon agreed to end the controversy, by joining against the Jews as the common enemy of both. In consequence of this agreement they attacked the Jews in an unguarded hour, of whom they destroyed above fifty thousand,

They unite
against the
Jews, of whom
they kill a-
bove 50,000.

not one escaping who was not protected by some friend or neighbour. The wretched residue fled to Ctesiphon, a city of the Greeks near Seleucia, the winter residence of the king of Parthia, where his valuable furniture was deposited. Here they took up their residence, in hope of protection within the verge of the royal court: but the Jews in general were so terrified by the Babylonians and Seleucians, exclusive of their fears from the Syrian conspiracy, that most of them retired to Nearda and Nisibis, expecting protection from the strength of those places, and the valour of their defenders. This is a faithful representation of the affairs of the Jews in Babylon at this period.

B O O K XIX.

Containing the HISTORY of various TRANSACTIONS, from the YEAR of the WORLD 4003, to 4009.

C H A P. I.

CALIGULA exercises the most horrid Barbarities upon the JEWS. Challenges Adoration, and pillages the Temples. CLAUDIUS, the Uncle of CAIUS, is accused by his Bond-man, named POLLUX. A charge alledged against POPEDIUS by TIMIDIUS. A Woman named QUINTILIA put to the Torture, which she supports with great Resolution. The bold and generous Sentiments of CHÆREAS, who, with SABINUS, and MINUCIANUS, form a Design to take off CAIUS. The Execution of it being suspended, CHÆREAS becomes impatient, and proposes to undertake the affair himself. The Death of CAIUS, and the manner of it. Proclamation made of the Death of CÆSAR.

Instance of
Caius Caligula's cru-
elty and tyranny

THE unexampled cruelties which the emperor Caius exercised upon the Jews were not confined to Jerusalem and the neighbouring provinces; but with the utmost inveteracy of deliberate malice, he extended his insupportable tyranny throughout every part of the Roman dominions. No place under his jurisdiction more fatally experienced the effects of his savage barbarity than Rome. In the general oppression he seemed to direct his vengeance prin-

pally against the most considerable men, such as the senators, patricians, and the order of men called equites or knights, who in point of wealth and dignity were next inferior to the senate, and from whom those who composed the senate were frequently selected. He appeared to derive a peculiar gratification in subjecting these people to the violence of his brutal rage: he condemned many of them to banishment, and the vilest indignities; others he cruelly murdered, and their effects he confiscated; so that to be possessed of property was a situation of the most imminent danger. He arrogated to himself the appellation of a god, and insisted on public adoration from his subjects. In the capitol, which is the most famous of all the Roman temples, he declared himself to be the brother of Jupiter, whom he had the effrontery to address under that character; and in innumerable other instances he betrayed an equal degree of vanity and extravagance. He was desirous of passing from a city in Campania, called Puteoli, to Misenum, a town on the opposite shore of an arm of the sea thirty stadia over, but, considering it as a degradation of his dignity to pass in a galley, he caused a bridge to be constructed, extending from one to the other promontory, and over this he passed in his chariot, triumphing in the vain idea of having subjected both

His insolence,
ambition, and
impiety.

earth and sea to his dominion in a manner consistent with his imaginary divinity.

He plunders the Grecian temples, and orders the statue of Jupiter to be brought to Rome.

This ambitious emperor plundered all the temples in Greece of their finest paintings, sculptures, and other precious articles dedicated to the deity; and he issued orders for conveying the spoil to ornament his palaces, gardens, and houses of pleasure; saying, that since Rome was the most magnificent city, the most curious and valuable productions could not, with equal propriety, be deposited in any other place. He had the effrontery to send to Memmius Regulus, commanding him to cause the statue of Olympian Jupiter, that exquisite production of Phidias, the statuary of Athens, which was held in the highest estimation throughout Greece, to be removed to Rome: but this unreasonable order was not complied with; for the artificers informed Memmius Regulus, that by displacing the statue it must inevitably be broken. A tradition is preserved, that during the time Memmius Regulus had the removal of the statue under deliberation, he was deterred from carrying the project into effect by a most extraordinary vision, in consequence of which he wrote a letter of excuse to Caius. Had not the death of the emperor intervened, he would infallibly have punished the disobedience of Memmius by the loss of his head.

Claims equality of relationship to Jupiter.

To such an excess did the insolence and vanity of this man arrive, that, upon the birth of a daughter, he caused the image of the child to be conveyed into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of Jupiter, thereby intimating that the infant stood in an equal degree of relationship to Jupiter and himself; and he challenged the spectators to determine which of the fathers was most respectable. The people entertained the utmost detestation of the conduct of Caius, but still they servilely submitted to all his extravagant humours.

Encourages slaves, whom he permits to accuse their masters.

He not only gave permission to slaves, but even afforded them all possible encouragement, to alledge charges of whatever nature they thought proper against their masters: and these accusations proved the more oppressive, as they were constantly supported by the authority of the emperor, who rewarded the informers in proportion to their degree of iniquity. A capital offence was alledged against Claudius, the uncle of Caius, by his bondman, named Pollux; and on this occasion Caius presided on the bench, with a view to procure his uncle to suffer the death of a criminal, on a false accusation: but in this design, however, he did not succeed.

He becomes odious to the people.

The countenance he afforded to detractors and informers of the most abandoned principles and practice having given slaves a superiority over their patrons, and caused an infinity of other most desperate evils, the people vented the bitterest execrations against the emperor, as the author of the prevailing evils, and suggested to themselves various measures for extirpating from the

earth so detestable a monster, some being influenced by a desire of revenge for the injuries they had sustained, and others on the principle of avoiding the mischiefs with which futurity seemed to be pregnant.

The emperor having extended the pernicious influence of his tyranny to the extremest degree, his immediate death was considered as the only effectual means of restoring the ancient authority of the laws, and securing the public tranquillity. The death of this cruel man was an event highly favourable to the Jews, for by it they were happily preserved from the destruction to which he had destined them.

His horrid crimes cause the people to plot his death.

It is necessary to be exceedingly minute in the narrative of the death of this wicked prince, since it will afford a gratification to curiosity, by shewing the wonderful operations of the divine providence in the just disposal of events; instruct the virtuous part of mankind not to despair in the utmost extremities of ill fortune; and at the same time prove an admonition to those placed in the exalted spheres of life against resting their hopes on vain and treacherous foundations, or pointing their wishes to the attainment of transitory enjoyments; and afford a consolatory instruction that the happiness of life is only to be procured by a steady adherence to the principles of virtue and piety.

Moral reflections concerning him.

Three conspiracies were formed for effecting the destruction of this unnatural and detested tyrant, and each faction was subject to the command of a leader of approved and distinguished resolution. A Spaniard of Corduba, named Æmilius Regulus, had the command of one troop; another was under Cassius Chareas, the tribune; and Annius was the leader of a third detachment. These parties were composed of men remarkable for intrepid and resolute dispositions: and they all held Caius in the utmost detestation, considering him as the most abominable monster that nature had produced. Æmilius Regulus, being a man of an honourable and generous temper, was the enemy of Caius from the abhorrence he naturally entertained of every species of wickedness: Minucianus was conscious that the vengeance of the tyrant would prove fatal to whoever incurred his displeasure, and partly on this consideration his enmity was produced, and partly in revenge for the death of Lepidus, a man of strict honour and unblemished character, and his particular friend, whom the tyrant had cruelly murdered: the office which Chareas held required him to be frequently about the person of the emperor, and he, therefore, apprehended his life to be continually in the most imminent danger from the ferocious disposition of his master, who took every opportunity of upbraiding him with effeminacy; the dangerous predicament in which he stood, and the insults he perpetually received, heartily disposed him to assist in the enterprise of effecting the destruction of Caius. Notwithstanding they were respectively influenced by particular and distinct motives, they

Several conspiracies formed against him.

Motives of their just abhorrence.

they were unanimous in the common cause. They considered it the indispensable duty of true patriotism to sacrifice their lives in defence of their country, and to encounter every danger and difficulty rather than suffer mankind to labour under the oppression and bloody outrages of a most barbarous and unrelenting tyrant. Chæreas was more resolutely determined upon carrying the exploit into execution than his companions: this extraordinary ardour was occasioned by a consciousness that he had advantages above the others, which would enable him with the less difficulty to perform the great enterprise whence he expected to derive a very considerable reputation: for being one of the tribunes, in virtue of his office he had free access to the person of the emperor.

At the Circen-
sian games,
Caius causes
several persons
to be cruelly
slain.

It was now the time for performing the circus games and exercises, in which entertainment the people of Rome found a particular pleasure. On this occasion it had been a long established custom for the people to be allowed the liberty of petitioning the emperor; and when their demands were reasonable, it was seldom they met a refusal: at this time then the multitude assembled in great numbers, and requested that payment of part of their taxes and tributes might be remitted. Instead of granting their request, Caius gave way to the most violent expressions of rage, and commanded his guards to seize the people who had presumed to make the clamour, and put them immediately to death; and in consequence of this cruel order several were instantly slain. The people patiently submitted to this act of violence; but it served to caution them against putting their lives to such imminent hazard in future for the purpose of preserving their money. This last instance of barbarity inspired Chæreas with additional avidity for attempting the enterprise, and stopping the bloody rage of the brutal tyrant: he several times intended to destroy Caius while he was at table, but was induced to suspend the execution of his design by the expectation of a more favourable opportunity, when he might be at a greater certainty of succeeding in his attempt. Chæreas had for a considerable time been captain of the guards, and he now held a commission for collecting certain revenues: the extreme poverty of some of the people on whom the tax was imposed operated upon his compassionate disposition, and therefore he was not so severe in exacting the payment of arrears as Cæsar wished him to be.

Reproachful
behaviour of
Caius towards
Chæreas.

In consequence of this lenity he incurred the displeasure of Cæsar, who upbraided him for being an insignificant creature in the execution of his office, and destitute of the spirit necessary to enforce payment; and whenever Chæreas applied to him for the watch word, it was his constant practice to give a word, the import of which conveyed a reflection upon him for being of a pusillanimous and effeminate temper: but notwithstanding this, Caius himself made no scruple to assume the habit and ornaments of a woman, and, at ceremonies he had established, to accommodate

his behaviour in every respect to a resemblance of the female character.

When Chæreas delivered the word to his brother officers, it constantly rendered him an object of derision to them, and it was seldom they failed observing to him that they expected the word would bear a ridiculous meaning. This mockery of Caius at length became so intolerable to Chæreas, that he could no longer refrain from communicating his purpose to his particular friends, in the number of whom was a senator named Popædus, who had passed the several degrees of honour, but being one of the sect of Epicurus, his whole attention was engrossed upon indulging his desire of living in perfect ease. An accusation was made against Popædus by Timidius, his professed enemy, purporting that he had made use of expressions of a dangerous tendency and violently reflecting upon Caius: he pretended that the charge he had adduced was founded on the evidence of Quintilia, a comedian of singular beauty, of whom Popædus was enamoured. Upon Quintilia's refusing to give false testimony against her lover, Timidius requested that she might be put to the torture, which Caius commanded Chæreas to see instantly performed. It was the tyrant's custom to appoint Chæreas to offices of this kind, from an idea that having so frequently reproached him for being a timid and woman-hearted creature would cause him to execute his commands with greater severity. As Quintilia was passing to the place where she was to suffer torture, she trod on the foot of one of the conspirators, thereby intimating that no sufferings should compel her to a confession of the enterprise that was in agitation.

Others affected
in the
conspiracy.

Chæreas was under so strong a necessity faithfully to execute Cæsar's commission, that he could do no otherwise than inflict great severities upon Quintilia, though they proved a great violence to his inclination. Having sustained her sufferings with wonderful fortitude, he conducted her into the presence of the emperor, mangled, torn, and disfigured in a most shocking manner: notwithstanding the natural cruelty of his temper, Caius entertained some pity for the miserable object, and gave her a considerable sum of money, as some compensation for her sufferings; and he restored Popædus to liberty.

Chæreas, by
the command
of Caius, cruelly
tortures
Quintilia,
who makes
no confession.

Chæreas was exceedingly afflicted upon considering that he had been the instrument of inflicting a savage barbarity upon a woman whose sufferings had moved even the emperor to compassion, and he looked upon this as an event that would greatly detract from his reputation. Matters were in this situation when Chæreas resolved to open his mind to Papius, who as well as himself was a tribune, and Clemens, a captain of the city troops. Addressing himself to Clemens, "The public are sensible (said he) that neither you nor myself have been deficient in the discharge of our duty to the emperor, and that we have assiduously directed our attention to detect

Chæreas dis-
cusses his in-
tentions to
Papius and
Clemens.

and

and frustrate conspiracies; some of the parties concerned in fomenting insurrections we have subjected to tortures so extreme that the deplorable condition of the offenders has given birth to pity even in the savage breast of the emperor; and others we have put to instant death: but is it not derogatory to the character of men of honour and soldiers to engage in offices of so horrid a nature? To this, Clemens made no reply; but his countenance evidently betrayed a sense of shame, arising from the reflection of having complied with the merciless orders of Caius, in direct violation of the dictates of conscience and humanity. Chæreas now proceeded to the

His bold address on the subject.

following effect: "Public fame declares Caius to be the author of the intolerable grievances which prevail throughout the city and empire; and they are so notorious, that it is wholly unnecessary for me to recapitulate them: but the truth is, that ourselves are to be justly considered as the cause of those outrages which the people of Rome and mankind have too long endured; for we have executed the most barbarous commissions, even at the time when, had we been disposed to the glorious enterprise, we might have relieved the world from the oppression of a merciless tyrant: but instead of this, we have servilely submitted to offices which have degraded our characters as soldiers and men of honour, and branded our names with eternal infamy. We cannot pretend to the glorious reputation of defending the liberties of our country: our business has been to support the man who incessantly labours to enslave our bodies and ruin our souls. In obedience to a bloody tyrant we have perpetrated the most horrid murders, and inflicted the most excruciating tortures upon other people; and we must expect that we shall ourselves be confined to similar violences. Our abject compliance is judged to be the effect of compulsion and fear, not of respect and duty; and we must therefore be the objects of dread and suspicion, rather than of esteem and confidence. So wanton is the barbarity of Caius, that he observes regard neither to guilt nor innocence, but those over whom he has authority he indiscriminately consigns to death or other punishments, according to the extravagancies of his humour. These circumstances being considered, it will appear indispensably necessary to pursue measures for the preservation of our own lives and the liberties of our country."

Clemens declared his approbation of the sentiments of Chæreas, whom he enjoined to profound secrecy, observing, that if the least intimation of the plot should transpire, the certain consequence would be death to all the parties concerned. "It is my advice (said he) that we attempt not to carry our plot into execution till time shall afford us a favourable opportunity. The years I have passed have abated the violence of my passions, and persuaded me that the best counsels are those which may be pursued with the greatest safety." Clemens now departed, deeply ruminating upon what had passed during the interview.

No. 18.

The indifference of Clemens gave rise to a suspicion in Chæreas that he was not firmly attached to the cause; and therefore he hastened to a brother-tribune named Cornelius Sabinus, whom he knew to be a man of strict integrity, steadily disposed to support the liberties of his country, and exceedingly dissatisfied with the present situation of public affairs; on which Chæreas determined fully to explain himself, being persuaded of the rectitude of his friend's principles, and solidity of his judgment. The jealousy he entertained of Clemens occasioned him to be very urgent for an immediate dispatch of the business in hand. He found that Sabinus entertained sentiments perfectly corresponding with his own, though he had not ventured to divulge them: but he gave Chæreas the strongest assurance of secrecy, and that he would assist in the enterprise.

Clemens is suspected by Chæreas, who rep. his indifference to Sabinus, who readily embarks in the design.

They agreed that it would be improper to lose time in bringing matters to an issue: and they now repaired to Minucianus, whom they knew to be an enemy to the present system of government, and a man remarkable for a dignity of mind and a rigid adherence to the principles of virtue. Caius, who had naturally an enmity against men of honour and integrity, had caused the death of Lepidus, the particular friend of Minucianus, and on account of that event the aversion he had conceived against him was greatly increased, for he was sensible that the loss of his friend must have incurred the ill-will of Minucianus. The expressions made use of in previous conferences enabled Chæreas, Minucianus and Sabinus to form a judgment of each other's sentiments, though they deemed it imprudent publicly to declare their disapprobation of the system of government; but the consideration of being engaged in the same interests united them in a firm bond of friendship. The dignity and virtue of Minucianus had on former occasions commanded great respect from Chæreas and Sabinus; and in the present instance they resolved to preserve their usual deference towards a man of such singular merit, and to divulge their business to him in a gradual manner.

Minucianus is also applied to, who joins with the rest.

The ridicule which Caius cast upon Chæreas by giving the word was the subject of public discourse. Minucianus asked Chæreas what word the emperor had given; and, happy in a question so favourable to his design, he replied; "Whatever word the emperor may have given, let your word be LIBERTY. The conformity of our sentiments animates me to proceed in a cause to which I am resolutely disposed. This sword which I now grasp will be sufficient for us both: let us then hasten to the execution of our design, your prudence and courage serving as examples for my conduct; and rest assured that your commands shall be obeyed with cheerfulness and punctuality. Success does not so much depend upon the strength of the arm as upon the intrepidity and fortitude of the mind: a brave soul, therefore, is not depressed

Let us have the sword-word for attacking Caius.

by the want of arms; for courage supplies the deficiency of weapons. I am impatient for the glorious exploit: and whatever may be the event as to myself, I am perfectly indifferent; for I have more important concerns than the making provision either for my life or fortune at the time when the lives of my fellow subjects, and the laws and liberties of my country depend on the will of a savage tyrant. Since you have been pleased to declare your approbation of the intended enterprise, if it shall prove my fortune to strike the decisive blow, I hope I shall not incur your envy for having freed mankind from a state of the most intolerable oppression." Minucianus now embraced Chæreas, and wished his attempt might succeed; after which they parted.

They are encouraged to proceed, by a voice from the people.

It is related that the conspirators were encouraged to proceed in their design by the following circumstances: as Chæreas was entering the palace, a voice was heard, bidding him, in the name of the Almighty, pursue the cause in which he had engaged. Chæreas was at first alarmed, supposing himself betrayed; but upon reflection, he imagined the exhortation to have been either an encouraging declaration of divine providence, or an address from some person concerned in the conspiracy, with a view to animate him to the enterprise.

Great numbers of knights, soldiers, and people of other denominations, who were friends to the intended revolution, had assembled, and they were unanimously of opinion that matters had arrived to so critical a conjuncture, that the destruction either of Cæsar or the commonwealth was inevitable; and they were emulous to exceed each other in whatever they supposed would contribute towards the preservation of their country. The conspirators were joined even by Callistus, a freedman and great favourite of the emperor, over whom he had so considerable an influence, that, rather than a subject to, he appeared to be a partner in the tyrannous government. By the most corrupt practices he had amassed immense wealth, but he, notwithstanding, judged his situation to be very precarious under Caius, whom he knew to be implacably resolute in fully accomplishing every scheme of mischief he conceived. Callistus imagining that on the score of his wealth, which was a temptation scarcely to be resisted, and on many other accounts, he was in imminent danger, deemed it prudent to ingratiate himself into the favour of the next successor; and he therefore privately applied to Claudius, informing him, that he had been frequently urged by the emperor to destroy him by poison, but that, from motives of kindness, he had adopted stratagems for amusing the emperor, who still expected that his commands would be carried into execution.

I am inclined to dispute the authority of Callistus's report, and to believe that his view was merely to obtain an interest in Claudius: for had Caius intended to effect the death of his uncle, he would not have suffered his design to be frustrated by the excuses of

Callistus, whose death must have been the immediate consequence of disobedience to the commands of the tyrant. However, Claudius considered himself to be under great obligations to Callistus, whom he looked upon as the instrument of providence for effecting an happy deliverance.

Though Chæreas was anxiously desirous of pushing matters to an immediate issue, the execution of the plot was deferred from time to time, through the irresolute and inactive disposition of some of the confederates. Chæreas declared that he would not have hesitated to destroy Caius even in the capitol, at the time he was performing sacrifice for his daughter; or, while he was distributing gifts to the multitude, to have thrown him headlong from the battlements of his palace: he observed that as he judged himself secure, and was seldom upon his guard, he might have been surprised on some public solemnity, or at the private ceremonies which he had himself instituted, especially as he was surrounded by attendants who held him in abhorrence, notwithstanding the necessary regard to their safety rendered it prudent to conceal their sentiments. The apprehension that all opportunities might be lost, and the end of the conspiracy frustrated, by further delays, rendered Chæreas so impatient, that he upbraided his companions with entertaining the superstitious notion that the person of Caius was sacred; declaring that he was himself ready to undertake the business, and to engage to dispatch the tyrant, even without the advantage of any kind of weapon or instrument of death. His associates highly applauded his undaunted resolution and steady zeal in the public cause: but they were inclined still to procrastinate the decisive attempt till the time for celebrating the games instituted in honour of Augustus, to whom the Romans first owed the loss of their liberty; for he took the authority vested in the people into his own hands, and established the monarchical form of government. Opposite the palace a theatre was erected, to which the Roman nobility, their wives and children, and other people of condition resorted: and it was proposed

Chæreas, impatient of delay, animates his companions.

They form a final resolution.

that the plot should be executed on one of the public days when the emperor was surrounded by the many thousands of people which repaired to this place on occasion of the entertainments; as in case of an alarm, the guard would not be able to obtain admission time enough to prevent the exploit; and it was urged that an attempt in any other place would not be attended with so great a probability of success, as the military power would have a fairer opportunity to interpose and utterly defeat the conspiracy, the consequence of which would be certain destruction to all the parties. Chæreas agreed to this measure, which was to take place on the first day of the public spectacles; but they were not able to put their design in execution till the third day, which was the last of the exhibitions and entertainments: and the conspirators would have suffered even this day to elapse, had not Chæreas animated them by an address

to the following effect: "We are united in an honourable and righteous cause: but cowardice and indolence have so shamefully prevailed, that we still remain in the first stage of our business. This unpardonable delay suspends our lives, fortunes, and the inestimable liberties of our country in the danger of being irretrievably ruined. Have we not reason to apprehend that our delays will produce a discovery of our intentions? in which case, instead of delivering our country, we shall provoke the merciless tyrant to the exercise of oppression with redoubled fury. Can it be expected that a conduct similar to that we have hitherto pursued will prove advantageous either to ourselves or to our country? Let us exert a necessary spirit in the glorious cause we have undertaken, and immortal fame will be the reward of our generous endeavours." Chæreas now made a pause, in order that his associates might consider and more fully understand his address: but no reply being made, he proceeded thus: "For what purpose, I intreat you, is it that you make these frequent hesitations and delays? You cannot be ignorant that this is the last day of the entertainments, on the conclusion of which Caius means to go to Alexandria, and thence proceed to make the tour of Ægypt. Would it not reflect eternal dishonour upon us, should we suffer this monster, who is a disgrace to human nature, to escape our vengeance, and leave to some generous Ægyptian the glorious opportunity of doing that justice to mankind which we dare not attempt? The time, my friends, will no longer admit of deliberation: before this day shall elapse I will acquit myself of the duty I owe to my country and to mankind; for I will allow no man to dispute with me the glory of delivering the world from this detestable tyrant."

The conspirators are eager to effect their purpose.

This generous address inspired the party with a desire of having the enterprise attempted on the instant; and it being the day on which Chæreas, as captain of the guard, was, according to his turn, to go to the emperor for the word, he put his sword to his side, as usual on such occasions, and repaired to the palace. The multitude were pressing to obtain places, and the emperor appeared particularly gratified by the confusion that prevailed amongst them; for there being no parts purposely assigned for the reception of the senators, knights, and other people of distinction, men, women, masters and slaves, of all denominations, crowded promiscuously together. Sacrifice was offered up to Augustus, to whose honour the solemnity was dedicated; and during the ceremony some blood, which sprang from the victim, stained the robe of a senator named Asprenas. This circumstance proved a subject of mirth to the emperor: but the rest considered it as an unfortunate omen, and such indeed it proved; for in the tumult that ensued Asprenas was slain. It was remarked with surprise, that on this day the emperor shewed an extraordinary share of good humour and mirth. Sacrifice being performed, he repaired to the theatre, attended by such of the courtiers as were most particularly

attached to him. The theatre was a temporary building, composed of frames of wood which were taken to pieces and put together as occasion required: it had two entrances, one gate opening towards the court, and another opposite the passage through which the actors passed, that they might not incommode the spectators; and on the same side as the door opening to the passage was a space separated by partitions for the actors and the performers on musical instruments.

Description of the theatre.

Cæsar being seated on the right-hand side of the theatre, Chæreas and the rest of the tribunes near him, and the multitude having taken their places, a senator and a military man, named Bathybius, in a whisper asked Cluvius, a man of the consular dignity, who sat next him, whether he had heard any news. The answer was in the negative. Bathybius then said, "I must inform you, that this day the tragedy of the tyrant is to be performed." Cluvius, in a verse from Homer, urged him to be careful that he was not overheard by the Grecians. Fruit and birds were now thrown down among the people, and the confusion of scrambling for the prizes seemed to afford Caius uncommon delight. During the entertainments, two masters were introduced which may be considered as unfortunate omens: the first was a corrupt judge suffering public justice, and the other a representation of the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein herself and her daughter * Myrrha were put to death: and during these performances a considerable quantity of blood was spilt, for the purpose of giving the scene the greater appearance of reality. These representations took place on the anniversary of the death of Philip, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, who upon entering the theatre was slain by his friend Pausanias.

Incidents previous to the accomplishment of the design.

Caius was deliberating within himself whether he should retire to bathe and receive some refreshment, and then return to the theatre. Minucianus, who sat near Cæsar, observing Chæreas, and fearing the opportunity for executing the plot might be lost, rose in order to follow and encourage him in his resolution: but Caius gently took hold of his robe, and, in an accent of kindness, asked him whither he was going. Upon this Minucianus again took his seat; but his apprehension returning, he rose a second time, and the emperor made no offer to detain him. Asprenas, who was engaged in the conspiracy, endeavoured to prevail upon Caius to retire, as was usual, saying that, after bathing and receiving some nourishment, he would return to the entertainments with additional pleasure.

Having stationed the conspirators in places most convenient for effecting the enterprise, Chæreas became impatient of longer delay; and it being now past three in the afternoon, he resolved to return to the theatre, and assault Caius there: he was however sensible

Chæreas proposes to execute his purpose.

* Vide Sam. Petiti Legis Atticas, p. 248.

that

that if he pursued this design, many lives must be lost: but he considered the liberties of his country as a concern infinitely more important than the preservation of some individuals. He proceeded towards the theatre, but before he reached that place, the word was given that Cæsar was returning to the palace. The conspirators cleared the way, seemingly as if by order of the emperor, but their view was only to plant themselves near where he was to pass. The procession was led by Claudius, the uncle of Caius, who was followed by Marcus Minucianus, who had married his sister, and after him came Valerius Asiaticus. The eminent quality of these persons intitled them to pass without molestation. The above-mentioned personages were followed by Caius, attended by Paulus Aruntius. Having reached the entrance of the palace, he turned into a private way leading to the baths, in order to view some youths who had been sent him from Asia, and were celebrated for their skill in the Pyrric manner of dancing, and for composing and singing sacred hymns. When he had entered this narrow passage, he was followed by Chæreas, who asked him for the word, which was given, but, as usual, it conveyed a meaning so highly indecent and affronting, that the tribune rebuked

Chæreas, probably affronted by Caius, stands him.

Caius in very severe language, and then stabbed him between the neck and the shoulder, but the weapon was stopped by a bone. Though the wound was not mortal, he neither made complaint, nor called for assistance, but he groaned, and attempted to escape; he then received a blow from Cornelius, which occasioned him to fall upon his knees; and then ensued an universal outcry of "Down with him, dispatch the tyrant!" during which he received many wounds, and at length yielded up his life.

He is dispatched by others present

Some pretend that Chæreas did not mean the first blow to be mortal, but that a repetition of wounds should prolong his misery. It does not, however, seem probable that Chæreas could be so weak as to put his own safety and that of his friends to the most imminent hazard by so dangerous a delay. Aquila is said to have given the wound that caused the death of Caius: but the reputation of the enterprise was attributed wholly to Chæreas, who originally suggested the destruction of the emperor, formed the confederacy, animated his associates to effect the enterprise in despite of the attending danger, and when matters had arrived to an extremity, by a singular exertion of courage, effectually humbled the power and pride of the unnatural and barbarous tyrant. Hence it appears that mankind were indebted for this great exploit to the steady fortitude and unremitting diligence of Chæreas.

The whole enterprise ascribed to Chæreas.

The great achievement having taken place, the conspirators were greatly alarmed by reflecting on the little prospect they had of making a safe retreat. They judged it impossible to return by the way they came: for the passages were extremely narrow and crowded with soldiers, whose duty had called them to attend near

The conspirators escape to the palace of Germanicus.

the palace on occasion of the festival: at length they determined that it would be most expedient to retire by another way to the house of Germanicus, who was father to the lately deceased Caius: this building is contiguous to the palace, or rather it may be called part of that edifice; for they are connected by structures raised by preceding emperors, each of which is still distinguished by the name of its respective founder. Having escaped to this place, they judged their situation would be perfectly secure till the multitude gained information of the death of Cæsar.

The German body guards, called the Celtic legion, were the first who gained intelligence of the death of Caius; these men were of singularly athletic and robust constitutions; in temper cruel, and addicted to sudden and violent passion, but of such remarkable intrepidity in the practice of arms, that, when equally matched, it was scarcely possible to subdue them. The death of Caius exasperated these men to the highest pitch of extravagance, but their concern was founded on no generous motive of esteem, but on the consideration that they should be deprived of their usual emoluments; for the emperor had distinguished these people by distributing frequent rewards among them. They were commanded by Sabinus, who was originally a gladiator; and it was not on account of any merit on his own part, or on that of his ancestors, but to a ferocious disposition and a robust form of body, that he was indebted for his advancement. Sabinus led his party in search of the murderers of Cæsar, and the first they met was Asprenas, whom they instantly tore to pieces. We have already mentioned the robe of this senator being stained by the blood of the victim at the sacrifice as an unfortunate omen. A man of very distinguished rank in the city, named Norbanus, several of whose ancestors had acquired a high reputation by serving in quality of generals in the army, was next assaulted by these German ruffians; but he presently disarmed the first who attacked him, soon after which he was slain; but being a man of great strength and activity, and of uncommon courage, he would have sold his life at a very dear rate, had he not been oppressed by numbers. The third senator they encountered was Anteius, who had ventured from his retreat from a desire of viewing the body of Caius, against whom he had entertained an implacable enmity on the following account: having fallen under the displeasure of Caius, the father of Anteius incurred the sentence of banishment; but this not being sufficient to satiate his revenge, the tyrant caused him to be put to death in his exile. Besides the three persons above-mentioned, many others whom they encountered in their way were indiscriminately slain by this barbarous troop of Germans.

The German guards cruelly avenge the death of Caius, by murdering several persons of eminence.

The news of the death of Cæsar being brought to the theatre, the people were thrown into the greatest astonishment

Astonishment of the people on hearing of imagination

Engraved for BRADSHAW'S, *New Edition of* JOSEPHUS.



The Death of CALIGULA.

Cæsar's death
and causes why
many of the
lower sort
were attached
to him.

imaginable: they who wished the intelligence might prove authentic, were fearful of reposing any confidence in the rumour, lest their hopes should be disappointed; others were not inclined to believe the report, because they wished it might prove false; and a third party were of opinion that the accomplishment of the action surpassed all possibility. Such as entertained the latter notion were chiefly women, young people, soldiers, and slaves. He obtained the favour and good wishes of the women and young people, by the prizes he distributed, and the entertainments he gave, under the pretext of gratifying the people; but he was intirely actuated by his unnatural propensity to the destruction of his fellow-creatures: the soldiers were attached to him on the consideration of obtaining pay in his service, and being, in some measure, the partners of his oppression; for they were the instruments of his vengeance upon good men, and shared in the booty obtained from those whom the tyrant consigned to ruin: the bondmen were attached to him by the encouragement he gave them to advance false accusations against their masters; for if a slave was desirous of gaining his freedom and amassing riches, nothing farther was necessary than to point out where his master's riches were deposited; and it was a matter of absolute certainty that, without the least regard to common justice, Caius would seize the spoil: thus, on the double motive of liberty and avarice, were slaves induced to effect the ruin of their employers; for though the accusations were evidently destitute of foundation in truth, they were constantly supported by the authority of Caius, who granted unconditional pardon to the informers, and the law allowed them one eighth part of the confiscated effects.

The people of distinction who believed the intelligence of the death of Cæsar to be true, either from their wishes that it might be so, or from being informed of the conspiracy, were exceedingly careful to avoid all discourse on the subject; for they were conscious that if by their looks, or any other means, they should betray the least symptom of satisfaction, the inevitable consequence must be instant death.

Various reports concerning the event were circulated; some pretending that Cæsar had been wounded, but not mortally, and that he was attended by surgeons. The people, however, judged it unsafe to make a declaration of their sentiments; for they were uncertain whether they who published the news were attached to the interests of Caius's party, or to the opposite faction; and therefore they considered it equally dangerous to take a decisive part either in favour of, or against the revolution. The report which served more effectually than all the rest to depress the spirits of the nobility was, that upon being wounded, Cæsar, without waiting for the assistance of surgeons, hastened with all possible speed to the market-place, where, in a declamatory

address, he appealed to the multitude on the cruelty exercised upon him. These different rumours operated upon the people according to the sentiments they respectively entertained; but the consternation among them was general, and so great, that they did not dare even to quit their places, for they knew their fate did not so much depend on the guilt or innocence of their intentions, as upon the evidence which would be advanced by the informers, and the interpretation which the judges would put upon that evidence.

During this distracted situation of affairs, the theatre was surrounded by the enraged Germans, brandishing their drawn swords: upon the appearance of these troops, the people in the theatre were alarmed in the highest degree, and they imagined that, whether they remained, or attempted to escape, they should be equally certain of being put to instant death. The soldiers having forcibly gained admittance into the theatre, a most terrible clamour ensued among the people, some of whom made protestations of their innocence, appealing to the gods to witness their truth; others made use of supplications, excuses, submissions, and every other means which they conceived might tend to deprecate the wrath of the soldiers.

So truly deplorable was the situation of the people, that the tenderness of compassion assailed the cruel hearts of the Germans, whose consciences now upbraided them with the acts of barbarity which they had already perpetrated; for after having put Asprenas and others to death, they carried the heads of those unfortunate persons about, ostentatiously exposing them as public spectacles; but they at length deposited the heads upon the altar. The unhappy deaths of so many persons of distinction, and the brutal and insulting triumph of the Germans, inspired the friends of the deceased senators, and other people of rank, with the most lively affliction, which was greatly increased by the alarming consideration that their own lives were in the most imminent danger. The death of Caius did not yet afford perfect satisfaction even to those who had been his most inveterate enemies; for they remained under the most dreadful apprehension that they should not long survive the tyrant.

During the general consternation, a public cryer, named Aruncius, a man of considerable wealth and of great influence among the people, came to the theatre, habited in deep mourning, and, dissembling his real sentiments, he assumed every appearance of the most sincere and tender affliction, and with an exalted voice made public proclamation of the death of the emperor. The Germans now appeared to relent, and being commanded by their officers to sheath their weapons, they obeyed, and the tumult subsided. The public declaration of the death of Cæsar was undoubtedly the means of pre-

The theatre
beset by the
German sol-
diers, to the
great terror of
the people.

The Ger-
mans, relent-
ing, refrain
from further
outrages.

The death of
the emperor
announced by
a public cry-
er.

serving the people in the theatre, as well as many others who might have fallen into the power of the Celtic legion; for while the German soldiers, who formed that corps, entertained an idea that Caius was still living, so great was their affection for him, that, in revenge for the conspiracy raised against him, they would have exercised an indiscriminate barbarity upon the people, regardless of the miseries which necessarily must have resulted to the commonwealth in the effects of their violent and ungovernable rage. Upon confirmation of the news of Caesar's death, they considered that no motive remained for giving additional proofs of their attachment, which their masters were no longer in a condition to reward, and that there was great reason to apprehend they might be subjected to punishment if it should prove their future fortune to be under the government of the senate.

Chæreas is anxiously solicitous for the safety of Minucianus.

In the mean time, Chæreas was exceedingly distressed lest Minucianus should not escape the general danger: he therefore applied respectfully to each of the soldiers as he imagined he might

safely confide in, earnestly intreating that, if they should meet with Minucianus, they would be particularly attentive to provide for his safety, and behave to him with every possible instance of kindness and respect; and in consequence hereof Chæreas and Clemens were conducted to their respectable friend, who, addressing himself to Chæreas, liberally complimented him on the success of his endeavours to preserve the liberties of his country; saying that, in the name of the commonwealth, he would take upon himself to congratulate him on the address he had proved himself to be master of in framing the plan of the revolution, and the singular bravery he had displayed in carrying it into execution.

Observation of Minucianus verified.

"How tyrannically soever rulers (said Minucianus) may exult in the short-lived pride of lawless dominion, they must

be the objects of detestation to the virtuous part of the world, and their triumphs must at length terminate in a miserable and shameful end, which inevitably awaits them." The observations of Minucianus were exemplified in the case of Caesar; for, by a continual violation of the legislative establishment, and the insupportable oppression to which he subjected the very people who were most firmly attached to his interests, he laid the foundation for the conspiracy: thus was he the instrument of his own ruin; for the repeated injuries and insults which he heaped upon his best friends, inspired them with the most inveterate enmity, to which he, at length,

Arceon, the physician, provides for the safety of his friends.

deservedly fell a sacrifice. A physician, named Arceon, was sent for, in order to administer relief to some persons in the theatre who had been wounded; and the guards being retired, he seized the favourable opportunity of providing for the safety of his friends, by sending them away, under the pretext of employing them to bring him remedies.

The sudden retreat of the physician's friends occasioned the utmost confusion amongst the multitude,

for they quitted their seats, and with the utmost anxiety endeavoured to get out of the building where they had been so long confined under the most terrible apprehensions.

In the interim, the senate assembled in the palace, whither the populace presently resorted in great multitudes, and vehemently demanded public justice upon the murderers of Caius. The senate deemed it not prudent openly to oppose the desires of the people, lest they should be provoked to still greater extravagances of outrage. During the general tumult, a man of consular dignity, named Valerius Asiaticus, went among the people, and upon being asked if the murderers had been discovered, and who were the parties concerned in the deed, he replied, "Would it had been my fortune to have deprived the tyrant of life!"

The senate meet, and act with moderation.

The senate having passed a decree in condemnation of the memory of Caius, they proceeded to issue an order for the soldiers peaceably to repair to their quarters, and the citizens to their respective habitations; promising the soldiers considerable gratuities, and the rest of the people a diminution of the taxes imposed upon them, on condition of their not transgressing the limits of regularity and discretion. Thus was a happy termination put to a popular and violent clamour, which, but for so seasonable a check, would probably have increased to a fatal degree, and have given rise to rapine, sacrilegious violences, and other enormous crimes. The whole number of those persons who composed the senate being now assembled, they proceeded to deliberate on the expediency of re-establishing themselves in their ancient authority.

They pass a decree to condemn the memory of Caligula, and dismiss the soldiers and people.

CHAP. II.

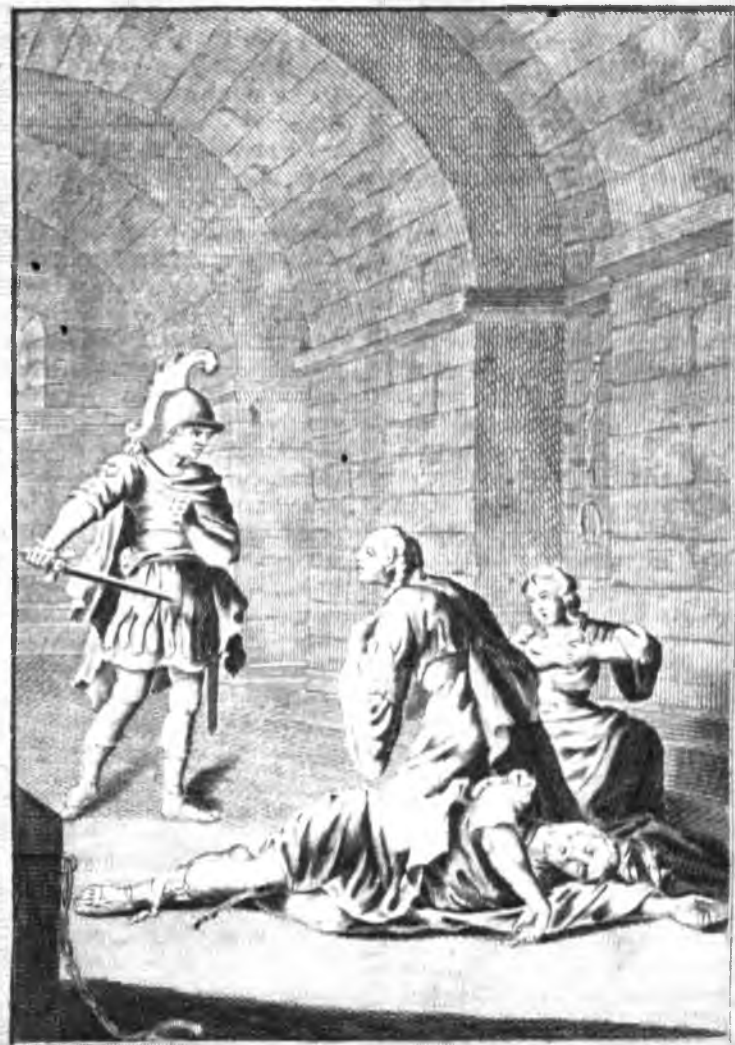
The Soldiers determine to establish a monarchical Form of Government, and declare CLAUDIUS the Successor of his deceased Nephew CAIUS. SATURNINUS opposes them, and prefers a Commonwealth. Conduct of CHÆREAS herein. Particulars respecting the Death and Character of CAIUS. GRATUS discovers CLAUDIUS, who is advanced to the Sovereignty. The Senate and People disagree respecting the Government. Admonitory Letter from the Senate to CLAUDIUS.

WHILE the senate were engaged in deliberations on the state of public affairs, the body of soldiers assembled, and proceeded to debate on the question, "Whether the establishment of a popular or an imperial government would be most eligible?" The purport of their resolutions

The soldiers prefer a monarchy, and nominate Claudius as successor.

was,

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❁ Caius, his Wife & Daughter murder'd by Lupus. ❁

was, that a commonwealth would not be able to provide for the public exigencies, and that on other accounts an establishment of that nature would not prove beneficial to the people; and further, that as they had been entertained as the companions rather than as the servants of Caius, it must necessarily greatly diminish their consequence to submit to a state of dependence upon such a number of persons as would have authority over them, if the administration were to be lodged in the hands of the senate. Therefore, they determined to elect Claudius, the uncle of the deceased Caius, to the sovereign command, judging that his distinguished birth, and many eminent qualities, gave him a superior claim to that dignity. They immediately fetched Claudius from his house, and proclaimed him emperor, expecting that he would liberally reward them for being the authors of his exaltation. The proceedings of the soldiery were soon conveyed to Anæus Sentius Saturninus, in the senate-house, and he, finding affairs arrived to such an extremity, that every hour must necessarily produce additional troubles, rose and delivered himself with a boldness and freedom of sentiment that reflected great honour upon himself, and proved worthy of the particular attention of his patriotic auditory.

The address of Saturninus proved highly to the satisfaction of the whole assembly; but the speaker's attention being wholly confined to the subject of his discourse, he did not recollect that he wore a ring on his finger, the stone of which bore a representation of the head of Caius: this ring being observed by Trebellius Maximus, he suddenly rose, and took it from the finger of Saturninus, and it was instantly broken in pieces.

The watch-word LIBERTY given by the consuls.

As the night was now approaching, Chæreas went to the consuls for the watch-word, and the word they gave was Liberty. The people were exceedingly rejoiced at hearing this word, which they understood to be an indication that the ancient authority would be restored. Before the Cæars usurped the sovereign authority, it was an invariable rule for the consuls to give orders to the soldiers; and the giving liberty as the watch-word was the first authority which the senate exercised after being deposed. Chæreas delivered the word to the four companies of troops who had declared themselves firmly attached to the cause of the senate. Soon after they had received the watch-word, the soldiers departed, and presently afterwards the multitude dispersed, rejoicing in the happy prospect of the commonwealth being restored to its original state of splendor and happiness, and unanimously applauding Chæreas as the deliverer of his country.

Chæreas orders the widow and daughter of Caius to be put to death, for which act he is blamed.

Chæreas apprehending that there would still be danger as long as the widow and daughter of Caius were permitted to survive, dispatched Julius Lupus, who was one of the tribunes, with an order to put them both to death: he employed this person in the business, partly on account

of his being a kinsman to Clemens, and partly on the consideration that as he had taken a very active part in the conspiracy he might derive his share of honour by the actual performance of some exploit for the public security. Several of the confederates, however, judging that Cefonia had not stimulated her husband to enslave the people, or exercise cruelty upon the many illustrious Romans who had fallen victims to the brutal vengeance of Caius, censured Chæreas for advising the destruction of the widow, whom they conceived to be by no means chargeable with the crimes of her late husband. On the other hand, it was urged, that, with a view to the gratification of her amorous desires, Cefonia had administered to Caius a provocative preparation, which had operated so powerfully as to affect his intellects, and precipitate him to the perpetration of the most shocking barbarities; and that the woman must therefore be considered as the primary source of the common calamities. The party who espoused the latter opinion prevailed, and therefore Julius Lupus hastened away, in order to execute his commission. Upon his arrival at the palace, he perceived Cefonia bitterly lamenting her unhappy fate, as she lay with her infant daughter extended on the floor, by the corpse of her husband, which, in a bloody and mangled condition, lay exposed, without any of those decencies which it is usual to provide for the dead. Cefonia was heard to utter only exclamations against Caius, for having refused to adopt the measures she had repeatedly recommended, which would have secured him from so tragical a catastrophe. The precise meaning of these expressions still remains a matter of uncertainty. It was believed by one party, that the counsel she referred to was, to moderate his too rigorous government, lest, by the continued exercise of barbarity and oppression, his subjects should be so enraged as to unite in effecting his destruction. The construction which others put on her words was, that having received some intimation of a conspiracy, she had advised him to cause every individual, of whose loyalty there was the least reason to entertain a suspicion, to be instantly put to death. Cefonia requested Lupus to approach, and view the mangled and bloody corpse of Caius; and after giving vent to the most violent emotions of grief, she cast her eyes upon Lupus, from whose countenance she conceived a suspicion of the purpose that had brought him to the palace, and this was fully explained by what he afterwards said to her. After employing a short time in bewailing her miserable fate, with a singular fortitude and resolution, she presented her bare throat to Lupus, urging him immediately to conclude the fatal tragedy which his associates had begun. Having put Cefonia and her infant daughter to death, Lupus immediately dispatched intelligence of his exploit to Chæreas.

Cefonia ascribes the tragical end of Caius to his rejecting her advice.

She dies with amazing fortitude.

Caius expired in the fourth year of his reign. Even when a private person he was brutal and malicious in the highest degree; his appetite was depraved; he patronized in-

ferable character of Caius Cæsar.

formers;

formers; was of a cowardly disposition, and consequently cruel. He was fond of power; but, as it enabled him to behave cruelly to those who had not offended, and to commit murder and rapine as the prelude to seizing on their effects, he courted the flatteries of the vulgar; and was so wild and extravagant in his ambition, as not to be satisfied without the erection of temples and altars to his honour. The restraints of law and morality were equally disagreeable to him; and he had no mercy on his most intimate friends, when inspired by a principle of revenge. Possessing no virtue of his own, he was a foe to virtuous men, and was remarkably impatient of contradiction. He was guilty of laying with his own sister, which procured him the utmost hatred of the people; for incest was deemed a crime of so black a dye, that it was scarcely thought possible that it should be committed: in fact, this atrocious offence had not been even heard of for several ages. It is not in my power to assert that he ever did, or even attempted, any work of true dignity and magnificence, tending to the credit of the empire and the general welfare of society, except his erecting harbours and store-houses near Rhegium, and in the vicinity of Sicily, for the convenience of the ships which arrived from Ægypt with corn. This was, unquestionably, a work of great public use and emolument; but even this he did not pursue till it was completed, but left it unfinished, partly through the idleness and inattention of his agents and artists, and partly through the fickleness of his own disposition; for his ideas were perpetually engaged on idle schemes, and he chose rather to exhaust his treasure on his personal gratifications than on works of great and public utility: yet he was a most excellent orator, and a proficient in Greek and Latin. He possessed great presence of mind, and was well skilled in extempore declamation on all subjects. His address tended at once to convince the judgment and conciliate the affections of his hearers, in debates of the utmost importance; a happiness in him that was partly natural, partly acquired. Being educated under his father Germanicus, and his uncle Tiberius, who preceded him, he emulated these illustrious persons, who were distinguished by this kind of excellence, and was anxious, in this particular at least, to preserve the dignity of his birth and education. But to what purpose is it for a man to possess a liberal and virtuous education, if, the moment he is at his own disposal, he perverts its advantages to purposes diametrically opposite to what was intended? It is extremely difficult for men, who have full power to do what they please, to act as they ought, from the mere impulse of moral rectitude. When Caius first took possession of his government, he selected for his ministers a number of persons distinguished by their virtue and capacity, by which he greatly conciliated the affection of the people; but as his mind became by degrees depraved, he dismissed his ancient servants in a disgraceful manner; and, at length, by the tyranny of

He has some
good personal
qualifications.

his conduct, urged his subjects to such acts of desperation as ended in the loss of his life.

Claudius, as hath been previously observed, being informed of the death of Caius, and the confusion that reigned through the court in consequence of that event, retired to consult his own safety; though, in fact, he was in no danger, other than that an insult might be offered to his rank; for he had been always inclined to a life of retirement. His conduct was modest and temperate; he was a lover of learning, particularly Greek literature, and an enemy to all the noise and hurry of life.

Sketch of the
character and
disposition of
Claudius.

At this time, the populace were half-distracted; the palace was crowded with soldiers, who ran, from place to place, in the utmost confusion; and the common people hurried about without regard to the authority of government. During this tumult, the guards, who were men of the first character among the soldiers, began to consider of the most proper mode of proceeding; not that they regretted the death of the prince, who they thought had been punished according to his demerits, but they conceived it would be prudent to adjust their own affairs; the enmity of the Germans, likewise, against the murderers, was less impelled by their wishes for the public weal than a regard to their private interest. All these circumstances combined, tended only to, increase the apprehension of Claudius, which was not lessened by the sight of the heads of Asprenas and his associates, which were carried about in triumph.

Distractions
prevailing among the
soldiers and people.

Claudius had now retreated to a place where it was not possible to get but by some dark stairs, and there he stood concealed. In the interim, Gratus, one of the emperor's guards, saw a person in a corner, who seemed to wish to conceal himself, and not knowing him, advanced, though the other begged him to retire. Having drawn him from his retreat, and recognizing him, he called out to those near the spot, that he had found Claudius, the most proper man to fill the vacant throne. Claudius, apprehensive that he should be put to death on account of Caius, earnestly intreated their forbearance, and protested his innocence of the whole affair. Hereupon, Gratus, with a smiling countenance, took his right hand, and bid him not to be apprehensive for his safety; but rather think of taking possession of the empire, "Of which," said he, "the gods have deprived Caius, and now offer to Claudius by the hands of Gratus; that the people who have been so long cruelly oppressed may be relieved from their burdens, and the public welfare maintained: wherefore, Sir, in the name of Heaven, resume your courage, and take possession of the throne of your ancestors." This being said, Claudius was elevated on the shoulders of the populace, his joy and fear having rendered him incapable of supporting himself.

Gratus having
discovered
Claudius, puts
him in possession
of the empire.

While

The guards
oppose the
part of Clau-
dius. While these things were transacting, the guards assembled in still greater numbers round Gratus, and began to murmur among themselves, saying how unreasonable an affair it was that the inoffensive Claudius, who had lived so quiet and retired a life, should be thus destroyed; for they conceived that he was now on the point of being hurried away to execution. Some of them were for appealing to the consuls, and as the soldiers crowded still more together, those of the people who had no arms dispersed to seek their own safety. The progress of Claudius was now stopped; for he was unable to walk, and those who had carried him had retired, on the former misapprehension, fearing that they might be partakers of his fate.

They reject a
republican go-
vernment, and
appoint Clau-
dius to the
succession. The troops being now in possession of the palace, their numbers increasing every moment, and no one to oppose their proceedings, they began to consider how they should settle the affairs of the commonwealth. The soldiers rejoiced to see Claudius among them, and joined in one opinion that he should be advanced to the empire; partly in respect to his brother Germanicus, for whose memory every one entertained the kindest regard, and partly to prevent the ambitious projects of any of the senators, who having heretofore caused great commotions in the state, might probably do the same again, if it should be in their power. They now deemed the republican form of government to be irrecoverably lost; and thought, if it was necessary that an emperor should be chosen, it might not be improper for them to have the credit of advancing whoever should be promoted to that dignity. Reasoning in this manner, they presumed it would be good policy to fix on Claudius for the man, and thus take to themselves the whole merit of the obligation. The troops in general were so perfectly convinced of the reasonableness of this mode of arguing, that, after a short consultation on the business, they joined in an unanimous resolution; and some of them taking Claudius on their shoulders, carried him to the camp, the whole body of the soldiers following, there to complete the business they had so successfully begun.

During these proceedings, a difference arose between the senate and the people at large; the former being for the establishment of the commonwealth in its ancient splendor, and defending their authority from the usurpations of tyranny: on the contrary, the latter, envying the power aimed at by the senate, wished for a regal restraint on the proceedings of its members, and that they might be secured from their oppressions by an appeal to a higher power. The people at large, therefore, were transported at the elevation of Claudius, presuming that, under his government, they should be preserved from the calamities of civil war, and all that consequent distress in which the wars of Cæsar and Pompey had involved them.

Cautionary
advice of the
senate to him. The circumstance of the soldiers having carried Claudius in this manner to the army, was no sooner made known to the

senate, than they sent some particular persons of their own body, who were intrusted to caution Claudius "not to endeavour to assume the government by force, but rather to act as one of the senators, leaving the care of public concerns to that body, who were legally qualified to direct the public administration of affairs." They were likewise to represent, "With what a degree of tyranny former masters, among whom was Caius, had treated the people; and of the danger Claudius himself had been in from the tyrant; and to hint how ill it would become him to practise tyranny who had condemned it in another: but that if he would own the authority of the senate, and re-assume his former principles and practice, he would obtain the highest applause from a free and powerful people, and obtain the character of a wise and good man, contented with the ordinations of law and Providence. On the contrary, if he persisted in his design, after the judgment that had been inflicted on Caius, they should undoubtedly oppose him, for which purpose they were well provided with arms, troops, and every other requisite: but that their chief dependence was in the assistance of Heaven, in behalf of so just and equitable a cause as the defence of the public liberties."

The principal commissioners deputed to attend Claudius on this occasion were, Veranius and Brouchus, who, having delivered their message, threw themselves at his feet, and earnestly intreated him not to take any step that might risk the involving the public in the calamities of a civil war: but the commissioners observing that Claudius was so surrounded with persons belonging to the army, that the power of the consuls was greatly inferior to that of the troops, they simply requested of him, that "If he was determined to assume the sovereignty, he would decline taking it by violence, but accept it from the senate; since it would by no means appear so creditable to seize it from the people by force, as to receive it as a proof of their esteem."

He is exhort-
ed to accept
the sovereign
power from
the hands of
the senators.

H A P. III.

A Report circulated in the city, that CAIUS was not dead. CLAUDIUS takes his Seat in the Assembly. AGRIPPA deputed to desire CLAUDIUS to resign his Claim. The Reply of CLAUDIUS. Speech of CHÆREAS against CLAUDIUS. An Assault on QUINTUS POMPEIUS, who is protected by CLAUDIUS. Several of the Senators wounded. The Advice of AGRIPPA to CLAUDIUS. CHÆREAS, LUPUS, and others, put to Death. SABINUS pardoned by CLAUDIUS; but he afterwards falls on his own Sword.

CLAUDIUS being perfectly well acquainted with the pride of the people who now made their

their solicitations to him, answered the commissioners in as polite a manner as he could do consistent with the laws of prudence. But the temptation of power was great; he was guided by the counsel of Agrippa; the soldiers too were importunate in their advice, and promised to support him in the assertion of his pretensions; wherefore, Claudius asserts his claim to the imperial dignity. he was prevailed upon to assert the right he had to the dignity thus freely conferred on him.

Agrippa having disposed of the dead body of his friend Caius in a decent manner, and adjusted affairs as well as the present confusion would admit, he immediately went among the guards, to whom he reported that Caius was not absolutely dead, though very dangerously ill of his wounds, and that he was going to procure the assistance of physicians: but being informed that Claudius had been borne away by the soldiers, Agrippa immediately hurried after him through the crowd, and at length, with much difficulty, found him; but terrified in such a high degree, that he was on the point of surrendering to the senate: but Agrippa instantly mentioned some circumstances to him, that confirmed him in his former resolution of maintaining the station he had acquired; and having thus done, he departed.

Agrippa takes his seat in the senate. Not long afterwards, Agrippa was invited to assume his place in the senate, whither he went, dressed in the gayest and most elegant style, and as if totally ignorant of all that had happened. He had no sooner taken his seat, than he demanded of the senators how Claudius had disposed of himself: on which they related all the facts as they had happened, and then asked him what he thought of the present position of public affairs? To this he said, "There is nothing I possess in this world which I hold so dear, but I would readily part with it to promote the dignity of the senate; but I should be happy to hear something proposed, tending to promote the solid advantage of the commonwealth, rather than to listen to idle tales, which are calculated only to catch the attention of the vulgar; for it is a serious truth, that without an adequate provision of arms, men, and money, as a foundation on which to proceed, there is very little success to be hoped for in a contest for dominion and authority." In answer hereto, the senate said, that, with regard to those essential articles, they were most amply provided; that as to troops, they had a sufficient number of slaves, who would be very happy to be engaged on the condition of receiving their freedom.

Sentiments of Agrippa on the present state of affairs. "This may be (said Agrippa); and with submission to your superior wisdom, I wish your expectations may not fail of success; but give me leave to make one observation. You are not unacquainted that the troops with which Claudius is provided are all veterans, well experienced and disciplined; whereas, on the contrary, we have none but a raw and undisciplined rabble of wretched creatures, who

scarce ever beheld a naked sword, to engage with so many men of approved valour; wherefore, under correction of your better judgments, I humbly propose that some persons may be commissioned to wait on Claudius, to endeavour to prevail on him to resign his claim; and if any difficulty arises with regard to the persons to be deputed, I am willing to make one on this business."

This proposition appeared so reasonable to the senate, that they immediately deputed Agrippa, and some other persons, to transact this affair. Agrippa, however, contrived previously to have a private meeting with Claudius, whom he informed of the uneasy state of mind in which the senate was, and dictated to him what answer he should make to the deputies, which was thought becoming the dignity of a prince. In consequence hereof, when the commissioners attended, Claudius addressed them as follows: "I am not surprised that the government being lodged in a single person is so disagreeable to the senate, when I reflect how much distress the tyranny of some late princes hath caused them: but for myself, I have not an idea of any greater satisfaction than what will arise from the impartial administration of justice, which will secure the liberties and possessions of my subjects: for it is my intention, though ruling under the name of a prince, to govern by the general consent and advice of my people. With regard to my sincerity in what I now say, I wish only to refer the senate to those proofs of uprightness and moderation which I have already given in times of great distress and difficulty." Having thus said, he dismissed the commissioners; and, after they were gone, made a speech to his soldiers, to whom he administered an oath of fidelity, and presented each private man with five hundred drachmas, gratifying the officers with proportionable sums, and promising that the soldiers who were not present should be in like manner rewarded.

Hereupon the senators summoned a meeting of their body, who assembled in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the following morning before day-break. Some of them, apprehensive of ill consequences, were afraid to be present, and therefore concealed themselves in the city; while others went out of town privately, rather chusing to submit to slavery, and thereby preserve themselves from personal injury, than to run the risk of losing all their present possessions, by a fruitless contest for what they deemed to be already lost; so that, on the whole, not more than a hundred senators were present.

During the height of their debate on the important business in hand, a number of soldiers came to the door, and called out to the senators, desiring that they would appoint some single person to govern them, since it was evident that nothing but confusion arose from a multiplicity of governors: but they left to the senate the choice of a proper person. This proposal

He is deputed to desire Claudius to resign his claim.

Claudius addressed to them.

He administers an oath of fidelity to the troops.

A council of senators summoned.

The soldiers require the senate to appoint an emperor.

proposal appeared to be a snare, from which they knew not how to extricate themselves; for they conceived that they had every thing now to apprehend from Claudius, instead of the liberty they had promised themselves; though there were among the senators several men, who, from the dignity of their families, and their affinity to Cæsar, might reasonably have claimed the imperial honour.

Some of the senators lay claim to the dignity.

Among these was Marcus Minutianus, a person of the first rank, who by marriage was allied to the Cæsars, having wedded Julia, the sister of Caius. This man offered to succeed to the dignity; but the consuls artfully declined the consideration of his pretensions. Valerius Asiaticus would willingly have put in his claim, but he was prevented by the remonstrances of another Minutianus, who had been one of the conspirators against Caius; for affairs were now in such a situation, that any competition with Claudius would have produced a scene of horror and devastation not to be described; since his adherents were provided with great numbers of gladiators, and all kinds of military persons, besides a large body of watermen, and other people of inferior class, who had been procured to attend, in case their assistance should be wanted. Several of the senators, who intended to have been candidates, were prevented from making their appearance, on account of this dangerous confusion, as they apprehended that fatal consequences might arise, both to themselves and the public.

The soldiers still pressing for an emperor, Chæreas addressed them in reproachful terms.

Day-light began now to approach, when Chæreas, with a considerable number of people, arrived, and making a signal to the soldiers to keep silence, intimated that he had something to say, and wished to be heard: but the answer was, that an emperor ought to be immediately made choice of, without loss of time; and they prevented his speaking by their vociferations. It was now evident to the senate, that this was not a proper time to think of adjusting the government, when their authority was despised by the military, and the reverence due to their distinguished rank made a jest of by the lowest and most abandoned of the people. The conspirators being informed of these sentiments, grew perfectly outrageous; on which Chæreas, with an air of the utmost contempt, said to them, that "If they would not be satisfied without an emperor, he would produce one for their service, if they would but procure him an order from Eutychus, as a justification of his conduct." It is worthy of remark, that this Eutychus was a charioteer to Caius, a man of most abandoned character, who had served his master in the vilest offices. To this taunting speech of Chæreas he added many other bitter invectives, declaring that he would sooner produce to them the head of Claudius, than acknowledge him as an emperor; adding, "Has not a madman sufficiently punished us, but a fool must be our next choice?" But his remarks and reflections were equally lost on the public: the soldiers, without regarding what he said, instantly drew their swords,

took their colours, and proceeded to find Claudius, in order to swear allegiance to him, as others had heretofore done.

The senate was now abandoned by those very people that should have been its defenders; the consuls were nearly reduced to the degree of private men, and the people in general almost distracted with grief and consternation, on the reflection how unhappy their fate must be, after the insults that had been offered to Claudius: every man, however, seemed to lay the blame of these misfortunes on others, in the wish to extenuate his own conduct. During the violence of this confusion, Sabinus, one of the confederates, made his appearance, and solemnly protested that he would stab every man he met, sooner than acknowledge the authority of Claudius; and, by seeing him in possession of the empire, confess his own abject submission to slavery. Then turning to Chæreas, he said, "How will you justify your conduct? Will you, who were one of the first assertors of the general liberty against Caius, recede from your magnanimous resolution, in fear of death; as if a brave man could be happy who is not likewise free?" To this Chæreas replied, "No: I am determined that my liberty and life shall end together; but, at present, I should be happy to know the sentiments of Claudius."

The soldiers withdraw from the senate.

Sabinus protests against Claudius.

During this confused state of public affairs, great crowds of people from all parts hurried to the camp, to pay their compliments to Claudius; and among these came Quintus Pompeius, one of the consuls, who had acquired the particular enmity of the army, because he had animated the senate to the support of their liberties. On his coming forward to pay his respects, the soldiers drew their swords to attack him, and he must have fallen a sacrifice to their rage, but that Claudius placed him by his side, and thus protected him. Some other senators, who came with Pompeius, were more roughly treated; several of them who advanced to salute Claudius, were kept back by blows; all of them were in great danger of their lives, and among them Aponius went away wounded. King Agrippa now spoke in their behalf to Claudius, who, on his request, treated the senators and men of rank in a complaisant and friendly manner: Agrippa observing that, when those subjects were lost, he would have no others but what he would blush to acknowledge. In pursuance of his advice, Claudius directed them to meet him at the palace, to which he was conveyed through the town in a litter, the way being cleared by a party of soldiers.

Quintus Pompeius, a consul, assaulted by the soldiers, but protected by Claudius.

Agrippa advises moderation towards the senators.

Claudius condemns Chæreas to death.

Now Pollio, lately made captain of the guards to Claudius, had issued orders that none of the confederates should appear in public; but Chæreas and Sabinus, two of the most distinguished of them, presumed to violate this order; in consequence of which, as soon as Claudius was arrived at his palace, and his friends assembled round him,

him, he condemned Chæreas to death. Even the friends of Claudius deemed their conduct to have been inspired by principles of bravery: but as it was thought necessary to punish the treachery, by way of example, for the preservation of princes in future times, Chæreas was conveyed to the place of execution, with Lupus, and others of the conspirators. In his death he exhibited great serenity of mind; nor by a single look or action did he depart from the dignity of his character. On the contrary, Lupus behaved in a most dastardly manner, and Chæreas treated him with the utmost contempt on that account. When Lupus was stripped, he complained that he was cold, to which Chæreas replied, that "Wolves felt no cold," in allusion to the word lupus signifying wolf, as well as the name of a man. The

Intrepid behaviour of Chæreas, and pusillanimity of Lupus.

executioner being prepared to do his office, Chæreas said, "Are you a master of the business of cutting throats, and has your sword a good edge?" After which he bade him use the same weapon with which he had killed Caius. At length the officer did his duty, and dispatched him at a single blow: but Lupus, afraid of the stroke of death, kept in continual motion, so that the executioner was obliged to give him several blows, by which he was much cut and bruised, before he could be put out of his pain. When the people, a few days afterwards, came to celebrate the feast of expiatory oblations to the spirits of their departed friends, they paid Chæreas equal honour with the others, by throwing their offerings into the fire, agreeable to the accustomed practice, and soliciting his pardon for their former ingratitude. Thus ended the life of Chæreas.

Sabinus pardoned by Claudius, but kills himself.

With regard to Sabinus, he not only received a pardon from Claudius, but was continued in the post that he had heretofore held, in consideration that he did not violate his trust, even in apparent treachery. Sabinus, however, was ill disposed to make a proper use of the mercy that had been extended to him, for he immediately sacrificed his life, by falling on the point of his sword.

C H A P. IV.

AGRIPPA confirmed in his Kingdom by CLAUDIUS. A Disturbance arises between the JEWS and the GREEKS. CLAUDIUS orders AGRIPPA to his Government. SIMON advanced to the Office of High-Priest. The Command of the Army given to SILAS. Some Inhabitants of DORIS dedicate a Statue to CÆSAR in the Synagogue of the JEWS. AGRIPPA complains to PETRONIUS of this Outrage.

The emperor discards suspected persons

CLAUDIUS was no sooner established in his government, than he made it his business to discharge all suspected

persons from his army; which being done, he published an edict confirming Agrippa in the possession of the kingdom which Caius had heretofore bestowed on him; and herein the management and diligence of Agrippa in his service, were very much extolled. He likewise gave him the government of Judæa and Samaria, as having been a part of the kingdom of his grandfather Herod; and this he considered as an act of restitution of what the family had been formerly possessed of: and he also, of his own mere bounty, bestowed on him Abela, and the adjacent lands of mount Libanus, which had been the possession of Lysanias. Certain articles of agreement between this king, and the inhabitants of Rome, having been engraven on a copper-plate, were placed in the centre of the great market-place of that city, as a memorial to future ages.

and confirms Agrippa in his government.

Claudius dismissed from prison his old friend Alexander; likewise Syllimachus, the officer of the customs, who had formerly been agent to Antonia, mother of Caius; but that prince, urged by passion, had imprisoned him. Claudius also contracted that his son Marcus should marry Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa; but the youth dying before the marriage was consummated, Agrippa gave the maid in wedlock to his brother Herod, on whom Claudius bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis, at the request of Agrippa.

During the reign of Caius, the Jews had been very much oppressed and persecuted by the people of Alexandria: but they now began to re-assume their courage, and applied to arms, which gave rise to a sedition between them and the Greeks. On the first advice of this disturbance, Claudius wrote to the governor of Egypt to use all possible endeavours to suppress it: and at the request of two kings, Agrippa and Herod, sent edicts to Alexandria and Syria, in favour of the Jews.

By the above-mentioned edicts Claudius Caesar intimated the respect he had for the Jews: and as soon as he had issued them, he directed king Agrippa to repair to his government, having previously distinguished him by an abundance of honours, and given him a number of letters of special recommendation to all the governors and intendants of provinces through whose jurisdictions he was to travel. Agrippa adjusted his affairs in the most expeditious manner, and when this was done, he immediately went to Jerusalem, where he discharged himself of all his sacred vows, and offered up sacrifices agreeable to the rigid forms of the law; likewise obliging numbers of the Nazarenes to cut off their hair. Agrippa having been heretofore bound with an iron chain by order of Tiberius, a golden chain had been presented to him by Caius, of the same weight as that of iron: now this chain of gold Agrippa dedicated to God, directing that it should be hung up over the box of the holy treasure, in the vestry, as a lasting monument of the power and kindness of Providence, in affording relief to mankind in their deepest calamities;

Agrippa sent by Claudius to his kingdom.

He dedicated to God a golden chain.

calamities; and to intimate to the people in general, that the God who permits us to be oppressed, is able to raise us to our former station. This consecrated chair represented a lively picture of a prince become the sport of fortune, and confined in irons; and then, as soon as imagination could form an idea, restored to his liberty, and becoming a greater prince than he was before. Nor is this any thing but what is agreeable to the vicissitude of human affairs: for it often happens that things the most prosperous go at once to decay; while those the most adverse soon become prosperous!

Deposes Theophilus, and confers the high-priesthood on Simon.

Agrippa having thus discharged his duty to God, his next step was to divest Theophilus, the son of Ananus, of the office of high-priest, which he bestowed on Simon, the son of Boethus, who bore the surname of Canthara. Now this Simon had two brothers, who had already officiated as high-priests, as had also their father, Boethus, whose daughter was married to king Herod, as hath been mentioned in another place. This singular distinction likewise happened in the family of Simon the high-priest, the son of Onias, whose three sons succeeded to that office, during the Macedonian government, of which notice hath likewise been already taken.

He visits Jerusalem, and remits the tax on houses.

The king had no sooner adjusted the affair of the pontificate, than he began immediately to pay his respects and acknowledgments to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for the honour they had done him, and the veneration they had shewn him, by abolishing the tax on houses, which had been paid in former times; which he considered as an act of civility that could not easily be exceeded. Agrippa now appointed Silas to be general of his army, in consideration of the many dangers and difficulties they had formerly encountered in the company of each other.

A statue to Cæsar erected in the synagogue.

Some time after these events a number of young men belonging to Doris, impelled by the heat of their own imaginations, assembled together, and under pretence of a regard to religion, dedicated a statue to Cæsar in the synagogue of the Jews. This circumstance gave the utmost offence to Agrippa, who thought it would tend, in a high degree, to bring their religion into contempt: he therefore lost no time in repairing to Petronius, the governor of Syria, to whom he made complaint of the insult that had been offered: and Petronius expressed his abhorrence of the insolence of the intruders, to whom he wrote a letter of rebuke, conceived in the following terms:

PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, Governor of SYRIA, by Appointment of TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS, sendeth greeting to the Magistrates of DORIS.

Letter from Petronius reprimanding the offenders.

"FORASMUCH as I have been certainly informed that, in opposition to the edict of Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, granting to the Jews full liberty to live

agreeably to their own laws and customs, some of the people under your jurisdiction have been so presuming, in defiance of the said imperial edict, as to profane their synagogue, by erecting therein the statue of Cæsar, which is an insult on their religion, a violation of the freedom Cæsar hath granted them, an affront to their conscience, and an indignity offered to the majesty of Cæsar; for his image ought rather to have been placed in his own temple than in that of others. and by no means in the synagogue, particularly as the emperor had thought fit to permit every man the free indulgence of his own opinions. I will to decline giving any orders as from myself in this business, after so atrocious an insult offered to the authority of my master, who has not only gratified the Jews with respect to their religious sentiments, but also allowed them the privileges of freemen, in common with the Greeks, in the several cities where they reside; yet, as affairs are now situated, as an outrage hath been undoubtedly committed in defiance of the authority of Cæsar, and whereas you disclaim all concern in the affair, which you attribute to the licentiousness of a mob, you are therefore hereby required and commanded to deliver some of the offending parties to my officer Vitellius Proculus, that he may bring them to me to answer for their conduct, or at least make him acquainted with their names, otherwise you will be suspected of having been concerned in the business. In the interim, have a proper regard to the peace of the public, and quell those turbulent spirits that are disposed to create confusion. With regard to my honoured master and myself, we are exceedingly anxious not to give the least offence to the Jews by furnishing them with any opportunity or pretext of doing justice to themselves. However, for your fuller information in this affair, and that you may not plead ignorance of the opinion of the emperor, I herewith transmit you a copy of his edict to the people of Alexandria, which was communicated to me by the honoured prince Agrippa, as I was sitting in the chair of justice, though it is already well known to the public; and this edict positively requires the ratification of all Cæsar's concessions in favour of the Jews. Wherefore I now give it you in strict charge, that from henceforward you forbear all kind of litigations with that people, and peaceably permit them to worship God in their accustomed manner." In a word, Petronius gave such directions in this business, that he soon rectified all the abuses complained of, and prevented the like enormities being perpetrated at a further period.

Not long after this time, king Agrippa removed Simon, surnamed Canthara, from the office of high-priest, designing to restore Jonathan, the son of Ananus, as a person better qualified for that honourable distinction; but Jonathan declined it, with an acknowledgment of the favour intended by the king, whom he addressed in the following manner: "As the Almighty did not think me worthy of retaining that sacred office, I rest contented in the consciousness of having once worn the holy vestments. I could,

could, originally, have better justified my entrance into that holy order than I now could my re-assumption of the dignity: but, Sir, as you seem to pay a high regard to the worthiness of the party, permit me to recommend to your majesty my brother, who is a man uncorrupted by the vices of this world, blameless and without offence before God and man, and of course highly proper to fill this dignified station." This candid and modest behaviour of Jonathan so pleased the king, that he readily agreed to his resignation of the office, which he bestowed on his brother Matthias. In a short space of time after this, Petronius was dismissed from the government of Syria, and Marfus succeeded to that honourable post.

CHAP. V.

SILAS, giving Instances of his Pride and Impertinence, AGRIPPA sends him to Prison, but afterwards invites him to Court. For his reproachful Answer, he is again ordered to Prison. JERUSALEM fortified by AGRIPPA, but the Work is stopped by CLAUDIUS. Bounty and Magnificence of AGRIPPA. He goes from BERYTUS to TIBERIAS, and receives Royal Visits. ELIONEUS made High-Priest, instead of MATTHIAS. Games in Honour of CÆSAR. Blasphemous Compliments to AGRIPPA. An Owl perches over his Head. He becomes violently tormented, reproaches his Flatterers, acknowledges his Frailty, and dies. Account of his Revenue and Children. The Ingratitude of CÆSAREA and SEBASTE. CUSPIUS FADUS entrusted with the Command.

Ambition and vanity of Silas, who is sent to prison by Agrippa.

SILAS, who was general to Agrippa, contemplating his faithfulness to the king, the imminent dangers he had encountered with him, and the difficulties he had undergone in his service, thought that as they had been friends and associates in the distresses of war, they had a right to an equal share in the honour and prerogative of government. Having meditated on these circumstances, he considered himself equal to the king, whom he treated with unwarrantable liberties. He was most insolent in his common discourse, at one time boasting of his own merit, and then insulting the king with his former low situation; frequently reminding him of the great services he had done him, the pains he had taken, and the hazards he had run to contribute to his gratification. These kind of speeches, often repeated, had the appearance of reproach, and grew exceedingly tiresome to the king, who thought the freedom that was taken was greater than good manners would warrant; for the man who has been in a low situation does not like to be reminded of it when he rises to a more elevated rank; and it dis-

plays equal meanness and ignorance to reproach a man with obligations conferred.

The behaviour of Silas became, at length, so rude, that the king was provoked beyond all patience, and, in the violence of his passion, deprived him of his command, and sent him to his own country as a prisoner. But when Agrippa came afterwards to reflect on the severity he had used towards a person to whom he had so many obligations, his heart began to relent; and the anniversary of his birth-day now approaching, when all persons began to make preparations to celebrate the royal festival, he sent for Silas, to make one of the company; but the latter, who was a man that prided himself in speaking his mind freely, and particularly in cases where he thought himself offended, addressed the people who brought him the invitation in the following manner—"You perceive, gentlemen; the honour that is intended me by the king; but his present obliging disposition will be of short continuance; and this conduct is but a specimen of his former behaviour. He has deprived me of my commission, and destroyed my reputation, as far as lay in his power; and does he think that I will now refrain from speaking the truth, or cease declaring my opinion, while I am supported by the consciousness of my own integrity? No: the public shall be apprised of the distress from which I have relieved him, and the danger I have encountered for his sake; and how am I rewarded but by a chain and a dungeon! Injuries like these ought not to be forgotten, nor to pass unrevenge: take this answer to the king your master." It was now evident to the king, that the obstinacy of Silas was not to be overcome; wherefore he was again ordered to prison.

Agrippa now gave his attention to the city, and fortified the walls of what was called the new town, at the public expence; building them higher, thicker, and stronger than they formerly were; and would finally have rendered Jerusalem impregnable, but that Marfus, governor of Syria, sent private intelligence of it to Claudius, fearing there might be some farther design; on which, the emperor instantly wrote to Agrippa, to forbid his proceeding; whereupon the work was suspended.

Agrippa was by nature so bounteous, that he distinguished himself by his liberal actions, having no higher pleasure than in shewing the generosity of his temper on all proper occasions. Herein he widely differed from his predecessor Herod, who was of a deceitful, harsh, and cruel disposition; exclusive of which he distinguished the Greeks above the Jews in a most partial manner, which is evidenced in the treasure he expended on foreign works of architecture and elegance; such as theatres, temples, galleries, bathing-houses, and places of parade: whereas he never put himself to any considerable expence in the erection of public works to the ho-

Agrippa is disposed to shew favour to Silas, but, for his reproachful conduct, sends him again to prison.

Agrippa is prevented by Claudius from fortifying Jerusalem.

Disposition of Agrippa greatly exceeds that of Herod.

noar of the Jews. On the contrary, Agrippa was, in the highest degree, gentle and humane, a friend and patron of strangers, and of mankind in general; but in a more particular manner bountiful and compassionate to those of his own profession and country. To gratify his liberal wishes, he chose Jerusalem for his constant residence. He was exact and punctual in the duties of religion, and offered a sacrifice every day; yet he was free from all taints of superstition. One remarkable instance of his benevolent disposition will appear from the following narrative.

Simon calum-
niates Agrip-
pa, who par-
dons him.

At a time when Agrippa was at Cæsarea, a certain lawyer, named Simon, publicly reflected on him as a man of disorderly life, who ought, in justice, to be punished for his irregularities, agreeable to the practice of the Jews in such cases. Of this circumstance the governor sent intelligence to the king, who instantly transmitted an order for the attendance of Simon, who accordingly went to him, and arrived at a time when the king was at the theatre; whereupon his majesty called to him, and, in a strain of great humanity, said, "If you know any thing of me, my friend, that is disagreeable, I would wish you to make public declaration of it in this place." Simon could say nothing in his justification; but, in a confused manner, begged the king's pardon, which was instantly granted (contrary to the general expectation), and received an immediate gratification, exclusive of the pardon; for Agrippa prided himself more in the exercise of an act of humanity than in that of revenge, and thought mercy, rather than pride, to be the characteristic of a king.

Agrippa's
great liberal-
ity to the inha-
bitants of Be-
rytus.

In every place where Agrippa arrived, some proofs were given of his bounty and magnificence; but Berytus was distinguished above the rest; for in that place, at an immense expence, he erected a theatre and an amphitheatre, of equal splendour, together with a number of bagnios and arched walks, which were all finished in the highest degree of perfection. These distinguished buildings were dedicated with a very extraordinary degree of pomp: variety of shews were exhibited in the theatre, with a diversity of music, and other kinds of entertainments. In the amphitheatre, a number of gladiators exhibited their feats in single combat; and this being ended, no less than seven hundred malefactors were exposed to another seven hundred, forming the resemblance of a battle, and they fought till every man was destroyed; by this plan, the execution of public justice being rendered a matter of entertainment to the spectators.

At Tiberias,
he entertains
four kings
with extraor-
dinary magni-
ficence.

Soon after this, Agrippa went from Berytus to Tiberias, a city of Galilee, where several royal personages paid him their compliments; as Antiochus, king of Comagena, Samsigeran, king of the Emenes; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Polemon, an inferior prince of Pontus; and exclusive

of these, Herod, king of Chalcis, and the brother of Agrippa. These were received and entertained with a degree of royal hospitality becoming the character of Agrippa and his visitors; and it was deemed much to the honour of the former to have so many guests of eminent distinction. While the above illustrious persons were with Agrippa, Marfus, the governor of Syria, proceeded to pay him a visit, and Agrippa, through respect to the sovereignty of the Roman empire, went seven miles from town to meet him: but the above visit, as it afterwards happened, occasioned a dissension between them; for Marfus, finding so many kings assembled in such harmony, was apprehensive that the public safety might be endangered by so powerful an alliance. Wherefore he dispatched messengers to them respectively, directing that they should depart without loss of time, which circumstance so disgusted Agrippa, that he had ever afterwards the utmost contempt for Marfus.

Agrippa now divested Matthias of the office of high-priest, which he bestowed on Elionas, the son of Cithæus. In the third year of his reign over all Judæa, Agrippa made a journey to Cæsarea, formerly known by the name of Straton's tower, where a great number of the nobility, and other persons of rank, assembled from all parts of the province, to be present at a solemnity of games and shews, which he instituted in honour of Cæsar. Early in the morning of the second day of this festival, Agrippa went to the theatre, habited in a silver stuff, of so rich and singular a texture, that the eyes of the people were dazzled by the reflexion, as the beams of the rising sun struck on it. The rays of light that emitted therefrom appeared to the vulgar to have something divine in them, and inspired them equally with ideas of fear and veneration: and, on this occasion, a fawning crew of contemptible flatterers extolled him as a deity, and in a formal manner intreated him to pardon the sins arising from their ignorance, when they thought he was a mere mortal; whereas, they were now convinced that he was a being of superior rank, and something more than human.

Agrippa re-
moves Matthi-
as, and makes
Elionas
high-priest.

His splendid
appearance in-
duces the pro-
fane people to
revere him as
a god.

Gratified in a high degree by this odious flattery, he fought not to suppress it, as he should have done; but while, in the pride of his heart, he was contemplating on his superior dignity, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, he beheld an owl over his head, sitting on a rope, which he considered as the fore-runner of mischief, as a similar circumstance had heretofore been of good fortune: nor was he mistaken, for he instantly felt a violent pain at his heart, and convulsions in his bowels. In the extremity of his torments, he addressed his surrounding friends, saying, "Now behold your god is sentenced to death: by this inevitable fate I shall prove the absurdity and impiety of flattery, and by my death convince the world that I am not im- mortal.

Not rebuking
them for their
impious adu-
lation, he is
struck with a
violent and
mortal disease

mortal. The will of Heaven be done! I have had no reason, during my life, to envy the happiness of any prince existing, but ambition has been my ruin!"

The people mourn for his illness, and are solicitous for his recovery.

He had no sooner spoken these words than his pains increased to such a degree, that it was necessary to remove him into the palace; and a rumour immediately spread through the town that the king was at the point of death. Hereupon, the people in general, men, women, and children, adopted the customary mode of cloathing themselves in sackcloth, and united in prayers to God for the recovery of the king. In the interim, Agrippa, who was in an apartment at the top of the palace, could not refrain from tears on seeing his mourning subjects prostrate on the pavement below. His extreme pain continued, unabated, from that time to the end of five days, when he died, in the seventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age. During the first four years of his reign he governed under Caius the emperor, Philip being tetrarch during the first three years; and in the fourth Herod being joint tetrarch with him. Claudius was emperor during the remaining three years; and, exclusive of the government of Judæa, had bestowed on him those of Cæsarea and Samaria. His annual income was reckoned at twelve hundred myriads; but notwithstanding this revenue, he was obliged to borrow; for the liberality of his disposition was such, that his expences exceeded his receipts. Silas being now in prison, and Herod, prince of Chalcis, and Chelcias, general of the troops, being both his inveterate enemies, dispatched Ariston to destroy him, as by the order of the king, before his death was made public.

Death of Agrippa.

His revenue and profuse liberality.

Agrippa's surviving family consisted of a son of his own name, aged seventeen years, and three daughters; of whom the eldest, Berenice, when sixteen years old, was married to her uncle Herod. The second, Mariamne, was ten years old; and the youngest, Drusilla, six years. Mariamne was contracted to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, and her sister to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

His children.

The death of king Agrippa was no sooner made known to the public, than the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, instead of making a proper acknowledgment of the many obligations he had conferred on them, loaded his memory with the most scandalous and opprobrious epithets that their imaginations could possibly give rise to. It happened that at this time there was a number of soldiers at those places, who, in aid of the calumny, took the statues of Agrippa's three daughters from the palace, and conveyed them in triumph to public bro-

Ingratitude of Cæsarea and Sebaste to Agrippa's memory.

thels, with brutish terms of reproach that are too infamous for repetition. They scalded, and played the tricks of buffoons in the streets, adorned their heads with flowers and garlands, perfumes and ointments, as if they were sacrificing to Charon; and likewise drank libations of thanks for the king's death. In this manner they entertained themselves, regardless of all the favours they had received from, and the obligations they owed to Agrippa, or of those due to Herod, his grandfather, who had founded those splendid cities, and the temples and ports appertaining thereto.

At this time Agrippa, the son of the deceased king, was at Rome; being educated in the court of Claudius, who, being informed of the death of the father, and the horrid insults that had been offered to his memory by the ungrateful inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, expressed great concern at the loss of the king, and equal indignation at the ingratitude of the other parties: wherefore he formed an idea of immediately sending the present Agrippa to take possession of his father's kingdom, which was equally agreeable to an oath he had taken, as consistent with common reason and equity. But the emperor was easily diverted from carrying his plan into execution, by the persuasion of a number of favourites who surrounded him. They urged that it was unsafe to trust so important a business in the hands of a man so young and unexperienced; for the commission was of so difficult a kind, that it would furnish ample employment for the most acute genius in the empire.

Claudius's proposal for the son of Agrippa to succeed his father is over-ruled by the courtiers.

These artful insinuations induced Claudius to change his mind, and thereon he deputed Cuspius Fadus to the command, but paid so great a respect to the memory of the deceased, that he strictly charged him not to receive Marfus into the government, on the consideration that he had been the determined enemy of Agrippa; but he gave him still more particular directions to punish severely the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, on account of the indignities they had offered to Agrippa and his daughters. He commissioned him likewise to dispatch to Pontius five cohorts, and the other troops that were in those cities; and to cause that their places should be supplied by a select body of men from the Roman legions then in Syria. This last order, however, was not obeyed; for, on an earnest application, Claudius was induced to permit those troops still to remain in Judæa. From this circumstance arose many great calamities which were afterwards suffered by the Jews, and which gave rise to a series of war when Florus had the command; so that Vespasian, though the conqueror, was obliged to compel them to quit the country.

Cuspius Fadus appointed to the government of Judæa.

B O O K XX.

Containing the HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS from the YEAR of the WORLD
4009 to 4030.

C H A P. I.

CLAUDIUS bestows the Government of SYRIA on CASSIUS LONGINUS. A Rupture between the JEWS and PHILADELPHIANS. FADUS puts to Death THOLOMÆUS, the Captain of a desperate Band of Robbers. AGRIPPA petitions that the JEWS may continue in Possession of the holy Robes, and his Request is granted. CLAUDIUS's Letter to the Senate. HEROD appoints JOSEPH to the Office of High-Priest.

Claudius makes Cassius Longinus governor of Syria.

SOME short time subsequent to the decease of Agrippa, which we have spoken of in the preceding book, the emperor Claudius manifested the respect he entertained towards the memory of his late royal friend, by removing Marfus from the government of Syria, and appointing Cassius Longinus to succeed him, agreeable to the request which Agrippa had made and frequently repeated in divers letters to Claudius.

The Jews and Philadelphians falling out, the governor punished several of the Jewish ringleaders for their seditious outrages.

At this period, Cuspius Fadus assumed the government of Judæa; and in virtue of the commission entrusted to him, he determined to suppress an insurrection which then prevailed between the Jews resident on the other side the river Jordan, and the Philadelphians, respecting the boundaries of a village called Mais, which was inhabited by a people remarkable for their courageous and warlike dispositions. The Jews having taken up arms, and put several of the Philadelphians to death, without authority from their superiors for pursuing such violent measures, Fadus was so highly incensed against them on account of their insolent and seditious proceedings, that he caused Annibas, Amaram, and Eleazar, the principal ringleaders, to be put in irons; and he soon afterwards sentenced Annibas to death, and his two companions to banishment. "If (said he) they supposed themselves to be aggrieved by the Philadelphians, it was their duty to submit their complaints to my consideration. But since they have offered so daring an affront as to constitute

No. 19.

themselves the judges of their own grievances, and have insolently taken into their own hands a power that does not belong to them; to dispense with inflicting the punishment they have incurred, would be inconsistent with the duties of the office which I am appointed to execute."

Soon after the above-mentioned sedition had been quelled, Tholomæus, the captain of a band of robbers who had committed great devastation in Arabia and Idumæa, was brought before him, and he sentenced the delinquent to be put to death; he also pursued the most effectual measures, with unremitting assiduity, for extirpating all other invaders of the public peace, and despoilers of private property. He then sent to the priests and principal men of Jerusalem, requiring them, under the authority of a mandate granted by Cæsar, to restore the pontifical vestments, particularly assigned to the use of the high-priest, to the castle of Antonia, where they had been deposited in ancient days. It being apprehended that the requisition for restoring the sacred robe and sacerdotal stole to the castle of Antonia might exasperate the multitude, the troops were drawn up, in order to preserve the public tranquillity; and the priests and other leading people of Jerusalem, judging that to put an absolute negative on the demand would be attended with danger, applied to Fadus and Longinus, respectfully soliciting that they might be permitted to represent their case to Claudius, and that proceedings might be suspended till they should obtain the emperor's answer to their petition. Their request was complied with, on the condition of delivering up their children as hostages, to which they readily consented; and the deputies in behalf of the Jews departed for Rome. Information being given to Agrippa, who was at that time resident at the court of Cæsar, of the arrival of the deputies, and the business they were employed to negotiate, he petitioned that Cæsar would permit the sacred vestments still to continue in the possession of the Jews, and that, if he should be pleased to grant the request, he would transmit an order to Fadus,

Tholomæus, leader of a band of robbers, seized and executed.

The sacred vestments ordered to remain with, and be deposited in, the hands of the Jews.

5 A

signify-

signifying his benevolent determination. Hereupon, Claudius caused the deputies to be called into his presence, and informed them that he granted the favour they were commissioned to supplicate, bidding them make acknowledgments to Agrippa, whose intercession had influenced him in favour of the Jews.

Herod, brother of the late king Agrippa, nominated by Claudius to the charge of the temple, and appoints Joseph high-priest.

On the intercession of Herod, prince of Chalcis, and brother of the deceased Agrippa, Claudius nominated him to the charge of the temple, the holy vessels, and other treasures, and invested him with the authority of appointing the high-priest; and, till the conclusion of the Jewish wars, this power remained in the family of Herod. Having removed Canthara, Herod advanced Joseph, the son of Caneus, to succeed him in the pontifical dignity.

CHAP. II.

IZATES King of ADIABENA, and HELEN, his Mother, embrace the JEWISH Religion. MONOBASUS settles the Province of CÆRON upon IZATES, soon after which he expires, and IZATES is declared his Successor. All the Brothers of IZATES, excepting the elder, sent as Hostages to CÆSAR and ARTABANUS. HELEN goes to JERUSALEM, where she generously affords great Relief to the People during a terrible Famine. ARTABANUS dying, is succeeded by his Son VARDANES. Having made War upon IZATES, VARDANES is destroyed by his own Subjects. IZATES involved in various Disputes and Difficulties. His Death, and is succeeded by MONOBASUS. The Remains of IZATES and HELEN interred at JERUSALEM. THEUDAS, a false Prophet, put to Death by FADUS.

Extraordinary event relating to Monobasus and Helen.

ABOUT this period, Helen, queen of Adiabena, and Izates* her son, embraced the Jewish religion on an occasion which we shall hereafter relate.

The king of Adiabena, who was named Monobasus, otherwise Bazeus, became violently enamoured of his sister Helen, and espoused her. It happened that when they were in bed together, at a time when Helen was pregnant, her husband threw his arm over her body, and, while in that position, he heard a voice, bidding him remove his hand, lest it should injure the unborn infant, which would prove an object of particular care of the Divine Providence. He was asleep when he heard the voice, but, having awakened, and being somewhat

recovered from his surprise, he communicated the extraordinary circumstance to his wife. In the due course of time she was delivered of a male child, to whom the father gave the name of Izates. Before the birth of Izates, he had a son, by the same princess, whom he called after himself, and by different wives he had several other sons.

Monobasus entertained a more tender affection for Izates than for the rest of his children, and his partiality was so apparent that they conceived a most intolerable envy towards the favourite. The king perceived their jealousy, but was inclined to attribute it to a desire they severally entertained of obtaining the first place in his esteem, rather than to consider it as proceeding from deliberate and settled rancour: but observing that matters daily bore a more threatening aspect, he determined to remove Izates into a situation which should secure him against the effects of the enmity of his brothers. He therefore sent him to the fort of Spafinus; and, in order to secure him a favourable reception, furnished him with powerful recommendations and magnificent presents to king Abennerigus, who received the youth with remarkable tenderness and respect, and at length conceived so high an esteem for him, that he gave him in marriage his own daughter Samachas, and with her, by way of dower, a tract of land which produced a considerable revenue.

Partiality of Monobasus for Izates, who is envied by his brethren.

Izates marries Samachas.

Being now arrived to a very advanced age, and apprehending that his dissolution was speedily approaching, Monobasus was exceedingly desirous of once more beholding his favourite son, whom he therefore recalled from Spafinus; and after embracing him with the greatest tenderness and affection that can be imagined, he assigned over to him the province of Cæron*, which was highly celebrated for the production of various kinds of aromatic plants of the most excellent quality, and for containing the vestiges of Noah's ark, which were exposed to view, and esteemed matters of great curiosity. During the remaining part of his father's life, Izates resided in the country of Cæron.

Monobasus bestows on his favourite son the province of Cæron.

In a short time the king resigned his life, and on the very day of his decease the queen assembled the ministers, commanders, and principal officers, and informed them, that her late husband had elected Izates to succeed him in the sovereign dignity, deeming him more eminently qualified than either of his other sons for discharging the duties of the royal station; but she requested their advice, observing, that a private opinion would not operate to procure the happiness of a prince, in opposition to the general sentiments of the people. The queen directed this compliment in order to discover the interests they were inclined to

Death of Monobasus.

* Ezates, according to Tacitus.

* Cardon, in Bochart's Geographia Sacra, l. i. c. 3. support.

support. According to the established custom of the country, the ministers, when the queen had concluded her address, made a profound reverence, and then proceeded to inform her, that they were perfectly satisfied as to the just preference of the deceased king towards Izates, whom they were unanimously desirous of advancing to the regal dignity.

Izates is declared his successor.

They said the people were ready to acknowledge allegiance to Izates, and that if the queen judged it expedient, they would themselves engage to destroy the brothers, and such other relations as it might be apprehended would dispute the right of Izates to assume the throne. Helen thanked them for the instance they had shewn of their zealous attachment to her son, but said, she deemed it improper to take any measures against the brothers, or other branches of the family, without the sanction of Izates's approbation. Apprehending that they should not be able to prevail upon the queen to consent to the death of the brothers, the council urged that the safety of the new king rendered it necessary to imprison them, and intrust the administration of government to a person whom the queen might approve, till the arrival of Izates. The queen acquiesced in the measures last recommended by the council, and nominated Monobasus, the elder brother, to

The government intrusted to Monobasus as viceroy.

assume the office of viceroy. She then placed the crown upon the head of Monobasus, delivered to him the signet-ring and royal robe, called the samplers, which had belonged to his father, and invested him with the full power of government during the absence of Izates, who returned to Adiabena immediately upon receiving intelligence of the death of his father; and, on his arrival, Monobasus resigned his authority with the utmost readiness.

Izates and queen Helen become Jews.

During the residence of Izates at the fort of Spasinus, a Jew merchant named Ananias, contracted an acquaintance with some ladies of the court, and instructed them in the knowledge of God, according to the principles of the Jewish religion. These women introduced the merchant to Izates, whom he also converted, and in compliance with the earnest intreaties of the prince, accompanied him to Adiabena, when he was recalled a short time previous to the decease of his father. It happened that, at the same time, another Jew converted queen Helen to a belief in our religious principles.

Izates sends his brothers as hostages to Cesar, and Artabanus king of Parthia.

Upon finding that his brothers and other relations were imprisoned, Izates was extremely concerned, and the silent admonitions of conscience would not permit him to consent to their death, or to detain them in chains: but still he reflected that if he restored them to liberty, the provocation to revenge which they had received might render his own safety very precarious: therefore, to avoid either extreme, he sent them, accompanied by their children, as hostages, some to Claudius Cesar, at Rome, and the rest to Artabanus, king of Parthia.

When Izates perceived the partiality of his mother to the religion of the Jews, he deemed it proper to make a profession of his own faith: and conceiving that while he remained in a state of uncircumcision he could not properly call himself a Jew, he determined to submit to the operation, which he considered as essentially necessary to his perfecting himself. The queen endeavoured to dissuade him from this measure, being fearful that it must necessarily be followed by very dangerous consequences, since it could not be expected that the people would preserve their allegiance to a professed Jew. The advice of his mother occasioned the king to defer the execution of his design, on the propriety of which he consulted Ananias, who declared himself perfectly of the queen's opinion. He said, that if the king persisted in his purpose, he must himself be absolutely necessitated to depart from Adiabena, in order to avoid the vengeance of the people, who would consider him as a public seducer, and an enemy to the government; adding, that the adoration of the Almighty being an act of the heart, the external ceremony of circumcision would be dispensed with, when the peace and safety of a whole people would be endangered by a compliance, provided an implicit obedience was observed to the laws and precepts of Moses. These, and other arguments of the like nature, reconciled the king to the notions of the queen and Ananias.

Zeal of Izates for the Jew rites and ceremonies.

Ananias exempts him from circumcision.

Eleazar enforces the necessity of it.

Some time having elapsed, a Jew, named Eleazar, came from Galilee to Adiabena; he was a man of great knowledge in the Mosaic institutions, and it was resolved for him to remove every doubt which had revived in the king's mind respecting the necessity of circumcision. Eleazar being introduced to the king, found him engaged in the study of the books of Moses, and said to him, "I fear, Sir, you are not apprised of the affront you offer to the law, and of your high offence to the Almighty; for to be acquainted with the holy will is not sufficient: a due conformity to the sacred commandments of the Lord is absolutely necessary to salvation. On what motive can you remain in so dangerous a state as that of uncircumcision? If you are still ignorant of the law which pronounces circumcision to be necessary, continue to read, and you will be convinced that to dispense with so essential a ceremony is to be guilty of an horrid impiety." This remonstrance had so powerful an effect upon Izates, that he commanded the immediate attendance of a surgeon in a withdrawing room, where he submitted to the operation. Having informed his mother and Ananias of the transaction, they expressed the most terrible anxiety for the safety of the king's person and government, saying, that if the least intimation of the circumstance was communicated to the people, an insurrection must be the inevitable consequence, since they would never submit to be governed by a prince professing a faith

Izates being convinced, complies with his advice, and is circumcised.

a faith contrary to the established religion of the country; and they were greatly alarmed on their own accounts, apprehending that in the general outrage they should fall a sacrifice to public vengeance, under the supposition of being the advisers and abettors of an act so violently militating against the inclinations of the people. The case of Izates is to be considered as an admirable lesson to mankind; for it pleased the Almighty to deliver him from the most desperate and hopeless situation; thereby intimating that virtue and piety will infallibly meet with due reward; but this matter will be treated of more at large in the sequel.

Helen goes to Jerusalem, and relieves the people during a famine.

Izates being established in the peaceable possession of his government, and having obtained in his own country, as well as in foreign parts, the reputation of being a just and wise prince, esteemed by his fellow creatures, and particularly favoured by the Almighty; the queen considered, that since affairs were so happily situated in Adiabena, she might reasonably indulge an inclination she had conceived of visiting the holy temple at Jerusalem, and of performing worship, and offering sacrifice, according to the established regulations. Izates highly approved of the intended expedition, provided his mother with immense sums of money, and proceeded with her several days on her journey. At this time so terrible a famine prevailed in Jerusalem, that many of the inhabitants daily perished; the arrival of the benevolent queen therefore proved a very happy circumstance; for she had no sooner received information of the public necessities, than she dispatched messengers to procure the means of subsistence. In a short time great quantities of wheat were brought from Alexandria, dried figs from the island of Cyprus; and these and other articles which had been procured by her order, she caused to be distributed among the distressed Jews, whereby she obtained a degree of reputation adequate to the seasonable proof she had afforded of her munificent and liberal disposition. Upon receiving intelligence of the famine, Izates sent vast sums consigned to the governors of Jerusalem, to be applied to the use of such of the people as stood in need of relief.

Izates sends them a supply of money.

Artabanus, on a conspiracy of his subjects, solicits the protection of Izates.

The principal men at the court of Parthia having engaged in a conspiracy, they became at length so formidable, and proceeded in their designs with so much resolution, that the king judged it would be exceedingly dangerous to remain in his own dominions; he therefore determined to request the advice and assistance of Izates, as the most probable means of re-establishing himself in his former state of safety and power. In pursuance of this design Artabanus collected about a thousand of his relations and most trusty friends, and, attended by these persons, proceeded to meet Izates. The kings, who were not personally known to each other, met on the public way; but, from the great splendor and magnificence of his equipage, Artabanus readily

concluded that the party approaching could be no other than Izates; therefore advancing towards him, he saluted him, according to the custom of the country, with a reverence called *adoration*, and then addressed him to the following purpose: "Let me not be the object of your contempt, most illustrious prince! because you now see me in the degraded situation of an humble suppliant. From the regal dignity it is my unhappy fortune to be reduced to the obscurity of a private station; and the extremity of my circumstances compels me to seek a resource in your majesty's beneficence; and permit me to declare, that I entertain hopes of receiving succour from a prince whose excellent understanding will naturally suggest to him a just idea of the vicissitudes to which human life is exposed, and who will reflect that his own elevated station affords no perfect security against a change of fortune similar to that which I have unhappily experienced. I must further observe, that it is the common interest of princes to assist and protect each other, for the success of a revolt against one prince serves to encourage the restless and factious spirits of other nations to conspiracy and rebellion." The address of Artabanus was accompanied with tears and a countenance that plainly evinced the dejected state of his heart. When Izates understood that his suppliant was the king of Arabia, he instantly dismounted from his horse, and in the most kind and encouraging manner exhorted him not to despair, but rather to cherish the hope that Divine Providence would restore him to his former exalted station. "Be assured, royal Sir (said Izates), that you will find in me a steady friend, and a more considerable ally than you expect; for I will re-establish you in the full possession of your former authority, or relinquish my own crown in your favour." Izates now obliged Artabanus to mount his horse, declaring his intention of accompanying him on foot, in acknowledgment of his superiority; but in this Artabanus refused to comply, saying he would instantly dismount if Izates did not take horse and lead the way. At length Izates complied, and conducted Artabanus to his palace, observing towards him every mark of distinction, honour, and respect. He complimented him with the first place at all entertainments and other meetings, and in every other instance shewed him the greatest respect; for he regulated his conduct according to the former state of Artabanus, without deducting any thing for the unhappy revolution of his fortune, which he justly considered as a circumstance to which every sovereign was constantly exposed.

Suppliant address of Artabanus to Izates.

The king treats him with the utmost kindness and respect, promising him assistance.

Izates now dispatched letters to the Parthians, earnestly intreating them to recall Artabanus to his dominions, giving his word of honour, and offering, if they should deem it necessary, to ratify it by the solemnity of an oath, that, on condition of their compliance, he would be-

Izates writes to the Parthians, recommending to recall their king, and engages to indemnify the

come

discontented party. come engaged that a full pardon should be granted for all past offences. Their answer was rather an evasion than an absolute refusal; for they urged, that having elected a man named Cinnamus to the sovereignty, an attempt to dispossess him of the authority would inflame the populace to an ungovernable outrage. Cinnamus, who had been brought up under the care and direction of Artabanus, was greatly affected at the miserable situation of that prince; and being a man of an honourable and generous disposition, he sent word to him, that if he would return he would himself be answerable for his personal safety, and resign to him the sovereign authority. On this assurance, Artabanus set out, in order to take possession of his kingdom; and on the way he was met by

Artabanus, being restored to his kingdom, testifies his gratitude to Izates.

Cinnamus, who taking the crown from his own head placed it on that of Artabanus, saluting him by the title of king, and behaving towards him with the greatest respect and reverence, and the usual formalities of state. In testimony of his gratitude to Izates for having restored him to his throne, Artabanus granted him the privilege to wear a tiara, and lay on a bed resembling those which the kings of Parthia had the exclusive right to use; and he presented him with the fruitful and extensive country of Nisibis, which had formerly belonged to the kings of Armenia, and was celebrated for containing the ancient city erected by the Macedonians, and called Antioch, but afterwards distinguished by the name of Mygdonia.

Death of Artabanus, who is succeeded by his son Vardanes.

Soon after the above occurrences, Artabanus died, and was succeeded in the government by his son Vardanes, who soon after his accession to the throne endeavoured to prevail upon Izates to com-

mence hostilities against the Romans; but he was master of too great a share of penetration to suffer himself to be unnecessarily involved in a war with so powerful and well-disciplined an enemy: he was besides, on other accounts, averse to the measure proposed by Vardanes; for he had sent five sons to be instructed in the language and discipline of the Romans, and his mother had taken up her residence at Jerusalem for the benefit of devotional exercises in the holy temple. Izates endeavoured to divert Vardanes from his purpose, by frequently representing to him the undoubted bravery and great strength of the Romans, and the surprising exploits they had performed; but Vardanes was so highly offended by these expostulations, that he immediately declared war against Izates: but he had cause

The imprudent conduct of the new king occasions his subjects to put him to death.

severely to regret his intemperate conduct. The resolution that Vardanes had formed, and continued to persevere in, of commencing a war against the Romans proved so highly offensive to his subjects, that they put him to death, and

electd his brother Gotarza to succeed him in the government. After a short reign, Gotarza was treacherously murdered; and the throne was as-

No. 19.

cended by his brother, named * Vologesius, who gave the government of Media to Pacorus, the elder, and that of Armenia to Tiridates, the younger brother by the father's side.

By the exemplary piety of Izates, he acquired the reputation of being a perfectly virtuous and in every respect a happy prince; and in consideration of the happy consequences that had resulted from the king's change of religion, Monobalus, his brother, and his other relations, formed the intention of adopting the customs and manners of the Jews. When the nobility and other principal people of the kingdom learnt what religious principles were entertained by the royal family, they were incensed in the highest degree; but they disguised their sentiments, judging they should, by such caution, find an opportunity of revenge with the less difficulty. They wrote to Abias, the king of Arabia, representing that Izates had forfeited every claim to allegiance from his subjects by an impious desertion of the established religion of his country; and that they were, therefore, resolved that he should not escape with impunity. They urged Abias to a declaration of war against Izates, promising him great sums of money, on condition of his compliance, and that on the first encounter they would desert their king in the open field. Abias accepted the proposal made to him, and immediately marched a formidable body of troops against Izates. When the armies arrived within sight of each other, Izates's soldiers fled, appearing to be in the utmost consternation: the king, however, made a safe retreat to his camp, without betraying any marks of confusion or abatement of his natural courage. Upon making inquiry into the cause of the desertion, he discovered it to have been a pre-concerted plot between the enemy and his own subjects. Such of the conspirators as he was able to detect he consigned to punishments adequate to their demerits. On the day following, he gave battle to the Arabian army, which he entirely defeated, committing great slaughter upon a part of the army, and putting the rest to flight: he closely pursued Abias, till he took refuge in the castle of Arfamas; and having reduced this place by storm, and made booty of an immense treasure, he returned to Adiabena in all the pomp of conquest. To avoid being taken prisoner, Abias put an end to his own life.

Monobalus disposed to adopt the religion and customs of the Jews.

Abias prompted to make war on Izates, whose army deserts him.

He punishes the traitors, and defeats Abias, who destroys himself.

The leading men at Adiabena who formed the conspiracy against Izates still held the determination to pursue their purpose, notwithstanding a consciousness that their late treachery had intirely subjected them to the mercy of their king. They wrote to

* Spanheim observes, that, according to the ancient coin, the name is Bolagases.

The malice of Adiabena apply to Vologesus, who seeks a quarrel with Izates.

Vologesus, the king of the Parthians, urging that his apostasy from the religion of his country had rendered Izates the object of universal detestation to his subjects, and supplicated that measures might be pursued for effecting his destruction, and that the Parthian would nominate some person of his own nation to assume the government, which their present king was no longer worthy to possess. In consequence hereof, and without any reasonable ground of quarrel, Vologesus determined to commence a war against Izates. The Parthian manifested his intention by a revocation of the grants which his father Artabazus had made in favour of Izates, and a menace of immediate war if he presumed to dispute his pleasure. The conduct of Vologesus proved highly embarrassing to Izates, for he considered that to be deterred by threats into a compliance would be an argument of meanness of spirit; and farther, that by relinquishing the privileges which had been so duly confirmed to him, and which he had so well deserved, no material advantage would be produced, since it was not probable that his acquiescence would induce the Parthian to suppress his hostile designs. At length he came to a resolution of risking life, honour, and fortune, on the issue of a battle, fully depending on the assistance

Izates prepares to meet the enemy.

Haughty threats of the Parthian king.

Modest reply of Izates, and his pious prayer.

of the Almighty. He sent his wives and children to a castle of great strength, and caused great stores of grain and other necessaries to be removed to the strongest forts he possessed; and burnt, or otherwise destroyed all the forage, hay, and such other articles in the neighbourhood as could not be removed, and which if seized by, might have proved serviceable to the Parthian army. Having taken the above precautions, Izates waited to receive the enemy. Vologesus had collected an army much more formidable than could possibly be expected in so short a time; and he formed his camp on the banks of a river separating Adiabena from Media: near the same spot Izates encamped his forces, which consisted of six thousand cavalry. Vologesus dispatched an herald to inform Izates, that he was preparing to attack him with the whole force of his empire, which extended from Bactria to Euphrates, in order to punish him for having insolently disobeyed his commands, and refused to acknowledge him as a master; and that he was guilty of an egregious folly in depending for success upon the Deity he worshipped, who had not power to protect him. The answer that Izates returned by the messenger was, that in point of numbers he did not pretend to rival Vologesus; but that he resigned himself to the will of an eternal God, whose goodness and power surpassed the narrow limits of human comprehension. Having dispatched the herald, Izates prostrated himself upon the earth, and thus addressed the Lord: "Almighty and ever blessed God, whom thy blessed servants never supplicate in vain, vouchsafe to extend thy mercy to thy faithful creature, who now submits

himself to thy divine will, infinite goodness, and almighty power: punish the impious temerity of those people who have dared to blaspheme thy sacred name: but this vengeance upon mine enemies I do not supplicate so much on my own account, as in vindication of the affronted honour of thy holy name." The humiliation and prayers of this truly pious prince proved acceptable to the Almighty; and on the same night the following event happened, which deserves to be considered as a remarkable indication of the Divine Providence in his favour. Vologesus received intelligence that the Dahæ, and the Sacæ (inhabitants of Scythia), encouraged by the king's absence, had made an incursion into his dominions, where they were employed in ravage and devallation: hereupon, Vologesus led his army in order to repel the invaders.

Interposition of Providence in favour of Izates.

Soon after the above events, Izates expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. He left four sons, but in acknowledgment of the integrity of his brother in resigning the authority that had been committed to him in trust, he appointed Monobasus to succeed him in the sovereignty. The decease of so truly religious, affectionate, and dutiful a son caused great affliction to Queen Helen: but the advancement of Monobasus to the throne afforded some mitigation to her grief. Upon the death of Izates, the queen retired to Adiabena, but he did not long survive. Monobasus sent the remains of his mother and brother to be deposited in the three pyramids which the queen had erected at the distance of three furlongs from Jerusalem. Farther particulars respecting Monobasus will be introduced hereafter.

Death of Izates, who appoints his brother Monobasus to succeed him.

Queen Helen dies, and is buried with her son at Jerusalem.

While Cuspius Fadus held the government of Judæa, a pretended prophet, named Theudas, persuaded great numbers of people to take their most valuable effects and follow him to Jordan, promising that by a single word he would cause the waters to divide, and afford them a dry passage to the opposite shore. He was followed by a great multitude, but they had sufficient reason to repent their folly; for Fadus sent against them a troop of cavalry, by whom many were slain, and others made prisoners. The soldiers returned to Jerusalem, and the head of the impostor was exposed as a public spectacle.

Theudas, a false prophet, apprehended and put to death.

Cuspius Fadus was succeeded in the government of Judæa by Tiberius Alexander, the son of that Alexander who held the office of *alabarcha in Alexandria, and who was considered as the most wealthy citizen of his days. Tiberius Alexander apostatized from the religion of his ancestors, and was

Tiberius Alexander succeeds Fadus as governor of Judæa.

* Vide Turnebus's Adversaria, l. xxvii. c. 25.

in other respects a more exceptionable character than his father. At this time, a terrible famine raged in Judæa, when queen Helen procured corn for the relief of the people at an immense expence, as we have already mentioned. Alexander caused the crucifixion of James and Simon, the sons of Judas of Galilee. While Cyrenius was employed in taxing Galilee, the sufferers above-mentioned exerted their endeavours to spirit up the Jews to a revolt against the Romans.

Ananias made high-priest; Cumanus succeeds Alexander; death of Herod, brother of Agrippa.

Joseph, the son of Camydas was removed from the pontifical dignity by Herod, the king of Chalcis, who appointed Ananias, the son of Nebedæus, to succeed him. Tiberius Alexander was succeeded by Cumanus; and about the same period died Herod, brother of Agrippa the great, leaving the following sons; Aristobulus, by a former wife, and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, king Agrippa. Claudius Cæsar appointed the younger Agrippa to succeed to the throne of Herod. During the government of Cumanus, an insurrection took place in Jerusalem, in which great numbers of Jews were destroyed, as will appear in the following chapter.

C H A P. III.

A great Concourse of JEWS repair to JERUSALEM on Occasion of the Feast of the Passover. A Soldier offers a shameful Indignity to the Temple. The People thrown into Consternation, and in the general Disorder Twenty Thousand of them are smothered and trampled to Death. In the Tumult, the Books of MOSES are found, and destroyed by a Soldier. The Offender is condemned to lose his Head.

The Jews meet to celebrate the passover.

THE time now approaching when it is usual for the Jews to celebrate the paschal feast, otherwise called the feast of unleavened bread, vast multitudes of people resorted to Jerusalem on occasion of the festival. Cumanus judged it prudent to place a company of soldiers to guard the temple, and to suppress any disturbances that might arise among the populace. His predecessors had frequently taken this precaution on similar occasions. On the fourth day of the festival, a soldier had the audacity to expose himself entirely naked to the public, who were enraged to the highest degree by this act of indecency, which they considered not so much as a mark of disrespect to themselves as a manifest insult to the Almighty power to whose honour the festival was dedicated. Some people, of more daring spirits than the rest, attributed the offence to Cumanus, alledging that it was not probable the

Indecent act of a soldier, and its dreadful consequences.

soldier would have been guilty of so daring an insolence without having received encouragement from the governor. This disgraceful imputation proved the source of great affliction and anger to Cumanus; but he exhorted the people, in terms of gentleness, to moderate their passion, and not to proceed to any acts of violence; but observing, that instead of appealing, his arguments served to inflame the rage of the populace, he commanded the troops to march into the castle of Antonia, which, as we have already mentioned, commands a view of the temple. Upon perceiving the army advance, the people apprehended that they were preparing to attack them, and the idea of danger was so prevalent that each endeavoured to provide for his own safety by a precipitate retreat, and the passages being narrow, twenty thousand of them were either smothered or trampled to death in the crowd. Thus did one beastly action of a soldier turn a public festival into a day of general sorrow, for the public no longer attended to their prayers and sacrifices, and other ceremonies, but employed themselves in lamentations and mournings.

Soon after the above unhappy events, succeeded another heavy affliction to the Jews. A number of people who had escaped from the neighbourhood of the temple, had proceeded to the distance of about an hundred furlongs from the town, when they met one of the emperor's domestics, whose name was Stephen; and this man they assaulted and robbed. When the circumstance was related to Cumanus, he detached a body of troops, with a commission to ravage the villages of the neighbourhood wherein the fact was committed, and to make prisoners of some of the principal inhabitants. In the plunder, one of the soldiers found the books of Moses, which he produced to his companions, and having execrated the whole Jewish people and their laws, with the utmost virulence of rage, he tore and utterly destroyed the books. Hereupon, the Jews assembled in great multitudes, and Cumanus being at Cæsarea, they repaired thither, and supplicated that justice might be exercised upon the offender, urging that they did not consider him as deserving punishment for the affront to themselves, so much as for his horrid impiety to the Almighty. Cumanus judged it not prudent to deny the justice claimed by the Jews, lest a popular revolt might be the consequence; and after having consulted his friends on the matter, he sentenced the offender to have his head struck off.

One of Cæsar's domestics robbed, for which Cumanus seeks revenge.

A soldier destroys the books of Moses, for which act Cumanus sentenced him to lose his head.

C H A P. IV.

A Diffension between the JEWS and SAMARITANS. The JEWS defeated by CUMANUS. The SAMARITANS complain against the JEWS. ANANIAS

NIAS and ANANUS, with others, sent to ROME, in order for Trial before the Emperor. The Cause heard by CLAUDIUS, who punishes the Offenders. The Government of JUDÆA given to CLAUDIUS FELIX. CÆSAR dies, and, it is supposed, by Poison. NERO declared Emperor. His Cruelties. He gives the lesser ARMENIA to ARISTOBULUS, and part of GALILEE, with the Government of other places, to AGRIPPA.

The Jews and Samaritans quarrel.

SOON after the tumult mentioned in the preceding chapter had been appeased, a terrible dissension happened between the Samaritans and the Jews, the particulars of which we shall now proceed to relate. When the Galileans repaired to Jerusalem to celebrate the public festivals, it was their custom to pass through Samaria. As these people were going to Jerusalem on some public occasion, a quarrel took place between them and the inhabitants of a village called Nais, situated in the great plain, and under the jurisdiction of Samaria, and several of the people of Galilee lost their lives in the contest. The Galileans being incensed to an excess of rage, requested Cumanus to assert their cause, and he promised that due punishment should be inflicted upon the promoters of the disturbance; but they rejected all terms of accommodation, declaring their resolution to seek redress by arms. In this disposition they applied to other Jews, representing to them that a state of slavery was, under the most favourable circumstances, a life of infamy, but that with the addition of tyranny and injustice it became wholly intolerable. In short, they animated the other Jews to take up arms; and Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, was elected to the chief command. For several years Eleazar had been a mountaineer, and obtained a livelihood by making incursions in Samaria. Cumanus marched against the Jews with some squadrons of cavalry from Sebaste, four companies of foot, and a body of Samaritans completely armed: and with these forces he intirely defeated them, committing a great slaughter, and taking a great number of prisoners.

Methods used to pacify the multitude.

The situation of the Jews was now in every respect so truly deplorable, that they who were most distinguished for rank, integrity, moderation, and good sense, humbled themselves in sackcloth and ashes, and fervently appealed to heaven to avert the dreadful calamities which still seemed to be suspended over their heads. They represented the desolate state of their country, the eventual destruction of the temple, and slavery of their wives and children to nations addicted to profane religions, advising their countrymen by the same religion, country, liberties, families and laws, to moderate their extravagant passions, suppress all farther designs of war, and peaceably return to their respective habitations. The arguments made use of had the desired effect upon the common

people, who gradually dispersed; and the mountaineers returned to their former quarters, and continued to follow their illegal and rapacious course of living. From this period Judæa became a receptacle for robbers.

Numidius Quadratus*, the governor of Syria, being at this time at Tyre, the principal people of Samaria went thither, and exhibited a complaint to him against the Jews, charging them with having set fire to, and plundered their villages; and alledging that they were not so sensibly affected by the injuries themselves sustained, as by the contempt shewn to the supreme authority of the state of Rome, which possessed the exclusive right of taking cognizance of all disturbances arising within the province they inhabited. Having made their charge, they demanded justice upon the delinquents. The Jews now addressed the governor, accusing their adversaries with being the first promoters of the tumult, and severely arraigning the conduct of Cumanus, who, they asserted, instead of punishing the authors of the riot, had been induced by bribes to connive at their barbarous proceedings. Having heard the accusation and defence, Quadratus told the parties, that he would go into Judæa and inform himself of the real state of the facts, and then pronounce judgment according to the merits of the cause. In a short time Quadratus went to Samaria, and the matter in dispute being submitted to his decision, he pronounced that the Samaritans were the original fomenters of the tumult. Information being made to him that a design had been conceived among the Jews for promoting an insurrection, he condemned several of the prisoners who had been taken by Cumanus to be put to death. From Samaria Quadratus went to Lydda, a borough of so much consideration that it might have passed for a capital city, and again heard the cause of the Samaritans, one of whom charged an eminent Jew named Dortus, and four others of the same tribe, with having endeavoured to spirit up the people to an insurrection; and these men he caused to be put to death: Ananias, the high-priest, and Ananus, the captain, he sent in bonds to Rome, to which place he also sent many of the principal Samaritans and Jews, with Cumanus, the governor, and Celer, the tribune, in order for trial before Cæsar. Quadratus now went to Jerusalem, where he apprehended further disturbances would arise, but finding the people in perfect tranquillity, and the attention of the Jews wholly occupied in their religious ceremonies, he repaired to Antioch.

The parties being arrived at Rome, a time and place were appointed for trial, and in all probability judgment would have been pronounced in favour of

The Samaritans exhibit complaints to the Syrian government against the Jews.

Defence of the Jews, who retort the charge.

The Samaritans adjudged guilty.

The matter heard at Lydda. Dortus and others put to death.

Claudius orders the cause to come before him.

* According to Salmasius, Umidius Quadratus. Vide his annotations upon Julius Spartianus.

Cumanus and the Samaritans through the powerful interest they had made with Cæsar and the freemen, had it not been for the interposition of Agrippa the younger, who observing that the Jews were in danger of being oppressed by the superior power of their adversaries, earnestly intreated Agrippina to prevail upon her husband Claudius to grant an impartial hearing of the cause; and pass judgment upon those who should appear to have been the offenders. In consequence of the intercession of Agrippina, Claudius consented that the matter in dispute should be brought before him in proper form. From

Sentence and punishment of the Samaritans, &c. and Felix made governor of Judæa.

the evidence that was adduced on the trial, he adjudged the Samaritans to be guilty, and condemned them to suffer death; Cumanus he sentenced to banishment, and Celer, the tribune, to be conveyed to Jerusalem, and dragged through the streets till he expired: and he nominated Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, to assume the government of Judæa.

Cæsar confers great honours on Agrippa.

In the twelfth year of his reign, Cæsar appointed Agrippa to the tetrarchy which Philip had held, and of Batanæa, with Trachonitis and Abila*, which had been the tetrarchy of Lyfanius: but he removed him from Chalcis, after he had enjoyed that government four years. After the great honours and advantages bestowed upon him by Cæsar, this young prince married his sister Drusilla to Azizus, king of the Emesenes, who had been converted to the Jewish religion. Drusilla had been betrothed to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, on the condition of his professing Judaism: but upon his refusal to comply with the terms, the contract was dissolved. Another sister, named Mariamne, he espoused to Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, to whom she had been promised by her father Agrippa: and a daughter, named Berenice, was the issue of this marriage.

Drusilla desert her trust and Azizus, and marries Felix.

Soon after their union a separation took place between Drusilla and Azizus. She was admired as the most beautiful woman of her time: and Felix, the governor of Judæa, became violently enamoured of her. He informed a Jew, named Simon, who was his particular friend, and a man highly celebrated as a magician, of the passion he had conceived; enjoining him to exert his endeavours to prevail upon Drusilla to desert her husband and marry him, and to assure her, that if she consented, he would make her the most happy woman upon earth. Drusilla was prevailed upon to renounce her religion, abandon her husband, and marry Felix: and to this she was partly induced by the desire of avoiding all further uneasiness from her sister Berenice, who envied her the possession of the superior attractions of her person. By Felix, Drusilla had a son named Agrippa, who in the time of Titus Cæsar, together with his wife, fell a

sacrifice to a violent eruption of Mount Vesuvius, as we shall hereafter particularly relate.

Berenice for a considerable time survived Herod, to whom she was both wife and niece. A report being circulated that a criminal intercourse subsisted between her and her brother, she judged that the most effectual method for clearing herself from the horrid and slanderous accusation of incest, would be to prevail upon Polemon, king of Cilicia, to embrace Judaism, and unite herself to him in marriage. In consideration of her great wealth, Polemon accepted the proposals of Berenice: but she soon deserted him, and he then abandoned the principles of our religion.

Berenice, suspected of incest, abandoned her husband.

Mariamne was not more virtuous than her sisters; for she quitted her husband Archelaus, and espoused Demetrius, the most considerable Jew of Alexandria, both on account of his family and wealth. He held the office of alabarcha † of Alexandria. By Demetrius, Mariamne had a son named Agrippinus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

Mariamne's infidelity.

After a reign of thirteen years eight months and twenty days, Claudius Cæsar departed this life; and it was violently suspected that his wife had administered poison to him. She was daughter of Germanicus, the brother of the emperor: she was first married to one of the most considerable men of Rome, named Domitius Enobarbus, to whom she bore a son called after his father, but whose name was changed to that of Nero, upon being adopted into the family of Claudius. After the decease of Domitius, Agrippina remained in a state of widowhood a considerable time before she was espoused by Claudius. By a former wife, named Messalina, Claudius had Britannicus † and Octavia: being jealous of Messalina, he caused her to be put to death. The eldest of this emperor's children was Antonia, the issue of a marriage with Petronia, and he espoused her to Nero.

Death of Claudius, supposed by poison.

In order to secure the succession to her son Nero, Agrippina contrived the death both of her husband Claudius and Britannicus, who was formerly-called Germanicus. Immediately upon the decease of the emperor, she made interest with Burrhus, captain of the guards, the principal officers, tribunes, and other leading people, to convey Nero to the soldiers, and declare him successor to the throne. The first action which rendered him remarkably odious after his advancement to the sovereign power, was the causing Britannicus to be poisoned. A few years after that cruelty, he requited his mother for having given him existence, and possession of the empire, by murdering her in a public and most barbarous manner. He also effected the death of his wife Octavia, as well as of many persons highly distinguished by their rank in life, and a proper conformity to the

Nero proclaimed emperor, who proves a most cruel tyrant.

* Abenna, but Abila seems to be the true reading. Vide Berkeley upon Steph. Byzant. p. 9.

† Or principal governor of the Jews. Vide Turnebus's Adversaria. l. xx. c. 125.

† See Notes upon Tacitus, by Ryckins; p. 498.

principles of honour and integrity; endeavouring to excuse his barbarity by absurd and improbable pretences that they had concerted plots against his life. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this subject, the life of Nero having already employed the pens of divers historians. Different writers have spoken of Nero according to their respective prejudices, some having extravagantly commended his good qualities, and others, with equal violence, having execrated his bad ones: but, indeed, a more scrupulous regard to truth has not been observed in the histories of preceding emperors. It is my business to confine myself within the limits of truth in every instance; to touch but slightly on matters not immediately connected with the plan of this history, but to be more particular and diffusive as to what concerns our nation, candidly acknowledging wherein we have deserved censure, and faithfully recording the distresses we have experienced.

Partiality and prejudice in the Roman historians censured, and truth preferred to both.

Governments bestowed on Aristobulus and Agrippa.

But, to renew our narrative; in the first year of the reign of Nero, died Azizus, the king of Emefenes, and he was succeeded by his brother. Nero bestowed the lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis. A part of Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheæ, with Julius beyond the Jordan, and fourteen villages annexed to the same jurisdiction, he subjected to the government of Agrippa.

CHAP. V.

The Robbers and Impostors of JUDÆA increase. FELIX employs DORA to effect the Death of JONATHAN, and he is stabbed by Ruffians. The People seduced by a false Prophet. The Multitude dispersed, but the Impostor escapes. A Contention between the JEWS of CÆSAREA and the SYRIANS. The pontifical Dignity conferred upon ISMAEL. Divisions among the High-Priests, &c.

Judæa infested with robbers and impostors.

THE situation of affairs in Judæa became daily more distressing: every part of the country being infested with robbers and seducers, notwithstanding Felix scarcely permitted a day to elapse without condemning some of them to the punishments due to their crimes. One of the most considerable of these people was Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, being the leader of a formidable troop of robbers: Felix got this man into his power by the following stratagem: he gave him an invitation to come over to him; promising in the most solemn manner that he entertained no design to ensnare him, and that he should, in every respect, be in a state of perfect freedom and safety: but Felix betrayed the faith reposed in him, and sent Eleazar in bonds to Rome.

Jonathan gives friendly advice to Felix.

It was through the intercession of Jonathan, the high priest, that the emperor had bestowed the government of Judæa

upon Felix: Jonathan, therefore, considering that the public mischiefs arising from mal-administration would be charged on himself, was induced frequently to expostulate with Felix, with a view to effect a reformation in his conduct. It is the disposition of men of abandoned principles to conceive an aversion towards those who offer good advice, which, how friendly soever the intention, conscious guilt represents as malevolence and reproach. This proved the case with Felix, who revolved in his mind a variety of measures for removing Jonathan, and at length communicated his purpose to a man in Jerusalem named Dora, who was held in great estimation by the high-priest. Felix promised Dora a considerable sum of money, on condition of his effecting the death of Jonathan; observing that no difficulty would occur in procuring ruffians who would willingly execute the business. Jerusalem was at this time infested by a desperate gang of bravoes, provided with daggers concealed under their garments; and Dora employed these ruffians to execute the barbarous commission he had accepted from Felix. In their usual disguise of pilgrims the robbers dispersed themselves among the friends, and those who composed the train of the high-priest; and, availing themselves of a favourable opportunity, they stabbed him amidst the concourse of people by whom he was surrounded, and then the whole party escaped. The impunity which the perpetrators of this horrid and sacrilegious murder experienced, proved an encouragement to other iniquities of a similar kind; for it became customary for ruffians, in the disguise of pilgrims, to commit murders at public festivals, either from revenge, avarice, or other motives: and this practice was not confined to the several parts of the city, for the holy temple itself was no protection against the most abominable impiety and sacrilege. After the sacred house of the Almighty had been degraded from its original state of purity, it is not wonderful that his wrath should fall upon Jerusalem; that he should deliver the city into the power of the Romans, to be punished by expiatory flames; and that he should condemn the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and offspring, to bondage and affliction, in order to convince them, by so judicial a punishment, of their abominable iniquities.

who causes him to be assassinated.

The disguise of pilgrims used for murderous purposes.

Miseries of the Jews accounted for.

Besides the violences committed by robbers, the people sustained great mischiefs from the impositions of pretended magicians and other impostors, who seduced the populace to follow them into solitudes and deserts, under pretence of shewing them miracles: but they had cause severely to regret their credulity and folly; for Felix caused a number of them to be taken into custody, and put to death. A man came from Egypt at this time, and pretending to possess the gift of prophecy, invited the people of Jerusalem to follow him to the summit of Mount Olivet, situated about the distance of five furlongs from Jerusalem; promising

An Egyptian impostor deceives the Jews, but escapes punishment.

promising that upon his pronouncing certain words, they should see the walls fall to the earth, affording them a free passage to enter the city. When Felix received intelligence of what the impostor had proposed, he ordered his troops under arms, and, with a numerous body of horse and foot, he presently attacked the multitude by surprise, putting four hundred to death, and making prisoners of two hundred; but notwithstanding the most vigilant search was made, the Egyptian impostor escaped.

Dreadful mis-
chiefs by the
robber, &c.

The robbers, and other abandoned miscreants, exerted their utmost endeavours to engage the people in an insurrection against the Romans, whom they represented as oppressive to an intolerable degree. They traversed the country, making spoil of the property, and burning the habitations of those who refused to unite with them in opposing the power of the Romans.

Contention
between the
Jews of Cæsarea
and the
Syrians.

At this period a contention took place between the Cæsarean Jews and the Syrians, on the force of certain privileges. The Jews of Cæsarea established their claim of preference in the right of Herod, their king, as the original founder of the city. The Syrians insisted that, previous to the establishment of the city of Herod, and to its being inhabited by Jews, the place had existed under the denomination of the Tower of Straton. The governors of the adjacent provinces being informed of the prevailing commotion, caused the incendiaries of both parties to be apprehended and whipped: this punishment produced a suspension of the tumult for some time: but the dispute was, at length, revived by the Jews of Cæsarea, who, priding themselves in their riches, calumniated and reproached the Syrians, who replied with no inferior degree of acrimony; for they were encouraged to a boldness of opposition by a consciousness that many of the soldiers in the service of Rome were attached to their cause. From words they proceeded to annoy each other by casting of stones, and the quarrel was continued till many on each side were slain and wounded; but the Jews had considerably the advantage. The contention, having increased to a kind of war, Felix commanded the Jews to decline all farther animosities; but finding that they treated his authority with contempt, he ordered his troops to march against them, and the consequence was, that many of the Jews lost their lives, and a much greater number were taken prisoners. Felix gave the soldiers permission to plunder, and they rifled several of the most considerable houses of property to a great amount. Those Jews who were most remarkable for moderation and honour, dreading still more fatal consequences, solicited Felix to recall his troops, that the offenders might have the opportunity of repenting of their rash and inconsiderate conduct; and he complied with their request.

Many of the
parties killed
and wounded.

Felix chastises
the seditious
Jews.

At this time king Agrippa advanced Ismael, the son of Phabeus, to the pontifical dignity: and the high-priests now detached themselves from the interest of

The high-priests oppress
the priests in
ordinary.

the other priests, and the governors and the principal officers and inhabitants of Jerusalem. Each of the high-priests procured the attendance of a guard, composed of the most intrepid and seditious people they could select: and they vilified their adversaries in the most provoking terms, and molested them by casting stones. So shameful was the conduct of the magistrates, in neglecting to restrain the insolence of the high-priests, that, by means of their agents, they destroyed the barns and seized the tithes belonging to the other priests, many of the poorer sort of whom actually perished for want of food. Had no order of government been established, they could not have proceeded to greater extremities.

CHAP. VI.

BERYLLUS obtains a Mandate for disfranchising the JEWS. JUDÆA infested by Bravoes and Robbers. AGRIPPA constructs a Palace commanding a view of the Temple: and the JEWS erect a Wall to intercept the Sight. FESTUS orders the Wall to be destroyed. The JEWS appeal to CÆSAR, who determines in their Favour. JOSEPH advanced to the Pontifical Dignity.

THE emperor having now transferred the government from Felix to Portius Festus, some of the most considerable of the Cæsarean Jews repaired to Rome in order to exhibit accusations against Felix for the exercise of tyranny and injustice; and their representations must inevitably have produced his destruction, but for the interference of his brother Pallas, who being in high estimation with Nero, solicited and obtained his pardon.

Festus succeeded. Felix as governor.

Two distinguished Syrians of Cæsarea applied to Beryllus, who had been preceptor, and now held the office of Greek secretary to Nero; and, by an immense sum of money, prevailed upon him to procure the emperor's mandate for disfranchising the Jews, and for revoking the privileges and immunities of the city of Cæsarea, which they claimed in common with the Syrians. This mandate is to be considered as the cause of all the miseries which we afterwards experienced; for the Cæsarean Jews were thereby inflamed to greater violence, nor did their restless dispositions subside till they were involved in all the calamities of an open war.

Mandate for disfranchising the Jews.

Upon the arrival of Festus in Judæa, he found the country ravaged and laid waste, the people compelled to desert their habitations, the land over-run by great numbers of robbers, who set fire to, and plundered houses, and committed every other kind of enormity without controul. These desperadoes were called Sicarii*,

Judæa infested by a desperate banditti.

* Vide Drusus de Tribus Sectis Judæorum, l. U. c. 24.

from the word Sica, signifying the weapon they used, which was curving towards the point, and otherwise made after a form between the Persian scymeter, and the Roman falchion. It was the custom of these bravoës, on public days, when the people resorted to the city, to disperse themselves amongst the multitude and perpetrate the most horrid murders: at other times they attacked towns and villages, and subjected the unfortunate inhabitants to the most cruel extremities of fire and sword.

A famous impostor lived at this time; he seduced great numbers of the people into the absurd notion that if they followed him into a certain wilderness, they should be no longer subject to the misfortunes and accidents of life. However, Festus ordered the procession to be intercepted by a strong detachment of horse and foot, who pursued and put to death the seducer and his credulous disciples.

Near the porch of the royal palace at Jerusalem, formerly belonging to the Ammonæan† race, king Agrippa caused a superb edifice to be constructed. Being situated on an eminence, it commanded a prospect of the city; and from the king's bed-chamber might be perceived all that passed in the temple. This circumstance proved highly offensive to the principal Jews; for our law does not allow our religious ceremonies, particularly the sacrifices to be exposed. To intercept the view from the king's bed-chamber, the Jews erected a wall before the seats, which enclosed the interior part of the temple toward the west, and it likewise concealed the galleries without the temple on the other side, where the Roman guards are stationed on public days, for preserving tranquillity. Agrippa was highly offended with the Jews for building the wall, and Festus was still more so; and the latter ordered them immediately to destroy it: but they replied, that they would sooner relinquish their lives, than commit any violence upon their temple; and they requested that, before any measures were pursued against them, they might be permitted to appeal to Cæsar, through the agency of deputies; and Festus complied with their desire. They nominated ten eminent citizens, with Ismael the high-priest, and Chelcias the treasurer of the temple, as commissioners to represent their

case to Nero. Poppæa, the emperor's wife, a woman of great piety, and a friend to the Jews, interceded with Nero, and prevailed upon him to authorise the continuance of the wall. The empress detained Ismael and Chelcias as hostages, but the ten deputies were permitted to return. Agrippa, being informed that the Jews had gained their suit, bestowed the pontificate upon Eleph, otherwise named Cabis, the son of Simon, who had formerly enjoyed the dignity of the high-priesthood.

† Al. Allamonzen.

C H A P. VII.

ALBINUS succeeds FESTUS. ANANUS made High-Priest. His violent Measures. AGRIPPA promotes JESUS, the Son of DAMNEUS, to the High-Priesthood, and enlarges CÆSAREA PHILIPPI. Constructs a superb Theatre at BERYTUS. ALBINUS succeeded by GESSIUS FLO-RUS. The Temple completed. The Origin, Qualifications and Number of the High-Priests.

UPON the decease of Festus, Nero conferred the government he had enjoyed upon Albinus. At the same period Agrippa displaced Joseph, and promoted Ananus, the son of Ananus, to succeed him in the pontificate. The elder Ananus was considered as one of the most happy men on earth; for he had five sons, who successively enjoyed the pontificate after him; and this was what no other man could boast. Ananus, the son, was of a vindictive, fierce and haughty temper; he professed the principles of the Sadducees, who, as we have already observed, were a sect remarkable for their censorious and uncharitable dispositions. After the death of Festus, and previous to the arrival of his successor Albinus, Ananus assembled a council, and cited James, the brother of Christ, and others to appear, and answer to an accusation of having committed blasphemy, and violated the law; and in consequence of this charge they were sentenced to be stoned. The conduct of Ananus, with respect to these supposed offenders, proved highly disgusting to those citizens whose sentiments were regulated by motives of piety, and a due regard to the laws: and they privately transmitted a representation of the case to the king, requesting that Ananus might be reprimanded, in order to deter him from a repetition of his unjustifiable conduct. The matter was also related to Albinus, then on his journey to Alexandria, to whom the letters ran forth, that the parties could not be legally condemned without his concurrence, and that therefore Ananus had been guilty of usurping his authority and violating the law. Highly incensed against the high-priest, Albinus wrote to him a menacing letter, strongly expressive of his displeasure: and on the expiration of three months, king Agrippa deposed Ananus from the pontificate, and appointed Jesus, the son of Damneus, to assume that dignity. Upon the arrival of Albinus at Jerusalem, he caused a considerable part of the robbers to be put to death, and exerted his utmost endeavours to restore the province to a state of tranquillity. Ananus frequently complimented Albinus and the high-priest with presents, and in many other instances shewed them great respect: and he gained the particular esteem of the people by his affable and generous

The govern-
ment and
high priest-
hood again
changed.

Ananus causes
James, the
brother of
Jesus, to be
stoned.

Ananus de-
posed by A-
grippa.

rous disposition: but he entertained a number of profligate domestics, who, uniting with others of equally abandoned principles, broke into the barns belonging to the priests, and stole their tythes, cruelly beating and wounding such as opposed them; in consequence hereof the priests, who had no means of subsistence but their tenths, were reduced to the most extreme distress.

The servants of Ananus plunder the priests.

On a holiday-eve the robbers privately gained admittance to the city, and surprised the son of Ananus, the high-priest, who held the office of secretary to Eleazar, a military officer, and having confined him in bonds, they carried him off. They dispatched a message to Ananus, proposing that on condition of his prevailing upon Albinus to dismiss from his custody ten of their associates, they would restore their prisoner to liberty. Albinus foresaw that a compliance with the request would be productive of ill consequences: but yet, in a case of so pressing a nature, he could not refuse. The redemption of Ananus's son proved a dangerous precedent; for the desperadoes were perpetually inventing stratagems for making prisoners of the relations of Ananus, for the purpose of redeeming their companions. They greatly increased in number and strength, and committed the most terrible devastations throughout the country.

Agrippa's superb theatre at Berytus.

Cæsarea Philippi had now been considerably enlarged by king Agrippa, who, in honour of Nero, had given it the appellation of Neronias. At Berytus he caused a superb theatre to be erected at a great expence; and he endowed the building with an immense sum of money, for the purpose of annual exhibitions, and for providing corn and oil to be distributed among the people at a certain proportion by the head. He enriched the city with curious statues, a most valuable collection of antique pieces, the productions of the most capital artists, and other pictures: this town, in short, was the receptacle of the most curious and valuable articles in the kingdom. Agrippa was rendered extremely unpopular by his partiality to Berytus; his subjects considering themselves highly aggrieved by the king's divesting his own cities and villages of curiosities and valuables, for the purpose of gratifying strangers.

Jesus the son of Gamaliel appointed high priest.

Agrippa deposed the high-priest Jesus, the son of Damneus, and appointed Jesus the son of Gamaliel to succeed him: in consequence hereof a violent enmity ensued between the parties, who were each attended by a band of ruffians, and when they met in the streets they reviled each other, and sometimes proceeded so far as to annoy each other by casting stones. Two men of the royal blood, and nearly allied to Agrippa, named Caliochus and Saul, had each a party of bravoes at his command: these men had great interest, and exercised great oppressions upon the poor. From this period is to be dated the destruction of our commonwealth; for the circum-

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stances of the Jews were afterwards continually verging still nearer to the extreme of misery.

Albinus having received intelligence that Gellius Florus was appointed to succeed him, determined, as the most effectual means of obtaining the esteem of the people, to execute justice upon the offenders who had been apprehended and committed to prison. He ordered the prisoners to be brought into his presence; and pronounced judgment upon them according to their degrees of criminality: such as were accused only of slight offences, he dismissed on their paying fines, and he sentenced those to death against whom sufficient evidence was adduced to prove the commission of capital crimes. Thus by clearing the jails did he suffer the country to be over-run by robbers and other abandoned characters. The singing men of the tribe of Levi petitioned Agrippa for permission to use the linen stole, which only the priests had then a right to wear; urging, that from a compliance with their request he would derive immortal honour. The king summoned a council, and granted their petition with the usual formalities: and the other levites who served in the temple he permitted to officiate as singers. The grant of these privileges was contrary to the laws and customs of our nation, which have never been violated with impunity.

Florus made governor.

Ill timed clemency of Albinus.

The Levites obtain certain privileges.

The temple finished, and proposal for employing the discharged workmen.

The temple being now completed, eighteen thousand workmen, who had been paid for their labour with the utmost punctuality, now became destitute of employment. The people being desirous to assist these distressed artificers, and unwilling to keep large sums of money by them, lest they should be seized by the Romans, made a proposal to Agrippa for repairing an edifice, situated on the east side of the temple, which overlooked a narrow valley of great depth. The wall of this building was four hundred cubits high: the stones were white, each being twenty cubits long and six deep, and the surface of them wrought smooth and regular. The structure was raised by Solomon, the original founder of the temple. Claudius Cæsar commissioned Agrippa to make the proposed reparations; but Agrippa considering the extensiveness of the undertaking, the immense sums of money it would require, and that all human works might easily be destroyed, he judged that it would not be expedient to comply with the desires of the public: but he proposed, instead of repairing the sacred edifice, to pave the streets of the city with white stones. After this, Agrippa advanced Mathias, the son of Theophilus, to the pontifical dignity in the room of Jesus, the son of Gamaliel: and in his time the wars between the Romans and the Jews commenced.

Mathias made high priest.

It will not be improper here to introduce some particulars respecting the origin and qualifications of high-priests, and to mention the persons promoted to the pontificate: all

Origin and qualifications of high-priests.

the conclusion of the above-mentioned war. Aaron, the brother of Moses, was the first of the order, and he was succeeded by his sons. So inviolable a regard did our progenitors observe to the right of hereditary succession, that only those of the blood of Aaron were deemed eligible to assume the holy office, even kings themselves being excluded. There were eighty-three high-priests from the time of Aaron to that of Phanassus, who, during a time of hostilities, was elected to the pontificate by a faction: thirteen of them exercised the holy office from the time of the tabernacle of the Almighty being constructed in the desert by Moses, to the time of people entering Judea, where the sacred temple was erected and dedicated to God by king Solomon*. According to the original institution, there was no opportunity to succeed to the pontifical dignity but through a vacancy by death: but that custom was abolished, and it became usual to divest the high-priest of his office, and appoint a successor. The thirteen persons above alluded to, descendants of the two sons of Aaron, enjoyed the honourable distinction in due rotation†. The first establishment of the government was aristocratical, the second monarchical, after which kings were invested with the sovereign authority. We compute that six hundred and twelve years elapsed from the time of our people being conducted out of the land of Egypt, by Moses, to that of erecting Solomon's temple.

Different forms of government.

Successions of high-priests.

Restoration of the Jews by Cyrus.

Under the government of kings the thirteen high-priests already mentioned were succeeded by eighteen others, reckoning from king Solomon to the time when, after subduing Jerusalem, and destroying the holy temple by fire, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, subjected Jozedec and the whole nation to captivity.

Cyrus king of Persia restored the Jews to liberty and their country, after they had remained seventy years in captivity in Babylon, and granted them permission to rebuild the temple, the pontificate being at that time in possession of Jesus, the son of Jozedec. For the space of four hundred and fourteen years, fifteen of the posterity of Jesus enjoyed the high-priesthood, exercising their authority in a popular manner; and then king Antiochus Eupator, with his general Lyfias, put to death the high-priest Onias, otherwise named Menelaus, at the city of Berytus, excluding his son from the succession, and conferring the dignity upon Jacimus, who, though of the race of Aaron, was not of the pontifical family.

On occasion of the death of Onias, his son, whose name was Onias also, went into Egypt, and ingratiated himself into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer, and his wife Cleopatra; he prevailed upon them to construct a temple to the Almighty at Heliopolis, similar to that at Jerusalem, and to appoint him high-priest. Respecting this temple, we have sufficiently spoken already. Jacimus died after he had enjoyed the high-priesthood three years; but leaving no successor, the pontificate remained vacant for the space of seven years. After the revolt of the Jews against the Macedonians, the dignity of the high-priesthood was transferred to the Asimonæan line, Jonathan being promoted to the pontifical office, which he exercised for seven years. Jonathan falling a sacrifice to the treachery of Tryphon, was succeeded by his brother Simon: and upon Simon being assassinated at a public entertainment by his son-in-law, the dignity devolved to his son Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it thirty-one years: upon his decease, he was succeeded by his son Judas, otherwise called Aristobulus, who was the first that assumed the title and quality of king: having reigned one year, he died, leaving his brother Alexander the heir both to the kingdom and pontificate. Alexander continued in the exercise of the regal and pontifical functions for twenty-seven years, and then died, bequeathing the regency to his wife Alexandria, whom he authorised to bestow the pontificate upon one of his sons whom she should most approve; and she conferred the dignity upon Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it during the term of her sovereignty, which was nine years. Upon the decease of Alexandria, Aristobulus declared war against his elder brother Hyrcanus, and having subdued and reduced him to a private station, he assumed the sovereignty and pontificate. At the expiration of three years and three months, Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and carried Aristobulus and his children prisoners to Rome. He restored Aristobulus to the dignity of high-priest, and appointed him prince of the Jews, but he was not to assume the title and character of king. Exclusive of the nine years already mentioned, Hyrcanus remained twenty-three years in the exercise of the pontifical function. This time being elapsed, Barchapharnes and Pacorus, men of distinguished characters, and generals in the Parthian army, crossed the Euphrates and made war against Hyrcanus, whom they subdued and carried away prisoner. They promoted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, to the throne; but in three years and three months

The high-priesthood frequently transferred.

* There is a feast of dedication opened by the Jews on the 25th day of Kislef or Casleu, or the November moon, and is held for eight days successively. It was instituted by Judas Maccabeus and his brethren, in memory of the dedication of the new altar, and of the deliverance of Jerusalem, by the blessing of God on their hands, from the Greeks, who had profaned and defiled the temple, wasted the sacred oil, and involved the Jews in many miseries. But the Jews say (from tradition) that it was instituted in memory of the miraculous burning of a lamp in the temple, when Judas Mac-

cabæus had driven out the Greeks, for eight days together, there being in all that time only so much oil in the lamp as was naturally sufficient for subsisting a flame the space of one day. However this may be, there is read in the synagogue, on the 25th day, the 7th chapter of the book of Numbers, which treats of the dedication of the tabernacle and the altar, because tradition says, this 25th day is the anniversary of the finishing of the tabernacle by Moses.

† Vide Selden de Synedr. Heb. l. ii. c. 15, p. 393-396.

he was made prisoner in Jerusalem by Herod and Sofus, who sent him to Antony, by whose command he was soon after put to death at Antioch.

Herod makes great changes respecting the election of high-priests.

The Romans having established Herod in the regal dignity, he dispensed with the practice of selecting the high-priests from the Asmonæan family, and disposed of the pontificate indifferently, deeming even the most obscure persons in holy orders eligible to the office. The case of Aristobulus is, however, to be excepted; for he being the brother of his wife Mariamne, and the grandson of Hyrcanus, who was taken by the Parthians, and whose memory was held in the highest veneration, he promoted him to the high-priesthood, with a view to insinuate himself into the favour of the people. The great and still increasing reputation of Aristobulus inspired Herod with envy and jealousy; and therefore, as we have already related, he caused him to be drowned, while swimming in a fish-pool at Jericho. After this, he intirely excluded the Asmonæan race from the possession of the pontifical dignity; and the same conduct was pursued by his son Archelaus, and by the Romans, when Judæa came under their government.

Number of high-priests, from Herod to the temple's final destruction.

In the course of one hundred and seven years, from the time of Herod to the conflagration of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus, there were twenty-eight high-priests, some of them being under Herod, and Archelaus, his son. After the decease of Herod and Archelaus, our nation was subjected to the aristocratical form of government, and the high-priest was invested with the exercise of the sovereign authority.

C H A P. VIII.

FLORUS succeeds ALBINUS. The Beginning of the War between the JEWS and the ROMANS. General History of the JEWS.

Florus appointed governor of Judæa.

NERO appointed Gessius Florus* to succeed Albinus in the government of our nation, and he reduced us to a state of the most extreme misery. By birth, he was a Clazomenian, and when he came into Judæa he was accompanied by his wife Cleopatra, who was equal to Florus in a disposition to iniquity. Cleopatra had a great influence over the empress Poppæa, and to that influence Florus was indebted for his exaltation. The oppression of this man was so intolerable, that the Jews even regretted the loss of Albinus. Though the wickedness of Albinus was excessive, he studied to put the most

favourable appearance upon his conduct; but Florus, on the contrary, triumphed in his iniquity, and all his behaviour seemed to intimate that the whole business of his commission was to effect the ruin of our nation. His avarice and cruelty were without bounds: he gave encouragement to public robbers, by sharing with them in the spoil; which induced him to countenance them in every species of depredation. His rapacity and tyranny were so extreme, that the Jews were driven to the cruel necessity of deserting their country, altars, and religious ceremonies, and seeking refuge among the most inhospitable strangers. In short, the oppression of this man precipitated the miserable Jews to take up arms against the Romans, preferring to perish together rather than longer to remain the objects of contempt in ignominious slavery, and gradually to fall sacrifices to so insupportable a government. The war commenced in the second year of the government of Florus over Judæa, and in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. Such as wish to be informed of the particulars of the war will be fully gratified by perusing the books† written on that subject.

Infamous character of Florus.

His excesses prove the main cause of the Jewish war with the Romans.

I here conclude the ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, contained in twenty books and sixty thousand lines‡, comprehending a narrative of what happened to them from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero; their situation in Egypt and Syria; their sufferings under the Assyrians and Babylonians; and the treatment they experienced from the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. I have given an authentic account of the succession of the high-priests during the course of two thousand years; nor have I omitted to treat of the several forms and revolutions of government. The whole is founded on the authority of the holy writings, as was promised at the beginning of this work.

Concluding account of the Jewish antiquities.

I shall here venture to assert, that no man could have afforded the Greeks a more perfect history than the present production. The Jews will admit that there is none more conversant in the Mosaiical law than myself. I have studied the critical and grammatical properties of the Greek language with the strictest attention; but I pretend to no skill in the pronunciation, our people holding the knowledge of many languages in slight estimation, and considering the study rather as profane, being common both to freemen and slaves. The only learning and wisdom which we account valuable, are a necessary attention to a knowledge of our laws, and a just conception of the sacred scriptures: but among the numerous candidates there are perhaps but two or three who have arrived to a proficiency in those excellencies.

* Gessius, or Cestius, in notes upon Catullus by Vossius.

† In the time of Vespasian, long before the Antiquities were written, the books on the Jewish Wars were published. Vide

l. xviii. c. 2. Voss. de Hist. Gr. & Vales. in Euseb. p. 48. & Ed. Paris.

‡ In the original, *Es muriafi Aicken*.

The author's
motives for
writing the
history of the
wars.

I have conceived a design, by the permission of God, to write a concise narrative of the war, from its commencement to the present period; being the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and the fifty-sixth of my age; in which it may not be improper to speak briefly of my family, and my own personal conduct, while people are living to bear testimony of my truth, or disprove the autho-

rity of my assertions*. I likewise intend to treat of the opinions of the Jews, in four books, concerning the Almighty himself and his nature; and also of our laws, explaining the reasons why some matters are allowed, and why from others we are expressly restrained.

* This sentence, perhaps, means the life of the author. Vide Valesius upon Eusebius, p. 47, 48.

A DEFENCE OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IN ANSWER TO APION:

CONTAINED IN AN EPISTLE FROM

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS TO EPAPHRODITUS.

B O O K . I.

The author's
preface.

IN my history of the Jewish Antiquities (most honoured Epaphroditus) I have said sufficient to ascertain the ancient descent of the Jews, and to prove that they are a people which derive not their origin from any others; also to prove their undeniable claim to this originality from the beginning of time. This I have made appear by a faithful deduction of history for five thousand years, extracted from the authority of the sacred writings: yet has this been insufficient to secure me from the most opprobrious invectives, or to gain my history any other character than that of a fable. It has been asked by my enemies, that if the Jews were of such distinguished origin as I have made them, how it happens that the best Grecian historians have made no mention of the circumstance. It therefore becomes me, for three obvious reasons, to declare the truth: in the first place, to confute my enemies; in the se-

His design in
writing this
preface.

cond, to instruct the ignorant; and, in the third, to represent the whole state of the case, in an open and fair manner, to all those who are friends to truth. With regard to my authorities, I shall make use of those only whom the Greek writers themselves hold in the highest reputation: with respect to those by whom myself or my writings have been traduced, either through ignorance or malice, I shall also try to explain how it happens that the Greeks in general have taken such slight notice of the Jews; and shall prove that, with respect to particular writers, they either were, or pretend to be, totally ignorant of the affairs of which I have treated.

Authorities
from Greek
writers.

The world abounds with people who are so devoted to the opinion of the Greeks, that they consider them as the only persons worthy to be consulted with respect to the credibility of history; to the insult and disgrace of men of all

Asurd partiality in favour
of the Greeks.

all other nations whatever. Now I own I am greatly astonished at the presumption of these pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when they are equally opposed by plain reason and indubitable fact. In matter of history we ought not to be governed by the private opinion of any particular man, or body of men, but by the internal evidence of the facts themselves. With regard to the Greeks, every thing among them appears to me to be distinguished by the air of novelty. Their buildings, their arts, their laws, are but of late date; and even the use of history among them is but a very modern improvement. On the contrary, they themselves acknow-

Other nations
have better
preserv'd anti-
quitie monuments

ledge that the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Phœnicians (not to mention the Jews), have kept regular periodical records, to transmit to posterity the memorable acts of former times. These were preserved by means of monumental pillars and inscriptions, agreeable to the advice of the wisest men among them; that the memory of their public transactions might not be lost, but faithfully recorded to after ages. It is likewise worthy of observation, that as these people lived in an open air and fine climate, their mountains were less liable to moulder and decay: which was by no means the case with the Greeks, who neither gave orders for such inscriptions, nor would their climate preserve them.

Origin of the
Greeks.

It is very natural for those who erect new states or societies, to think themselves perfect in the art of government. With regard to the Greeks, their skill of letters is of late date, nor are they at this present time arrived to a full degree of perfection in this science. Respecting their antiquity in this particular, themselves pretend to no farther origin than the Phœnician; and consider Cadmus as their first master; but neither in their temples, nor on their public registers, are they able to produce one authentic memorial of the period to which they pretend to allude. It is an acknowledged fact, that when it was debated if the use of letters was known at the time of the Trojan war, the question was carried in the negative; and it was determined that no such characters then existed. Certain it is,

Homer's poem
the first Greek
manuscript.

that there is no Greek manuscript now extant written before the poem of Homer; and it is equally certain that the Trojan war was at an end before the writing of this poem. It will be likewise confessed, that Homer never committed his poem to writing, but that it was sung about as a ballad, in different places, till the people had learnt it by heart, and in process of time copies were taken of it from the memory of the reciters; which clearly accounts for the number of errors and contradictions found in the first manuscripts.

With regard to Cadmus, the Milesian, Acusilaus, and other Grecians who were afterwards reputed historians, these existed but a little time before the inroad made into Greece by the Persians. Pherecides of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, who were among the most ancient of their philosophers on

The disciples
of the Egypti-
ans, and Chal-
deans esteem
ed the most

No. 20.

celestial and divine affairs, combine to own that they derive their knowledge from the Egyptians and Chaldeans; and though what has been committed to writing on these subjects has been allowed the authority of antiquity, yet it is even to this day a doubt, whether the persons above-mentioned were the authors of the pieces alluded to.

ancient Greek
writers.

Is it not, then, astonishing that the Greeks should claim, not only the credit of having a superior knowledge in antiquity, but should arrogate to themselves the further credit of historical faith and candour, in preference to other men? Whereas, even from their own works, it is evident that their writings are rather founded on conjecture and opinion, than on matter of fact, and that every man indulges his own fancy in his writings: for their authors disagree with each other, and relate to the public very inconsistent accounts of the same circumstances.

The Greeks
not entitled to
a superior
knowledge in
antiquity.

Many reasons might be assigned for these variations among the Greek authors, if it were necessary to bestow the proper attention to discover them: but the two points which I principally insist on are, first, in not preserving the memory of distinguished actions, by a proper foundation of their history in records and memorials: for posterity must be left uninformed without these monumental traditions: and secondly, I charge them with giving false accounts of the history of ancient times, where they are little liable to be contradicted. The mode of keeping public registers hath been neglected, not only in the exterior parts of Greece, but even in Athens itself, where the people; with regard to their original, are distinguished by the name of *Earth-born*, and pride themselves above all other people, on account of their antiquity and learning. It is generally acknowledged that Draco's penal laws preceded all their other writings, though they are not of much greater antiquity than the time of the tyrant Pisistrates. What then is to be said with respect to the Arcadians, who received the use of letters later than any of their countrymen, and yet pretend to a precedence in point of antiquity?

Divided opi-
nions among
them account-
ed for.

Now as there was no valuable intelligence extant, for the instruction of those who were desirous to be well informed, or for the rectifying the errors of those who might otherwise wilfully deviate from the line of rectitude; how was it possible but that their historians should give contradictory accounts; especially if we consider that truth was least of all their object, though they made perpetual professions of a contrary nature? In fact, they wrote with a view to popular applause, and if they could but obtain the name of distinguished orators, they were little solicitous for the honest name of men. Some of them wrote from whim and caprice, totally disregarding the truth of their recital: others were mere panegyrists, and sought only the favour of persons of eminence: while a third sort prided themselves in depreciating the persons and writings of those that preceded them; all of which

The Greek
historians
clash with
each other.

which deviates intirely from the office and duty of an historian.

*Character of genu-
ine history.*

When a number of writers agree in the same thing, and concur as to the particulars of time and place, it is an infallible sign that the history is genuine: but the Greeks have proved where the truth lay, by their contradictions of each other. If the only contest between them and us was with regard to elegance of diction, we should not deny them the precedence: but with regard to the antiquity, and matter of fact, it is otherwise.

The Egyptians and Babylonians exact in their records.

It is known that the Egyptians and Babylonians were anciently extremely exact in noting their accounts and annals. Among the Egyptians the care of this registering was committed to the priests, who were very assiduous and careful in the discharge of this duty. The example of the Babylonians was followed by the Chaldeans; and the Phœnicians, on their incorporation with the Greeks, taught them the use of letters, and how far these were subservient to the conduct of life, and the preservation of public traditions. But as this is a matter confessed by all parties, it is unnecessary that I should say any thing farther of it in this place: wherefore I shall content myself with briefly observing that our predecessors took at least as great, if not greater, care to secure this order and regulation, than any other people; for the high-priests and prophets were charged with

The Jewish annals noted down by their priests and prophets.

this commission; and the practice hath been regularly kept up to the present time; and, if I may be allowed to prophesy, I dare presume to say, it will never fail; for care was originally taken in the choice of persons of distinguished piety and virtue for the office of priest (exclusive of those who were devoted to the service of the altar), and a provision was made that the line of priesthood should not be contaminated by a mixture with any other family; for no man is qualified to execute the office of a priest except his mother be descended from the line of the priesthood; wherefore, regardless of riches or rank, the man who makes his pretensions to the sacerdotal office must produce a number of witnesses to prove his descent in a regular line.

Their custom with respect to pedigree and marriage.

This is not only the case in Judæa but in Egypt, Babylon, and all places throughout the earth, where our people are dispersed; for our priests make it a point of conscience not to marry with any but those of their own tribes. When they are disposed to wed, they send to Jerusalem the name of the bride (by permission of her father), with a draught of her pedigree, properly attested. But in times of war (which have frequently happened), particularly in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the Great, and Quintilius Varus, and likewise within our own memory; in these cases, the surviving priests supply and reform the old registers, and make new ones; and the women who remain are examined with the most exact scrutiny. The priests are

never married to captives, lest they should contract a foreign mixture; nor can there be a more convincing proof of their uprightness than that, for the space of two thousand years, the names of all our priests have stood upon record, from father to son. If among the priests any one be found to prevaricate, or depart from the truth, he is deposed from the exercise of his function, and forbidden to attend on the altar.

Punishment of a priest who prevaricates.

By these proceedings, we are undoubtedly and unavoidably in the right. Few persons have been permitted to write; and we meet with no contradictions among those that have written. With regard to those wonderful antiquities in the books of the prophets, we do not so much account them history as divine revelation. Respecting those who have recorded the history of their own times, they are not many in number, and their accounts generally agree with each other. Let me proceed in my present task.

I deem that there are no more than twenty-two books which we are bound to believe; and in these are contained the history of the world from its original to the present time. Of these twenty-two books, five are employed in giving an account of the creation of the world, and the generation of mankind. This history is continued to the death of Moses, and comprehends a period of almost three thousand years.

Twenty-two books only of highest esteem among the Jews.

Each of our prophets wrote the history of the age in which he lived, from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and king of Persia; and this history is contained in thirteen books; and the other four books consist of divine hymns and precepts of morality. We have likewise a regular series of history, from the days of Artaxerxes to the present time, which we hold in great esteem, but do not venerate it as we do the others, because it is not authenticated and made sacred by a continuation of the descent of the prophets. With respect to the other writings, we pay as much regard to their contents as if we had been eye-witnesses of the circumstances related, for we know how long they have remained in the world, without any attempt to increase or abridge them, or even to disguise or transpose them in any manner; and these writings we hold to be divine; we distinguish them by this epithet, and are taught from our earliest infancy to consider them in that light, and pay a proper obedience to them, and, if necessary, to suffer death in their defence, rather than forego opinions thus sacredly impressed.

The prophets wrote the history of their own times.

Unadulterated state of canonical writings.

Numbers of our countrymen are at this time captives, suffering a variety of torments, struggling with death in its most formidable shape, and contending in theatres with beasts, and men still more brutal than they; and all this because they refuse to abandon the laws of their coun-

Superior zeal of the Jews, shewing their sufferings for the preservation of their laws, and adherence to the laws.

try,

try, and blaspheme the God whom their ancestors worshipped! Can it be said that the Greeks have ever given an equal proof of their faith and resolution? These people would refuse to abide such trials in defence of all they hold most dear; but the fact is, that they deem those things which ought to be held sacred as mere matter of form; and their best historians are culpable in this particular. They frequently commence the writing of their histories without any knowledge of the facts to which they allude, without consulting those who have been on the spot, and parties in the actions; or, if they do consult them, without crediting what they say. Very extraordinary histories of our late wars have been published by those who were never near enough to the scene of action to form the slightest opinion of the matter of fact; but their plan has been to compile a confused history, partly from report and partly from imagination, and then to assume the character of historians of the first credit.

Authenticity and faithfulness of Josephus as a historian.

I have acted, however, in a very different manner, for I have related nothing of which I had not either ocular demonstration, or other indubitable authority; for I had ample opportunities of acquainting myself with the various transactions. I have been as faithful in the report of events as I was accurate in the search after facts. As long as the Jews were able to support themselves against the Romans, I had the honour of a command in Galilee; but it was at length my misfortune to be made captive, and carried to Vespasian and Titus. In this situation, I was kept in chains, but was soon permitted to make my observations on all that passed; and not long afterwards obtained my liberty; when the siege of Jerusalem taking place, I went abroad with Titus from Alexandria.

I was now diligent in my remarks on all that happened. I was well acquainted with all the motions of the army, and was extremely careful to represent every circumstance exactly as it occurred. With regard to the situation of the city, I was informed of it by prisoners and deserters, as they were all under my particular direction and management, by the absolute command of the emperor. In fact, I took every proper opportunity of making written observations, and from those observations my history is compiled.

History of the Jewish war compiled at home.

Having thus laid the foundation of my work, when I returned to Rome I got the assistance of some friends accomplished in the Greek language, and proceeded with the history, in which I have paid so strict an adherence to the rules of veracity, that I have no doubt but even Vespasian and Titus will give testimony to my honour. As soon as my book was finished, I presented it to these illustrious persons, and after that to several noble Romans, who had been commanders in the war. I sold other copies to several of our own people who had a knowledge of the Greek language; particularly to Julius, Ar-

chelaus, the accomplished Herod, and the most distinguished king Agrippa. Now all these universally applaud me, as having discharged the duty of a faithful historian; whereas, they would certainly have exposed the imposition, if, either through ignorance or corruption, I had deviated from the truth. Yet many persons treat me as if I had imposed upon the world, by declaiming only on trifling or abusive circumstances; but these calumniators have not reflected, that the man who pretends to relate the whole truth should either do it on his own knowledge or the information of those on whom he can depend; and I have taken both these methods to render my work complete.

The author refutes the calumnies of his enemies.

As I have acted in the character of a priest, I have, in the course of my profession, extracted my Antiquities from the books of the holy scripture, and have arranged them in the most regular manner. With regard to the history of the war, I had an active share in many parts of it, and was a spectator of other events; so that I was not a stranger to any thing that happened. How insolent then is it in my enemies to pretend to doubt the veracity of my recitals! Admitting what they say, that they have seen the journals of Titus and Vespasian, how can this invalidate the truth of my history, which treats of matters to which the Roman generals must be perfect strangers?

His materials derived from the best authorities.

It was but proper that I should make this digression, to evince what kind of historians we ought to expect, if this humour should prevail; but I think I have said sufficient to satisfy any reasonable man that, in point of the credit and dignity of history, the Greeks ought even to yield to the Barbarians.

I must now address myself to those kind of people who insist that the Jews are mere moderns, and assign as a reason for this, that we are not mentioned by the Grecian historians. It will become me to quote authorities out of our own books, to expose that ill-founded malice by which our enemies are instigated. With regard to the place of our habitation, it is in the midland country, and with respect to trade and voyages, they are circumstances about which we never gave ourselves any concern. Our cities are far removed from the sea, our soil is fruitful, and the lands are well cultivated. We devote ourselves much to the support and education of our children, and deem it the most important business of our lives to take care that they are educated in a pious manner, and in strict obedience to the laws of their country. Exclusive of these circumstances, we have a mode of living peculiar to ourselves, from which alone we are well assured, that in ancient times we could not have had any intercourse with the Greeks, as the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and other people had, for the promotion of their mutual interest, by the advantages resulting from trade, commerce,

Antiquity of the Jews proved and defended.

They had formerly no intercourse with the Greeks.

merce, and navigation. Our predecessors did not follow the example of other nations, by making incursions on their neighbours to increase their territories; though they were by no means deficient in number or courage, to render themselves formidable, if they had been disposed to acts of this kind.

The Greeks known to other nations. By the methods above-mentioned, the Phœnicians became known to the Greeks, and through these, the Egyptians, and others who traded into Greece. Then the Medes and Persians, having obtained the command of Asia, the latter carried the war into Europe. The Greeks knew the Thracians from their neighbourhood; the Scythians from their corresponding with those who used the Pontus; and thus there could be no want of historians on the coast of the eastern and western seas; but the inner parts of the country were in a manner unknown to them for several ages. This was likewise the case in Europe; for after the Roman power and dignity had been established by successive conquests and triumphs, yet this mighty empire is not at all mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, or any of the writers living at that time: and it was a long time before the Greeks obtained a knowledge of its existence.

Detection of a gross error in a celebrated historian.

What opinion shall we form of the writers in general, when Ephorus, one of the most distinguished among them, could commit such an error as that I am about to recite. Having undertaken to give an account

of the Gauls and Iberians, he represents the kingdom of Spain, and the whole continent on which it stands, only as a single city; and thus mentions things that were never transacted or thought of there, as the history of the place itself. Thus ignorance arises from an endeavour to reach truth at too great a distance; and in other instances from an affectation of exceeding the truth. Can it, therefore, afford any cause of surprise, if people, who live as a sort of strangers in the world, and wholly detached from it, and under such regulations as the Jews do, should not afford any subject for the historical pen?

Suppose, now, I should turn the Greeks mode of reasoning against themselves, and deny their antiquity because our books do not mention it? Would not this be deemed absurd? And would not the Greeks appeal to their neighbours in justification of their claim? If this would be right in them, it cannot be less so with me. The principal witnesses I shall use are the Egyptians and Phœnicians. No exceptions can be taken to their evidence, for the Egyptians are well known to be our determined enemies; nor are the Phœnicians, particularly those of Tyre, less so. The Chaldeans, however, form a different opinion of us. We were formerly in subjection to them; and on the score of affinity, as well as on account of our country, they mention us in the most respectful manner in their writings.

The argument of the Greeks refuted on themselves.

B O O K II.

I PRESUME that I have already proved the antiquity of our nation, on the testimony of several Phœnician, Chaldean, and Egyptian historians, and some of the Greek writers: I proceed now (most honoured Epaphroditus) to answer those who have attacked me personally, and particularly Apion, the grammarian; though, in truth, such a writer is scarcely worthy of regard. His narrations

The narrations and writings of Apion mean, fabulous, and obscure.

are, in the highest degree, vulgar and fabulous; his writings are dull and obscure: he appears to be ignorant of his subject, but is calumnious in every thing that he advances: in fact, there is a mixture in his writings which prove that the author is illiberal, boisterous, and troublesome in the extreme. On reflection, however, that fools abound in the world more than men of sense, and are gratified with folly rather than with good sense and sound reason; considering, likewise, that the majority listen more eagerly to the abuse than the applause of their neighbours, I am tempted to take

up the pen of criticism, to chastise this arrogant man for his insolence in presuming to judge in this affair; and I am encouraged to proceed, by the consideration that the world is generally gratified by seeing the mischief arising from calumny revert on the head of the calumniators.

Apion's mode of writing is so obscure, and there is such confusion and contradiction in his narrations, that it is difficult to determine what he aims at. Sometimes he mistakes the account of our ancestors leaving Egypt, as hath been done by others, whom I have already refuted: at another time he attacks the Jews of Alexandria; and then the rites and ceremonies of our temple and worship become the objects of his censure.

I shall now only take notice of what Apion hath said, particularly in his Egyptian history, book the third. He says, "Moses was a native of Heliopolis, as I have been informed by the most ancient people resident in that country within my remembrance. In ancient times the inhabitants held their religious assemblies

His confused and contradictory method.

assemblies

semblies in the open air, till Moses, who was an adept in the worship of his country, prevailed on the people to assemble in the houses in the city, directing them always to pray with their faces towards the sun. With regard to the buildings, they were open at the top, and consisted of pillars erected on the figures of balcons, with engravings thereon, and the shadow, falling on the balcons, moved as the sun moved."

These are the romantic opinions of this author: but I had rather leave the refutation of him to the writings of Moses, than undertake the task. Moses relates nothing of prescribing such forms as above mentioned at the first erecting the tabernacle; nor doth he direct posterity to use them. Nor was Solomon (the founder of the temple at Jerusalem) acquainted with any such building as is mentioned by Apion.

He tells us, that old men informed him, that Moses was a native of Heliopolis. Hence it should seem, that being too young to know the fact, he inquired of his contemporaries, who appear to have been well acquainted with him. How absurd and ridiculous! Apion could not discover the country of Homer or Pythagoras, though they lived comparatively in modern times. How happens then that he is so clear with regard to Moses, who flourished ages before them; and this merely on the information of the old men?

The historians equally disagree respecting the time when Moses conducted the lepers, lame, and blind, from Egypt. Manetho asserts that it was in the reign of Themosis, three hundred and ninety years before Danaus was banished to Argos. Lyfimachus says it was in the reign of Bocchoris, which was seven hundred years before Molon; and others calculate as their fancies suggest: but Apion, who pretends to the utmost exactness, fixes the time to the first year of the seventh olympiad, in which year he asserts that Carthage was built. By this mention of Carthage, he seems to expect to authenticate his computation: but if he had reflected a moment, he would have seen that he was giving evidence against himself; particularly if he had attended to the Phœnician records; for that history makes it plain that Hiram lived full an hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, as hath been already proved from the Phœnician annals. Hiram had a singular attachment to Solomon, and contributed great quantities of materials towards building the temple at Jerusalem. The fact is, that it was not till six hundred and twelve years after the Jews left Egypt, that Solomon laid the foundations of the temple.

With regard to the number of exiles, Apion concurs with Lyfimachus in the erroneous account of one hundred and ten thousand: but his account of the origin of the word Sabbath is amazingly ridiculous. He says, "The Jews having been six days on their journey, were compelled to rest on the seventh, being seized with ulcers and inflammations in the groin. When they had arrived in the country they now call Judæa, they named their resting-day the Sabbath, from the Egyptian word *Sabbatfus*, which signifies

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lies, "The disease of the groin." How strange it is that any man could write such a heap of nonsense, and attempt to impose it on the world as authentic history! He represents one hundred and ten thousand men, all afflicted with the same disease! If these were lame and blind, as he asserts in another place, how was it possible for such a distempered multitude to prosecute their journey through the desert, even for a single day? How improbable is it, I repeat, that such an immense number of men should be at once struck with the same disorder? The common course of nature could never occasion this; and to say that it arose from chance would be an unpardonable error.

How strange is Apion's Idea of one hundred and ten thousand diseased persons travelling to Judæa in six days only! And what a story does he recount of Moses going to the top of Mount Sinai, betwixt Egypt and Arabia, remaining there forty days, and delivering the law to the Jews on his descent! Two questions naturally arise here. How was it possible for such an immense multitude to traverse such an enormous desert in six days? And how could they subsist forty, in a place where neither bread nor water was to be obtained?

His observations respecting the sense of the word Sabbath, are trifling in the highest degree. There is no affinity between the meaning of the words *Sabbo* and *Sabbatum*: the former, according to his explanation, signifies the Egyptian disease; by the latter we understand the day that the Jews devote to rest. This may be considered as the fabulous appendix which Apion has given to the history of Moses, and the account of the Jews' departure from Egypt, contrary to all historical truth. But it is not wonderful that a man should traduce others, who contradicts himself. His birth-place was Oasis in Egypt; but this he disclaims, to be deemed an Alexandrian; which proves that he had no veneration for the Egyptians; and, indeed, by that name he distinguishes all those whom he wishes to calumniate; and for this reason, among others, he seeks to disguise his extraction. They who are not ashamed to avow their country, are anxious to assert their claim to it, and zealous in the support of their rights and privileges. With regard to the Jews, the Egyptians sometimes claim kindred with us, and then boast of the affinity; and in instances where themselves are reproached, they seem fond that we should bear our part in the scandal. Apion, however, gives vent to all his malice against us, as if he sought to please the Alexandrians for granting him the freedom of their city. He knew what an enmity there was at that time between the Alexandrians and the Jews of that place; and though his pretension was to traduce only one kind of Jews, yet his rancour extends to the whole people of that denomination.

Let me ask what crime he charges, with so much acrimony, on the Alexandrian Jews? He says, that when the Jews came from Syria, they took up their habitation

Apion's definition of the word Sabbath frivolous.

Unjust charges against the Jews of Alexandria.

ons on the coast, within reach of the tide, but not near a port where a vessel could ride. Is he not censurable for scandalizing so distinguished a city, a city which he boasted (though not with truth) to have been the place of his birth? For that district is a dependency on Alexandria, and allowed to be a convenient situation. If the Jews forcibly took possession of it, and then held that possession, they are to be applauded for the act.

Alexander and others were benefactors to the Jews.

But the truth is, that the Jews were put in possession of this place by Alexander the Great, who allowed them privileges equal to the Macedonians. What would Apion say, if, instead of being established in this royal city, they were permitted a residence at Necropolis; and if their tribes are called Macedonians to this day? It is a doubt whether Apion ever read the epistles of Alexander, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and his successors, kings of Egypt; with the inscriptions engraven on the pillar at Alexandria, by Cæsar's order, to commemorate the privileges he granted to the Jews. If he had read them, he must have been a bad man to falsify his own knowledge; if not, he has at once betrayed his malice and his ignorance.

They took their names from places to which they were transplanted.

He is not less mistaken in the astonishment he expresses at the Jews taking the name of Alexandrians. It is common for colonies to take their names from the places of their first foundation, of which we have many instances. The Jews of Antioch bear the name of Antiochians, king Seleucus having made their ancestors free of that city. The Jews of Ephesus are denominated Ephesians: and Ionians is the name given to those of Ionia; and they are entitled to those names by ancient grants. Favours of this kind Rome hath granted to whole nations and provinces, as well as to individuals. How else happened it that the name of Romans was given to the ancient Iberians, Tuscans, and Sabines? Apion is unwilling to allow this benefit to other people, and yet calls himself an Alexandrian. By this rule, no man born in Egypt should assume the name of an Alexandrian; for the Egyptians are, of all people, refused this liberty by the Romans. But our malicious writer, incapable of justifying his own claim to this privilege, traduces those who have an honest title to it.

Alexander's favourable opinion of them.

Alexander accepted the assistance of the Jews in the building of this city; not that he wanted hands; but that he was willing to shew the reliance he placed in their truth and honour. Hecateus says, that Alexander had such regard for the loyalty and modesty of the Jews, that he gave them the province of Samaria, free of taxes, exclusive of other gratifications.

Confidence placed in the Jews by Ptolemy, son of Lagus; and kind treat-

Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, succeeded Alexander, and was not less pleased with the Alexandrian Jews, to whose care he committed all the fortresses in Egypt; and fixed colonies of these people in Cyrene,

and other cities of Lybia, for his greater security.

ment of them by his successor

This Ptolemy was succeeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who released all the Jewish prisoners in the country, remitted their taxes and other debts; and was so zealously inclined to be instructed in our laws and customs, and in the holy scriptures, that he begged for interpreters to explain these matters to him. That no time might be lost in such a work, it was committed to the care of Demetrius Phalereus, who was distinguished for his knowledge and probity, and to Andraus and Aristæus, two captains of the king's guards. Now it is unreasonable to think that this veneration for the customs and laws of the Jews could subsist without a proportionable respect for their predecessors. But Apion must be unacquainted with this part of history, if he did not know that all the Macedonian kings favoured the Jews.

Ptolemy, named likewise Euergetes, also by Ptolemy Euergetes, having subdued Syria, did not worship the Egyptian gods, in acknowledgment of his victory; but sacrificed after the Jewish manner; and returned thanks to God in the temple of Jerusalem.

The whole weight of the government was committed, by Ptolemy Philometer, and the queen Cleopatra, to two Jews, named Onias and Dositheus. Apion seeks to censure their conduct; whereas his thanks were due to them for preserving Alexandria, of which he pretended to be a citizen: for when a rebellion prevailed in Egypt, and the place was nearly lost, all was adjusted by the conduct of these Jews. Apion says, that soon after this the place was entered by Onias, with a small army; Thermus, the Roman ambassador, being present: but he says no more of this affair; though the action was undoubtedly a very brave one.

and by Ptolemy Philometer, &c.

Ptolemy Philometer was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philcon, who marched from Cyrene, to drive Cleopatra, and the king's sons, from Egypt, and assume the government. Hereupon Onias made war on Philcon, in favour of Cleopatra, to defend the rights of royalty at all events: but never happened a more singular instance of the divine power and justice than on this occasion: for Ptolemy being ready to engage in battle with Onias, he gave orders that the Jews of Alexandria, of both sexes, and all ages, should be stripped, bound, and thrown to the elephants, that they might be trampled to death; the beasts having been previously intoxicated, to inflame their rage: but, most unexpectedly, the elephants touched not the Jews, but destroyed numbers of the best friends of Ptolemy, to whom, at this moment, appeared a horrid figure, commanding him to cease persecuting the Jews. Ptolemy's favourite mistress likewise supplicated him to the same purpose; on which he was not only prevailed

The war made by Ptolemy Philcon on Cleopatra. Onias takes up arms to defend her.

Wonderful interposition of Providence in behalf of the Jews.

vailed upon to comply, but repented of all the cruelties which he had either perpetrated or intended. This fact is so well known, that an annual festival in memory of their escape, is to this day kept by the Jews of Alexandria; yet such is the antipathy of Apion to every thing generous, that he censures the Jews for engaging in this war against Phiscon, whereas he ought to have extolled that sense of justice which inspired them.

Cleopatra, though an infamous character, is celebrated by Apion. The last Cleopatra who reigned in Alexandria, is celebrated by Apion, on account of her ingratitude to the Jews, instead of his reproaching her lewd life and conduct; her infidelity to the best of husbands; her treachery to the Romans, and her imperial benefactors; her causing her innocent sister Arsinoe to be put to death in the temple; the perfidious murder of her brother; the rilling the temples of the gods, and the sepulchres of her ancestors; and her rebelling against the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar, from whose bounty she had received her kingdom. Nor is this all: Cleopatra's charms and fascinations rendered Antony a traitor to his friends and country: she dethroned some princes, and made others the instruments to propagate their vices.

Instances of her vile conduct. It will be now proper to remark on the meanness of spirit evinced by this Cleopatra, who, at the naval battle of Actium, deserted even her beloved Antony (the father of many of her children), whom she compelled to forfeit his honour, quit his forces, and follow her. What conduct could be more worthy of censure? When Cæsar took Alexandria, she was so enraged, that she prided herself on her barbarities; and thought if she could have killed all the Jews with her own hands, she should have been recompensed for the loss of the city. If, as Apion reports, corn was refused to the Jews, during the time of famine, by Cleopatra, this writer could have no reason to assign this as a disgrace to us. But the evil deeds of Cleopatra have been rewarded.

The Jews vindicated by appealing to Cæsar, and the Roman decrees. The Jews, in their justification, may appeal to the emperor himself, to the testimonials of Augustus Cæsar, and the public decrees of the senate of Rome; which will furnish united testimony of the firm faith and allegiance they have always borne to the empire, and particularly in the Egyptian war. These are the authorities that Apion should have consulted, if he meant to have done justice to the Jews. He ought to have taken the opinion of Alexander, the Ptolemies, and all the most distinguished Roman emperors, as well as of the senate. It was owing to a season of scarcity; and not to any fault of the Jews, that Germanicus could not supply all the Alexandrians with corn. The affection of the emperors towards the Alexandrian Jews was never doubted: wheat was granted to them in common with their neighbours: they had ample credit at all times, having the command of the river, and other passes of consequence: in fact, they were

trusted more than other people, in stations and affairs of importance.

Apion asks, If the Jews are citizens of Alexandria, why they do not embrace the same religion; and worship the same gods as their fellow-citizens? To answer his question by a similar one, How happens it that the Egyptians differ in opinion respecting the mode of worship? Shall we doubt their being men, because in an unnatural manner they breed up beasts, and then worship them? The Jews, on the contrary, live in harmony. Now if the Egyptians are divided in sentiment, ought they to wonder that the Alexandrian Jews, who came from another country, should adhere to their old laws, though totally dissimilar from theirs?

Josephus clears the Jews of Alexandria from being the authors of the sedition there. Apion imputes all the factions in the state to the divisions respecting matters of religion between the Alexandrian Jews, and the old inhabitants. If this were true of the Alexandrian Jews, why not of all the Jews in other places: since wherever we are dispersed, there is an uniformity in our conduct? They who attend to the nature of these commotions, will find that they were excited by persons of Apion's disposition: since, while the Greeks and Macedonians resided in this city, the Jews exercised their religion unmolested, and the people in general lived in harmony: whereas, on the increase of the Egyptians, the times grew more tumultuous. The Jews, in all variations, remained the same; while the others, less consonant than the Macedonians, less prudent than the Greeks, made all the disturbance; being previously irritated by the aversion they had to the Jews, and instigated by the ill example of the Egyptians. These people, I say, were the authors of our confusion; and we are blamed for the crime of the very persons who accuse us. We are likewise treated by Apion as strangers, though undoubtedly invested with all the rights of freemen; while our adversaries pretend to be citizens, without the shadow of a title to support their claim. History does not inform us that the princes of ancient times, or the later emperors, granted freedom to the Egyptians: whereas Alexander the Great was the first who bestowed that favour on us, and his grants have been extended by future monarchs: and since their time the Romans have continued and confirmed them.

Just reason assigned why the Jews could not consent to set up images and statues in honour of the emperors. The Jews are likewise censured by Apion for not erecting statues in honour of the emperors; as if they could not have noticed this circumstance without his interposition. Instead of reflecting on us, he ought rather to have extolled the Romans, for permitting their subjects to enjoy their own religion, without demanding of them such honours as they could not discharge consistent with the rights of conscience. The value of obligation is enhanced by the unsolicited freedom with which it is granted. It may be said, that it is common, among the Greeks and other people, to hold in high estimation the pictures or images of their parents, children, servants, and even stran-

gers: