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THE JEWS. VOL. ONE

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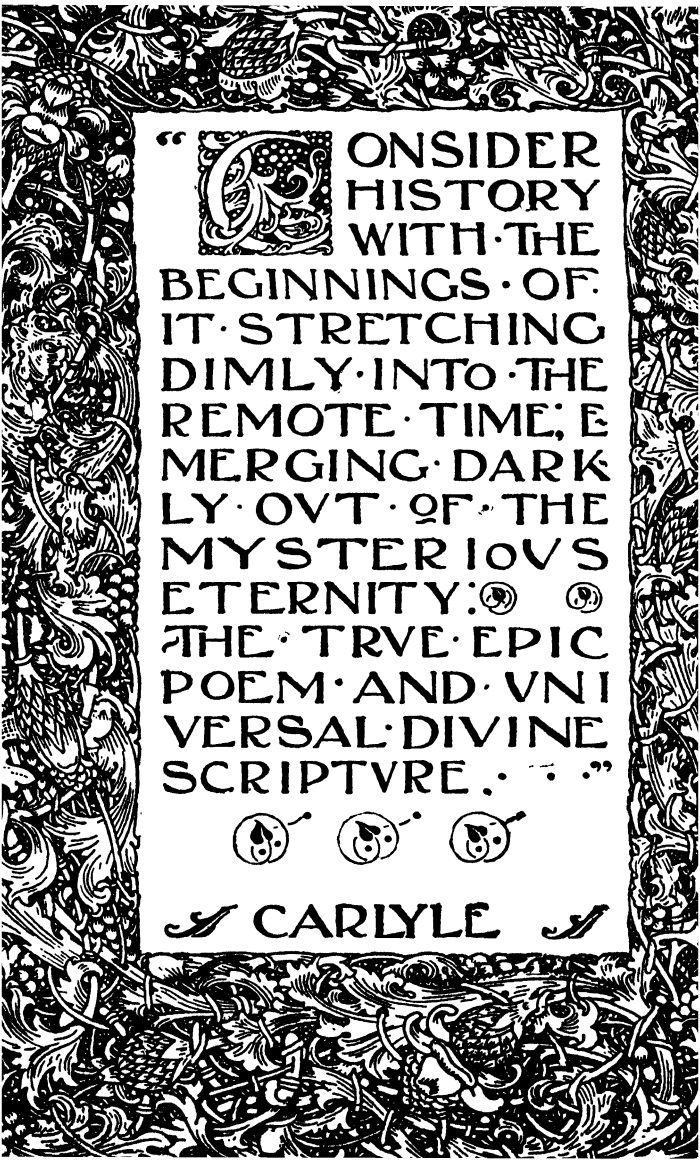
"CONSIDER HISTORY WITH·THE BEGINNINGS·OF IT·STRETCHING DIMLY·INTO·THE REMOTE·TIME; E MERGING·DARK LY·OVT·OF·THE MYSTERIOVS ETERNITY: THE·TRVE·EPIC POEM·AND·VNI VERSAL·DIVINE SCRIPTVRE."
CARLYLE

The HISTORY of the JEWS

by HENRY HART MILMAN D.D.

VOLUME I

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INTRODUCTION

THE poet Heine, himself a Jew, has in a few master strokes delineated the chief characteristics of the history of his race. "The Jews," he says, "may console themselves for having lost Jerusalem, the Temple, the Ark of the Covenant, the golden vessels, and the precious things of Solomon. Such a loss is merely insignificant in comparison with the Bible, the imperishable treasure which they have rescued. If I do not err, it was Mahomet who named the Jews 'the People of the Book,' a name which has remained theirs to the present day and is deeply characteristic. A book is their very Fatherland, their treasure, their governor, their bliss, and their bane. They live within its peaceful boundaries. Herein they exercise their inalienable rights, and can neither be driven along nor despised. Herein are they strong and worthy of admiration. Absorbed in the city of this book, they observed little of the changes which went on about them in the real world: nations arose and perished; states flourished and disappeared; revolutions emerged out of the soil; but they lay bowed down over their book, and observed nothing of the wild tumult which passed over their heads."

It was Heine too, who, alluding to the melancholy sameness of Jewish history, gave utterance to the bitter saying: "Judaism is not a religion, it is a misfortune."

This race has experienced a series of catastrophes, brought on itself in the earliest epoch by rebellion and consequent ruthless repression, at a later period by unprovoked persecution; in the Dark and Middle Ages, its sons and daughters were the victims of envy, calculated slander, or mob-fury. But its literature, even viewed in its secular aspect alone, has profoundly influenced the world and its history.

Heine's views of it apart, their history was one powerfully calculated to enlist the sympathies of a man of Milman's cast of mind. The saying attributed to him, after reading the work of another writer, is in keeping with his own general tempera-

ment, and supplies a key to his own mental constitution: "What a delightful book, so tolerant of the intolerant!" Throughout his literary career he displayed the same liberality of view, the same impatience of dogmatism, and the same readiness to examine evidence dispassionately. The tenor of his earlier studies, too, was in his favour. He had the advantages of a wide culture, and brought to bear on his theme the fruits of the most varied research. Judicial, impartial, upright, learned, and speculative, he possessed in a high degree the historian's temper, together with intellectual sympathies which pre-eminently qualified him to deal with the idiosyncrasies of the race. He had a fine sense of historic continuity, he was free from prejudice, and he had marked narrative and dramatic powers. The last, indeed, of which he had given evidence in his poetry, though they did not serve to place him in the first flight of poets, stood him in good stead when portraying a Jewish insurrection, or the fall of a Jewish king. Of this power of dramatic narrative, the description of Herod the Great, whose life was full of pathetic and powerful contrasts, affords an instance. With this power of vivid presentation he united the faculty of endowing institutions with personality. On the other hand, he seems hardly as successful in his historic portraiture. His figures are not so clear cut as they might be, and do not stand out in bold enough relief. His method, however, harmonised well with his temperament, and his attitude towards current opinion, whether on the subject of the Jews, of Christianity, or of burning questions of his day, differed widely from that of previous workers in the same field. While some of them had exhibited equal or profounder erudition, and surpassed Milman in accuracy of detail, their outlook had been confined to a single department of knowledge, with the result that they have derived from that province all their canons of criticism and measures of probability. In consequence they had come to regard their subject as an isolated thing, become wedded to their own principles, and possessed by them to the exclusion of other considerations. Milman approached the subject with an open mind, and had the advantage, or disadvantage (as appeared to many contemporary critics), of viewing it from the outside. From this standpoint he imagined that he could contemplate undisturbed the various intellectual, political, and other secular influences that helped to shape the course of Hebrew history. Consequently he did not shrink from pointing out the parallels or analogies that existed between Israelitish and other Oriental religions, the indirect, subtle, and far-reaching avenues through which influences pene-

trated to the Chosen People from without. His impartiality is conspicuous in the use that he makes of his authorities.

The earlier period of his History, where he had the Biblical records ready to his hand, consists for the most part of a free paraphrase of the sacred text, detailed here, curtailed there, according to the exigencies of the narrative. For the events of the Jewish wars he was largely dependent on Josephus. The Greek Livy, as St. Jerome called him, had powers of presentation which Milman was not slow to appreciate, as is shown by his frequent adoption of Josephus's narrative, although he was fully alive to the defects of the "Jewish War" and constrained at times to question his author's evidence. His critical standpoint is to be seen in his whole treatment of his predecessors. Schudt had already occupied the same field. His *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* afforded a fairly complete survey of the contemporary condition of the Jews. To Basnage's systematic studies of the Jews Milman was largely indebted, though here also he exercises a wide discretion.

Milman was not the man to accept conclusions which he had not tested for himself. Various circumstances concurred to foster his independence of mind. Born at London on the 10th of February 1791, and bred amidst intellectual influences inherited from the eighteenth century, epitomising in his own person a special type of English culture (he was brought up at Eton), he yet struck out a new path. The society in which he moved doubtless co-operated towards the same end. The son of a physician to the king, he stood on the confines of two generations, and midway between two principles, and behind him lay the old Tory traditions of the Court of George III. A friendship with the Russells, the Holland House circle, Cornewall Lewis, and Bunsen, imbuing him with liberal ideas and progress, inclined him in the same direction. In brief, he may be described as a product of the era of transition from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth. So, without going out of his way in search of innovations, he was prepared to accept new light from whatever source it emanated.

It was an accident that led to his fame in England, and gave him almost an European reputation. The house of Murray, of which he was already one of the recognised pillars, decided to produce a series of manuals, and entrusted to him the task of dealing with a history of the Jews. What resulted astonished the world, and probably the writer too. For Milman was, in a sense, a forerunner of Higher Criticism in England, certainly a pioneer

in the region of Biblical Criticism, which has made such rapid advances since his day. Jealously guarding essentials, he accepted many of the conclusions which science had attained, but only after examining their credentials. Similarly, he was the first to introduce to public notice the Rationalistic School of Germany. Dr. Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster, with whom Milman had much in common besides a close personal friendship, described "The History of the Jews" as "the first decisive inroad of German theology into England, the first palpable indication that the Bible could be studied like another book; that the characters and events of sacred history could be treated at once critically and reverently." Milman, however, though acknowledging his debt to German criticism, repudiated the honour of being its interpreter or representative in England, and, as will appear later, by no means endorsed the negative and destructive methods of the rising school in that country. On the contrary, he claimed to be following a sound Anglican doctrine. Paley, Warburton, Tillotson, and Secker were on his side. The influence of Niebuhr doubtless contributed in no small measure to the development of his critical faculty. His opinion of Ewald, Strauss, and the Tübingen School of Commentators, expressed in the preface to the later edition of his work, speaks for itself, and shows that his attitude had not changed after an interval of thirty years. His general estimate of German speculative theories may be gathered from his own words; where he complains of a "passion for making history without historical materials." But, while he displayed a characteristically English common-sense and grasp of facts, a dislike of subtle, far-fetched ingenuities of explanation, he was twenty years in advance of his English readers.

Antecedently, judging from the origin of the book and the latitude of exposition of which it gave evidence, the kind of welcome which it was likely to meet might be conjectured. Both in matter and manner the enterprise was a literary surprise. Here was a clergyman of the Church of England setting at defiance accepted principles, and treating the Jews as an Oriental tribe! The reception was of a mixed character. Some members of the Jewish community testified their appreciation of the author's fairness and breadth of view by making him a public presentation. Very different was the reception accorded to the book by those who had been nurtured in the traditional conceptions of the absolute uniqueness, the isolated phenomenon of Revelation. Milman's treatment of the patriarchs, and his tendency to disguise Scripture events and personages under secular names, drew down upon himself strong

resentment. Abraham he had described, not very happily, as a sheik; why, men asked, did he not represent him at once as wearing a green turban? What tenet was likely to escape proscription at this rate? Moreover, the way in which he transposed and shifted Biblical documents was strange and unprecedented. He appeared to eliminate or minimise the supernatural element, or assign certain miraculous events to natural causes, or interpret them as figurative modes of expression habitual to Orientals. His mind was pronounced to be essentially secular, evidently possessing but a low sense of the certainty and the importance of dogma.

How far these charges were justified in the light of advancing knowledge will be determined in the sequel. Meanwhile, suffice it to observe that suspicion was widespread, and many minds were filled with dismay. Bishop Mant and Dr. Faussett led the attack. Newman paid the author the formidable compliment of a review in the *British Critic*, and that divine records in his *Apologia* the unfavourable impression that the work produced upon him at the time. Admittedly, Milman's own type of mind was formed before the rise of the Tractarian movement; nor would he have been loth to admit that the sacerdotal spirit was foreign to his habits of thought. Oxford joined in the outcry, and Faussett denounced the work from the pulpit of St. Mary's. Apparently more serious measures were contemplated, but finally milder counsels prevailed. The crowning insult to orthodoxy was yet to come; Carlisle, the infidel bookseller, it was learnt, had exposed the work for sale in his window. The appearance of the "History of the Jews" brought to a sudden and untimely end the series of publications of which the book was destined to be an ornament. The consternation was not unnatural, nor were the warnings raised against the tendencies of the book altogether needless, considering the strangeness of the doctrines enunciated and the novelty of the method of interpretation. Viewed at this distance, the weak point in the line of attack on the clerical suspect was that his opponents mixed up trivial charges with the more serious accusations to which the work lent colour, and did not perceive exactly where the danger lay. There can be no doubt also that Milman, who had held aloof from the currents of thought in his day, and in many respects stood alone in Church matters, had hardly appreciated the situation. It seemed to have escaped his notice that his forms of speech were little calculated to soothe susceptible minds, nor had he realised with sufficient distinctness the import of his theological tenets, nor clearly foreseen the issues involved in them. However that may be, the

alarm created surprised none more than Milman, but he saw no reason to recant or modify his opinions. He maintained a calm and dignified silence, and the clamour gradually died down. Neither when the "History of the Jews" was republished, and Milman embraced the opportunity of declaring his adherence to the views that he had originally expressed, nor when the maturer fruits of his pen appeared, was the outburst of indignation repeated. Ultimately the excitement subsided. The heretic of 1829 was to be seen occupying the position of University preacher in 1865, and he utilised the occasion to restate his position.

Of the literary quality of Milman's historical page, the readers of to-day must judge for themselves. He has the merit of being a singularly candid and exact historian, and this reacts continually on his style. He seldom omits an incident, or overlooks a feature necessary to a clear comprehension of the scene that he is relating. Altogether, his historical style, while it never probably rises to the same general level as that of Macaulay, Newman, and Froude, challenges comparison with that of Hallam and Grote.

It remains for us to indicate briefly some of the developments, divergence, or reaction since Milman's day, in order that the reader may be stimulated to prosecute the inquiry further on his own account. The line in which Biblical criticism has been conducted has varied considerably since Milman's first essay in this region. Compared with the irreverent handling to which the history of Israel has since been subjected, Milman's method may appear tame; particularly by the side of the German school, which has long dominated this field of speculation. At the same time Biblical criticism has shed a flood of light on the records of the Jewish race, in which their early history had lain as it were enshrined. Investigation of the documents, which is largely traceable in the first instance to the influence of the Protestant Reformation, has proceeded more and more rapidly of late years. To some of the workers in this department allusion has already been made.

The emancipation of the Jewish race drew attention to their constitutional position. Prynne had based his objection to the return of the Jews to England on his "unrivalled knowledge" of the mediæval archives, but he had only touched the fringe of the subject; a mass of material was ready to yield up its secrets. Prynne was followed by Tovey, Webb, and Blunt, who championed the Jewish cause. On the Continent the subject aroused keen interest. Everywhere the Jews themselves either took it up or

facilitated research. The year 1887 witnessed a new departure, which almost marked an epoch; and the impetus was derived from England. It was in that year that the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition was held, including, as it did, among its features the publication of a series of bibliographies. Almost at the same time the German Historical Commission made known its primary results. Both these events served to stimulate public interest in the matter, and gave rise to a number of societies for the encouragement of the study in Roumania, Russia, and Spain.

Without attempting to follow up the movement in its various ramifications, we may notice three distinct trends of thought which have materially influenced our knowledge of the history of the Jews and the character of the Hebrew Scriptures. The first factor is the argument for evolution. The idea of development did not escape Milman's observation, but has been carried much further, and has gathered force since his day. This theory, originally called in to explain the rise and unfolding of life, has been applied to the growth of civilisation, language, and religion, but the idea of design in the process is not eliminated. In short, evolution offers a solution of the how, not the what, and only inadequately of the wherefore.

The doctrines associated with Darwin's name, though found in the germ at a much earlier period, are said to have been profoundly modified and to be undergoing revision at the present time. Whether accepted in their entirety or not, they have imparted an incalculable impulse to the conception of development. There would seem, then, to be an analogy between the process of revelation and the process of creation as it is now understood; God's revelation of Himself was progressive, and it follows that its interpretation must be progressive also. The Bible, reflecting this advance from imperfect ideas to higher conceptions, reveals a progression in the moral and spiritual capacities of the people to whom the message was addressed, and an accommodation to the state of knowledge prevailing from age to age. For example, the scientific motives of the first chapter of Genesis belong to the period in which the passage was written, but if the science is out of date, the lofty and spiritual character that is furnished there of the Sovereign Creator cannot be obsolete. Again, the transition from the system of Polygamy to that of Monogamy, or from the *Lex Talionis* (the law of retaliation) to that of forgiveness, admits a similar explanation.

Next, the Comparative Method has invaded the domain and become an important branch of Theological Science. It may be

urged that the cruder theories that have gained currency under its auspices have only succeeded in alienating sensitive students from its pursuit.

Many of the theories advanced in the name of Comparative Religion are no doubt precarious in the extreme, but the sounder conclusions attained have served to illustrate the religion of the Hebrews in an unexpected way, and hold out promise of yet more valuable discoveries in the future. Instances abound, but one or two may be cited from the exploration of countries whose history is inextricably woven with that of the Jews, and stands in intimate relation to the Old Testament.

The study of Egyptian antiquities had begun before Milman's day, and had obtained signal success. That mysterious country has disclosed many of the secrets hitherto locked in its bosom, and supplied evidence of a succession of dynasties ascending to a vast antiquity and exhibiting a visible continuity. Still more striking, because unlooked for, results have been achieved in Assyria. Already, in Milman's time, it was seen that Jewish opinions had acquired a new and peculiar colouring from intercourse with the Assyrians, but more recent investigations have made much clearer the relations between the two races.

The year 1887 marked an era in the progress of Assyriology, owing to the discovery of the rock-cut tombs of Tell-el-Amarna at the ruins of the ancient city of Khut Alén, once the royal seat of Amenophis IV. More than three hundred cuneiform tablets dating from the fifteenth century B.C. were unearthed, containing correspondence between the kings of Asia and Egypt, reports by vassals and officials in Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine. The significance of the find lay in the circumstance that the civilisation of Babylonia was now shown to have spread much further Westward than had been imagined, including even Egypt in its range, and that the Cuneiform Babylonian had become the language of diplomacy and the medium of international intercourse. These letters reveal the further fact that the Egyptian empire was crumbling and the Assyrian monarchy on the ascendant. What is still more to our purpose is that the historical data afford ample confirmation of Old Testament history, and solve some of the obscurities and intricacies of Hebrew chronology. Indeed, they opened up vistas of Oriental history which had been entirely unsuspected.

The net result of this new light thrown on the history of the Hebrews amounts to this, that, contrary to the older belief, the line of demarcation between the Hebrew and other Semites was

not so sharply drawn, and that the Hebrew race did not occupy so isolated a position as had been supposed. Rather, it shared many institutions and beliefs with the rest of the Semitic family, but with a difference. This constituted the peculiar genius, and there lay the special mission of Israel in its power of originating monotheistic ideals, in transmuting the common inheritance, in making it the vehicle of special ideas, in infusing into it a new spirit, in teaching the world noble and profound truths concerning God and man.

There is yet a third movement which has profoundly influenced the study of Hebrew history, namely, the analytical study of the documents. The subject had attracted attention before Milman's day. As has already appeared, he was acquainted with the pioneers in this field of inquiry, but was plainly alive to the issues involved. Conscious of the advantages, he equally foresaw the pitfalls that lay there. Still, allowing for the extravagances into which some critics have been betrayed, it may be safely acknowledged that the general principles of Biblical Criticism have been vindicated.

The composite character of the Old Testament has been established beyond doubt; it is now regarded by moderate as well as "advanced" scholars to be in some sense a compilation, certainly of a complex nature. The argument is fourfold and the evidence drawn from the differences in the vocabularies of the several books, which have been more fully elucidated, from the variations of style discernible even within the limits of the same document, from the difference of historic environment that their contents reveal, and the difference of stages all along the line of theological and moral ideas. Accordingly, the Bible proves to be a veritable library extending over a period of fifteen hundred years, composed in very diverse conditions and expressed in every variety of form. Such courageous treatment of the Sacred Scriptures will in the long run be generally admitted to be a gain, provided the investigation be conducted in Milman's own spirit and with a genuine desire to ascertain the truth. At the present moment it would seem as if a reaction were setting in.

To sum up, Biblical Criticism has travelled far since Milman's time, and has explored regions of which little was known in his generation. Admittedly, writers who have traversed the same ground have somewhat changed the historical perspective for us. It would be strange indeed if, at this day, no defects or errors were to be found in the "History of the Jews." But any minor inaccuracies, that came of the infancy of the science that governs

such studies, do not detract from the general character of the work, or the sincere principles on which it was undertaken and executed. By its candour, sympathy, and catholic appreciation of every estimable quality in every race or party that fell within its scope, it raised the standard of ecclesiastical history. By the sound grasp of the evolution of history, and the application of this ruling idea to the subject on broad and liberal lines, it contributed in no small measure to break down the barriers of racial rancour and allay the spirit of bigotry. It may also have disposed the Jewish race to a more frank consideration of the claims of Christianity. By its picturesque style, its passionless flow, and its many brilliant passages, the "History of the Jews" will command readers wherever the English language is spoken.

Dean Milman died on 4th September 1868.

G. HARTWELL JONES.

The following is the list of Milman's chief works :—

Belvidere Apollo (prize poem), 1810; Fazio, a drama (acted as The Italian Wife), 1815; A Comparative Estimate of Sculpture and Painting (Chancellor's prize), 1816; Samon, the Lord of the Bright City (epic), 1818; The Fall of Jerusalem (poem), 1820; The Martyr of Antioch (poem), 1822; Belschazzar, 1822; Anne Boleyn (drama), 1826; Bampton Lectures (Character and Conduct of the Apostles, &c.), 1827; History of the Jews, 1830; 3rd edition, 1863; 4th edition, 1866 (both extended); Life of Edward Gibbon, Esq., with Selections from his Correspondence and Illustrations, 1839; History of Christianity under the Empire, 1840, 1863, 1867; The History of Latin Christianity, 1855; Memoir of Macaulay, 1862 (from the Papers of the Royal Society); Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral (completed by his son), 1868; Savonarola, Erasmus, and other Essays (from *Quarterly Review*), 1870.

Translations from the Sanscrit were published in 1835; of the "Agamemnon" and "Bacchæ," 1865; Milman also edited Gibbon's History, with notes, 1838, &c.; and "Horace," with a Life, 1849; he contributed a Memoir to Ranke's "Popes of Rome," 1866. Separate Sermons and Addresses have also been published.

I NEED hardly say that this Preface, in which the name of the lamented Sir George Cornewall Lewis occurs more than once, had passed through the press before his sad and unexpected death. I wrote of him as living with reserve; I may now express my full admiration of a man whose recreations during the leisure afforded by his arduous official and parliamentary duties—duties discharged as few can discharge them—were feats of scholarship which might try the erudition and research of the most recluse student. It is rare that a man who might have aspired to the very highest dignity in the State, might have done honour as Professor of Greek to the most learned University in Europe. *His saltem accumulem donis.*

April 16, 1863.

PREFACE

TO THE EDITION OF 1863

I HAVE been requested, I may say urged, to publish a new edition of this work, which appeared upwards of thirty years ago. I am naturally anxious that a book which has, it may seem, lived so long and maintained some place, however humble, in the literature of the country, should be offered in a form less unworthy of the favour which it has found with many readers.

The original work was composed in a popular form and on a limited scale. The limitation of its extent and the nature of its plan and design precluded all citation of authorities. From the want of such authorities, the writer incurs at once the charge of presumption and the danger of originality: the charge of presumption as claiming for his own, thoughts common to many others; the danger of startling men's minds on subjects, about which they are peculiarly sensitive, with views which may seem new, but which have long been maintained by accredited authors.

All history, to be popular, ought to flow on in one continuous, unbroken current. A succession of historical disquisitions may be of the highest value, but they are not history. The range of history will of course not be confined to events or to the acts and characters of men; it will embrace everything which concerns man, religion, laws, manners, usages, the whole of human life; but its form will be narrative, not discussional, still less controversial; it will give the mature result, not the process, of investigation. In some histories, especially of very ancient times, it may not be possible absolutely to proscribe critical inquiry, or even comparison of authorities; but these resting-places, as it were, must be rare, exceptional, brief, and altogether subordinate to what may be called the action, the unfolding the drama of events. In this respect the author must solicit indulgence, as sinning against his own principles. But the very peculiar character of the Jewish history in its ancient part, the want of unity

where the history is that of a scattered people like the modern Jews, may plead in his favour, if he shall have fallen, as undoubtedly he has fallen, far below his own ideal conception.

At another time the author would have been content that his History, which has already passed, and seemingly survived, the ordeal of public judgment, should rest on its own merits. But the circumstances of the day appear to require, or rather to enforce, some further observations.

What should be the treatment by a Christian writer, a writer to whom truth is the one paramount object, of the only documents on which rests the earlier history of the Jews, the Scriptures of the Old Testament? Are they, like other historical documents, to be submitted to calm but searching criticism as to their age, their authenticity, their authorship; above all, their historical sense and historical interpretation?

Some may object (and by this objection may think it right to cut short all this momentous question) that Jewish history is a kind of forbidden ground, on which it is profane to enter: the whole history, being so peculiar in its relation to theology, resting, as it is asserted, even to the most minute particulars, on divine authority, ought to be sacred from the ordinary laws of investigation. But though the Jewish people are especially called the people of God, though their polity is grounded on their religion, though God be held the author of their theocracy, as well as its conservator and administrator, yet the Jewish nation is one of the families of mankind; their history is part of the world's history; the functions which they have performed in the progress of human development and civilisation are so important, so enduring; the veracity of their history has been made so entirely to depend on the rank which they are entitled to hold in the social scale of mankind; their barbarism has been so fiercely and contemptuously exaggerated, their premature wisdom and humanity so contemptuously depreciated or denied; above all, the barriers which kept them in their holy seclusion have long been so utterly prostrate; friends as well as foes, the most pious Christians as well as the most avowed enemies of Christian faith, have so long expatiated on this open field, that it is as impossible, in my judgment, as it would be unwise to limit the full freedom of inquiry.

Such investigations, then, being inevitable, and, as I believe, not only inevitable but the only safe way of attaining to the highest religious truth, what is the right, what is the duty of a

Christian historian of the Jews (and the Jewish history has, I think, been shown to be a legitimate province for the historian) in such investigations? The views adopted by the author in early days he still conscientiously maintains. These views, more free, it was then thought, and bolder than common, he dares to say not irreverent, have been his safeguard during a long and not unreflective life against the difficulties arising out of the philosophical and historical researches of our times; and from such views many, very many, of the best and wisest men whom it has been his blessing to know with greater or less intimacy, have felt relief from pressing doubts, and found that peace which is attainable only through perfect freedom of mind. Others may have the happiness (a happiness he envies not) to close their eyes against, to evade, or to elude these difficulties. Such is not the temper of his mind. With these views, he has been able to follow out all the marvellous discoveries of science, and all those hardly less marvellous, if less certain, conclusions of historical, ethnological, linguistic criticism, in the serene confidence that they are utterly irrelevant to the truth of Christianity, to the truth of the Old Testament, as far as its distinct and perpetual authority and its indubitable meaning.

On the relation of the Old Testament to Christianity Paley has expressed himself with his inimitable perspicuity, force, and strong sense; and Paley in the author's younger days, at least as far as his "Evidences," was held to be an unimpeachable authority. The "Evidences" was the text-book in schools and universities.

"Undoubtedly our Saviour assumes the divine origin of the Mosaic institution; and, independently of His authority, I conceive it to be very difficult to assign any other cause for the commencement or existence of that institution; especially for the singular circumstance of the Jews adhering to the Unity, when every other people slid into polytheism; for their being men in religion, children in everything else; behind other nations in the arts of peace and war, superior to the most improved in their sentiments and doctrines relating to the Deity. Undoubtedly, also, our Saviour recognises the prophetic character of many of their ancient writers. So far, therefore, we are bound as Christians to go. But to make Christianity answerable with its life for the circumstantial truth of each separate passage in the Old Testament, the genuineness of every book, the information, fidelity, and judg-

ment of every writer in it, is to bring, I will not say great, but unnecessary difficulties into the whole system. These books were universally read and received by the Jews of our Saviour's time. He and His Apostles, in common with all other Jews, referred to them, alluded to them, used them. Yet, except where He expressly ascribes a Divine authority to particular predictions, I do not know that we can strictly draw any conclusion from the books being so used and applied, beside the proof, which it undoubtedly is, of their notoriety and reception at that time. In this view our Scriptures afford a valuable testimony to those of the Jews. But the nature of this testimony ought to be understood. It is surely very different from, what it is sometimes represented to be, a specific ratification of each particular fact and opinion, and not only of each particular fact, but of the motives assigned for every action, together with the judgment of praise or dispraise bestowed upon them. St. James in his Epistle says, 'Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord.' Notwithstanding this text, the reality of Job's history, and even the existence of such a person, has been always deemed a fair subject of inquiry amongst Christian divines. St. James's authority is considered good evidence of the existence of the Book of Job at that time, and of its reception by the Jews; and of nothing more. St. Paul, in his Second Epistle to Timothy, has this similitude:—'Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth.' Those names are not found in the Old Testament. And it is uncertain whether St. Paul took them from some apocryphal writing then extant or from tradition. But no one ever imagined that St. Paul is here asserting the authority of the writing, if it was a written account which he quoted, or making himself answerable for the authenticity of the tradition; much less that he so involves himself with either of these questions as that the credit of his own history and mission should depend upon the fact, whether Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses or not. For what reason a more rigorous interpretation should be put upon other references, it is difficult to know. I do not mean that other passages of the Jewish history stand upon no better evidence than the history of Job, or of Jannes and Jambres (I think much otherwise); but I mean that a reference, in the New Testament, to a passage in the Old, does not so fix its authority as to exclude all inquiry into the separate reasons upon which

its credibility is founded; and that it is an unwarrantable, as well as unsafe rule, to lay down concerning the Jewish history, what was never laid down concerning any other, that either every particular of it must be true, or the whole false."

Paley, it may be said, wrote on the defensive; but it would surely be degrading, insulting, to Christianity to suppose it to stoop, in the hour of peril and distress, to principles which in more favourable times it would repudiate.

Those who are not perfectly satisfied with what seem to me the wise observations of Paley, may perhaps, on calm consideration, acquiesce in a theory of this kind, a theory (not a new one) which, while it preserves the full authority of the sacred records in all which is of real importance to religion and leaves undisturbed the devotional reading of the Scripture, relieves it from all the perplexities which distract the inquiring mind. (Such devotional reading I should be the last willingly to repress, and devotion will intuitively choose and dwell exclusively on the religious parts of the sacred writings.) The revelation of moral and religious truth is doubtless the ultimate, I should say the sole, end of the Bible; nor is it difficult, according to ordinary common sense and to the moral instinct or judgment vouchsafed to man, to separate and set apart moral and religious truth from all other human knowledge. For the communication of such truth, lawgivers, prophets, apostles were gifted. This was their special mission and duty. This, as far as His character of TEACHER, was that of the Saviour Himself. Lawgivers, prophets, apostles, were in all other respects men of like passions (take the word in its vulgar sense) with their fellow-men; they were men of their age and country, who, as they spoke the language, so they thought the thoughts of their nation and their time, clothed those thoughts in the imagery, and illustrated them from the circumstances of their daily life. They had no special knowledge on any subject but moral and religious truth to distinguish them from other men; were as fallible as others on all questions of science, and even of history, extraneous to their religious teaching. If this had not been the case, how utterly unintelligible would their addresses have been to their fellow-men! Conceive a prophet, or psalmist, or apostle, endowed with premature knowledge and talking of the earth and the planetary system according to the Newtonian laws; not "of the sun going forth as a bridegroom to run his course." Conceive St. Stephen or St. Paul stopping in the midst of one of his impassioned harangues, and

setting right the popular notion about the Delivery of the Law, or the time of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. They spoke what was the common belief of the time according to the common notions of things and the prevalent and current views of the world around them, just as they spoke the Aramaic dialect; it was part of the language: had they spoken otherwise, it would have been like addressing their hearers in Sanscrit or English. This view has been sometimes expressed by the unpopular word *accommodation*—a bad word, as it appears to imply art or design, while it was merely the natural, it should seem inevitable, course of things. Their one paramount object being instruction and enlightenment in religion, they left their hearers uninstructed and unenlightened as before, in other things; they did not even disturb their prejudices and superstitions where it was not absolutely necessary. Their religious language, to work with unimpeded persuasiveness, adapted itself to the common and dominant knowledge and opinions of the time. This seems throughout to have been the course of providential government: lawgivers, prophets, apostles, were advanced in religious knowledge alone. In all other respects society, civilisation, developed itself according to its usual laws. The Hebrew in the wilderness, excepting as far as the Law modified his manners and habits, was an Arab of the Desert. Abraham, excepting in his worship and intercourse with the One True God, was a nomad Sheik. The simple and natural tenor of these lives is one of the most impressive guarantees of the truth of the record. Endowed, indeed, with premature knowledge on other subjects, they would have been in a perpetual antagonism and controversy, not merely with the moral and religious blindness, with the passions and idolatrous propensities of the people, but with their ordinary modes of thought and opinion and feeling. And as the teachers were men of their age in all but religious advancement, so their books were the books of their age. If these were the oracles of God in their profound religious meaning, the language in which they were delivered was human as spoken by human voices and addressed to human ears.

The moral and religious truth, and this alone, I apprehend, is the "Word of God" contained in the Sacred Writings. I know no passage in which this emphatic term is applied to any sentence or saying which does not convey or enforce such truth.

It is not unworthy, too, of remark, that the single passage

in which there is a distinct assertion of inspiration, appears to sanction this limitation. This passage, as is known to every scholar, is by no means so clear as it is too often represented to be. It is an elliptic sentence; the verb has to be supplied; and its meaning and force are in some degree affected by the collocation of the verb. "All Scripture (is) God-inspired, and (is) profitable for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished to all good works," &c. In any case, however, in its scope it signifies that the inspiration of Scripture, whatever it be, is intended for the promotion of religion and holiness in men. Such, too, seems to be the distinct sense of the Article of the English Church. These, and these only, are "the things necessary to salvation," which rest on Scripture, and on Scripture alone. Beyond this sacred range, all, I conceive, not only in science but also in history, is an open field. Whoever was the author or compiler of the Pentateuch, whether Moses or not, as he was not a premature Newton, Cuvier, Lyell, so neither was he, nor any of the other writers of the Old Testament, a premature Thucydides, Tacitus, or like one of our great modern historians. I cannot conceive, notwithstanding the scriptural geologists, that the account of the Creation in Genesis was a dark prophetic enigma, of which no living man could comprehend the true sense for more than three thousand years, and which was only to be disclosed by the discoveries of our day. I am content with the great central truth, the assertion in its words, unapproachable in their sublimity, of the One Omnific Creator—of that Creator's perpetual Presence and universal Providence. So, too, in the History (invaluable as much of it is, as preserving the most ancient traditions of our race), so that we preserve the grand outline of the scheme of Redemption, the Law, the Evangelical prophecies, I can apprehend no danger to the Christian faith if the rest, the frame as it were and setting around these eternal truths, be surrendered to free and full investigation, to calm, serious, yet fearless discussion.[1]

The form of the Semitic records, their essentially Oriental, figurative, poetical cast, is another unquestionable and unquestioned difficulty. That form was inseparable from their life, their duration, the perpetuity of their influence. In no

[1] Old Bishop Burnet, on the Sixth Article (this used to be thought almost an authorised comment), will give, fairly interpreted, very full latitude, at least for historical criticism.

other form, humanly speaking, would they have struck so deep into the mind and heart of man, or cloven to it with such inseverable tenacity. It is as speaking, frequently in the noblest poetry, at all events as addressed to the imaginative as well as the reasoning faculty of man, that they have survived through ages, have been, and still are, imperishable. Providence ever adapts its instruments to its own designs. How far the historian may venture, how far he may succeed in discerning the latent truth under this dazzling veil, must depend on his own sagacity, and the peculiar character of the different records. At all events, he cannot subscribe to the notion that every word is to be construed with the precision of an Act of Parliament; that the language of psalm and prophetic ode, or even of history in its more poetic form, is to be taken as rigorously and literally as the simplest historical relation. With allegorical, or remote typical, or mystical meanings he has happily nothing to do.

But there is one kindred question, which must inevitably arise, and which I am bound at once to meet: what is called the supernaturalism, the divine or miraculous agency, almost throughout the older history of the Jews. Now one thing is clear, that the writers of these documents, the only documents of the older history, whether the eye-witnesses of the events or not, implicitly believed in this supernaturalism. It makes no difference if, as most Germans assert, the relations were handed down by popular traditions, and took their present form from later writers. These writers, as well as the people, were firm believers in this supernaturalism; either way it is an integral, inseparable part of the narrative. It may be possible, in certain passages, with more or less probability, to detect the naked fact which may lie beneath the imaginative or marvellous language in which it is recorded; but even in these cases the solution can be hardly more than conjectural; it cannot presume to the certitude of historic truth. But there is much in which the supernatural, if I may thus speak, so entirely predominates, is so of the intimate essence of the transaction, that the facts and the interpretation must be accepted together, or rejected together. In such cases it would seem to be the simple duty, and the only course for the historian, to relate the facts as recorded, to adduce his authorities, and to abstain from all explanation for which he has no ground, but, at the same time, not to go beyond those authorities. As he would not from reverence take away (I am not the man who would

presume to affix limits to the power of God), so with equal reverence he must refrain from adding to the marvellousness; he must not think it piety to accumulate, without authority, wonder upon wonder. Secondary causes, when clearly indicated, must not be suppressed: on the other hand, too much must not be attributed to secondary causes.

In truth, to draw the line between the providential and the strictly miraculous, appears to me not only presumptuous, but simply impossible. It implies an absolute knowledge of all the workings of natural causes, more than that, a knowledge of the workings within the more inscrutable human mind, which we have never yet attained, probably never shall attain. Belief in Divine Providence, in the agency of God as the Prime Mover in the natural world as in the mind of man, is an inseparable part of religion; there can be no religion without it. Discard providential rule—prayer, thanksgiving, worship become an idle mockery. But to define precisely where the Divine influence, through natural causes, or in the inward world of the human spirit, ends, and a special interference begins, is another question. A coincidence and concurrence of natural causes at some critical time, and to all appearance for some marked and particular end,—that end sometimes, it should seem, foreshown and presignified,—is hardly less extraordinary than the most inexplicable miracle. To the mind in a state of religious excitement, or even more quiet veneration, it is, or appears to be, hardly less supernatural, than when those secondary causes are untraceable. *Affiavit Deus et dissipantur:* such was the devout ejaculation of the Protestant, of the Englishman, at the destruction of the Spanish Armada. The causes of that destruction were tempests, scarcely perhaps unusual, scarcely of uncommon violence at that period of the year in the seas around our island. But to the most sober historian, their breaking out and their continuance at that momentous period of our history, would be at least wonderful; to the more ardent, providential; to the deeply religious, would border closely on the miraculous. In the passage of the Red Sea, the east wind which "the Lord caused to blow," and which threw back the waters, was in itself probably no rare phenomenon; but its occurrence at that perilous moment, and in that case, it appears, the confident anticipation, the calculation upon its coming, the foreknowledge and prediction of it by Moses, would raise it, if we may so say, from the providential to the miraculous.

Yet, in either case, God is not less God; His rule is not less omnipotent, whether His power be more remotely or more immediately displayed, more clearly discerned, more humbly acknowledged.

I would observe that the absence of these intervening causes, at least of causes seemingly adequate to the effects, as well as their commemoration in more simple and less imaginative language, seems, in general, to distinguish the miracles of the New Testament from those of the Old. The palmary miracle of all, the Resurrection, stands entirely by itself; every attempt to resolve it into a natural event, a delusion or hallucination in the minds of the Disciples, the eye-witnesses and death-defying witnesses to its truth (I have read many such essays), or, with Spinoza, to treat it as an allegory or figure of speech, is to me a signal failure. It must be accepted as the keystone, for such it is, and seal to the great Christian doctrine of a future life, as a historical fact, or rejected as baseless fiction.

The older Jews, and, indeed, not seldom the later Jews, in their settled devotion, attributed not only the more extraordinary but the common events of life to their God. They knew no nice distinctions, such as are forced on more reflective minds. The skill of Bezaleel in workmanship, even in the language of the Old Testament, is as much an immediate inspiration as the most exalted wisdom of the Law; the fringes and tassels of the Tabernacle are as much the Divine ordinances as the Ten Commandments. Some consideration must be had for this state of feeling, which seems inextinguishable. In a high state of religious excitement, men, especially simple men, suppose God to work with equal directness, if I may so say, visibleness, in all things; they behold God in everything, not remotely, not through the different processes which a more calm and sagacious observer cannot fail to discern. Illustrate this from the contrast between the more or less poetical portions of the records. The Psalm says, "God slew mighty kings," yet from the History we know what human agency was employed in the slaughter of Sisera, and Sihon the Amorite, and Og of Bashan. So, too, the Psalm overwhelms Pharaoh as well as his host in the Red Sea; in the History there is not a word about Pharaoh: it is difficult to suppose that the historian would have been silent on so momentous a fact. Hence there grows up inevitably a conflict, or at least a seeming conflict, between the

religion of one age and the religion of another, or between the thought and the religion of the same age. The thought, indeed, may not be less religious, and be instinct with as profound a sense of the power and providence of God; but it will naturally trace, and delight to trace, all the intermediate agencies, physical or moral, set in motion or endowed with active power by God, which religion, or that which assumes the exclusive name of religion, thinks it duty, piety, faith, to overlook or repudiate. This repudiation is laid down at once as the test and the measure of faith. I cannot but think that the historian who labours to reconcile the Jewish history, where not declaredly supernatural, with common probability, with the concurrent facts, usages, opinions of the time and place, not a less sincere, certainly not a less wise believer, than those who, without authority, heap marvel on marvel, and so perhaps alienate minds which might otherwise acquiesce in religious belief. If it is dangerous to lighten the burthen, it is more dangerous to overload the faith, at least of reasoning mankind.

Thus fully receiving what are usually called, in the New Testament, signs, and wonders, and powers (the word *miracle* has assumed a special sense), inexplicable, as far as I can discern, by any ordinary causes, or by any fortuitous concurrence of circumstances; admitting this as an integral part of Christian faith, I must acknowledge that I do not see without apprehension, the whole truth and authority of Christianity rested, as even now it is, by some very able writers, on what is called the "argument from miracles." Whatever may have been the case in older times, in the times of the Law and the promulgation of the Gospel, God has for many centuries been pleased to reveal Himself to mankind in a less striking, it may be, or less impressive, yet, according to what we must presume, a more fitting way. By the law of Divine government, the supernatural—I use the word in its ordinary sense—has vanished altogether from the actual world, the world of our life and experience. At the same time, that which is called a mythic period has swallowed up all that supernatural part of the ancient history of Greece and Rome which at one time commanded almost universal credence. These wonders among the heathen were believed to be as true as Holy Writ, only they were attributed to diabolic agencies. And in the same manner the belief in continuous miracles, which long prevailed in the whole Church, which is even yet fondly

cherished, though in a still contracting part of it, and everywhere among some of the lower and more ignorant classes (held by the more enlightened to be superstitious), has gradually withered away from the mind of man. The supernatural in all modern history has quietly receded or been relegated into the fanciful realm of Fable. The post-Apostolic miracles have gradually dropped out of the Protestant Creed. Among the more enlightened Roman Catholics, the mass of miracle has been slowly winnowed and purified. From the day that the Benedictine Dom Ruinart published, unrebuked, the *sincere* and genuine Acts of the Martyrs, the older Martyrologies, the Golden Legend, the Greek Menologies, very much the larger portion of the marvels in the vast volumes of the Bollandists, have melted away into the dim page of legend; and *legend* became another word for the imaginative and fictitious. Even the gallant attempt of Dr. Newman to vindicate some of the post-Apostolic miracles produced no great effect, except upon those already predetermined, and who made it a point of conscience to believe, or to persuade themselves that they believed, the utmost. Yet the selection of a few for his defence (though Dr. Newman would, no doubt, draw the inference that the reality of these involved the reality of the rest) acted virtually as an abandonment of all but that chosen few. And if Dr. Newman's intrepidity and unrivalled logical skill in conducting this forlorn hope of defence or aggression did not succeed, who can hope to escape failure? The miracle which perplexed Gibbon, that of the martyrs of Africa, who spoke after their tongues were cut out, proves to be a fact of common occurrence in the East, has been witnessed by many men of most trustworthy observation and anything but sceptical character, and is accounted for on anatomical principles with perfect certainty. The miraculous frustration of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple, for which Warburton fought with all his contemptuous power and subtle ingenuity, is treated by historian after historian as an event to be explained by natural causes. The miracles which are frequently springing up in our own day in Southern and Roman Catholic countries, the Gift of Tongues among ourselves (many others might be adduced from the obscure annals of our own lower religionists), are entertained by the mass of the Christian world with utter apathy, awaken a passing idle curiosity, are treated with angry scorn or received with a quiet smile, and sink into oblivion.

Thus the Scripture miracles stand more and more alone and isolated. It seems to be the inevitable consequence, a consequence, we may presume, not undesigned by God, that, being more strongly contrasted with actual experience, and with the vast development of the study and knowledge of natural causes, their force should diminish. As such events recede, and must recede further into remoter distance and become more at issue with our ordinary daily thoughts and opinions, the belief becomes a stronger demand upon the faith. Men believe in miracles because they are religious: I doubt their becoming religious through the belief in miracles. Some may look back with idle regret to what they call the Ages of Faith. I confess this is to me repulsive. Write of those times with calm, considerate candour, if you will, with devout admiration. But, in our day, such language is but folly persuading itself that it is wisdom because it thinks itself to be piety. It seems to make common cause between that which mankind has generally discarded as the object of belief, and that which I trust it will ever retain. I am not prepared to put on the same level, faith in the Gospels, and faith in the Golden Legend.

For at the same time, and seemingly with equal steps, the moral and religious majesty of Christianity has expanded on the mind of man. The religious instincts of man have felt themselves more fully and perfectly satisfied by the Gospel of Christ. These instincts will still cleave to those truths which are the essence of religion, which are religion, while that which is temporary and belongs to another period of thought and knowledge will gradually fall away.

Christianity, at its first promulgation by our Lord and His Apostles, was an appeal to the conscience, the moral sense, the innate religiousness of mankind: not so much to the wonder, the awe, the reverence, as to feelings more deeply seated in his nature—less to the imagination than to the spiritual being of man. Its wonders (admit the miracles to the utmost extent) were rare and occasional; its promises, its hopes, its remedial, and reconciling, and sanctifying, and self-sacrificing, and sorrow-assuaging, and heaven-aspiring words were addressed to the universal human heart. Is not this, in some degree, foreshown in the Gospel? Among the signs of His coming, after having recounted His wonderful cures of all diseases and infirmities, the Saviour seems to rise to, to lay the ultimate stress on, the simple words, "and the *poor have the Gospel preached to them.*" To this moral test the Saviour Himself

seems to submit His own wonderful works. How were His works to be distinguished from those at that time thought equally true and equally wonderful, only that they were ascribed to Beelzebub, the Spirit of Evil? It was by their beneficence, their oppugnancy to evil, a test cognisable by, and only cognisable by, the conscience or moral sense of man.

For the perpetuity of religion, of the true religion, that of Christ, I have no misgivings. So long as there are women and sorrow in this mortal world, so long there will be the religion of the emotions, the religion of the affections. Sorrow will have consolation which it can only find in the Gospel. So long as there is the sense of goodness, the sense of the misery and degradation of evil, there will be the religion of what we may call the moral necessities of our nature, the yearning for rescue from sin, for reconciliation with an All-holy God. So long as the spiritual wants of our higher being require an authoritative answer; so long as the human mind cannot but conceive its imaginative, discursive, creative, inventive thought to be something more than a mere faculty or innate or acquired power of the material body; so long as there are aspirations towards immortality; so long as man has a conscious soul, and feels that soul to be his real self, his imperishable self,—so long there will be the religion of reason. As it was the moral and religious superiority of Christianity, in other words, the love of God, diffused by Christ, "by God in Christ," which mainly subdued and won the world, so that same power will retain it in willing and perpetual subjection. The strength of Christianity will rest, not in the excited imagination, but in the heart, the conscience, the understanding of man.

Since the publication of my work, during above thirty years, many books have appeared which throw light on every period of Jewish history. On the ancient history, the most important, no doubt, as the most comprehensive, is the great work of Ewald. I must acknowledge, as regards the modern German schools of criticism, profane as well as sacred, that my difficulty is more often with their dogmatism than with their daring criticism. If they destroy dominant theories, they rarely do not endeavour to compensate for this, by constructing theories of their own, I must say in general on the most arbitrary conjecture, and assert these theories with as much

certitude, and even intolerance, contemptuous intolerance, as the most orthodox and conservative writers. This dogmatism appears to me to be the inherent fault of the *Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* It is a book which no one can read without instruction, few without admiration of the singular acuteness in bringing remote and scattered incidents to bear on some single point, the indefatigable industry, the universal erudition, the general reverent, I would willingly write religious, tone throughout; and this notwithstanding the contemptuous arrogance with which Ewald insulates himself from all his learned brethren, and assumes an autocracy not in his own sphere alone, but in the whole world of religion, letters, and politics. But Ewald seems to have attempted (he has no doubt of his own success) an utter impossibility. That the Hebrew records, especially the Books of Moses, may have been compiled from various documents, and it may be at an uncertain time, all this is assuredly a legitimate subject of inquiry. There may be some certain discernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship. But that any critical microscope, in the nineteenth century, can be so exquisite and so powerful as to dissect the whole with perfect nicety, to decompose it, and assign each separate paragraph to its special origin in three, four, or five, or more, independent documents, each of which has contributed its part, this seems to me a task which no mastery of the Hebrew language, with all its kindred tongues, no discernment, however fine and discriminating, can achieve. In this view (to raise but one objection), the ultimate compiler must have laid his hand very lightly on the original documents, which still, it seems, throughout point unerringly to their age and author; he must have been singularly wanting in skill and in care in stringing together his loose materials. He must have built up his scattered fragments with extraordinary indifference or extraordinary negligence (of this, more hereafter), if a critic of our days can (as a scientific architect assigns part of a mediæval cathedral to one or another century, to one or another builder) resolve these most ancient records into their primeval elements, and that with a certitude which permits no doubt. I must confess that I read Ewald ever with increasing wonder at his unparalleled ingenuity, his surpassing learning, but usually with decreasing conviction. I should like an Ewald to criticise Ewald. Yet Ewald's is a wonderful, I hardly scruple to use the word of Dr. Stanley, a noble work.

If of Ewald I would express myself with profound respect, of another, in some degree of the same school, I would speak with friendly affection. I have known few persons in life so intimately, who so strongly impressed me with their profound and sincere religion, as the late Baron Bunsen. And this, with his wonderful range of knowledge, gives an irresistible charm to his writings (I speak not here of his work on Egypt, but of his *Gott in Geschichte*, his *Bible-Werk*, and the parts of his great book, *Christianity and Mankind*, relating to Christian history). But he seems to me to labour under the same too common infirmity, the passion for making history without historical materials. In this conjectural history, founded on conjectural grounds, he is as positive and peremptory (they often differ) as Ewald himself. I confess that I have not much sympathy for this, not making bricks without straw, but making bricks entirely of straw, and offering them as solid materials. If I have nothing but poetry, I am content with poetry; I do not believe in the faculty of transforming poetry into history. I fear that on some subjects we must be content to be ignorant; when facts and characters appear only in a loose, imaginative dress, we cannot array them in the close and symmetrical habiliments of historic times. I admire the industry, feel deep interest in the speculations of such writers, honour them for throwing even dubious illumination, as they unquestionably do, on the dark places of the annals of mankind. I fully appreciate what I may call the side lights thrown on history by the wonderful discoveries in ethnology and the science of language. But when I am reduced to conjecture (and that not seldom), I submit to conjecture: I claim not greater authority than more or less of probability. I retain firmly what I hold to be history; but where history is found only in what I may call a less historic form, though it may no doubt contain much latent history, when I cannot fully discriminate how much, I leave it in its native form; I attempt not to make it solid and substantial history.

I pretend not to have traversed the interminable field of German inquiry relating to the early Hebrew annals, extending from Eichhorn and De Wette to Bleek, one of the latest and best of the school. There has been a strong reaction, it is well known, in Germany against this, vulgarly called Rationalistic, criticism. The school of Eichhorn and De Wette (not to go back to Spinoza), of Rosenmüller, of Gesenius, Schleiermacher, Winer, Ewald (very different men), to say nothing of Paulus,

Strauss, and those to whom Strauss is orthodoxy, has been confronted by Hengstenberg, Keil, Hävernick, and others. This reaction has been hailed and welcomed by many devout men, both in Germany and in England, as a complete triumph. I must say that, as far as my knowledge extends, I doubt this. But time will show. In the meantime these opinions and modes of inquiry have spread into other countries; they are taking a more brilliant vesture in the world-wide language of France. In the Protestant Church they have some very bold advocates. They meet us constantly, more or less disguised, in the higher literature of Paris. M. Ernest Rénan (his works bear only incidentally on Jewish history) displays in his brilliant writings the inimitable gift of discussing the most abstruse subjects with a vivacity and translucent perspicuity rare even in France. To another French writer, antagonistic in some respects to M. Rénan (his review of M. Rénan's great work is to me a perfect model of learning and candour), M. Adam Franck, I owe great obligations, and am proud of the coincidence of some of our opinions. Any one who wishes to have a clear view of Ewald's and other theories on the subject will read with interest a late work of M. Nicolas, whose other disquisitions, even where I do not agree with them, seem to me of value. In this country, the very industrious and honest work of Dr. Davidson, which has just appeared (I differ, entirely as will be seen, from many of his conclusions), will give a wide view of these opinions to the English reader. I might have wished that this author with German learning had not taken to German lengthiness, and to some German obscurity.

There are two theories between which range all the conclusions of what may be called the critical school: 1. That the Pentateuch in its present form is of very late date, the reign of Hezekiah, Josiah, Manasseh, or even subsequent to these. From what materials it was formed, and on the antiquity of those materials, opinions vary infinitely.

2. That the Pentateuch even in its present form is of very high antiquity, as high as the time of Moses; but that it has undergone many interpolations, some additions, and much modification, extending to the language, in successive ages.

If I am to choose, I am most decidedly for the second. For one passage which betrays a later writer or compiler, there are twenty which it seems in my judgment that no compiler at any of the designated periods could or would

have imagined or invented, or even introduced. The whole is unquestionably ancient (I speak not of the authorship), only particular and separable passages being of later origin.[1]

There is a Jewish school of very profound learning, which, though chiefly confining itself to researches into the history of their race subsequent to the return from the Captivity, yet discusses the authenticity, authority, authorship, and integrity of the earlier Scriptures. All these, as far as I am acquainted with their works, write with the freedom and boldness of German criticism. Their vast and intimate knowledge of the Rabbinical writings and of the whole range of Jewish literature, the philosophical inquiries of some into the history and development of the language (Fürst, who is still a Jew, Delitzsch of Hanover, a convert; on these men compare Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 172), render their writings of peculiar value and interest. I cannot pretend to a wide knowledge of this literature. Much of it is scattered about in periodical works, ephemeral and rare. I have profited, however, by the new work of Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, by the *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* of Herzfeld, by the writings of the indefatigable Zunz, whose industry is almost appalling even in Germany; by one of Geiger's, author of the excellent treatise *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum genommen?* the *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel.* The writings of many others, Rappoport, the Luzzatos, Philipson, are known to me only by name and by citations from their works. The very learned Essays of M. Munk relate to the latter period, the history and philosophy of the Jews during the Middle Ages. I have not neglected the later writings of M. Salvador; his first I knew before the publication of my work.

The study of Egyptian antiquities, Egyptology as it is called, has made great progress during the last thirty years. I have

[1] A recent view (not, I think, original) assigns the Pentateuch to the age of Samuel. This appears to me by no means a happy conjecture. Among the most remarkable points in the Record in Exodus is the intimate and familiar knowledge of Egypt. All the allusions with which it teems to the polity, laws, usages, manners, productions, arts, to the whole Egyptian life, with which we have lately become so well acquainted, are minutely and unerringly true. Even the wonders are Egyptian, and exclusively Egyptian. But for the two or three centuries between the Exodus and Samuel, all intercourse with Egypt seems to have been entirely broken off. Between the Exodus and the Egyptian wife of Solomon (excepting an adventure with an Egyptian slave in David's wars), there is no word which betrays relation to Egypt. During the Judges, the Israelites are warred upon and war with all the bordering nations, of Egypt not a word. The writer of that book, as well as of those of Samuel, seem ignorant of the existence of such a country.

endeavoured to follow up its discoveries with some attention, and their connection, as far at least as it has been traced or supposed to be traced, with the Hebrew history. The result will appear in the course of the work. I must confess that the system, or many systems, of chronology framed out of the Egyptian monuments, and, if I may call it so, history, appear to me to result in utter and hopeless confusion. It is possible, even probable, that we have attained to a happy conjectural date for the Exodus, between 1310 and 1320 B.C. The rest I abandon, I will not say to the contempt, but to the repudiation, as altogether unhistorical, of a late writer, my friend Sir George Cornewall Lewis. My own views were fully developed before I had the advantage of reading his work. With him I fully concur in rejecting all schemes of chronology, I am bold enough to say (with one or two exceptional and somewhat dubious dates) anterior to the Olympiads. On some points as to Egyptian discoveries it will be seen that I strongly differ from Sir George Lewis.

As to what is called the Bible Chronology of the early period, every well-read man knows that there is no such thing.[1] So common a book as Dr. Hales's *Chronology* will show that there are nearly two hundred schemes, professedly founded on the Scriptures, differing in the dates of the great events to the amount of a thousand years; that there are at least four conflicting statements in the different copies and versions of the Old Testament. I confess my conclusion is, that there is neither present ground nor future hope for any precise or trustworthy chronology; and I am content to acquiesce in ignorance, where knowledge seems unattainable. The only result which I am disposed to venture on historic grounds (the geological question I leave to the geologists, who, as far as I am concerned, have full scope for their calculations) is, that the Law and polity of Moses are of much later date in the history of mankind than is commonly thought. This in itself can raise no religious objection, which

[1] It is certainly a curious fact that it is impossible to ascertain when, and by what authority, what is usually called the Bible Chronology found its way into the margin of our English Bibles. Being Archbishop Usher's, or Scaliger's modified by Usher, it cannot of course be earlier than the Restoration; no doubt it appeared in its present place very much later. The authorised printers of the Bible, the Stationers' Company, the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, have no record of the innovation.

Is it right to continue to give, apparently, the authority of the Church of England to that which has no such authority?—to make that part of the English Bible which is no part of it?

will not apply, and much more strongly, to the time of the coming of Christ.

With the chronology is closely connected the question of the numbers in the Hebrew Scriptures, to which I cannot but think that more than due weight has been lately assigned.[1] I will observe that, if accuracy in numbers is to determine the historical credibility and value of ancient writers, there must be a vast holocaust offered on the stern altar of historic truth. Josephus must first be thrown upon the hecatomb, without hope of redemption. Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote must lead up, with averted eyes, the firstborn of Grecian History. The five million and a quarter in the army of Xerxes, must destroy all faith in the whole account of the Persian invasion by our venerable Herodotus. Diodorus, with all that we know of Ctesias and that class, must follow. Niebuhr and Sir George Lewis, if they agree in nothing else, must agree in the sacrifice of Livy. I must confess that I have some fear about Cæsar himself. At all events, there must be one wide sweep of, I think, the whole of Oriental history. Beyond all people, indeed, the Jews seem to have had almost a passion for large numbers. Compare Chronicles with Kings: the later compile almost invariably rises above the older. Josephus soars high above both. But what is Josephus to the Rabbins? Only turn from the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus to that of Bither under Hadrian!

There were, indeed, peculiar reasons why the Jews should be tempted to magnify their numbers, especially at the time of the Exodus. The current argument against them, at Alexandria and elsewhere, seems to have been that they were a miserable and insignificant horde of lepers, cast out of Egypt in scorn and contempt. Their national pride would be tempted, not merely to the legitimate boast of the wonders

[1] "'Tis to be remarked that all kinds of numbers are uncertain in ancient manuscripts, and have been subject to much greater corruptions than any other part of the text, and that for a very obvious reason. Any alteration in other places commonly affects the sense or grammar, and is more readily perceived by the reader and transcriber." Hume's Essay on Populousness of Ancient Nations.

"All the numbers of persons, as well as of years, might also have been written in numerical letters, though afterwards they came to be set down in words at large. And while they were in letters, as some might have been worn out and lost in ancienter copies, so others were, by the resemblance of some letters, very like to be mistaken. Nor could mere memories serve them so well to correct mistakes as in other matters." Burnet, on Article VI. He adds: "In these matters our Church has made no decision, and so divines are left to a just freedom in them."

of their Exodus, but to magnify their importance from a distinguished tribe to a powerful nation. The habit of swelling their numbers would grow and become inveterate.

Above thirty years ago, I expressed my opinion that the numbers as they appear in our present Sacred Books were untenable; all further inquiry has confirmed me in this view. Maintain the numbers as they stand, I see no way, without one vast continuous miracle, out of the difficulties, contradictions, improbabilities, impossibilities. Reduce them, and all becomes credible, consistent, and harmonious. By the natural multiplication of the family, or even tribe of Jacob, during their longer or shorter sojourn in Egypt (without good Bishop Patrick's desperate suggestion, that the Hebrew mothers were *blessed* with six children at a birth), the nation of Jacob's descendants at the Exodus becomes numerous enough to be formidable to their masters; but not such a vast horde as to be unmanageable in its movements and marches, too vast to form one camp, to be grouped together at the foot of Sinai, to pass forty years, with only occasional miraculous supplies (all of which we hear in the record), to be at first repelled from the Holy Land, to appear afterwards as the conquerors, but not unresisted conquerors.

I have refrained from expanding the early history to any great extent. I could not do so without violating the proportions of the different parts, and involving myself in interminable discussions unsuited to history. The history of the later period I have enlarged very considerably.

On the Jews of the Middle Ages the work of Depping, published since this book, is in my judgment the most full and valuable. It is superior to that of M. Beugnot,[1] which I had the opportunity of consulting (on Capefigue few historical inquirers will place any reliance), and to the later work of M. Bédarride.[2] The work of Señor Amador de los Rios, on the Jews of Spain, has become accessible by the translation of M. Magnabal (Paris, 1861). But of all contributions to this subject, perhaps none is so valuable, from its copiousness, minuteness, it seems to me its accuracy, as the article in the Cyclopädie of Ersch and Grüber, by M. Cassel.[3] This, I

[1] *Les Juifs dans le Moyen Age*, Paris, 1824.

[2] *Les Juifs en France, en Italie, et en Espagne*, Paris, 1859.

[3] There are also other articles in the same Encyclopädie, seemingly also by Jewish writers, especially a very good one on the Jewish coins, by Bertheau. It proves the authenticity of the Maccabean coins in favour of Bayer against Tychsen. Also the articles on Juden Emancipation, by Scheidler, and on Jüdische Literatur, by Steinscheider.

regret to say, I discovered but recently, not in time to avail myself so widely as I should have wished, of its treasures. It has the German fault, if it be a fault, of heaping up too much, and without sufficient order and perspicuity.

In England have appeared (with many other works on parts of the subject) the *Genius of Judaism* by the elder Mr. Disraeli; and many curious rambling notices of the Jews in various countries in the Autobiography of Dr. Wolff, supplementary to those in his Journals. There are two or three other works, not without value, but inferior in research to those foreign ones named above.

As to the topography of the Holy Land, including that of Jerusalem, the writers, English, American, French, German, of all nations and languages, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, are countless, their name is "Legion." Though I have neglected few, yet I must name some, as pre-eminent. Niebuhr and Burckhardt, with old Reland, were my chief authorities formerly, now Dr. Robinson and Arthur Stanley, who has the inimitable gift not only of enabling us to know, but almost to see foreign scenes which we have not had the good fortune ourselves to visit.

I have written this Preface with reluctance, and only from an imperious sense of duty. It has been written for the promotion of peace. It may not please the extreme of either party; but this will be rather in favour of its truth, at least of its moderation. If on such subjects some solid ground be not found on which highly educated, reflective, reading, reasoning men may find firm footing, I can foresee nothing but a wide, a widening, I fear an irreparable, breach between the thought and the religion of England. A comprehensive, all-embracing, truly Catholic Christianity, which knows what is essential to religion, what is temporary and extraneous to it, may defy the world. Obstinate adherence to things antiquated, and irreconcilable with advancing knowledge and thought, may repel, and for ever, how many I know not, how far, I know still less. Avertat omen Deus!

PREFACE

TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE FIRST EDITION

In presenting the concluding volume of this little work to the Public, the Author has to perform a task, partly of a highly grateful, partly of a less agreeable nature: the former in acknowledging the favour with which his volumes have been received, the latter in offering some explanation on certain points on which he has been misapprehended. The extensive circulation of his work will exculpate him from any charge of presumption in stating his views and opinions, which have thus acquired an importance, to which they could not otherwise pretend.

Nothing is more curious, or more calculated to confirm the veracity of the Old Testament history, than the remarkable picture which it presents of the gradual development of human society: the ancestors of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, pass through every stage of comparative civilisation. The Almighty Ruler of the world, who had chosen them as conservators of the knowledge of His Unity and Providence, and of His slowly brightening promises of Redemption, perpetually interferes, so as to keep alive the remembrance of these great truths, the object of their selection from mankind; and which nothing less, it should seem, could have preserved through so many ages. In other respects the chosen people appear to have been left to themselves to pass through the ordinary stages of the social state; and to that social state their habits, opinions, and even their religious notions, were in some degree accommodated. God, who in His later revelation appeals to the reason and the heart, addressed a more carnal and superstitious people chiefly through their imagination and their senses. The Jews were in fact more or less barbarians, alternately retrograding and improving, up to the "fulness of time," when Christianity, the religion of civilised and enlightened man, was to reveal in all its perfection the nature of the beneficent Creator, and the offer of immortality through the redemption of our blessed Saviour. To trace this gradual progress was the design of our earlier history: and according

to this view, on one hand, the objections of Volney and those who consider the Books of Moses as a late compilation, on the other, those of Bayle and Voltaire against the Patriarchs and their descendants, fall to the ground at once. The seeming authorisation of fierce and sanguinary acts, which frequently occur in the Hebrew annals, resolves itself into no more than this—that the Deity did not yet think it time to correct the savage, I will add, unchristian spirit, inseparable from that period of the social state. In fact, in our reverence for "the Bible," we are apt to throw back the full light of Christianity on the Older Volume; but we should ever remember, that the best and wisest of the Jews were not Christians—they had a shadow, but only a shadow, of good things to come. In some places an awful reverence for that Being whom "no man hath seen at any time," induces the Author to attach a figurative or allegorical, rather than a literal sense to the words of the Old Testament.

It has been suggested, that the Author has not sufficiently regarded the "inspiration" of the Word of God. His views of inspiration are nearly those of Tillotson, Secker, and Warburton. "A spurious notion," says the latter, "begotten by superstition in the Jewish Church, and nursed up by piety in the Christian, hath passed, as it were, into a kind of article of faith, that every word and letter of the New Testament (the Bible) was dictated by the Holy Spirit in such a manner, as that the writers were but the passive organs, through which his language was conveyed."[1] Warburton proceeds, with his usual vigour, to show the objections to this opinion; but the Author prefers subjoining the lucid statement of the present eminently learned Bishop of London (Blomfield). "This supposition permits us to believe, what indeed we cannot

[1] There is a difficulty as to the theory of the strict verbal inspiration of the Old Testament, out of which I see not how a Christian is to find his way. Is it the Hebrew or the Greek LXX., of which every sentence, phrase, word, syllable, is thus inspired? Every one knows, or ought to know, how much they differ, not only in the sense, but in omissions and additional passages, found in one, not in the other. It will be said, of course the Hebrew. But the writers of the New Testament, when their citations are verbally accurate, usually quote the LXX. For three or four centuries till the time of Jerome, the LXX. was the Old Testament of the Church. Till Jerome, no one of the Christian Fathers, except perhaps Origen, knew Hebrew. All this time then the Christian world was without the true, genuine, only inspired Scripture. For above ten centuries more the Church was dependent on the fidelity and Hebrew knowledge of Jerome, for the inspired Word of God. Luther must have been, in this view, a greater benefactor to mankind, than his fondest admirers suppose, by his appeal to the Hebrew original: and was Luther an infallible authority for every word and syllable?—1863.

deny to be probable, that Moses may have possessed many sources of information, from which he would be enabled to draw the most material circumstances of the early history of mankind, without being indebted for his knowledge of them to the immediate inspiration of God. Thus much we may conclude with certainty, that where he did possess the means of accurate knowledge, the Holy Spirit would not interpose to instruct him; since God, assuredly, never makes an extraordinary exertion of His power to effect that which may be brought about by the ordinary operation of human means. . . . And in general we ought to be cautious of asserting a revelation, when the lower kind of spiritual interference (*i.e.* the Superintendence of the Holy Spirit), acting upon the materials of human knowledge, would be sufficient to produce the same result."[1] A late writer,[2] of great good sense and piety, seems to think, that inspiration may safely be limited to doctrinal points, exclusive of those which are purely historical. This view, if correct, would obviate many difficulties.

. . . . . .

The character of Moses has likewise been thought, by some of his friends, open to exception. Among the testimonies to the Divine legation of Moses, few have appeared to him more convincing than the otherwise insurmountable difficulties over which the Lawgiver triumphed; and the Divine wisdom, goodness, and remarkable adaptation to the circumstances of the times, manifested in the laws themselves: on these points he has fully enlarged. It is possible that, wishing to avoid the tone of a theological treatise, he may sometimes have left the reader to infer that which was constantly present to his own mind. Too much, it is also said, is ascribed to the Lawgiver; too little to the Divine source of his wisdom. On this subject his view is that of Bishop Warburton, who seems to have unanswerably proved, that the "wisdom of the Egyptians," in all which, according to St. Stephen, in the Acts, "Moses was *learned, and mighty in words and in deeds*," was political wisdom. That strong-minded writer, having laid down the following maxim—"God, in the moral government of the world, never does in an extraordinary way, that which can be equally effected in an ordinary"—thus proceeds:—

[1] *Dissertation on the Knowledge of a Promised Redeemer*, p. 9: compare the note.

[2] Mr. Hinds: compare Dr. Whately's Sermon on Truth in his admirable *Essays on St. Paul.*

"In the separation of the Israelites, a civil polity and national religion were to be established and incorporated by God Himself; and, for that end, He appointed an under-agent or instrument. Therefore, in this work of legislation, either the agent was to understand the government of a people, and to be capable of following the general plan delivered to him by God, for the erection of the extraordinary policy; or else he was not to understand the government of a people, and so God, in the conduct of the plan, was at every step to interfere and direct his ignorance and inability. Now, as this perpetual interposition might be spared by the choice of an able leader, we conclude, on the maxim laid down, that God would certainly employ such an one in the execution of His purpose." At all events, far higher and unanswerable authority, if it does not confirm this view, authorises us to speak of Moses as the *Lawgiver*—that is the general language of the New Testament—"Did not Moses give you the Law?" (John vii. 19); "Moses gave you circumcision" (ibid. 22). See, also, John viii. 5, 1, 17. "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives" (Matt. xix. 8; Mark x. 9).

In the answers to Marsham, Spencer, and Warburton, as to the Egyptian origin of some of the subordinate institutions of the Hebrews, and to Michaelis, in his learned investigation of the Old Arabian manners, the Author discovers much unnecessary passion, and but little reason.

To conclude—in the works of writers hostile to Revelation, the Author has seen many objections, embarrassing to those who take up a narrow system of interpreting the Hebrew writings; to those who adopt a more rational latitude of exposition, none.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS

BOOK I

THE PATRIARCHAL AGE

Prefatory Remarks—Life of Abraham—Isaac—Jacob—Progress of Civilisation—Observations on the Patriarchal History.

THE Jews, without reference to their religious belief, are among the most remarkable people in the annals of mankind. Sprung from one stock, they pass the infancy of their nation in a state of servitude in a foreign country, where, nevertheless, they increase so rapidly, as to appear on a sudden the fierce and irresistible conquerors of their native valleys in Palestine. There they settle down under a form of government and code of laws totally unlike those of any other rude or civilised community. They sustain a long and doubtful conflict, sometimes enslaved, sometimes victorious, with the neighbouring tribes. At length, united under one monarchy, they gradually rise to the rank of a powerful, opulent, and commercial people. Subsequently, weakened by internal discord, they are overwhelmed by the vast monarchies which arose on the banks of the Euphrates, and are transplanted into a foreign region. They are partially restored, by the generosity or policy of the Eastern sovereigns, to their native land. They are engaged in wars of the most romantic gallantry in assertion of their independence, against the Syro-Grecian successors of Alexander. Under Herod, they rise to a second era of splendour, as a dependent kingdom of Rome: finally, they make the last desperate resistance to the universal dominion of the Cæsars. Scattered from that period over the face of the earth—hated, scorned, and oppressed, they subsist, a numerous and often a thriving people; and in all the changes of manners and opinions retain their ancient institutions, their national character, and their indelible hope of restoration to grandeur and happiness in their native land. Thus the history of this, perhaps the only unmingled, race, which can boast of high

antiquity, leads us through every gradation of society, and brings us into contact with almost every nation which commands our interest in the ancient world; the migratory pastoral population of Asia; Egypt, the mysterious parent of arts, science, and legislation; the Arabian Desert; the Hebrew theocracy under the form of a federative agricultural republic; their kingdom powerful in war and splendid in peace; Babylon, in its magnificence and downfall; Grecian arts and luxury endeavouring to force an unnatural refinement within the pale of the rigid Mosaic institutions; Roman arms waging an exterminating war with the independence even of the smallest states; it descends, at length, to all the changes in the social state of the modern European and Asiatic nations.

The religious history of this people is no less singular. In the narrow slip of land inhabited by their tribes the worship of one Almighty Creator of the Universe subsists, as in its only sanctuary. In every stage of society, under the pastoral tent of Abraham, and in the sumptuous temple of Solomon, the same creed maintains its inviolable simplicity. During their long intercourse with foreign nations in Egypt and Babylon, though the primitive habits and character of the Hebrew nation were greatly modified, and perhaps some theological notions engrafted on their original tenets, this primary distinction still remains; after several periods of almost total apostasy, it revives in all its vigour. Nor is this merely a sublime speculative tenet, it is the basis of their civil constitution, and of their national character. As there is but one Almighty God, so there is but one people under His especial protection, the descendants of Abraham. Hence their civil and religious history are inseparable. The God of the chosen people is their temporal as well as spiritual sovereign; He is not merely their legislator, but also the administrator of their laws. Their land is His gift, held from Him, as from a feudal liege-lord, on certain conditions. He is their leader in war, their counsellor in peace. Their happiness or adversity, national as well as individual, depends solely and immediately on their maintenance or neglect of the divine institutions. Such was the common popular religion of the Jews, as it appears in all their records, in their law, their history, their poetry, and their moral philosophy. Hence, to the mere speculative inquirer, the study of the human race presents no phenomenon so singular as the character of this extraordinary people; to the Christian, no

chapter in the history of mankind can be more instructive or important, than that which contains the rise, progress, and downfall of his religious ancestors.

Abraham,[1] the Father of the Faithful, holds an eminent place in all Oriental tradition, not only among the Jews, but likewise among the Persians, Arabians, and perhaps the Indians.[2] It is difficult to say how far these legends may have been propagated by the Mohammedan conquests, for our knowledge of the history and literature of Eastern nations, anterior to the Hegira, is still limited and unsatisfactory. The Arabian accounts of Abraham, adopted into the Koran, are no doubt much older than Mohammed; but whether they were primitive traditions, or embellishments of their authentic history, originating among the Jews themselves, is a question perhaps impossible to decide.[3] The simplicity of the narrative in the Book of Genesis stands in remarkable contrast with the lofty pretensions which the patriarch assumes in these legends, as the teacher not merely of religious truth, but of science, arithmetic, mathematics, and astronomy, to the Egyptians.[4]

Abram was the son of Terah, the head of a pastoral family consisting of three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Haran, probably the eldest, died early, leaving a son named Lot; Abram was married to Sarah, daughter of Terah by another wife; Nahor married Milcah, a daughter of Haran. Their native place was Ur,[5] a district to the north-east of that region, which lies above the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, and which became afterwards the seat of the great Babylonian monarchy. About Ur the country is open, dry, and barren,

[1] The history of the Jews properly commences with the call of Abraham. All anterior to this in the Mosaic records is the history of mankind.

[2] Kleuker in his *Anhang zum Zendavesta* (Theil ii. p. 39) says that Abraham is known to the Guebres through their connection with the Mohammedans, not from the Parsees. The Indian knowledge of Abraham is doubtless post-Mohammedan.

[3] The Koran (Sura xxi.) has a fine description of Abraham's iconoclasm, and his preservation from the fire into which he was thrown by the idolaters. The tradition is much older: it was known to St. Jerome. "Abram in ignem missus est quia ignem adorare noluerit, et Dei auxilio de idolatriæ igne profugit." Hieronym. tradit. in Genesin. Maimonides attributes his expulsion to his refusal to worship the Sun. Duct. Dub. iii. 29.

[4] Compare Josephus, i. c. 8. Artapanus (apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. ix.) makes Abraham remain twenty years in Egypt for this purpose.

[5] Sir H. Rawlinson first seems to have placed Ur at Warka, afterwards at Mogheyer. But surely the Ur of Abraham was a district, not a town. Sir Henry seems to have more faith, not merely in his cuneiform Inscriptions, but in the Traditions of the Talmudists and in the Arabian Geographers, than I have. See references in Loftus's *Chaldæa*, p. 131 and 161.

well suited for pasture, but not for tillage. In the spacious and level plains of Chaldea, where the nights are delightfully cool and serene, a pastoral people would naturally be led to contemplate the heavenly bodies with peculiar attention. To this country the first rudiments of astronomy are generally ascribed, and here the earliest form of idolatry, the worship of the host of heaven, planet worship,[1] began to spread. The Arabian traditions suppose that a farther step had been already taken, and represent Terah, the father of Abram, as a maker of images, called from his name Teraphim.[2] Other legends attribute to this period the origin of fire-worship. But whatever the system or systems of religion, in whatever manner he acquired his purer notions of the Deity, Abram stood alone[3] in a tribe and family of idolaters,[4] as the worshipper of the one great Creator.[5]

According to the usage of nomadic tribes, the family of Terah broke up from their settlement at Ur, and migrated to Carrhan, a flat, barren region lying west of Ur, and celebrated

[1] I bow to the authority of Chwolson, Preface to his learned work *die Ssabier*, and have withdrawn Tsabaism from the text. That word was only used for Star worship, from misapprehension and false etymology.

[2] There are many vestiges of these notions in the early Christian Fathers, no doubt from old Jewish traditions. Terah is represented as an image-worker. *Epiphanius Hæres.* i. 6. *Suidas in voc.* Σερουχ. Cedrenus asserts that deified men were represented by these statues. Compare Augustin de Civ. Dei, xvi. 13.

[3] *πρῶτος τολμᾷ Θεὸν ἀποφήσεσθαι δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων.* Joseph. i. 8.

[4] Joshua xxiv. 2; Judith v. 7, 8. It is curious to see how the later tradition expands from the older. The writers are more circumstantial in proportion to their distance from the event; the author of Judith than the author of Joshua; Philo and Josephus than Judith. The post-Mohammedan traditions improve on the Jewish.

[5] The most pleasing of the traditionary fictions is the following:—"As Abraham was walking by night from the grotto where he was born, to the city of Babylon, he gazed on the stars of heaven, and among them on the beautiful planet Venus. 'Behold,' said he within himself, 'the God and Lord of the Universe!' but the star set and disappeared, and Abraham felt that the Lord of the Universe could not thus be liable to change. Shortly after he beheld the moon at the full: 'Lo,' he cried, 'the Divine Creator, the manifest Deity!' but the moon sank below the horizon, and Abraham made the same reflection as at the setting of the evening star. All the rest of the night he passed in profound rumination; at sunrise he stood before the gates of Babylon, and saw the whole people prostrate in adoration. 'Wondrous orb,' he exclaimed, 'thou surely art the Creator and Ruler of all nature! but thou, too, hastest like the rest to thy setting!—neither then art thou my Creator, my Lord, or my God!'" D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, Art. Abraham. This and much more is from a book called the Moallem. It is in the Koran, Sura xvi. Compare Hyde de Rel. Persarum, lib. ii. Brucker has much of this which he rejects with his usual good sense. Bayle (Art. Abraham) dilates on and discusses all these legends with his cold, clever irony, but seems incapable of penetrating to the profound truths which lie below.

in later history for the defeat of Marcus Crassus, near Carrhæ.[1] After a residence of some years in Carrhan, the pastoral horde divided, and Abram set forth to establish an independent tribe in a remote region. Lot, the son of his brother Haran, followed his fortunes. Nahor remained with Terah his father, the hereditary chieftain of the settlement in Carrhan. This separation of Abraham, as the single stock from which a new tribe was to trace its unmingled descent, is ascribed to the express command of God. Already while in Ur, Abram had received some communication from the Deity; to his departure into Canaan he was incited by a direct promise, the most splendid which could be offered to the ambition of the head of a nomadic tribe, in which numbers constitute power and wealth: His seed was to become hereafter a great nation. A more obscure and mysterious intimation was added, that some part of his future race should exercise a most important influence on the destinies of mankind.[2] The family of Abram, already grown into a petty clan, moved with all their flocks and slaves across the Euphrates; according to a tradition preserved by Justin and by a later Damascene writer, quoted in Josephus, dwelt some time near Damascus,[3] and arriving at length in Palestine, settled first at Shechem, a valley between the mountains Ebal and Gerizim;[4] then in a hilly region to the north of Jericho, afterwards called the Desert of Quarantania. The altar to the One true God was erected on a mountain between Beth-el and Hai, near enough for Beth-el to take

[1] There is a very copious collection of all that has been written about Charran (Harran) in Chwolson, *die Ssabier*, i. p. 301 *et seqq.* I have, it seems, rather highly drawn both its flatness and barrenness. The Travels of Colonel Chesney and Dr. Badger are the best modern authorities.

[2] How remarkable a comment is all this mass of legend on the earlier part of the promise! The latter to the Christian has a more remote and profound significance!

[3] The Patriarch's westward movements would naturally follow this line. Had he struck southward after passing the Euphrates, he must have plunged into the Desert, which had then no Palmyra, no Tadmor in the wilderness. He must have crossed the wild, mountainous region north-east and east of the Jordan, and forded the river in its deepest gorge. The plain of Damascus, of immemorial beauty and fertility, might well tempt the nomad to pasture his flocks by its clear and perennial rivers. This sojourn near Damascus is illustrated if not confirmed by the high rank held in his household by Eliezer of Damascus.

[4] The vale of Shechem, with its rich unfading verdure, its fountains and its rills, its umbrageous oaks and terebinths, now supplanted by the olive, the eternal and unchangeable beauty and pleasantness of its primæval nature, must have arrested, at least for a time, the migratory Patriarch.—See the glowing description of Shechem by M. Van de Velde (Travels, p. 386), quoted also by Mr. Stanley, p. 230.

On the site of the Desert of Quarantania, read Stanley, p. 214.

its name, the Mount of God. As the pastures were exhausted, the tribe moved southward to Hebron, then to Beersheba, till a famine again drove them forth, and Egypt, probably the earliest, certainly the most productive, corn-country of the ancient world, became, as at a later period, the only place of refuge.

Except as showing that the valley of the Nile was already occupied by an industrious agricultural population, the visit of Abram throws little light on the existing state of Egypt. The monarch seems to have lived in considerable state, and possessed a numerous seraglio, which was supplied by any means, however lawless or violent. This was so notorious, that Abram, though an independent Sheik or Emir, if his fair-complexioned Mesopotamian wife should excite the cupidity of the swarthy Egyptians, might apprehend the worst consequences. He ran the risk, not only of losing his wife, but of being murdered for the sake of so valuable a prize. He took the precaution, therefore, to make Sarai assume the name of his sister (she was in fact his father's daughter, though not by the same mother), perhaps hoping that, if sought in legitimate marriage, he might protract the espousals till the famine would permit him to make his escape from the country.[1] The event justified his apprehensions; Sarai was seized and transferred to the harem of the sovereign, who was so proud of his acquisition as to make magnificent presents to Abram, intended, it may seem, as a dowry for his sister. In a short time a pestilence broke out in the royal family: the king, having discovered the relationship between Abram and Sarai, attributed the visitation to the God of the stranger, who thus revenged his breach of hospitality.[2] Abram received back his wife, and returned to Canaan loaded with possessions suited to his habits of life—"*sheep and oxen, and he asses, and men servants, and maid servants, and she asses and camels*," a curious picture of the wealth of a pastoral chieftain. In Canaan, Abram is described as not merely rich in these simpler commodities, but in silver and gold,[3] obtained, probably, in exchange for the produce of

[1] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Genesin xi. 13.

[2] "Qua ratione Pharaoni innotuerit se suamque familiam, propter Saram hæc mala passos esse, non declaratur. Quodvis vero infortunium inexpectatum a gentibus antiquis pro signo iræ divinæ propter peccatum aliquod commissum habebatur."—Rosenmüller *in loco*. Compare Joseph. Antiqq. i. c. 8. There is nothing incongruous with the notions of those regions and those times, that the God of the stranger should have power to avenge or protect his servants among a people who worshipped other divinities.

[3] Gen. xiii. 2.

his flocks and herds, from the settled native population of the towns. Abram first re-occupied his former encampment, near the site where Beth-el subsequently stood, and offered sacrifice for his safe return from Egypt, on an altar which he had before built on one of the adjacent heights. There the pastures proving insufficient for the great stock of cattle which the tribe possessed, disputes arose between the herdsmen of Abram and Lot. The chieftains, dreading lest the native clans should take advantage of their divisions, and expel or plunder both, agreed to part amicably, and thenceforth inhabit independent settlements. Nothing can be more noble or more characteristic than the generous language of Abram, offering to his brother's son the free choice between the districts which lay before them.[1] Lot departed eastward into the rich and blooming valley of the Jordan, then abounding in flourishing towns. This separation still farther secured the unmingled descent of the Abrahamitic family; and the Almighty renewed the promise of a race, countless as the dust of the earth, the future possessors of Palestine, which Abram was commanded to survey from its northern to its southern, its eastern to its western extremities, as the inalienable patrimony of his descendants. In pursuance of this command, Abram again moved his encampment, and the tents of his tribe were pitched among the southern groves of Mamre.[2] But the more fertile district which had attracted the choice of Lot, exposed him to perpetual dangers. The rich valley of the Jordan was invaded by a confederacy of the kingdoms on the Euphrates and Tigris, headed by Cedor-Laomer,[3] king of Elam (Elymais). His subordinate allies were Amraphel, king of Shinaar (the Babylonian plain), Arioch, king of Ellasar (perhaps Thelassar), and Tidal, king of Nations. Whether a considerable monarchy had already grown up on the banks of the Tigris, or whether this was a league of several small predatory tribes, does not appear from the Hebrew annalist. The

[1] See Mr. Stanley's description of the height from which the two Patriarchs may have surveyed the wide rich land below them (p. 24).

[2] The "oaks," mistranslated the plain of Mamre. Stanley, p. 103; compare p. 141.

[3] Sir H. Rawlinson supposes that he has found the name of Cedor-laomer, or something like it, Kudur Mapala, in the cuneiform Inscriptions. I must be permitted some scepticism on this point. It is a sore temptation to the interpreters of such obscure records to find historical names: a very slight resemblance easily becomes identity. I must add that a regular list of kings for 1700 years, as made out by Sir Henry, is rather a strong demand on the faith of a scrupulous historical inquirer.

independent princes in the valley of the Jordan, the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Tseboim, and Tsoar, submitted to pay tribute. Thirteen years after, they endeavoured to throw off the yoke; but Cedor-Laomer advanced into the country, subdued all the neighbouring tribes, some of whom were of gigantic stature,[1] and at last joined battle with the princes of the Jordan, in the vale of Siddim. There the ground was broken with deep pits and fissures caused by the bituminous nature of the soil;[2] the troops of the five confederates were routed, two of the kings fell among the pits, the rest of the army dispersed, and Lot, among others, was seized as a captive. A fugitive brought the intelligence to Abram, who hastily collected three hundred and eighteen of his own clan, called some of the neighbouring tribes to his assistance, and pursued the enemy to a place near the fountains of the Jordan. He fell on their camp by night, dispersed them, rescued Lot, with the rest of the prisoners, and recovered the booty. This defeat, by so small a force, is thought to give but a mean notion of the strength of the invading army, yet among undisciplined troops of different nations, the panic from an unexpected night attack is often so great, that the inference can scarcely be considered decisive. This bold exploit ensured the admiration and gratitude of all the native chieftains. The king of Salem (by some thought to be Jerusalem, by others, more rightly,[3] a town near Scythopolis, where a ruin, called Melchizedeck's palace, was shown in the time of Jerome) met him at a place called the King's Vale (sometimes, but wrongly, identified with the valley of Jehoshaphat). Melchi-Zedech, the King of Justice (such was his honourable title), united in his own person, like the monarchs of the heroic ages in Greece and Rome, and indeed of most among the early Oriental tribes, the office of king and priest. Like Abram he worshipped the one Great God, in whose name he blessed the deliverer of his country from foreign invaders, and refreshed his troops with bread and wine. On his part, Abram, according to general custom, consecrated a tenth part of the spoil[4] to their common Deity

[1] Ewald supposes these Rephaim to have been the remains of the aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine before the Canaanitish occupation.

[2] On these "asphaltus pits" there is a good note in Rosenmüller, *Das Alte und Neue Morgenland*, i. 52.

[3] By St. Jerome, and most writers who have entered into the topography of the transaction.

[4] Virgil, Æn. iii. 30. Servius *in loco*. Aristot. Politic. iii. c. 14. Justin, xxxvi. 3. Strabo, xii. 838, 851. Liv. in Numâ. On the Incas of Peru,

by Melchizedeck, whose priesthood he thus recognised. As he rivalled Melchizedeck in piety, so Abram equalled the king of Sodom in generosity; he refused to retain any part of the spoil, not so much as a shoe-latchet, he only reserved a portion for the young native sheiks, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, who had joined him in his expedition. But the pious conqueror returned to a childless tent and a barren wife. The name, the chieftainship, of his clan, would pass away into the line of a stranger, Eliezer of Damascus, who held the next rank in the tribe. Yet the divine promise was repeatedly renewed, and under the most striking circumstances. One night as Abram gazed on the cloudless heavens, the Celestial Voice commanded him to count the stars of the firmament, for even so numerous should be his descendants. The aged and childless man yielded up his soul to perfect reliance on his Almighty Benefactor. The promise was further ratified by a covenant, transacted in the primitive form of federal compact, which subsisted among various nations to a late period. A sacrifice was offered, the victims exactly divided,[1] and the contracting parties passed between the two halves, which lay opposite to each other. Abram offered an heifer of three years old, a she goat of three years old, a ram of three years old, a turtle dove, and a young pigeon. These he divided, except the birds, and sat watching till the evening, lest the fowls of prey should stoop upon them. As the sun declined, a deep sleep fell upon him, and more than common darkness spread around. A voice announced the fate of his posterity, their servitude of four centuries in a foreign land, their return, their possession of the whole territory from the Euphrates to the sea. As the sun set, the symbol of the Deity, a cloud of smoke like that of a furnace, a flashing fire like that of a lamp, passed between the severed victims, and thus solemnly ratified the covenant.

In all this early narrative the remarkable part is the Conception of the Deity:—I. His Unity, His Almightiness. He is the Lord of Heaven and earth; either as Lord or Creator,[2] He awards portions of the earth; He disposes of future events; one of His names, Schadai, implies Almightiness. II. His Imma-

Humboldt, Researches, ii. 108. Quotations might be multiplied without end.

Selden "on Tithes" illustrates with his copious learning this ancient and widespread usage.

[1] On this division of the victims there is a good note in Patrick's Commentary.

[2] See Genesis xiv. 19.

teriality. His communication with Abram is by a voice (whether heard with the outward ear, or in the inner man, seems undetermined) or in vision. His apparition is without form; the symbol is that which is least material—the fire or the smoke-cloud. III. His Personality, His active Personality. He is more than a Power, a Force, a Law; He is a Being with a will, with moral attributes, revealing Himself more or less distinctly, and holding communication not only as an overruling influence on material things, but with the inward consciousness of man.

Still, notwithstanding the divine promise, the tent of Abram resounded not with the welcome cry of infancy. At length Sarai, despairing of issue from her own body, had recourse to a custom still known in the East, particularly in China.[1] The chief or lawful wife substitutes a slave in her own place: the children born in this manner have the rank and privilege of legitimacy, and are considered in every respect as the offspring of the mistress of the establishment. In this manner Hagar, an Egyptian slave, bore a son to Abram: he was named Ishmael. Fourteen years after, when Abram was a hundred, Sarah ninety years old, a new revelation from the Divinity announced the surprising intelligence that Sarah herself was to bear a son. There is something singularly beautiful in the attachment of Abram to the first child, who had awakened the parental feeling in his bosom. He would fain transfer the blessing to Ishmael, and is reluctant to sacrifice the earliest object of his pride and joy to the unborn son of Sarah. But the race of Abram is to be beyond every possible impeachment on its legitimacy; Abram is commanded to assume the mysterious name of Abraham (the father of a multitude—the very name is prophetic), as the ancestor of a great and numerous people who were to descend from Sarah (the Princess), and become lords of all Palestine. The tribe were to be distinguished by the rite of circumcision, it can hardly be doubted, before, certainly afterwards, common to many people of the East; a rite of great utility, as conducing, in southern climates, both to health and cleanliness.[2]

[1] On this usage see a curious passage regarding Abyssinia in Bruce's Travels, iii. 246. For China and Siam, La Loubère, i. 109. For India, Ward, quoted by Rosenmüller, *Das A. u. N. Morgenland*, i. 57.

[2] This is the view of Josephus c. Apion, ii. 13. Philo de Circumcisione et de Monarchiâ, edit. Mangey, ii. p. 11. See Niebuhr, Description d'Arabie; also Michaelis as above.

On the question of circumcision there is enough and more than enough in Michaelis, *Laws of Moses* (Eng. transl.), vol. iii. pp. 58, 93. Celsus objected

During this time Abraham had occupied his former encampment near Hebron. Here, as he sat in the door of his tent, three mysterious strangers appeared. Abraham, with true Arabian hospitality, received and entertained them. The chief of the three renewed the promise of a son to be born from Sarah, a promise which the aged woman received with laughter. As they pass forth towards the valley of the Jordan, the same Divine Being, for so he manifestly appears to be, announces the dreadful ruin impending over the licentious cities among which Lot had taken up his abode. No passage, even in the sacred writings, exhibits a more exalted notion of the Divinity, than that in which Abraham is permitted to expostulate on the apparent injustice of involving the innocent in the ruin of the guilty. "Shall the city perish (he successively asks) if fifty, if forty-five, if forty, if thirty, if twenty, if ten righteous men be found within its walls?" "Ten righteous men shall avert its doom." Such was the promise of the Celestial Visitant—but the guilt was universal, the ruin inevitable. The horrible outrage attempted against the two inferior of these preternatural beings, who descended to the city; the violation of the sacred laws of hospitality and nature, which Lot, in his horror, attempted to avert by the most revolting expedient—confirmed the justice of the divine sentence.

The valley of the Jordan, in which the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Tseboim were situated, was rich and highly cultivated.[1] These cities probably stood on a soil

to Origen that it was borrowed from Egypt. Origen asserts that Abraham was the first man circumcised. Quod tamen, observes Marsham, in libro Geneseos, c. xvii., non legitur. For Egypt and Colchis compare Herodot. ii. 104, with Larcher's and Wilkinson's Notes; Diodor. Sic. i. 28; also Spencer de Leg. Hebræorum, i. c. v.; Winer, Biblisches Real Wörterbuch, *in voc.* It was found in practice in St. George's Island: Cook's Voyages.

[1] In the original work stood the following passage:—"It is most probable that the river then flowed in a deep and uninterrupted channel down a regular descent, and discharged itself into the Eastern Gulf of the Red Sea." This theory was adopted on the high authority of Burckhardt and his learned editor, Colonel Leake. It has been found that a ridge or watershed of considerable height crosses and would bar the descent of any stream from the north to the Gulf of Akaba. Such an elevation cannot have taken place during the historic period, and the Gulf of Akaba is itself 1300 feet higher than the Dead Sea. It is no less certain that all the northern part of the Dead Sea, being 1300 feet deep, must have existed long before the commencement of the historic period. How far the southern or shallower part, only about 12 feet deep, may have been the valley in which stood the devoted cities, seems at present undetermined. None of our great authorities in the science of geology have been, as far as I know, among the innumerable travellers who within the last thirty years have visited and described this region. Strabo, xii. c. 3. Tacitus, Hist. v. 7. Diod. Sic. xix. 734. Pliny, H. N. ii. 106. Joseph. B. J. iv. 8.

broken and undermined with veins of bitumen and sulphur. These inflammable substances, set on fire by lightning, caused a tremendous conflagration; the water-courses, both the river and the canals by which the land was extensively irrigated, burst their banks; the cities, the walls of which were perhaps built from the combustible materials of the soil, were entirely swallowed up by the fiery inundation; and the whole valley, which had been compared to Paradise, and to the well-watered corn fields of the Nile, became a dead and fetid lake. This tremendous convulsion, in which four cities disappeared for ever from the face of the earth, lived in the traditions of the country to the days of Strabo, Tacitus, and other ancient writers. In the account of Tacitus, the number of cities destroyed is magnified to thirteen. The whole region is described by modern travellers as a scene of gloomy desolation, precipitous crags hanging over dull and heavy waters—not, indeed, as the local superstitions have asserted, devoid of life, for the lake abounds in fish, nor fatal to the birds which fly over it—but the specific gravity of the water is so great, that those who cannot swim, float on the top; and it is bitterly salt to the taste. Unwholesome fogs hang perpetually over the lake, and the stagnant surface is broken by clots of asphaltus, which are constantly bubbling up from the bottom.[1] A distinguished modern geographer[2] thus describes the present indications of the physical agency by which Divine Providence brought about this memorable destruction:—"The valley of the Jordan offers many traces of volcanoes: the bituminous and sulphureous water of Lake Asphaltites, the lavas and pumice thrown out on its banks, and the warm baths of Tabarieh, show that this valley has been the theatre of a fire not yet extinguished. Volumes of smoke are often observed to escape from Lake Asphaltites, and new crevices are found on its margin."

Lot, warned of the impending ruin, fled with his daughters.[3] His wife, in contempt of repeated warnings, lingering behind, was suffocated by the sulphureous vapours, and her body encrusted with the saline particles which filled the atmosphere.[3]

[1] The Dead Sea is now well known, especially from the navigation of the whole lake from north to south by Mr. Lynch of the American Navy. His curious volume has dissipated many prejudices, and settled many disputed questions. See *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, by W. F. Lynch, U.S.N., London, 1849.

[2] Malte Brun.

[3] The view of this and the preceding transaction is chiefly taken from two

Later tradition, founded on a literal interpretation of the Mosaic account, pointed to a heap or column of salt, which bore perhaps some resemblance to a human form, and was believed, even by the historian Josephus,[1] who had seen it, to be the pillar into which she was transformed. Lot fled first to Zoar, near the end of the present lake, then into the mountains. The tribes of Ammon and Moab, famous in the Jewish history, were derived from an incestuous connection into which he was betrayed by his daughters, who, according to Josephus, supposing themselves and their father the only surviving remnant of mankind, the rest having perished in the recent catastrophe, did not scruple to violate the laws of nature. Here, too, observe the high moral tone. If, as some suspect, this may be darkly coloured by later hostility to these tribes, its pure and lofty scope is worthy of consideration.

While these rival tribes were thus born of incest, amid all the horrors of convulsed nature, the legitimate parent of the numerous offspring promised to Abraham is at length born. He is named Isaac, from the laughter of Sarah when the birth was announced. But now the jealous apprehensions of the mother are directed against Hagar and her child. Usage, stronger than written law, gives to the chief wife in the tent of wandering pastoral people unlimited authority over her female slaves. Hagar had already been exposed to the jealousy of Sarah when, previous to the birth of Ishmael, she had been treated with such harshness as to fly into the wilderness, whence

learned dissertations of Le Clerc. The first coincides in a remarkable manner with the conclusions of that most intelligent and observant traveller, Dr. Robinson, in his Researches and in his Correspondence with Dr. Busk. Dr. Robinson rejects of course the discarded theory of the continuation of the Ghor to the Gulf of Akaba, and supposes the cities to have been submerged by the waters of the lower lake. Compare, however, Stanley, p. 283. "Reland long ago remarked, there is no reason either in Scripture or history for supposing that the cities themselves were destroyed by submersion, or were submerged at all." I have left the citation from Malte Brun, as sufficiently accurate, and refrained from reference to the numberless books of travels, the substance of which may be read, and the authorities quoted, in Ritter's exhaustive volume. Ought we to be silent on the moral import of this event, here ascribed to the awful power of God? Thus early in the Hebrew annals is this solemn protest, this terrific ban, pronounced against that sin which infected the manners and even the religion of post-Homeric Greece, which was among the causes of the decline of Rome, which has been the plague-spot of the East in ancient as in modern times. From this it is believed that the Jews in all ages have been singularly free.

[1] Josephus, Ant. i. c. 11. See the description and engraving of the pillar at Usdom in Lynch's Expedition.

she had returned by the direction of an angel. Sarah now insists, and Abraham, receiving a divine intimation as to the destiny of the elder born, complies with her demand, that Hagar and Ishmael should be sent forth, to seek their fortune in some of the unoccupied and uncultivated districts which lay around. The supply of provisions which they carried from the tent of Abraham soon failed, and the mother and the youth wandered into a district which was destitute of water. History or poetry scarcely presents us with any passage which surpasses in simple pathos the description of Hagar, not daring to look upon her child, while he is perishing with thirst before her face. *And she went and sat her down over against him a good way off, as it were a bow-shot; for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice and wept.* But Ishmael likewise was to become the father of a great people; by divine interposition Hagar discovered a well, the water restored them to life. Ishmael either joined some horde of Arabs, or maintained himself in independence by his bow, till his mother obtained him an Egyptian wife. The wandering Arabs to this day, by general traditions adopted into the Koran, trace their descent to the outcast son of Abraham. "The wild man whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him," still waylays the traveller by the fountain, or sweeps his rapid troop of horse across the track of the wealthy caravan.

The faith of Abraham was to pass through a more trying ordeal. He is suddenly commanded to cut off that life on which all the splendid promises of the Almighty seemed to depend. He obeys, and sets forth with his unsuspecting child to offer the fatal sacrifice on Mount Moriah.[1] The immolation of human victims, particularly of the most precious, the favourite, the first-born child, appears as a common usage among many early nations, more especially the tribes by which Abraham was surrounded.[2] It was the distinguishing rite

[1] Read on this subject—even if we do not adopt fully his conclusions, it is worth reading—Warburton's discussion, *Divine Legation*, VI. v.

[2] On this subject citations might be multiplied without end. Βαρβαρικὰ δὲ ἔθνη μέχρι πολλοῦ παιδοκτονίαν ὡς ὅσιον ἔργον καὶ θεοφιλὲς προσέσθαι. Philo Judæus de Abrah. See the whole passage. Compare extracts from Philo Byblius and Sanchoniathon apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. i. 10–38, and iii. 16, and the observations of Scaliger and Marsham. Note at the end of vol. i. of Magee on Sacrifice. Porphyrius de Abstinentiâ describes it as a common custom among the Canaanites. He says that Sanchoniathon's History is full of such stories; but Porphyrius is a late, not very trustworthy writer. In

among the worshippers of Moloch; at a later period of the Jewish history, it was practised by a king of Moab; it was undoubtedly derived by the Carthaginians from their Phœnician ancestors on the shores of Syria. The offering of Isaac bears no resemblance either in its nature, or what may be termed its moral purport, to these horrid rites. Where it was an ordinary usage, as in the worship of Moloch,[1] it was in unison with the character of the religion, and of the deity. It was the last act of a dark and sanguinary superstition, which rose by regular gradation to this complete triumph over human nature. The god who was propitiated by these offerings, had been satiated with more cheap and vulgar victims; he had been glutted to the full with human suffering and with human blood. In general it was the final mark of the subjugation of the national mind to an inhuman and domineering priesthood. But the Hebrew religion held human sacrifices in abhorrence; the God of the Abrahamitic family, uniformly beneficent, imposed no duties which entailed human suffering, demanded no offerings which were repugnant to the better feelings of our nature.[2] Where, on the other hand, these filial sacrifices were of rare and extraordinary occurrence, they were either to expiate some dreadful guilt, to avert the imminent vengeance of the offended deity, or to extort his blessing on some im-

Egypt the "illaudati Busiridis aras." There is a very curious passage from the Ramayana in Bopp's *Conjugations System*, p. 215. The Hermit Viswamitra offers his own son in place of Suna-Sopha, who had appealed to his compassion and protection. For America, Humboldt's Researches, pp. 218, 224.

[1] Besides the common worship of Moloch (Old Testament, *passim*), the Book of Kings names the Sepharvaites as making these sacrifices (2 Kings xvii. 31), and the king of Moab (2 Kings iii. 27). This latter case is contested, I think with Münter, without ground.

[2] I adhere to this statement deliberately and after full consideration. The contrary, as is well known, has been asserted by some of the English Deists, by Voltaire, and latterly in an elaborate, I must say most malignant book, by a Professor Guillany of Nuremberg: *Die Menschen—Opfer der alten Hebraer.* Nürnberg, 1842. These Moloch offerings are denounced in the book of Leviticus, as among the most repulsive crimes of the Canaanites. The Israelites are solemnly warned against them, as of the most heinous wickedness. Any one guilty of such offence is to be stoned (Lev. xviii. 21; xx. 2, 8; even more strongly in Deut. xii. 31). This crime is condemned by later writers as among the worst of those idolatries to which the Jews had apostatised (Psalm cv. 37; Jeremiah xix. 2 *et seqq.*). And it was in this state of apostasy alone that the Jews were guilty of this abomination. The only difficulty arises from the Cherem (Lev. xxvii. 29), the solemn curse, under which certain things, even the lives of children, might be *devoted* to the Lord, and could not be redeemed, as offerings under the Neder, or lesser curse, might be, by any compensation, but "shall surely be put to death." Of the fulfilment of this curse, the Cherem, the vow of Jephthah is the only recorded instance in the Jewish history, and, if it was literally accomplished, stands

portant enterprise.[1] But the offering of Isaac was neither piacular nor propitiatory. Abraham had committed no guilt, and apprehended no danger; the immolation of his only son seemed for ever to deprive him of that blessing which was

alone. But, taken according to the literal translation (to this Rosenmüller *in loc.*, and other great critics, accede), this clause in the Law seems intended to enforce the special solemnity of the Cherem. There was nothing so precious or so sacred but under certain circumstances it might be offered to God, and if offered might not be redeemed; and in a barbarous period a barbarous free-booter, as Jephthah was, though a noble champion of Jewish liberty, might make and fulfil such a vow. But this solitary example of zeal proves no usage, or that such an act was not utterly repugnant to the spirit of the Law and to the general sentiment. Among the Jews, as among most nations of antiquity, the parental power was absolutely despotic, even to life and death. The Mosaic law, however, enacted that a guilty son could not be punished with death except by the judicial sentence of the community (Deut. xxi. 18, 24). But as the poetic sacrifice of Iphigenia, which the tragedians (see the exquisite chorus in Æschy. Agamemnon) and Lucretius describe as hateful—

> "Iphianassaï turpârunt sanguine *fædo*
> Ductores Danaûm delecti, prima virorum;"

as the act of the elder Brutus, though its grandeur might enforce admiration, yet shocked even the stern Romans, so a Cherem of that awful kind on a great emergency might be sworn and fulfilled, however utterly revolting to the feelings and altogether at variance with the usages of the people. All which the Law enacts is that the victim of such a Cherem is irredeemable. It neither approves nor sanctions such a vow. On this subject I had read, among other works, with interest and with profit, Lettres de quelques Juifs, par l'Abbé Guenée, perhaps among the French clergy the only one who had the best in a controversy with the all-ruling wit. See vol. ii. pp. 33 *et seqq.*

Dr. Guillany's book I have not scrupled to describe by the epithet "malignant"; for his object, in this day a most inconceivable object, seems to be to revive all the old rancorous hatred of the Jews. He proposes in a second volume to prove the truth of those monstrous fictions of the dark ages, the charges of kidnapping and sacrificing Christian children. These crimes, he avers, were only the natural development of that indelible propensity for shedding blood as an offering to their God, which himself acknowledges, even according to his own view, to have been mitigated, if not extinguished, by the milder manners enforced on the Israelites after the return from the Captivity. Dr. Guillany's undisguised theory is that the Jehovah of the Jews was the Sun-god, the same, only more cruel than Baal or Moloch; that human sacrifices, especially of the first-born, were the ordinary Jewish rites, especially on the Passover: and this is done by rejecting every passage which breathes a milder spirit, as interpolated or altered after the return from the exile, and by putting the few texts of which he admits the authenticity to the most ingenious torture. The sole test of authenticity is conformity to his preposterous theory.

[1] Diodor. Sicul. xx. 14.

> Pœni sunt soliti sos sacrificare puellos.
> Enn. Fragm.

> Mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido,
> Poscere cæde Deos veniam, ac flagrantibus aris
> (Infandum dictu), parvos imponere natos.
> Sil. Ital. iv. 767.

Compare Münter, *Religion der Karthager*, p. 17 *et seqq.*, an excellent investigation of the subject.

nearest to his heart, the parentage of a numerous and powerful tribe. It was a simple act of unhesitating obedience to the divine command; the last proof of perfect reliance on the certain accomplishment of the divine promises. Isaac, so miraculously bestowed, could be as miraculously restored; Abraham, such is the comment of the Christian Apostle, *believed that God could even raise him up from the dead.* Still while the great example of primitive piety appears no less willing to offer the most precious victim on the altar of his God, than the idolaters around him, the God of the Hebrews maintains His benign and beneficent character. After everything is prepared, the wood of the altar laid, even the sacrificial knife uplifted, the arm of the father is arrested; a single ram, entangled by his horns in a thicket, is substituted, and Abraham called the name of the place Jehovah Jireh, the Lord will provide. Near this same spot, eighteen centuries after, Jesus Christ was offered, the victim, as the Christian world has almost universally believed, "provided by the Lord"—inexplicable, if undesigned, coincidence! This last trial of his faith thus passed, the promise of the divine blessing was renewed to Abraham in still more express and vivid terms. His seed were to be numerous as the stars of heaven, and as the sands of the sea-shore; their enemies were to fall before them; and the whole world was to receive some remote and mysterious blessing through the channel of this favoured race.

After this epoch the incidents in the life of Abraham are less important, yet still characteristic of the age and the state of society. He lived on terms of amity with the native princes, particularly with Abimelek, the king of Gerar, on whose territories his encampment at one time bordered. With Abimelek an adventure took place, so similar in its circumstances with the seizure and restoration of Sarah in Egypt, as almost to excite a suspicion that it is a traditional variation of the same transaction, more particularly as it is unquestionably related out of its place in the Mosaic narrative, and again repeated in the life of Isaac.[1] Abimelek permitted

[1] This critical observation is as old as Richard de St. Victor. Father Simon has an ingenious suggestion. "Il est dit . . . dans la Genèse que le Roi Abimelec devint amoureux de Sara, et cependant l'histoire avoit déjà dit un peu auparavant que Sara et Abraham étaient fort avancés en âge. Il est, ce me semble, bien plus à propos de réjeter ce défaut d'ordre sur la disposition des anciens rouleaux, qui a été changée en cet endroit et en plusieurs autres, que d'avoir recours à un miracle et de feindre avec quelques auteurs que Dieu

the stranger sheik to pitch his tent, and pasture his flocks and herds in any part of his domains. The only dispute related to the valuable possession of a well, and this was prudently and amicably arranged.

The death of Sarah gave occasion for another friendly treaty with the native princes. Every independent tribe has its separate place of burial: the family union continues in the grave. The patriarch or parent of the tribe has the place of honour in the common cemetery, which is usually hewn out of the rock, sometimes into spacious chambers, supported by pillars and with alcoves in the sides where the coffins are deposited. Each successive generation, according to the common expression, is *gathered to their fathers*. On Abraham's demand for permission to purchase a place of sepulture, the chiefs of the tribe of Heth assemble to debate the weighty question. The first resolution is to offer the rich and popular stranger the unusual privilege of interring his dead in their national sepulchres. As this might be misconstrued into a formal union between the clans, Abraham declines the hospitable offer. He even refuses as a gift, and insists on purchasing, for four hundred pieces of silver, a field named Machpelah, surrounded by trees, in which stood a rock well suited for sepulchral excavation. Here, unmingled with those of any foreign tribe, his own remains, and those of Sarah, are to repose.

In another important instance the isolation of the Abrahamitic family and its pure descent from the original Mesopotamian stock are carefully kept up. The wife of Isaac is sought not among their Canaanitish neighbours, but among his father's kindred in Carrhan. At a later period the same feeling of attachment to the primitive tribe, and aversion from mingling with the idolatrous Canaanites, is shown in the condemnation of Esau, for taking his wives from the inhabitants of the country, *which were a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah*, while Jacob is sent to seek a wife in the old Mesopotamian settlement. So completely does the seclusion and separation of Abraham and of his descendants run through the whole history. Abraham solemnly adjures

par une Providence singulière avait rendu à Sara toute sa beauté qu'elle avait eue dans sa jeunesse." Simon, *Histoire Critique*, Preface. On other interpolations see the same preface. In this case Simon touches but half the difficulty. The repetition is more simply accounted for if the book of Genesis was compiled from more ancient documents, a theory adopted by most learned men, and by some of the most rigid Scripturalists.

his most faithful servant whom he despatches to Carrhan on this matrimonial mission for his son, to discharge his embassage with fidelity. Having sworn by the singular ceremony of placing his hand under his master's thigh, a custom of which the origin is unknown, the servant sets off with his camels, and arrives in safety near the old encampment of the tribe. At the usual place of meeting, the well,[1] he encounters Rebekah, the beautiful daughter of Bethuel, the son of Abraham's brother Nahor. The courteous maiden assists him in watering his camels; her relations receive him with equal hospitality. The intelligence of Abraham's wealth, confirmed by the presents of gold and jewels which he produced, make them consent with alacrity to the betrothing of the damsel to the son of Abraham. The messenger and Rebekah reach in safety the encampment of Abraham; and Isaac when he hears the sound of the returning camels beholds a fair maiden modestly veiled, whom he conducts and puts in possession of the tent of his mother Sarah, that which belonged to the chief wife of the head of the tribe.

After the death of Sarah, Abraham took another wife, Keturah, by whom he had many children. Isaac, however, continued his sole heir, the rest were sent away into the east country; their descendants are frequently recognised among the people noticed in the Jewish annals, but always as aliens from the stock of Abraham. At length the Patriarch died, and was buried in Machpelah, by Ishmael and Isaac, who met in perfect amity to perform the last duty to the head and father of their tribes.

Such is the history of their great ancestor, preserved in the national records of the Jewish people, remarkable for its simplicity and historic truth, when compared with the mythic or poetic traditions of almost all other countries. The genealogies of most nations, particularly the Eastern, are lost among their gods;[2] it is impossible to define where

[1] Οἱ δ' ἴσαν ἐκβαντες λείην ὁδὸν, ᾗπερ ἄμαξαι
Ἄστυ δ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων καταγίνεον ὕλην.
Κούρῃ δὲ ξυμβλητο πρὸ ἄστεος ὑδρεύουσῃ
Θυγατρὶ ἰφθίμῃ Λαιστρυγόνος Ἀντιφατάο.
Odyss. x. 103.

Ἔνθα οἱ ἀντεβόλησε Θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
Παρθενικῇ εικυῖα νεάνιδι, κάλπιν ἐχούσῃ.
Odyss. vii. 18.

Virgil, the modern, changes the water-urn into arms.—Æneid i. 318.

[2] Champollion (Première Lettre à Monsieur de Blacas) observed on the "peu de distance que la nation Egyptienne semble avoir mis de tout temps

fable ceases, and history begins; and the earlier we ascend, the more indistinct and marvellous the narrative. In the Hebrew record it is precisely the converse: God and man are separated by a wide and impassable interval. Abraham is the Sheik or Emir of a pastoral tribe, migrating from place to place, his stations marked with geographical accuracy, and with a picturesque simplicity of local description; here he pitches his tent by some old and celebrated tree, there on the brink of a well-known fountain. He is in no respect superior to his age or country, excepting in the sublime purity of his religion. He is neither demi-god nor mighty conqueror, nor even sage, nor inventor of useful arts. His distinction is the worship of the One Great God, and the intercourse which he is permitted to hold with this mysterious Being—intercourse, it has been observed, through celestial messengers, by vision, and seemingly by mental impression. The Godhead remains in immaterial seclusion from the world. This is the great patrimonial glory which he bequeaths to his descendants; their title to be considered the chosen people of the Almighty, is their inalienable hereditary possession. This is the key to their whole history, the basis of their political institutions, the vital principle of their national character.

The life of Isaac was far less eventful, nor is it necessary for the right understanding of the Jewish history, to relate its incidents so much at length as those of the great progenitor of the Jewish people. At first, the divine promise of a numerous posterity proceeds very slowly towards its accomplishment. After some years of barrenness Rebekah bears twins, already before their birth seeming to struggle for superiority, as the heads and representatives of two hostile people. They were as opposite in their disposition as in their way of life. The red-haired Esau was a wild hunter, and acquired the fierce and reckless character which belongs to the ruder state of society to which he reverted; Jacob retained the comparative gentleness of the more thoughtful and regular pastoral occupation. It is curious to observe the superior fitness in the habits and disposition of the

entre ses rois et ses dieux." The later investigations into the history of the Egyptian religion confirm rather than invalidate this. The dynasty or dynasties of the gods were succeeded as actual rulers by the dynasties of the kings. In India what is Brahma (not the neuter abstract Brahm), what is Buddh, what is Odin, god, or saint, or king? The Teutonic Amalas were sons of Woden.

younger, Jacob, to become the parent of an united and settled people. Though the Edomites, the descendants of Esau, ranked in civilisation far above the marauding Bedouins, who sprang from Ishmael; though Esau himself possessed at a later period considerable wealth in flocks and herds, yet the scattered clans of the Edomites, at perpetual war with each other and with their neighbours, living, according to the expression of the sacred writer, by the sword, retain as it were the stamp of the parental character, and seem less adapted to the severe discipline of the Mosaic institutions, or to become a nation of peaceful husbandmen. The precarious life of the hunter soon laid him at the mercy of his more prudent or rather crafty brother. After a day of unsuccessful hunting, Esau sold his right of primogeniture for a mess of herbs. The privilege of the first-born seems to have consisted in the acknowledged headship of the tribe, to which the office of priest and sacrificer was inseparably attached. Esau, therefore, thus carelessly threw away both his civil and religious inheritance, and abandoned all title to the promises made to his tribe.

Whether the parental blessing was supposed of itself to confer or to confirm the right of primogeniture, is not quite clear; but the terms in which it was conveyed by Isaac, "Be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down before thee," seem to intimate a regular investiture with the supreme authority, as head of the tribe. This blessing, couched in these emphatic words, which Isaac evidently doubted his power to retract, was intercepted, with the assistance of his mother, by the subtle and unscrupulous Jacob. These repeated injuries roused the spirit of revenge in the indignant hunter; he only waits the decease of his father that he may recover his rights by the death of his rival. But Rebekah anticipates the crime. Jacob is sent to the original birthplace of the tribe, partly to secure him from the impending dangers, partly that, avoiding all connection with the Canaanites, he may intermarry only with the descendants of his forefathers. On his way to Mesopotamia, the promise made to Abraham is renewed in that singular vision—so expressively symbolical of the universal providence of God—the flight of steps uniting earth and heaven, with the ministering angels perpetually ascending and descending. In commemoration of this vision, Jacob sets up a sort of primitive monument—a pillar of stone. He anointed it with oil, and called the place Beth-el—the House

of the Lord, the site on which afterwards stood the city of Luz.[1] The adventures of Jacob among his nomadic ancestors present a most curious and characteristic view of their simple manners and usages. His meeting with Rachel at the well; the hospitality of Laban to his sister's son; his agreement to serve seven years[2] to obtain Rachel in marriage; the public ceremony of espousals in the presence of the tribe; the stratagem of Laban to substitute his elder for his younger and fairer daughter, in order to bind the enamoured stranger to seven years' longer service; the little jealousies of the sisters, not on account of the greater share in their husband's affections, but their own fertility; the substitution of their respective handmaids; the contest in cunning and subtlety between Laban and Jacob, the former endeavouring to defraud the other of his due wages, and at the same time to retain so useful a servant, under whom his flocks had so long prospered —the latter, apparently, by his superior acquaintance with the habits of the animals which he tended, and with the divine sanction, securing all the stronger and more flourishing part of the flocks for his own portion;[3] the flight of Jacob, not as so rich a resident ought to have been dismissed, *with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp;* Laban's religious awe of one so manifestly under the divine protection; Rachel's purloining and concealment of her father's Teraphim;

[1] This rude shrine or temple is common in the early religious annals of most Oriental and barbarous nations. The Caaba at Mecca was no doubt a vestige of the ancient Arabian religion. On the Bætylia, the sacred stones of the Phœnicians, derived, it should seem, from the same word, see citations in Rosenmüller on Gen. xxviii. 19.

[2] "I once met with a young man who had served eight years for his food only; at the end of that period he obtained in marriage the daughter of his master, for whom he would otherwise have had to pay seven or eight hundred piastres. When I saw him he had been married three years; but he bitterly complained of his father-in-law, who continued to require of him the performance of the most servile offices, without paying him anything; and that prevented him from setting up for himself and family."—*Burckhardt's Travels in Syria*, p. 297. This was in the Haouran, the district south-east of Damascus.

"Les pauvres qui veulent se marier se mettent pendant plusieurs années au service du père." Pallas of the Kalsinghi Tartars, t. iii. p. 435.

[3] The "pilled" rods were set in the water-troughs in which the cattle came to drink. Was the effect produced by the pilled rods or the water? There is nothing whatever of miracle suggested in the passage. Vitruvius supplies this curious illustration:—"Sunt enim Bœotiæ flumina Cephisus et Melas: Lucaniæ Crathis; Trojæ Xanthus; inque agris Clazomeniorum, et Erythræorum et Laodicensium, fontes ac flumina, cum pecora suis temporibus anni parantur ad conceptionem partus, per id tempus adiguntur eo quotidie potum, ex eoque quamvis sunt alba, procreant aliis locis leucophæa, aliis locis pulla, aliis coracino colore; ita proprietas liquoris cum init in corpus, proseminat intinctam sui cujusque generis qualitatem." viii. 3.

above all, their singular treaty, in which Laban at length consents to the final separation of this great family, with which he had expected to increase the power and opulence of his tribe; —all these incidents throw us back into a state of society different not merely from modern usages, but from those which prevailed among the Jews after their return from Egypt. The truth and reality of the picture is not more apparent than its appropriate localisation in the regions which it describes. It is neither Egyptian nor Palestinian, nor even Arabian life; it breathes the free air of the wide and open plains of inland Asia, where the primitive inhabitants are spreading, without opposition or impediment, with their flocks, and herds, and camels, over unbounded and unoccupied regions.

Isaac, in the meantime, had continued to dwell as a husbandman, towards the southern border of the promised land. Early in life he had begun to cultivate the soil, which amply repaid his labours. He seems to have been superior to the native population in one most useful art, not improbably learned by his father in Egypt, that of sinking wells.[1] The manner in which the native herdsmen drove him from place to place as soon as he had enriched it with that possession, so invaluable in an arid soil, indicates want of skill, or at least, of success, in providing for themselves. Perhaps it was as much by ignorant neglect as by wanton malice, that the Philistines suffered those formerly sunk by Abraham to fall into decay and become filled with earth.[2]

Jacob had crossed the Jordan with nothing but the staff which he carried in his hand; he returned with immense wealth in cattle, flocks, asses, and camels, male and female slaves; and with the more estimable treasure of eleven sons, born to him in Mesopotamia. But before he could venture to return to his father, he must appease the resentment of his injured brother. Upon the borders of the land of Canaan, still on the upland plains to the east of the Jordan, at a place

[1] Wells of remarkable construction and great traditional antiquity were shown in Judæa to a late period: *ὅτι δὲ καὶ φρέατα ἐν γῇ φιλιστίνων κατεσκευάσται ὡς ἐν τῇ Γενέσει ἀνα γέγραπται δῆλον ἐκ τῶν δεικνυμένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσκᾶλων θαυμαστῶν φρεάτων, καὶ ἱστορίας ἀξίων διὰ τὸ ξένον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τῆς κατασκευῆς, ὡς πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ φρέατα.* Origen cont. Cels. iv. 194.

[2] This is still a common act of hostility in the Desert. According to Niebuhr, the Sultan was obliged to pay a kind of tribute to the Arabs to prevent them from thus making the Desert impassable. Compare Rosenmüller, *A. u. N. Morgenland*, i. 119.

called Mahanaim (from a vision of angels[1] seen there), he sends messengers to announce his approach as far as Seir, a district extending from the foot of the Dead Sea. There Esau was already established as the chieftain of a powerful tribe, for he sets forth to meet his brother at the head of 400 men. The peaceful company of Jacob are full of apprehension; he sends forward a splendid present of 200 she-goats, 20 he-goats, 200 ewes and 20 rams, 30 milch camels, with their colts, 40 kine, 10 bulls, 20 she-asses and 10 foals; he likewise takes the precaution of dividing his company into two parts, in order that if one shall be attacked the other may escape. Having made these arrangements, he sends his family over a brook, called the Jabbok, which lay before him.[2] In the night he is comforted by another symbolic vision, in which he supposes himself wrestling with a mysterious being, from whom he extorts a blessing, and is commanded from thenceforth to assume the name of Israel (the prevailing): for, having prevailed against God, so his race are to prevail against men.[3] The scene of this vision (if it was a vision) was called by Jacob Peniel, the face of God, because Jacob had there seen God "face to face." Yet he does not entirely relax his caution: as he and his family advance to meet the dreaded Esau, the handmaids and their children are put foremost; then Leah with hers; last of all, as with the best chance of escape, should any treachery be intended, the favourite Rachel and her single child Joseph. But the hunter, though violent, was nevertheless frank, generous, and forgiving. While Jacob approaches with signs of reverence, perhaps of apprehension, *Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him and fell on his neck, and kissed him, and they wept.* At first he refuses the offered present, but at length accepts it as a pledge of fraternal amity, and proposes that they should set forward together and unite their encampments. The cautious Jacob, still apprehensive of future misunderstandings, alleges the natural excuse, that his party, encumbered with

[1] Properly the "two Hosts of Angels."

[2] "At 1.20 came to the river Jabok (Zurka), flowing in from E.N.E., a small stream trickling down a deep and wide torrent bed." Lynch, p. 253.

[3] Awful respect for the divine nature—maintained, as above observed, throughout the Biblical history of Abraham—induces us to adopt, with some learned writers, the notion, that this contest took place in a dream, as Josephus says, with a phantasm. It should be added, that, whether real or visionary, Jacob bore an outward mark or memorial of this conflict, in the withering of the back sinew of the thigh. His descendants abstained till the time of Moses, and still abstain, from that part of every animal slain for food.

their cattle, their wives and children, must travel more slowly than the expeditious troop of the Edomites; and immediately on his brother's departure, instead of following him to Seir, turns off towards the Jordan; encamps first at Succoth, then crosses the Jordan, and settles near Shalem. Here he purchases a field of the inhabitants, and resides in security, until a feud with the princes of the country drives him forth to seek a safer encampment. Shechem, the son of Hamor, the great chieftain of the tribes which occupied that part of Canaan, violated Dinah, the daughter of Jacob.

In all Arabian tribes, the brother is most deeply wounded by an outrage on the chastity of the females [1] (a part of Spanish manners, no doubt inherited from their Arabian ancestry); on him devolves the duty of exacting vengeance for the indignity offered to the tribe or family. Simeon and Levi, without consulting their father, take up the quarrel. Shechem offers to marry the damsel; his father and his people, not averse to an union with the wealthy strangers, consent to submit to circumcision, as the condition of the marriage, and as a pledge to the solemn union of the clans. While they are disabled from resistance by the consequences of the operation, Simeon and Levi, with their followers, fall on the city, put the inhabitants to the sword, and pillage the whole territory. The sense of this act of cruelty to his allies, and disregard to his own authority, sank deep into the heart of the peaceful Jacob. In his last vision, Simeon and Levi are reprobated as violent and bloodthirsty men; and, as if this dangerous disposition had descended upon their posterity, they are punished, or rather prevented from bringing ruin upon the whole race, by receiving a smaller and a divided portion of the promised land. Jacob retreated to Luz, whither he had formerly fled from his brother Esau. Here the family was solemnly dedicated to God; all the superstitious practices which they had brought from Mesopotamia were forbidden; the little images of the tutelar deities, even the earrings, probably considered as amulets or talismans, were taken away and buried. On the other hand, the magnificent promise, repeatedly made to

[1] Compare D'Arvieux, "Mœurs des Arabes," *Mémoires*, iii. p. 314, in a passage too French to quote at length. The dishonoured husband may divorce his wife—"elle déshonore sa famille, mais elle n'est point de mon sang; je n'ai que la répudier; je l'ai châtiée; cela ne me regarde plus; mais ma sœur est de mon sang; elle ne scauroit faire du mal qu'il ne rejaillisse sur toute sa race." Compare Niebuhr also, as quoted in Rosenmüller, *Das A. u. N. Morgenland.*

Abraham and Isaac, was once more renewed to Jacob. An altar was raised, and the place solemnly called Beth-el,[1] the House of God. From Luz, Jacob removed to Ephrath or Bethlehem, hereafter to be the birthplace of Jesus Christ. There his favourite wife Rachel died in childbed, having given birth to his youngest son, called by the expiring mother Ben-oni, the child of her sorrow; by the father Ben-jamin, the son of his right hand. Having raised a sepulchral pillar over her remains, he sets forth to a new settlement near the tower of Edar, the site of which is unknown. Here his domestic peace was disturbed by another crime, the violation of his concubine, Bilhah, by Reuben, his eldest son. At length he rejoins his father, Isaac, in the plain of Mamre,[2] where the old man dies, and is honourably buried by his two sons. But from henceforward the two branches of Isaac's family were entirely separated. The country about Mount Seir became the permanent residence of the Edomites, who were governed first by independent sheiks or princes, afterwards were united under one monarchy. Jacob continued to dwell in Canaan, with his powerful family and ample possessions, until dissensions among his sons prepared the way for more important changes, which seemed to break for ever the connection between the race of Abraham and the land of Canaan, but ended in establishing them as the sole possessors of the whole territory.

Here then let us pause, and, before we follow the family of Jacob into a country where the government and usages of the people were so totally different, look back on the state of society described in the Patriarchal History. Mankind appears in its infancy,[3] gradually extending its occupancy over regions, either entirely unappropriated, or as yet so recently

[1] The two passages, Gen. xxviii. 19, and xxxv. 7, repeat each other to a certain extent. This is but a slight difficulty to the large number of modern scholars who hold the book of Genesis to be founded on earlier documents; by others it has been smoothed away with greater or less ingenuity. The great importance of Beth-el in all the later history both before and after the great Schism, when it became the religious capital of Jeroboam's northern kingdom, must be taken into account. Mr. Stanley has an admirable passage on the history of Beth-el, and the article in the New Biblical Dictionary is well and carefully executed.

[2] Rather the oaks of Mamre (see Stanley, p. 103 and 141). In the neighbourhood of Hebron towards Jerusalem a noble oak is still seen near the spot.

[3] This should be limited to the regions through which the Patriarchs generally moved. It is not inconsistent with the pre-existence of ancient cities and powerful monarchies (that of Egypt had no doubt risen, probably centuries before, on the shores of the Nile) and an advanced state of civilisation among other races of mankind.

and thinly peopled, as to admit, without resistance, the new swarms of settlers which seem to spread from the birthplace of the human race, the plains of Central Asia. They are peaceful pastoral nomads, travelling on their camels, the ass the only other beast of burthen. The horse appears to have been unknown—fortunately, perhaps, for themselves and their neighbours—for the possession of that animal seems fatal to habits of peace: the nomads, who are horsemen, are almost always marauders. The power of sweeping rapidly over a wide district, and retreating as speedily, offers irresistible temptation to a people of roaming and unsettled habits. But the unenterprising shepherds, from whom the Hebrew tribe descended, move onward as their convenience or necessity requires, or as richer pastures attract their notice. Wherever they settle, they sink wells, and thus render unpeopled districts habitable. It is still more curious to observe how the progress of improvement is incidentally betrayed in the summary account of the ancient record.[1] Abraham finds no impediment to his settling wherever fertile pastures invite him to pitch his camp. It is only a place of burial in which he thinks of securing a proprietary right; Jacob, on the contrary, purchases a field to pitch his tent. When Abraham is exposed to famine, he appears to have had no means of supply, but to go down himself to Egypt. In the time of Jacob a regular traffic in corn existed between the two countries, and caravansaries were established on the way. Trading caravans had likewise begun to traverse the Arabian deserts, with the spices and other products of the East, and with slaves, which they imported into Egypt. Among the simpler nomads of Mesopotamia, wages in money were unknown; among the richer Phœnician tribes, gold and silver were already current. It has been the opinion of some learned men that Abraham paid the money for his bargain by weight, Jacob in pieces, rudely coined or stamped.[2] When Abraham receives the celestial strangers, with true Arabian hospitality he kills the calf with his own hands, but has nothing more generous to offer than the Scythian beverage of milk;[3] yet the more civilised native tribes seem, by the offering of Melchizedek, to have had wine

[1] I was indebted to Eichhorn (*Einleitung in das A. T.*) for many of these observations.

[2] The pieces are called Keritoth, quid est incertum. Rosenmüller *in loc.* The LXX. translated the word ἀμνῶν (lambs), as if the coin was stamped with the figure of a lamb, as pecunia from pecus.

[3] Compare Goguet, *Origine des Loix*, lib. vi. c. 1.

at their command. Isaac, become more wealthy, and having commenced the tillage of the soil, had acquired a taste for savoury meats, and had wine for his ordinary use. The tillage of Isaac bespeaks the richness of a virgin soil, as yet unbroken by the plough—it returned an hundred for one. As yet, except the luxurious cities near the end of the Dead Sea, there appear few or no towns; the fortified towns on the hills, the cities walled up to heaven, appear to be of a later period. These primitive societies were constituted in the most simple and inartificial manner. The parental authority, and that of the head of the tribe, was supreme and without appeal. Esau so far respects even his blind and feeble father, as to postpone the gratification of his revenge till the death of Isaac. Afterwards, the brothers who conspire against Joseph, though some of them had already dipped their hands in blood, dare not perpetrate their crime openly. When they return from Egypt to fetch Benjamin, in order to redeem one of their company, left in apparent danger of his life, they are obliged to obtain the consent of Jacob, and do not think of carrying him off by force. Reuben, indeed, leaves his own sons as hostages, under an express covenant that they are to be put to death if he does not bring Benjamin back. The father seems to have possessed the power of transferring the right of primogeniture to a younger son. This was perhaps the effect of Isaac's blessing; Jacob seems to have done the same, and disinherited the three elder sons of Leah. The desire of offspring, and the pride of becoming the ancestor of a great people, with the attendant disgrace of barrenness, however in some degree common to human nature, and not unknown in thickly peopled countries, yet as the one predominant and absorbing passion (for such it is in the patriarchal history) belongs more properly to a period, when the earth still offered ample room for each tribe to extend its boundaries without encroaching on the possessions of its neighbour.[1]

These incidents, in themselves trifling, are not without interest, both as illustrative of human manners, and as tending

[1] Among the most striking illustrations of this feeling is the following passage from the Sadder:—"Nam omnis semper angelus in die Resurrectionis cum interrogabit, Habes ne in mundo filium qui prosit tibi? Et quando respondebit Non, Quamprimum ab eo exierit hoc responsum, nihil ultra ab eo interrogabunt, sed anima ejus in pœnâ et dolore manebit, eritque sicut aliquis sine socio in Deserto dolorifico et horrendo." Sadder, apud Hyde de Vet. Pers. Religione.

"After he has read the Vedas in the form prescribed by law, *has legally*

to show that the record from which they are drawn was itself derived from contemporary traditions, which it has represented with scrupulous fidelity. Even the characters of the different personages are singularly in unison with the state of society described. There is the hunter, the migratory herdsman, and the incipient husbandman. The quiet and easy Isaac adapts himself to the more fixed and sedentary occupation of tillage. Esau the hunter is reckless, daring, and improvident; Jacob the herdsman, cautious, observant, subtle, and timid. Esau excels in one great virtue of uncivilised life, bravery; Jacob in another, which is not less highly appreciated, craft. Even in Abraham we do not find that nice and lofty sense of veracity which distinguishes a state of society where the point of honour has acquired great influence. It is singular that this accurate delineation of primitive manners, and the discrimination of individual character in each successive patriarch, with all the imperfections and vices, as well of the social state as of the particular disposition, although so conclusive an evidence to the honesty of the narrative, has caused the greatest perplexity to many pious minds, and as great triumph to the adversaries of revealed religion. The object of this work is strictly historical, not theological; yet a few observations may be ventured on this point, considering its important bearing on the manner in which Jewish history ought to be written and read. Some will not read the most ancient and curious history in the world, because it is in the Bible; others read it in the Bible with a kind of pious awe, which prevents them from comprehending its real spirit. The latter look on the distinguished characters in the Mosaic annals as a kind of sacred beings, scarcely allied to human nature. Their intercourse with the Divinity invests them with a mysterious sanctity, which is expected to extend to all their actions. Hence when they find the same passions at work, the ordinary

begotten a son, and has performed sacrifices to the best of his power, he has *paid his three debts*, and may then apply his heart to eternal bliss." Jones's Menu, vi. 36.

"By a son a man obtains victory over all people; by a son's son he enjoys immortality; and afterwards by the son of that grandson he reaches the solar abode." *Ibid.* ix. 137.

The Indian poems are full of this sentiment. According to Kosegarten, note on his German translation of Nala, p. 110, some grammarians strangely derive the word Puttra, a son, as "the deliverer from Hell."

For the Chinese feeling on this subject, read the popular drama, The Heir in his Old Age, translated by Mr. Davis. All accounts of China are full on the point.

feelings and vices of human nature prevalent both among the ancestors of the chosen people, and the chosen people themselves, they are confounded and distressed. Writers unfriendly to revealed religion, starting with the same notion, that the Mosaic narrative is uniformly exemplary, not historical, have enlarged with malicious triumph on the delinquencies of the patriarchs and their descendants. Perplexity and triumph surely equally groundless! Had the avowed design of the intercourse of God with the patriarchs been their own unimpeachable perfection; had that of the Jewish polity been the establishment of a divine Utopia, advanced to premature civilisation, and overleaping at once those centuries of slow improvement, through which the rest of mankind were to pass, then it might have been difficult to give a reasonable account of the manifest failure. So far from this being the case, an ulterior purpose is evident throughout. The one thing certain is, that Divine Providence designed the slow, gradual, and progressive development of the highest religious truth. The patriarchs, those in the Old Testament most distinguished by divine favour, are not to be regarded as premature Christians. They and their descendants are the depositaries of certain great religious truths, the unity, omnipotence, and providence of God, not solely for their own use and advantage, but as conservators for the future universal benefit of mankind. Hence, provided the great end, the preservation of those truths, was eventually obtained, human affairs took their ordinary course; the common passions and motives of mankind were left in undisturbed operation. Superior in one respect alone, the ancestors of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, were not beyond their age or country in acquirements, in knowledge, or even in morals; as far as morals are modified by usage and opinion. They were barbarians in a barbarous age, often violent, cruel, sanguinary. Their wars, except as modified by their code, if conducted with the bravery, enterprise, and self-devotion, had still the ferocity and mercilessness of ruder times. They were polygamists, like the rest of the Eastern world; they acquired the virtues and the vices of each state of society through which they passed. Higher and purer notions of the Deity, though they tend to promote and improve, by no means necessarily enforce moral perfection; their influence will be regulated by the social state of the age in which they are promulgated, and the bias of the individual character to which they are addressed. Neither the actual

interposition of the Almighty in favour of an individual or nation, nor his employment of them as instruments for certain important purposes, stamps the seal of divine approbation on all their actions; in some cases, as in the deception practised by Jacob on his father, the worst part of their character manifestly contributes to the purpose of God; still the nature of the action is not altered; it is to be judged by its motive, not by its undesigned consequence. Allowance, therefore, being always made for their age and social state, the patriarchs, kings, and other Hebrew worthies, are amenable to the same verdict which would be passed on the eminent men of Greece or Rome. Excepting where they act under the express commandment of God, they have no exemption from the judgment of posterity; and on the same principle, while God is on the scene, the historian will write with caution and reverence; while man, with freedom, justice, and impartiality.

This moral imperfection, or rather want of the highest moral sense or appreciation of the highest moral standard, is in strict unison with, or rather forms an important part of the internal evidence, by which we judge of the antiquity, and so of the authority, of the earliest Hebrew records. If the writers are, we need not to say strictly contemporaneous, but approximating to the same age, the same moral atmosphere will appear to have been breathed by the actors in these scenes, and the writers who record those acts: if they are later, their moral sense will be in some respects different, and will be affected by their age and social progress. This internal evidence, which is instinctively felt, though, of course, it must be submitted to calm reason, and of which the moral element is so important a constituent, is of two kinds. First, there is the general impression of the manner in which the life of a certain period, with all its social system, manners, laws, usages, opinions, moral judgments, is represented. This, if it be simple, true, harmonious, life-like, it seems impossible for after ages to counterfeit, without much treacherous betrayal of a later hand. It may even be poetic in its form and language, yet in its essence reality, and not fiction. No one would believe that the Homeric Poems were written after the Peloponnesian war; that the Divina Commedia is not of the Middle Ages. So it is to me equally incredible that the so-called Books of Moses (I think even Deuteronomy, which might more reasonably be imagined a later summary of the older books) could be written after the exile, or even during the monarchy, or the

seeming anarchy which preceded the monarchy. This is, of course, not inconsistent, as in the case of the Homeric Poems, with certain interpolations, if we may so speak, the manipulation of particular passages. For the antiquity is in itself no guarantee for faithful conservation. Nor has it any relation with the primal form or composition of the records, whether they came from one inspired or uninspired writer, whether original or compiled from earlier documents. The question of their careful and trustworthy preservation rests on grounds altogether distinct, and must be examined on other principles.

The second kind of internal evidence arises or is gathered from more minute particulars, from incidents, touches of character; in the law special enactments, which belong to a peculiar period and to no other; enactments abortive and never brought into effect; predictions, or rather designs, not fulfilled, aims and objects avowed, but not carried out. Such things it is impossible to suppose a later writer to have inserted into a history or into a code of law. There are certain minute details in all writings of which the age is questionable, which at once convict the supposititious writer, and show invention or forgery; others of which their very strangeness proves their antiquity: they cannot but be contemporaneous, and therefore genuine and authentic. The former we easily detect as interpolations from their general tone and their discrepancy with other passages, and the motive for their interpolation is usually discernible; the latter, especially if frequent, cannot have crept in by accident; their forgery would imply a subtle, and as it were prophetic plan of deception, utterly inconceivable: for the art of composing fictitious narratives, with a studied and successful observance of ancient costume, belongs to a very late and refined period of letters. On the whole the internal evidence of both these kinds in the Mosaic records is to me conclusive. All attempts to assign a later period for the authorship, or even for the compilation, though made by scholars of the highest ability, are so irreconcilable with facts, so self-destructive, and so mutually destructive, that I acquiesce without hesitation in their general antiquity. Especially as now, after the discovery of written characters in Egypt, perhaps elsewhere, certainly anterior to the Exodus, all difficulty as to there having been written documents of some length in the time of Moses vanishes away. Neither do I see why the laws of Moses should not be as old as the laws

of Menu; I mean old not as to actual date of composition, but as to the state of civilisation of the two races. The Jews, at least Egypt, from whence the Jews derived these arts of life, probably was as far advanced, as India when the laws of Menu were drawn up.

On the whole I do not think that a later writer at any period of the Jewish history could have composed the fresh and living view of the patriarchal times, as it stands before us. The particular laws, customs, usages, which could not be invented, and which no later writer would be tempted to invent, and which to me irrefragably prove what I may call the early, the Desert, origin, I shall point out as I proceed.

With their age only, and that in a general view, I am now concerned; their absolute impeccable integrity, and their authorship, hardly come within the sphere of the historian. I leave these points to antiquarians or to theologians.

BOOK II

ISRAEL IN EGYPT

Family of Jacob—Joseph—State of Egypt—Famine—Migration of Jacob and his whole family—Administration of Joseph—Period between Joseph and Moses—Birth and Education of Moses—Flight and Return to Egypt—Plagues of Egypt—Exodus or Departure of the Israelites—Passage of the Red Sea—Ancient Traditions.

THE seed of Abraham had now become a family; from the twelve sons of Israel it was to branch out into a nation. Of these sons the four elder had been born from the prolific Leah—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah. The barren Rachel had substituted her handmaid Bilhah, who gave birth to Dan and Naphtali. Leah, after her sister's example, substituted Zilpah; from her sprang Gad and Asher. Rachel, for the sake of some mandrakes,[1] supposed among Eastern women to act as a love philtre and remove barrenness, yielding up her right to her sister, Leah again bore Issachar and Zebulon, and a daughter, Dinah. At length the comely Rachel was blessed with Joseph; and in Canaan, Benoni or Benjamin completed the twelve.

The children of the handmaidens had no title to the primogeniture. Reuben had forfeited the esteem of his father by incest with his concubine; Simeon and Levi by their cruelty towards the Shechemites. Judah, the next brother, was inadvertently betrayed into a serious crime. There was a singular usage afterwards admitted into the Mosaic law, that in case a married man died without issue, his next brother was bound to take his wife, in order that his line might not become extinct;[2] the perpetuation of their

[1] What the Dudaim (compare Song of Solomon vii. 14), here translated mandrakes, were, appears very doubtful. Dioscorides attributes to the mandragora (mandrakes) directly opposite effects. Rosenmüller (*Das Alte und Neue Morgenland*, i. p. 142), suggests a kind of small melon. See his note, and Winer, Real Wörterbuch, *in voce* Alraun, Love-apple.

[2] The Levirate law prevailed among many nations of antiquity and in the East.

> "Lex est ut orbæ qui sunt genus proximi
> Nubant, et illos ducere eadem lex jubet."
> Terent. Phorm. i. 235.

name and race through their offspring being then, as it is still in some countries of the East, the one great object to which all moral laws, even those generally recognised, were to give way.[1] The eldest son of Judah, Er, died; the second, Onan, was guilty of a criminal dereliction of that indispensable duty, and was cut off for his offence. Judah, neglecting his promise to bestow the widow, Tamar, on his third son, Shelah, was betrayed into an unlawful connection with her, and became the incestuous father of two children.

But Joseph, the elder born of the beloved Rachel, had always held the first place in the affections of his father. He was a beautiful youth, and it was the pride of the fond father to behold him in a dress distinguished from the rest of his sons—*a coat of many colours*. The envy of his brethren was still farther excited by two dreams seen by Joseph, which, in the frankness of his disposition, he took no pains to conceal. In one, the brothers were binding sheaves of corn (a proof that they were advancing in the cultivation of the soil), the sheaves of the brothers bent, and did homage to that of Joseph. In the other, the sun and the moon and eleven stars seemed to make obeisance to Joseph. Each of these successive visions intimated his future superiority over all the family of Israel. One day, when Joseph had set forth to the place where his brothers were accustomed to feed their flocks, they returned to their father's tent without him, bearing that very dress, on which Jacob had so often gazed with pleasure, steeped in blood. The agony of the old man cannot be described with such pathetic simplicity as in the language of

"If a young man leaves a widow, his brother generally offers to marry her. Custom does not oblige either him or her to make the match, nor can he prevent her from following another man. It seldom happens, however, that she refuses, for by such an union the family property is kept together." Burckhardt, *Manners of the Arabians*, p. 64; compare Volney, ii. 4. It is very curious that this Levirate law in the Indian Institutes is enjoined on the two lower castes, but prohibited in the higher. See the provisions on the subject, Jones's Menu, ix. 59 to 70. It is called in that proud Brahminical Code, "a practice fit only for cattle."

It is remarkable that something of the kind prevailed in Egypt, as late as the Emperor Zeno. Justin, Novell. Cod. Lib. v. T. vi. Leg. 8.

For the Circassians, see Olearius, Travels; Cochin China, Picart, *Cérém. et Cout. Religieuses*, p. 119; China, Du Halde; the Mongols, Raumer, Hohenstauffen, iv. p. 58, with authorities; Brazil, Geographical Society's Journal, ii. p. 198.

[1] For the provision in the Mosaic law, mitigatory of this usage, Deut. xxv. 5-10. "Magistrorum aliqui causam et mysterium conjugii hujus fratriæ et Leviri ex Metempsychosis nescio quâ opinione petendam contendunt." Selden, Uxor. Ebræa, i. 13.

the Sacred Volume,—*He refused to be comforted, and he said I will go down into the grave with my son mourning.* But before he went down to the grave he was to behold his son under far different circumstances. The brothers, at first, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Reuben, the eldest born, a man of more mild and generous disposition, had determined on putting their hated rival to death. With this intention they had let him down into a pit, probably an old disused well. A caravan of Arabian traders happening to pass by, they acceded to the more merciful and advantageous proposition of Judah to sell him as a slave. Though these merchants were laden only with spicery, balm, and myrrh, commodities in great request in Egypt, all of them being used in embalming the dead, they were sure of a market for such a slave as Joseph, and in that degraded and miserable character he arrived in Egypt. But the Divine Providence watched, even in the land of the stranger, over the heir to the promises made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The slave rose with a rapidity surprising, though by no means unparalleled in Eastern kingdoms, to be the all-powerful vizier of the king of Egypt. He was first bought by Potiphar,[1] a chief officer of the king, the captain of the guard, by whom he was speedily promoted to the care of the whole household. The entire confidence of his master in the prudence and integrity of the servant is described in these singular terms,—*He left all that he had in Joseph's hand, and he knew not aught he had, save the bread which he did eat.* The virtue of Joseph in other respects was equal to his integrity, but not so well rewarded. Falsely accused by the arts of his master's wife, whose criminal advances he had repelled, he was thrown into prison. The dungeon opens a way to still farther advancement. Wherever he is, he secures esteem and confidence. Like his former master, the keeper of the prison entrusts the whole of his responsible duties to the charge of Joseph. But the chief cause of his rapid rise to fortune and dignity is his skill in the interpretation of dreams. Among his fellow-prisoners were the chief cup-bearer and chief purveyor of the king. Each of these men was perplexed by an extra-

[1] The Coptic, according to Champollion, has Captain of the Magi or Wise Men (i. 103). In the LXX. it is Πετεφρη, belonging to Re or Phre, the Sun (Greppo, p. 115). He was an officer uniting the functions, as it were, of captain of the guard and provost of the prison. The prison seems to have been in his house.

ordinary vision. The interpretation of Joseph was justified by the fate of both; one, as he predicted, was restored to his honours, the other suffered an ignominious death. Through the report of the former, the fame of Joseph, in a character so important among a superstitious people, reached the palace, and when the king himself was in the same manner disturbed with visions which baffled the professed diviners of the country, Joseph was summoned from the prison. The dreams of the king (the Pharaoh),[1] according to the exposition of Joseph, under the symbolic forms of seven fat and fleshy kine followed by seven lean and withered ones, seven good ears of corn by seven parched and blasted with the east wind, prefigured seven years of unexampled plenty, to be succeeded by seven of unexampled dearth. The advice of Joseph being demanded how to provide against the impending calamity, he recommends that a fifth part of the produce during the seven abundant years shall be laid up in granaries built for the purpose. The wisdom of this measure was apparent; and who so fit to carry such plans into effect as he whose prudence had suggested them? Joseph, therefore, is at once installed in the dignity of chief minister over the whole of this great and flourishing kingdom.

The information we obtain from the Mosaic narrative, concerning the state and constitution of Egypt during this period, is both valuable in itself, and agrees strictly with all the knowledge which we acquire from other sources. Egypt had long been the great corn country of the ancient world, now in a high state of cultivation, but dependent for its fertility on the overflow of the river on whose banks it lay. Should the annual increase of the Nile be interrupted, the whole valley would remain a barren and unvegetating waste. The cause of the long period of famine is nowhere indicated, but it was by no means a local calamity, it extended to all the adjacent countries. A long and general drought, which would burn up the herbage of all the pastoral districts of Asia, might likewise diminish that accumulation of waters which, at its regular

[1] Lepsius observes:—"Was von Ægyptischen Sitten und Gebräuchen gelegentlich angedeutet wird, ist in der Regel für eine bestimmte Zeitepochen: noch weniger werden grössere Zeitereignisse von Kriege, Regierungs wechsel, Errichtung berühmter Bauwerke erwähnt, so sehr alles von ausschliesslich Israelitischen Standpunckte sind angefasst und niedergegeben."—*Chronologie der Ægypter*, p. 336.

Hence the names of none of the kings under whom Abraham, Joseph, Moses, lived, are given in the Hebrew Scriptures—only the title Pharaoh.

period, pours down the channel of the Nile.[1]. The waters are collected in the greatest part from the drainage of all the high levels in that region of central Africa, where the tropical rains, about the summer solstice, fall with incessant violence. But whatever might be its cause, Egypt escaped the famine which pressed so severely on other countries, only through the prudent administration of Joseph.

It is necessary, however, before we describe the policy which he adopted, or the settlement of the family of Israel in this country, to give some insight into the state of the Egyptian government and people; for without this we shall neither be able to comprehend the transactions which relate to the Israelites in Egypt, nor the degree of originality to be assigned to the Mosaic institutions. Egypt, before this period, had enjoyed many centuries of civilisation, most likely of opulence and splendour. It can hardly be doubted that she had already reared her vast and mysterious Pyramids, commenced the colossal temples of Memphis, Heliopolis, and other cities of Lower Egypt, most probably of Thebes, and excavated those wonderful subterraneous sepulchral palaces for her dead kings. Of her singular constitution we have distinct indications in the Mosaic narrative. The people were divided into castes, like those of India, as they exist to the present day, and as they formerly prevailed among many other Oriental nations. At the head of these castes stood that of the priesthood. From this order the king was usually selected; if one of the warriors, the next class in rank, should attain to that eminence, he was always installed and enrolled in the superior order. The priestly caste, in rank and power, stood far above the rest of the people. In each Nome or district (if indeed these divisions were of so early a date) stood a temple and a sacerdotal college. In them one third of the whole land of the country was inalienably vested. The priests were not merely the ministers of religion, they were the hereditary conservators of knowledge. They were the public astronomers, by whom all the agricultural labours of the people were regu-

[1] We appear to be approaching to the solution of the great geographical mystery which perplexed the Greeks and Romans, and has been handed down to our times—the source of the Nile. The question seems now to be, which of the great confluent streams, the Black, the Blue, or the White, is the real Nile.

The most full account of the notions of the ancients, and their theories about the causes of the inundations of the Nile, may be read in Seneca, Nat. Quæst. iv. c. 2.

lated; the public geometricians, whose service was indispensable, since the Nile annually obliterated the landmarks of the country; in their hieroglyphical characters the public events were recorded; they were the physicians; in short, to them belonged the whole patrimony of science, which was inseparably bound up with their religion. The political powers of this hereditary aristocracy were unbounded; they engrossed apparently both the legislative and judicial functions; they were the framers, the conservators, the expounders of the laws. As interpreter of dreams, Joseph, no doubt, intruded into the province of this all-powerful caste, and the king, not improbably with a view to disarm their jealousy, married his new Vizier to the daughter of the Priest of the Sun, who dwelt in On, called afterwards by the Greeks Heliopolis (the City of the Sun).[1] Moreover, in the great political measure of Joseph, the resumption of all the lands into the hands of the crown, the sacred property of the priests was exempted from the operation of the law, and the whole class supported, during the famine, at the royal charge. The next caste in dignity was that of the warriors, called by Herodotus, Hermotybïes or Kalasyries. The lower classes of the people constituted the rest of the orders; according to Herodotus five, to Diodorus three more. The latter reckons husbandmen, artisans, and shepherds; Herodotus, shepherds, swine-herds, manufacturers and shopkeepers, interpreters, and mariners, that is, the boatmen of the Nile. The boundaries of these castes were unalterably fixed; the son held for ever the same rank, and pursued the same occupation with his father. The profession of a shepherd, probably the lowest of these castes, was held in particular discredit. "Every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians." Several reasons have been assigned for this remarkable fact. A German writer[2] of great ability supposes, that when the first civilisers of Egypt directed the attention of the people to tillage, for which the country

[1] Upon the site, antiquity, and remains of Heliopolis, see Sir Gardner Wilkinson's note on Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 9. Compare Stanley, Introduction, p. xxxi.

[2] The Ethiopian theory, advanced by Heeren, strongly supported by Von Bohlen (it had been anticipated by Bruce, Appendix to vol. ii. p. 478), is now altogether exploded. Lepsius writes—"Vor der Æthiopische Dynastie des Manetho welche sich der Ægyptischer herrschaft bemaehtigt hatte, gab es wohl Æthiopische Reiche, aber sie hatten. wie es scheint, keine höhere civilisation, keine Monumente, keine historische Schrift." Königsbuch, p. 4.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Notes to Herodotus, uses language as strong. So too Bunsen, p. 2.

was so admirably adapted, in order to wean the rude people from their nomadic habits, they studiously degraded the shepherds into a sort of Pariah caste. Another and a more general opinion derives this hostility to the name of shepherd from a recent and most important event in the Egyptian history. While Egypt was rapidly advancing in splendour and prosperity —at least the twelfth dynasty had attained a great height of power and splendour—a fierce and barbarous Asiatic horde burst suddenly upon her fruitful provinces, destroyed her temples, massacred her priests, and having subdued the whole of Lower Egypt, established a dynasty of six successive kings. These Hyksos,[1] or royal shepherds, with their savage clans, afterwards expelled by the victorious Egyptians, Monsieur Champollion[2] thinks, with apparent reason, that he recognises on many of the ancient monuments. A people with red hair, blue eyes, and covered only with an undressed hide loosely wrapped over them, are painted, sometimes struggling in deadly warfare with the natives, more usually in attitudes of the lowest degradation which the scorn and hatred of their conquerors could invent. They lie prostrate under the footstools of the kings, in the attitude described in the book of Joshua, where the rulers actually set their feet on the necks of the captive monarchs.[3] The common people appear to have taken pride in having the figures of these detested enemies wrought on the soles of their sandals, that they might be thus perpetually trampled on: even the dead carried this memorial of their hatred into the grave; the same figures are painted on the lower wrappers of the mummies, accompanied with similar marks of abhorrence and contempt. It would be difficult to find a more apt illustration of the phrase in the book of Genesis, "every shepherd was an abomination unto the Egyptians." Several other incidents in the Mosaic history seem to confirm the opinion, that these invaders had been expelled, and that but recently, before the period of Joseph's administration.[4]

[1] Of the Hyksos or Nomad invasion there can be no warrantable historic doubt. As to Champollion's description of their appearance on the monuments, later inquirers are by no means so positive. Rosellini is quite as strong as Champollion. From their complexion, eyes, hair, and other physical signs, he would make them out to be Scythians, a vague word in ancient history. Rosellini, M. C. i. p. 176. I leave the text, however, unaltered, being about to revert to the subject in a supplementary passage.

[2] Lettre à Mons. de Blacas, p. 57.

[3] Joshua x. 24.

[4] The whole of the passage (Gen. xlvi. 31, &c.) seems to show a sort of

The seven years of unexampled plenty passed away exactly as the interpreter of the royal dreams had foretold. During all this time, Joseph regularly exacted a fifth of the produce, which was stored up in granaries established by the government. The seven years' famine soon began to press heavily, not merely on Egypt, but on all the adjacent countries: among the first who came to purchase corn appeared the ten sons of Jacob. It is no easy task to treat, after the Jewish historian, the transactions which took place between Joseph and his family. The relation in the book of Genesis is, perhaps, the most exquisite model of the manner in which history, without elevating its tone, or departing from its plain and unadorned veracity, assumes the language and spirit of the most touching poetry. The cold and rhetorical paraphrase of Josephus, sometimes a writer of great vigour and simplicity, enforces the prudence of adhering as closely as possible to the language of the original record. The brothers are at first received with sternness and asperity, charged with being spies come to observe the undefended state of the country. This accusation, though not seriously intended, in some degree confirms the notion that the Egyptians had recently suffered, and therefore constantly apprehended, foreign invasion, and foreign invasion by a nomad people. They are thrown into prison for three days, and released on condition of proving the truth of their story, by bringing their younger brother Benjamin with them.[1] Their own danger brings up before their minds the recollection of their crime. They express to one another their deep remorse for the supposed murder of their elder brother, little thinking that Joseph, who had conversed with them through an interpreter (perhaps of the caste mentioned by Herodotus), understood every word they said. *And Joseph turned about from them and wept.* Simeon being left as a hostage, the

caution, almost apologetic, in the language of Joseph: his Shepherd father and his brethren, though he cannot dissemble or deny their occupation, are to come no farther into Egypt than the border and outlying district of Goshen; or it may be, that as Nomads with their flocks and herds, they rested in the pasture grounds of Egypt.

See in Kenrick's Egypt on barren years caused by the failure of the inundation, vol. i. p. 85.

[1] The procession in the cave of Beni-hassan, long supposed to be the presentation of Joseph's brethren to Pharaoh, clearly cannot be so. "Possibly, as the procession is of Asiatics, and yet not prisoners of war, they may, if the date will admit, be a deputation of Israelites after their settlement in Goshen." Stanley, Introduction, p. xxxiv. The Asiatic character is so common in similar scenes on the Monuments, that I fear this ingenious attempt to save the Biblical allusion is very dubious.

brothers are dismissed, but on their way they are surprised and alarmed to find their money returned. The suspicious Jacob will not at first entrust his youngest and best-beloved child to their care; but their present supply of corn being consumed, they have no alternative between starvation and their return to Egypt. Jacob reluctantly, and with many fond admonitions, commits the surviving child of Rachel to their protection. On their arrival in Egypt they are better received; the Vizier inquires anxiously about the health of their father. *Is your father alive, the old man of whom ye spake, is he yet alive?* The sight of his own uterine brother, Benjamin, overpowers him with emotion. He said, *God be gracious unto thee, my son; and Joseph made haste, for his bowels did yearn upon his brother; and he sought where to weep, and he entered into his chamber and wept there.* They are feasted (and here again we find a genuine trait of Egyptian manners); Joseph must not eat at the same table with these shepherd strangers.[1] Benjamin is peculiarly distinguished by a larger portion of meat.[2] The brothers are once more dismissed, but are now pursued and apprehended on a charge of secreting a silver cup, which had been concealed in the sack of Benjamin, and at length the great minister of the king of Egypt makes himself known as the brother whom they had sold as a slave. *Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me; and there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren. And he wept aloud, and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life; and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and a ruler*

[1] The reason assigned by Onkelos is that the Hebrews were accustomed to eat animals held sacred among the Egyptians.

So Herodotus, ii. 41. τῶν εἵνεκα οὔτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, θυτε γυνὴ, ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, θυτε μεχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρήσεται, οὐδ' ὀβελοῖσι, οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδε κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μοχαίρῃ γευσεται.

[2] Compare Odyss. xiv. 437; Iliad, vii. 321; viii. 172.

throughout all the land of Egypt. He sends them, with great store of provisions, and with an equipage of waggons to transport their father and all their family into Egypt, for five years of the famine had still to elapse. His last striking admonition is, *See that ye fall not out by the way.* When they arrive in Canaan, and tell their aged father, *Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt, Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.* Convinced at length of the surprising change of fortune, he says, *It is enough Joseph my son is yet alive, I will go and see him before I die.*

Thus all the legitimate descendants of Abraham with their families, amounting in number to seventy, migrate into Egypt. The high credit of Joseph insures them a friendly reception, and the fertile district of Goshen, the best pasture land of Egypt, is assigned by the munificent sovereign for their residence. But if the deadly hostility borne by the native Egyptians to foreign shepherds really originated in the cause which has been indicated above, the magnanimity of Joseph in not disclaiming his connection with a race in such low esteem, and his influence in obtaining them such hospitable reception, must not escape our notice. Their establishment in Goshen coincides in a remarkable manner with this theory. The last stronghold of the shepherd kings was the city of Abaris.[1] Abaris must have been situated either within or closely bordering upon the district of Goshen. The expulsion of the shepherds would leave the tract unoccupied, and open for the settlement of another pastoral people. Goshen itself was likewise called Rameses, a word ingeniously explained by Jablonski, as meaning the land of shepherds,[2] and contained all the low, and sometimes marshy meadows which lie on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and extend very considerably to the south. Here, says Maillet, the grass grows to the height of a man, and so thick that an ox may browse a whole day lying on the ground.[3]

Joseph pursued the system of his government with consummate vigour and prudence. His measures, however

[1] Abaris, according to Ewald, is the same word, or of the same derivation, with that which we call Hebrew. But Ewald interprets the word Hebrew, not as the denomination of the Israelites, but of all trans-Euphratic tribes—all πέραν Εὐφράτου.

[2] Jablonski's derivation is, I suspect, inadmissible. Abaris is placed by Champollion, Egypte sous les Pharaons, and by Rosellini, at Heroopolis, by others at Pelusium.

[3] Maillet, i. 30.

calculated to raise the royal authority, seem to have been highly popular with all classes of the nation. It is difficult precisely to understand the views or the consequences of the total revolution in the tenure of property which he effected. During the first years of the dearth, all the money of the country found its way into the royal treasury; in a short time after, all the inhabitants hastened to part with their stock; and at length were glad to purchase subsistence at the price of their lands: thus the whole territory, except that of the priests, was vested in the crown. Whether the common people had any landed property before this period; and whether that triple division of the lands, one-third to the king, for the expenses of the court and government, one-third to the priests, and the other third to the military class, existed previous to this epoch, we have no means of ascertaining. The Mosaic history seems to infer that the body of the people were the possessors of the soil. If, however, the state of property, described above from Diodorus, was anterior to this period, the financial operation of Joseph consisted in the resumption of the crown lands from the tenants, with the reletting of the whole on one plain and uniform system, and the acquisition of that of the military. In either case, the terms on which the whole was relet, with the reservation of one-fifth to the royal exchequer, seem liberal and advantageous to the cultivator, especially if we compare them with the exactions to which the peasantry in the despotic countries of the East, or the miserable Fellahs who now cultivate the banks of the Nile, are exposed. Another part of Joseph's policy is still more difficult clearly to comprehend, his removing the people into the cities. This has been supposed by some an arbitrary measure, in order to break the ties of attachment, in the former possessors, to their native farms; by others a wise scheme, intended to civilise the rude peasantry. A passage in Belzoni's Travels may throw some light on the transaction. He describes the condition of the poor cultivators in Upper Egypt, as wretched and dangerous. Their single tenements or villages are built but just above the ordinary high-water mark, and are only protected by a few wattles. If the Nile rises beyond its usual level, dwellings, cattle, and even the inhabitants are swept away. The measure of Joseph may have been merely intended to secure the improvident peasantry against these common but fatal accidents.[1]

[1] Exodus, i. 6.

Among the fertile pastures of Goshen, enjoying undisturbed plenty and prosperity, the sons of Jacob began to increase with great, but by no means incredible, rapidity. The prolific soil of Egypt not merely increases the fertility of vegetable and animal life, but that of the human race likewise. This fact is noticed by many ancient writers, particularly Aristotle, who states that women in Egypt sometimes produce three, four, or even seven at a birth![1] Early marriages, polygamy, the longer duration of life, abundance and cheapness of provisions, would tend, under the divine blessing, still further to promote the population of this flourishing district. At the end of 17 years Jacob died, aged 147. Before his death he bestowed his last blessing on Joseph, and solemnly adjured him to transfer his remains to the cemetery of the Tribe in Canaan. The history of his life terminates with a splendid poetical prophecy, describing the character of his sons, and the possessions they were to occupy in the partition of the promised land. This poem was no doubt treasured up with the most religious care among the traditions of the tribes. One curious point proves its antiquity. The most splendid destiny is awarded to Judah and the sons of Joseph, but Jacob had never forgotten the domestic crime of Reuben,[2] the barbarity of Simeon and Levi. These two families are condemned to the same inferior and degraded lot, as divided and scattered among their brethren. Yet how different their fate! The tribe of Levi attained the highest rank among their brethren: scattered indeed they were, but in stations of the first distinction; while the feeble tribe of Simeon soon dwindled into insignificance, and became almost extinct. A later poet, certainly Moses himself, would not have united these two tribes under the same destiny. The funeral procession of Jacob was conducted with Egyptian magnificence to the sepulchre of his fathers, to the great and lasting astonishment of the native Canaanites. The protecting presence of their father being withdrawn, the brothers began again to apprehend the hostility of Joseph; but his favour still watched over the growing settlement, and he himself at

[1] *Aristot. de Animal*, vii. 4, quoted in Stolberg, *Geschichte der Religion*, i. 252; and in Rosenmüller, *Das Alte und Neue Morgenland*, i. 252; among modern travellers, Maillet, i. 34: "Les hommes eux mêmes aussi bien que les animaux sont plus nourris, plus robustes, et plus *fécondes*."

[2] There is a curious analogy between this disinheritance of Reuben and that of his eldest son by Shah Akbar, as related by Sir Thomas Roe. See Burder *in loc.*

length, having seen his great grandchildren upon his knees, died at the age of 110 years. He left directions that his body should be embalmed, and put into a coffin; to be transported, at the assumed time, on the return of his kindred to Canaan, to the grave of his forefathers.

How long a period elapsed[1] between the migration into Egypt under Jacob, and the Exodus, or departure, under Moses, has been a question debated from the earliest ages by Jewish, no less than Christian writers. While some assign the whole duration of 430 years to the captivity in Egypt, others include the residence of the patriarchs, 215 years, within this period. The vestiges of this controversy appear in all the earlier writings. The Hebrew and Samaritan texts, the different copies of the Greek version of the Scriptures, differ. St. Stephen, in the Acts, seems to have followed one opinion;[2] St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, the other. Josephus contradicts himself repeatedly. The great body of English divines follow the latter hypothesis; the great modern scholars of Germany generally prefer the former. The following brief statement may throw some light on this intricate subject. The Jews were firmly and religiously persuaded that their genealogies were not merely accurate, but complete. As then only two names appeared between Levi and Moses, those of Kohath and Amram, and the date of life assigned to these two seemed irreconcilable with the longer period of 430 years,[3] they adopted very generally the notion that only 215 years were passed in Egypt.[4] They

[1] Several curious particulars of this period may be gleaned from the genealogies in the book of Chronicles. Some intercourse with the native country was kept up for a time. Certain sons of Ephraim were slain in a freebooting expedition to drive the cattle of the inhabitants of Gath.—Chron. vii. 21. Another became ruler of the tribe of Moab.—Chron. vii. 22. Some became celebrated in Egypt as potters, and manufacturers in cotton (byssus).—Chron. iv. 21.

[2] See Exodus xii. 40. The LXX. interpolates *καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πάτερες αὐτῶν.* The Samaritan agrees with this. St. Paul naturally follows the LXX. Compare Gen. xv. 13.

[3] Acts vii. 6. It is remarkable that St. Stephen gives the round number 400. Gal. iii. 17. St. Paul of course argued according to the received tradition. Even if he were better informed, conceive his pausing in that solemn argument to correct a date! The text is not quite accurate as to the difference in these two statements. The later scholars of Germany are by no means so unanimous: many maintain that it is an artificial and conventional date.

See on the origin of the 40 years, Bredow, Preface to Syncellus.

[4] On account of this uncertainty, I have omitted the dates till the time of the Exodus, when chronology first seems to offer a secure footing. I should now rather say, till the time of the building the Temple.

overlooked, or left to miraculous intervention to account for a still greater difficulty, the prodigious increase in one family during one generation. In the desert, the males of the descendants of Kohath are reckoned at 8609. Kohath had four sons; from each son then, in one generation, must have sprung on the average 2150 males. On this hypothesis the alternative remains, either that some names have been lost from the genealogies between Kohath and Amram, or between Amram and Moses,[1] a notion rather confirmed by the fact that, in the genealogy of Joshua, in the book of Chronicles, he stands twelfth in descent from Joseph, while Moses is the fourth from Levi;[2] or, as there are strong grounds for suspecting, some general error runs through the whole numbering[3] of the Israelites in the desert.

At what period in Egyptian history the migration under Jacob took place, and which of the Pharaohs perished in the Red Sea, may possibly come to light from the future investigation of the hieroglyphic monuments by Mons. Champollion. One point appears certain from the Mosaic history, that the patron of Joseph was one of the native sovereigns of Egypt, not, as Eusebius supposed, one of the foreign shepherd dynasty.[4] The flourishing and peaceful state of the kingdom; the regularity of the government; the power of the priesthood, who were persecuted and oppressed by the savage shepherds; the hatred of the pastoral race and occupation; all these circumstances strongly indicate the orderly and uncontested authority of the native princes.

[1] Perizonius has put this strongly: "Sed et multos revera Homines deesse in his Genealogiis illustrium virorum vel ex eo liquet quod neutiquam tanta paucitas hominum et generationum conveniat maximæ illi multiplicationi Israelitarum in Ægypto, quæ tamen pro beneficio summo a Deo semper promissa et præstita commemoratur." *Origin. Ægypt.*, p. 414; *et post*, "Certe vix dubitandum videtur quin inter Kehathum et Mosen plures intercesserunt generationes."

Philo distinctly asserts that Moses was the *seventh* in descent from Jacob. Ἑβδόμη γενεὰ ἄντός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοῦ, ὃς ἐπηλύτης ὢν τοῦ ξύμπαντος Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀρχηγέτης ἐγένετο. De Mose, i. p. 81. Had Philo another genealogy?

[2] The Genealogy where it occurs, Exodus vi. 13, seemingly forced into the narrative, is one of the strong arguments for the compilation of the book from various and not always accordant sources. See the latest work on the general subject, the posthumous publication of Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1860, p. 216. I find more difficulty in the Genealogy itself than in its place in that chapter.

[3] Some observations on this subject will subsequently be offered, as also on the chronology.

[4] See the supplementary passage at the end of this book.

In process of time, such is the lot of the greatest of public benefactors, the services of the wise and popular Vizier were forgotten. A new king arose,[1] who knew not Joseph, and began to look with jealous apprehension on this race of strangers, thus occupying his most open and accessible frontier, and able to give free passage, or join in a dangerous confederacy with any foreign invader. With inhuman policy he commenced a system of oppression, intended at once to check their increase, and break the dangerous spirit of revolt.[2] They were seized, and forced to labour at the public works in building new cities, Pithom and Raamses, called treasure cities. Josephus employs them on the Pyramids, on the great canals, and on vast dams built for the purpose of irrigation. But tyranny, short-sighted as inhuman, failed in its purpose. Even under these unfavourable circumstances, the strangers still increased. In the damp stone-quarry, in the lime-pit and brick-field,[3] toiling beneath burthens under a parching sun, they multiplied as rapidly as among the fresh airs and under the cool tents in Goshen. And now instead of a separate tribe, inhabiting a remote province, whose loyalty was only suspected, the government found a still more numerous people, spread throughout the country, and rendered hostile by cruel oppression. Tyranny having thus wantonly made enemies, must resort to more barbarous measures to repress them. A dreadful decree is issued; the midwives, who, in this land of hereditary professions, were most likely a distinct class under responsible officers, were commanded to destroy all the Hebrew children at their birth. They disobey or evade the command, and the king has now no alternative, but to take into his own hands the execution of his extermi-

[1] The change of dynasty, and accession of the shepherd kings during this interval, is liable to as strong objections as those above stated. The inroad of this savage people, which must have passed, in all its havoc and massacre, over the land of Goshen, would hardly have been forgotten or omitted in the Hebrew traditions. The great architectural and agricultural works bespeak the reign of the magnificent native princes, not that of rude barbarians. Mr. Faber's theory, which assigns the building of the Pyramids to the shepherds, resting on a vague passage in Herodotus, is altogether exploded.

[2] Mr. Kenrick, Egypt, ii. p. 55, quotes a curious passage from Agatharcides apud Photium on the severity and cruelty with which labour was exacted by the Egyptians; as also the monuments. Compare below. Aristotle in his Politics, v. 11, recommends such measures to crush the spirit of rebellious subjects. So Tarquin in Livy, i., 56, 59.

[3] On the use of brick in building throughout Egypt, see Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of the Egyptians, ii. p. 96 *et seq.*, especially his observations on the royal or priestly monopoly of brick-making. Compare Rosellini, Monument., ii. 249; Champollion, Letters from Egypt.

nating project, which, if carried into effect, would have cut short at once the race of Abraham. Every male child is commanded to be cast into the river, the females preserved, probably to fill in time the harems of their oppressors.

But Divine Providence had determined to raise up that man, who was to release this oppressed people, and after having seen and intimately known the civil and religious institutions of this famous country, was deliberately to reject them, to found a polity on totally different principles, and establish a religion the most opposite to the mysterious polytheism of Egypt,—a polity and a religion which were to survive the dynasties of the Pharaohs, and the deities of their vast temples, and to exercise an unbounded influence on the civil and religious history of the most remote ages. Amram, if the genealogies are complete, the second in descent from Levi, married in his own tribe. His wife bore him a son, whose birth she was so fortunate as to conceal for three months, but at the end of this period she was obliged to choose between the dreadful alternative of exposing the infant on the banks of the river, or of surrendering him to the executioners of the king's relentless edict. The manner in which the child in its cradle of rushes, lined with pitch, was laid among the flags upon the brink of the river,[1] forcibly recalls the exposure of the Indian children on the banks of the holy Ganges. Could there be any similar custom among the Egyptians, and might the mother hope, that if any unforeseen accident should save the life of the child, it might pass for that of an Egyptian? This, however, was not the case. The daughter of the king, coming down to bathe in the river, perceived the ark, and, attracted by the beauty of the infant, took pity on it, and conjecturing that it belonged to one of the persecuted Hebrews, determined to preserve its life. By a simple and innocent stratagem, the mother was summoned, her own child committed to her charge, and, as it grew up, it became the adopted son of the princess, who called it Moses, from Egyptian words signifying, drawn from the water. The child received an excellent education, and became trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.[2] This last incident rests

[1] There is a tradition in Eutychius, lib. i., that it was on the Tanaitic branch that Moses was exposed. See Champollion, ii. p. 105.

[2] "And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds." Acts vii. 21. This whole speech of St. Stephen, as addressed to the people, is a remarkable illustration of the form which the popular tradition had assumed in the time of our Saviour. It

on Jewish traditions reported by St. Stephen, but it is highly curious to contrast the other romantic fictions of the later writers, probably the Alexandrian Jews, with this plain narrative. These fables have no appearance of ancient traditions, but all the exaggeration of Rabbinical invention, or rather Alexandrian controversial fiction. The birth of Moses was prophetically foreshown. The sacred scribe announced to the king, that a child was about to be born among the Israelites, who was to bring ruin on the power of Egypt, and unexampled glory on the Hebrew nation: he was to surpass all the human race in the greatness and duration of his fame. To cut short this fatal life, not with the design of weakening the Jewish people, this elder Herod issues out his edict for the first massacre of the Innocents. Amram, the father of Moses, is likewise favoured with a vision, foretelling the glory of his son. Thermutis, the daughter of Pharaoh (the manners having become too refined to suppose that a king's daughter would bathe in the river), is more elegantly described as amusing herself on the banks.[1] Seeing the basket floating on the water, she orders certain divers, ready of course at her command, to bring it to her. Enchanted by the exquisit beauty of the child, she sends for a nurse, but the infant patriot indignantly refuses the milk of an Egyptian; nurse after nurse is tried and rejected; nothing will satisfy him but the breast of his own mother. When he was three years old, he was such a prodigy of beauty, that all when he passed by would suspend their work to gaze upon him. The princess adopts him, shows him to her father, and insists on his being recognised heir to the kingdom. The king places the diadem on his head, which the child contemptuously seizes and tramples under his feet.[2] The royal scribe in vain attempts to awaken the apprehensions of the monarch. The youth

hovers between the naked simplicity of the original sacred book, and the exuberance of later Rabbinical, or rather Alexandrian legend.

Clemens Alexandrin., Strom., i. p. 343, on the Egyptian wisdom and accomplishments of Moses; Justin Martyr, ad Orthodoxos; Origen contr. Celsum, i. 14, &c., have mostly followed Josephus and Philo.

[1] Philo adds that the Egyptian princess was an only daughter, married and childless, and therefore most anxious for male offspring to succeed to the throne. The growth or rather the varied version of the romance is curious. Philo, as a genuine Alexandrian, gives her Greek as well as Egyptian instructors.

[2] The whole of this is from Josephus. Its manifest object is to magnify the Hebrew Lawgiver, as it should seem, in the boldest contrast to the degrading views entertained of his person and character by the Anti-Judaic party in Alexandria, of which Apion was no doubt a worthy representative. This

grows up in such universal esteem and favour, that when the Ethiopians invade the country, he is placed at the head of the army. The district through which he chooses to march, rather than ascend the Nile, being full of noxious reptiles, he presses a squadron of tame ibises, lets them fly at the serpents, and thus speedily clears his way. By this extraordinary strata gem, he comes unexpectedly upon the enemy, defeats and pursues them to their capital city, Meroe. Here the daughter of the king falls in love with him, and the city is surrendered on condition of his marrying the Ethiopian princess; a fiction obviously formed on the Cushite or Arabian (translated, in the LXX., Ethiopian) wife of Moses. Jealousy and hatred, the usual attendants on greatness, endanger his life; the priests urge, and the timid king assents to the death of the stranger, who with difficulty makes his escape into the desert. But, as is usual with those who embellish genuine history, the simple dignity of the Jewish patriot is lowered, rather than exalted. The true greatness of Moses consists in his generous indignation at the oppressions under which his kindred were labouring; his single-minded attachment to the poor and degraded and toil-worn slaves from whom he sprung; his deliberate rejection of all the power, wealth, and rank which awaited him if he had forsworn his race, and joined himself to the people who had adopted him. An accident discovered his impatience of the sufferings inflicted on his brethren. As he saw them labouring under their burthens, he perceived one of the Egyptian officers (such is the probable supposition of a late writer) exercising some great personal cruelty on one of the miserable slaves under his inspection.[1] He rose up in defence of his countryman, slew the officer, and hid his body in the sand. No Egyptian had witnessed what he had done, and on the fidelity of his brethren he supposed that he might fairly calculate. The next day, when he took upon himself the office of reconciling two of the Israelites, who had accidentally quarrelled, he found that his secret was not safe. The whole transaction certainly gives ground for the supposi-

latitude of invention on both sides may perhaps show that there was no authoritative account of the transaction in the Egyptian annals. The account given from Artapanus in Eusebius, Præp. Evangel., lib. iv. c. 27, adds further extravagances. The officer slain becomes Chananoth, the king of Memphis. Moses wages open war against the king with the assistance of the Arabians. Pharaoh demands the name of the God of Moses, Moses whispers it into his ear, he falls speechless. This reads very Rabbinical.

[1] Compare Eichhorn, Einleitung, iii. 124.

tion, that an unformed notion of delivering his countrymen from their bondage was already brooding in the mind of Moses.[1] His courage in avenging their wrongs, and his anxiety to establish goodwill and unity among the people, were the surest means he could adopt to secure confidence, and consolidate their strength. If this were the case, the conduct of his countrymen, ready to betray him on every occasion in which their passions or fears were excited, instead of encouraging, was likely to crush for ever his ambitious hopes, and sadly convince him that such a design, however noble, was desperate and impracticable. At all events he had been guilty of a crime, by the Egyptian law of the most enormous magnitude; even if his favour at the court might secure him from the worst consequences of the unpardonable guilt of bloodshed, the example of revolt and insurrection precluded all hope of indulgence.

A lonely exile, Moses flies beyond the reach of Egyptian power, to the tents of the nomadic tribes which lie on the borders of Palestine and Arabia. Here for forty[2] years the future lawgiver of the Jews follows the humble occupation of a shepherd; allied in marriage with the hospitable race who had received him, he sees his children rising around him, and seems as totally to have forgotten his countrymen and their oppression, as, in all probability, he was forgotten by them; so entirely did he seem alienated from his own people, that he had neglected to initiate his children into the family of Abraham, by the great national rite of circumcision. On a sudden, when eighty years old, an age which, according to the present proportion of life, may be fairly reckoned at sixty or sixty-five, when the fire of ambition is usually burnt out, and the active spirit of adventure subsided, entirely unattended, he appears again in Egypt, and either renews, or first boldly undertakes the extraordinary enterprise of delivering the people of Israel from their state of slavery, and establishing them as a regular and independent commonwealth. To effect this, he had first to obtain a perfect command over the minds of the people, now scattered through the whole land of Egypt, their courage broken by long and unintermitted slavery, habituated to Egyptian customs, and even deeply tainted with Egyptian superstitions; he had to induce them to throw off

[1] "For he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them, but they understood not." Acts vii. 25.

[2] See on the number 40, and its multiples, 80 and 120, hereafter.

the yoke of their tyrannical masters, and follow him in search of a remote land, only known by traditions many centuries old, as the residence of their forefathers. Secondly, he had to overawe, and induce to the surrender of their whole useful slave population, not merely an ignorant and superstitious people, but the king and the priesthood of a country where science had made considerable progress, and where the arts of an impostor would either be counteracted by similar arts, or instantly detected, and exposed to shame and ridicule.

What, then, were his natural qualifications for this prodigious undertaking—popular eloquence? By his own account, his organs of speech were imperfect, his enunciation slow and impeded;[1] he was obliged to use the cold and ineffective method of addressing the people through his more ready and fluent brother Aaron. Had he acquired among the tribes, with whom he had resided, the adventurous spirit and military skill which might prompt or carry him through such an enterprise? The shepherds, among whom he lived, seem to have been a peaceful and unenterprising people; and, far from showing any skill as a warrior, the generalship of the troops always devolved on the younger and more warlike Joshua. His only distinguished acquirements were those which he had learned among the people with whom he was about to enter on this extraordinary contest; all the wisdom he possessed was the wisdom of the Egyptians.

The credentials which Moses produced in order to obtain authority over his own people, and the means of success on which he calculated, in his bold design of wresting these miserable Helots from their unwilling masters, were a direct commission from the God of their fathers, and a power of working preternatural wonders. His narrative was simple and imposing. The Sea of Edom, or the Red Sea, terminates in two narrow gulfs, the western running up to the modern Isthmus of Suez, the eastern extending not quite so far to the north. In the mountainous district between these two forks of the sea, stands a remarkable eminence with two peaks, higher than the neighbouring ridge,—the south-eastern, which is much the loftiest, called Sinai; the north-western, Horeb. Into these solitudes Moses had driven his flocks, when suddenly he beheld a bush kindling into flame, yet remaining

[1] "And Moses said unto the Lord, O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant, and I am slow of speech and of a slow tongue." Exodus iv. 10.

unconsumed. A voice was next heard, which announced the presence of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and declared the compassion of the Almighty towards the suffering race of Israel, their approaching deliverance, their restoration to the rich and fruitful land of Canaan; designated Moses as the man who was to accomplish this great undertaking,[1] and ended by communicating that mysterious name of the great Deity which implies, in its few pregnant monosyllables, self-existence and eternity. "I am that I am."[2] Moses, diffident of his own capacity to conduct so great an enterprise, betrayed

[1] Exodus ii. 23. Philo here inserts as to the new king of Egypt: *ἴθι δὴ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς χώρας μηδὲν φοβηθεὶς τοπαράπαν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρόπαλαι τέθνηκεν, οὗ ἀπεδέδρακες διὰ φόβον ἐπιβούλης· ἕτερος δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτέτραπται, μηδενος τῶν πραγμάτων σοι μνησικακῶν.* Josephus says the same less distinctly.

[2] No one in the least versed in the later criticism of the Hebrew records can be ignorant how closely connected is the use of the various appellations of the Godhead with the questions of the age and authorship of those records. In some passages the name El, or Elohim, in others Jehovah, is exclusively or almost exclusively used. Hence different writers have been inferred, Elohistic as they are called, or Jehovistic; and this, as in many of those passages subtle criticism pretends also to have discovered other diversities of style, thought, and language, is deemed to indicate a different age. But on the other hand the anomalies are great, and seemingly irreconcilable. The name Elohim is found in Jehovistic passages, Jehovah has forced its way into Elohistic. Sometimes, though rarely, the names intermingle, and may seem to contest for superiority. I trust it is no presumptuous modesty if I assert that I am satisfied with no theory which I have yet encountered. Without questioning some of the more manifest, and it seems to me undeniable discrepancies or antagonisms of these and other appellations of the Godhead (as for instance in the two parallel accounts of the creation), still, from Astruc, who first observed the singular fact (Astruc was a physician of French descent about the year 1753), to Bleek, the latest of the more profound German scholars, I have read nothing approaching to certitude. This whole question, however, concerns the critic, perhaps the theologian, more than the historian. I was unwilling, nevertheless, to pass it over altogether without notice, or to dismiss it summarily with the contemptuousness of ignorance. Bunsen, I may add, than whom no one was more competent to review the whole controversy, writes thus: "Auch hat bisher noch keiner der scharfsinnigen und gelehrten Verfolger der hypothese von Elohist und Jehovist, Vorelohist und der gleichen, seinen Nachfolgern genügt." *Bibelwerk*, ix. p. 294.

I subjoin the following noble passage on the Mosaic conception of God:—

"Ce qui frappe tout d'abord dans les livres qui composent l'Ancien Testament, ce sont les termes dans lesquels ils parlent de Dieu, c'est le caractère moral et personnel avec lequel ils le représentent, sans porter aucune atteinte à ses attributs métaphysiques, c'est à dire à ceux qui entrent dans l'idée de l'infini. Il ne s'agit plus ici, comme dans le Brahmanisme et le Bouddhisme, d'un principe non-seulement infini, mais absolument indéfinissable, d'une substance sans forme et sans attribut, par conséquent sans volonté et sans conscience, qui se confond avec la nature; il ne s'agit pas, comme dans la théologie des anciens Egyptiens, d'un couple héroïque luttant sans espoir contre un ennemi invincible ou d'une personification mythologique des attributs contraires de la nature et de Dieu; il ne s'agit pas, comme dans le

his reluctance. Two separate miracles, the transformation of his rod or shepherd's staff into a serpent, the immediate withering of his hand with leprosy, and its as immediate restoration; the promise of power to effect a third, the change of water into blood, inspired him with courage and resolution to set forth on his appointed task. Such was his relation before the elders of the people; for even in their bondage this sort of government by the heads of families seems to have been retained among the descendants of Jacob. Aaron, his brother, who had gone forth by divine command, as he declared, to meet him, enters boldly into the design. The people are awed by the signs, which are displayed, and yield their passive consent. This is all that Moses requires; for while he promises deliverance, he does not insist on any active co-operation on their part; he enjoins neither courage, discipline, enterprise, nor mutual confidence; nothing which might render insurrection formidable, or indicate an organised plan of resistance.

The kings of Egypt probably held that sort of open court or divan, usual in Oriental monarchies, in which any one may appear who would claim justice or petition for favour. Moses and Aaron stand before this throne, and solicit the temporary release of all their people, that they may offer sacrifice to their God. The haughty monarch not only rejects their demand, but sternly rebukes the presumptuous interference of these self-constituted leaders. The labours of the slaves are redoubled; they are commanded not merely to finish the same portion of work in the brick-field, but to provide themselves with straw;[1] they are treated with still greater inhumanity, and severely chastised because they cannot accomplish the impracticable orders of their taskmasters. The wretched people charge the aggravation of their miseries on Moses and Aaron, whose influence, instead of increasing, rapidly declines, and gives place to aversion and bitter reproaches. Yet the deliverers neither lose their courage, nor depart from their lofty assurance of success. The God of their fathers assumes that ineffable name,

Zendavesta, de deux principes inégaux, il est vrai, mais dont le meilleur et le plus fort ne triomphe à la fin qu'après avoir été balancé, et ensuite effacé durant une longue période, par son redoutable ennemi. Il s'agit d'un Dieu unique, cause volontaire, intelligente, et tout puissante, Créateur et Providence de tous les êtres, dont le pouvoir ne reçoit de règles, et de limites que de sa sagesse." A. Frank, *Etudes Orientales*, Paris, 1861, p. 108.

[1] Shaw speaks of straw being used in the bricks of some buildings in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids. Mr. Lane confirms this.

JEHOVAH[1] (the Self-existent and Unchangeable), which the Jews dare not pronounce. That release which they cannot obtain by the fair means of persuasion, Moses and Aaron assert that they will extort by force from the reluctant king. Again they appear in the royal presence, having announced, it should seem, their pretensions to miraculous powers. And now commenced a contest, unequal it would at first appear, between two men of an enslaved people, and the whole skill, knowledge, or artifice of the Egyptian priesthood, whose sacred authority was universally acknowledged; their intimate acquaintance with all the secrets of nature extensive; their reputation for magical powers firmly established with the vulgar. The names of the principal opponents of Moses,

[1] "And I appeared unto Abraham and Isaac and Jacob by the name of God Almighty (El Shaddai), but by the name of Jehovah was I not known to them" (Exodus vi. 3). According to the plain and distinct words of this text, the holy name Jehovah was as yet unknown to the descendants of Abraham. It is introduced with all the solemnity of a new revelation. For the proper pronunciation of this appellation, see Gesenius *in voce*, with the authors cited, and Dr. Pusey on Hosea xii. 6. It is generally agreed that Jahve, rather than Jehovah, is nearer to the correct sound. Ewald constantly so spells it. The full signification of the word appears to imply self-existence and unchangeableness. I AM expresses self-existence; He who alone IS. I AM THAT I AM expresses His unchangeableness, the necessary attribute of the Self-existent, who, since *He* IS, ever IS, all which He *IS* (Pusey). "Et sanè si quis sine præjudicio Mosis sententias perpendere velit, clare inveniet, ejus de Deo opinionem fuisse, quod semper extitit, existit, et semper existet, et hâc de causâ ipsum vocat Jehova nomine, quod Hebraicè hæc tua tempora existendi exprimit." Spinosa, Tract. Theolog. Polit., c. i.; Opera, i. p. 183.

Was then this sublime conception of the Godhead first made to dawn on the mind of Moses? Was it an advance upon the knowledge of the earlier Patriarchs? Spinosa, with his peculiar acuteness, endeavours to show the less perfect and exalted notions of Abraham. But if the name was as yet unuttered, the conception unknown—and it seems to me that this distinct, and iterated, and solemn asseveration cannot be explained away—how comes it that the name occurs in earlier passages of the book of Genesis? It is found in Gen. ii. 5; it is even placed in the mouth of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 23). An interminable, it appears to me as yet unreconciled, controversy has arisen on this point. A brief but full summary of this may be found in Rosenmüller's note *in loco*. My conclusion is that it is far more probable that the writer or writers of the sacred books should have thrown back by an anachronism the use of an appellation, at their time of writing in familiar use, to an earlier period, than that an asseveration so distinct and emphatic should be without significance, or submit to be eluded or explained away.

How far is it possible (I throw out the notion with the utmost diffidence, and have neither leisure nor patience, nor perhaps knowledge, to follow it out) that the sanctity in which the Ineffable name was held (and the third commandment shows the antiquity of that awful veneration) may have given cause for some part at least of this confusion? Timid or superstitious copyists, readers of passages of the Law (and there can be no doubt that passages were publicly read from early times), may, on the one hand to give more solemn force, on the other to avoid being betrayed into bold profanation, here from timidity, there from zeal, have substituted one name for another.

Jannes and Jambres, are reported by St. Paul from Jewish traditions; and it is curious that in Pliny and Apuleius the names of Moses and Jannes are recorded as celebrated proficients in magical arts.[1]

The contest began in the presence of the king. Aaron cast down his rod, which was instantaneously transformed into a serpent. The magicians performed the same feat. The dexterous tricks which the Eastern and African jugglers play with serpents will easily account for this without any supernatural assistance. It might be done, either by adroitly substituting the serpent for the rod; or by causing the serpent to assume a stiff appearance, like a rod or staff, which being cast down on the ground might become again pliant and animated. But Aaron's serpent swallowed up the rest—a circumstance, however extraordinary, yet not likely to work conviction upon a people familiar with such feats, which they ascribe to magic. Still, the slaves had now assumed courage, their demands were more peremptory, their wonders more general and public. The plagues of Egypt which successively afflicted the priesthood, the king, and almost every deity honoured in their comprehensive pantheon,—which infected every element, and rose in terrific gradation, one above the other, now began. Pharaoh was standing on the brink of the sacred river, the great object of Egyptian adoration, not improbably in the performance of some ceremonial ablution, or making an offering to the native deity of the land. The leaders of the Israelites approached, and, in the name of the Lord God of the Hebrews, renewed their demand for freedom. It was rejected; and at once the holy river, with all the waters of the land, were turned to blood. The fish, many of which were objects of divine worship, perished. But the priesthood were not yet baffled. The Egyptians having dug for fresh and pure water, in some of these artificial tanks or reservoirs, the magicians contrived to effect a similar change. As their holy abhorrence of blood would probably prevent them from discharging so impure a fluid into the new reservoirs, they might, without great difficulty, produce the appearance by some secret and chemical means. The waters of the Nile, it is well known, about their period of increase, usually assume a red tinge, either from the colour of the Ethiopian soil, which is washed down, or from a number of insects of that colour.[2] Writers, who endeavour

[1] Apuleii Apolog.; Pliny, N. H., xxx. i.
[2] Compare on the Colour of the Nile, Kenrick, i. p. 87.

to account for these miracles by natural means, suppose that Moses took the opportunity of this periodical change to terrify the superstitious Egyptians.[1] Yet, that Moses should place any reliance on, or the Egyptians feel the least apprehension at, an ordinary occurrence, which took place every year, seems little less incredible than the miracle itself. For seven days the god of the river was thus rebuked before the God of the stranger: instead of the soft and delicious water, spoken of by travellers as peculiarly grateful to the taste, the fœtid stream ran with that of which the Egyptians had the greatest abhorrence. To shed, or even to behold blood, was repugnant to all their feelings and prejudices. Still the king was inflexible, and from the sacred stream was derived the second plague. The whole land was suddenly covered with frogs. The houses, the chambers, even the places where they prepared their food, swarmed with these loathsome reptiles. It is undoubtedly possible that the corrupted waters might quicken the birth of these creatures, the spawn of which abounded in all the marshy and irrigated districts. Hence the priests would have no difficulty in bringing them forth in

[1] Jacob Bryant long ago wrote a book to show how the history of the plagues of Egypt is true to the natural peculiarities, the usages, and habits of the Egyptian people; but in his day Egypt was comparatively unknown. Baron Bunsen has a very ingenious passage in his *Bibelwerk*, ix. 128 *et seqq.*, to himself no doubt highly satisfactory. I must warn the reader that Bunsen gets rid of all miracle, or rather transplants the miraculous into the God-inspired mind of Moses. "Das Mirakel verschwindet durch den richtig verstandenen Buchstaben, das Wunder selbst, die Macht der gott-erfüllten Geistes tritt leuchtend hervor." The first plague, the changing the water into blood, took place (Bunsen fixes his dates without the least hesitation) from about the 15th to the 25th of June, 1321 B.C. The red colour of the Nile, which succeeds to the green and stagnant state when the waters are corrupt, and produce stench and worms, and kill the fish, lasts about ninety days. The Arabs call the Nile then the Red water. Hence the Egyptian priests were able to work this wonder as well as Moses. (But the difficulty of making any wonder at all out of a phenomenon of annual occurrence, and familiar to Jew as well as Egyptian, still remains.) The frogs (end of August or beginning of September) swarm after the ebb of the inundation. The flies (musquitoes) appear in October, followed by what in our version is translated lice. The fifth plague, the murrain among the cattle, is not uncommon in March. Bunsen puts it back to the beginning of February, 1320 B.C. In February also the eruptive disease among men, called in our version the boils and blotches. In February, too (at the end), was the hail-storm; at this time the barley was in the ear, the flax bolled, the wheat and rye were not grown up. Locusts are not uncommon (according to Lepsius and others) at the beginning of March; they were swept into the sea by a west wind. The west wind is not a periodical wind, but the south (the Khamsin), blowing in March, is, and produces effects like the darkness. The plague which slew the first-born is placed a few days before the spring full moon, about April 10. I insert this as a curious adaptation of the whole history to the course of the Egyptian year.

considerable numbers. The sudden cessation of this mischief at the prayer of Moses is by far the most extraordinary part of this transaction,—in one day all the frogs, except those in the river, were destroyed. So far the contest had been maintained without manifest advantage on either side. But the next plague reduced the antagonists of Moses to a more difficult predicament. With the priesthood the most scrupulous cleanliness was inseparable from their sanctity. These Brahmins of Egypt—so fastidiously abhorrent of every kind of personal impurity that they shaved every part which might possibly harbour vermin,[1] practised ablutions four times a day, and wore no garments but of the finest linen, because woollen might conceal either filth or insects—heard with the greatest horror that the dirt had been changed into lice, and that this same vermin, thus called into existence, was spreading over the whole country. After a vain attempt, notwithstanding their prejudices, to imitate their opponent, they withdrew for the present from the contest. But the pride of the king was not yet broken, and the plagues followed in rapid and dreadful succession. Swarms of flies, or rather musquitoes, in unusual numbers, covered the whole land: by the intercession of Moses they were dispersed. Next, all the cattle, of every description, were smitten with a destructive murrain, all but those of the Israelites, who were exempt from this, as from the former calamity. This last blow might seem to strike not merely at the wealth, but at an important part of the religion of Egypt—their animal worship. The goat worshipped at Mendes, the ram at Thebes, the more general deity, the bull Apis, were perhaps involved in the universal destruction. Still this is by no means certain, as the plague seems to have fallen only on the animals which were in the open pastures; it is clear that the war-horses escaped. If this plague reached the deities, the next was aimed at the sacred persons of the priesthood, no less than at the meaner people. Moses took the ashes of the furnace, perhaps the brick-kiln in which the wretched slaves were labouring, cast them into the air, and where they fell, the skin broke out in boils. The magicians, in terror and bodily anguish, fled away. It is impossible to read the following passage from Plutarch without observing so remarkable a coincidence between the significant action of Moses and the Egyptian rite, as to leave little doubt that some allusion was intended: "In the city of Eilithuia," as Manetho

[1] Herodotus, ii. 37.

relates, calling them Typhonian (as sacrificed to Typhon), "they burned men alive, and, winnowing their ashes, scattered them in the air and dispersed them." The usual objects of these sacrifices were people with red hair, doubtless their old enemies the shepherds. Had any of the Israelites suffered in these horrid furnaces, it would add singular force and justice to the punishment inflicted on the priests and people. It would thus have been from the ashes of their own victims that their skins were burning with insufferable agony, and breaking out into loathsome disease. The next plague, though in most tropical climates it would have been an ordinary occurrence, in Egypt was an event as unusual as alarming. All ancient and modern writers agree, that rain, though by no means unknown, falls but seldom in that country.[1] It appears to be rather less uncommon now than formerly. According to Herodotus it rained once at Thebes, and the circumstance excited general apprehension. "There, at present," says Belzoni, "two or three days of moderate rain generally occur during the winter." But lower down, in the part of the valley where these events took place, it is still an uncommon, though not an unprecedented phenomenon. Hasselquist speaks of rain at Alexandria, and in other parts of the Delta: Pococke saw even hail at Faiume. Ordinarily, however, the Nile, with its periodical overflow and constant exhalations, supplies the want of the cool and refreshing shower. Now, according to the prediction of Moses, a tremendous tempest burst over the country. Thunder and hail, and fire mingled with the hail, "that ran upon the ground," rent the branches from the trees, and laid prostrate the whole harvest. From the cultivation of flax, Egypt possessed the great linen manufacture of the ancient world; on the barley the common people depended for their usual drink, the rich soil of Egypt in general being unfit for the vine.[2] Both these crops were totally destroyed. The rye and the wheat, being later, escaped. This tempest

[1] On rain in Egypt consult the full and conclusive note of Sir Gardner Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. p. 17.

[2] Though by no means unfit for the cultivation of the vine, as appears from the sculptures and paintings, in which is seen the whole process of wine-making, from the crushing of the grapes to its storing up in large jars, and its drinking in the banquet; though wine was in constant use as a luxury, yet Egypt could hardly be described, like Palestine, as a land of vineyards. The Mareoticon at a later period was a choice wine. See Hamilton, *Egyptiaca*, p. 165, note. For the paintings, Rosellini, ii. 365; Wilkinson, ii. 153; Taylor, *Illustrations of the Bible*. Wilkinson's whole chapter is as amusing as curious.

must, therefore, have taken place at the beginning of March. By this time the inflexible obstinacy of the king began to fail; on the deliverance of the country from this dreadful visitation, he engaged to release the bondsmen. At the word of Moses the storm ceased. Still, to deprive the whole land of so valuable a body of slaves seemed too great a sacrifice to the policy, and too humiliating a concession to the pride, of the monarch. To complete the desolation of the country, the corn lands were next laid waste by other means of destruction. The situation of Egypt usually secures the country from that worst enemy to the fertility of the Asiatic provinces, the locusts. As these insects fly in general from east to west, and cannot remain on the wing for any length of time, the width of the Red Sea presents a secure barrier to their invasions. Their dreadful ravage is scarcely exaggerated by the strong images of the prophets, particularly the sublime description in Joel. Where they alight, all vegetation at once disappears; not a blade of grass, not a leaf escapes them; the soil seems as if it were burnt up by fire; they obscure the sun as with a cloud; they cover sometimes a space of nine miles, and thus they march on in their regular files till "*the land which was as the garden of Eden before them, behind them is a desolate wilderness.*" Such was the next visitation which came to glean the few remaining signs of the accustomed abundance of Egypt, spared by the tempest. A strong and regular east wind brought the fatal cloud from the Arabian shore, or, according to the Septuagint translation, a south wind from the regions of Abyssinia. The court now began to murmur at the unbending spirit of the king; on the intimation of this new calamity, he had determined to come to terms. He offered to permit all the adults to depart, but insisted on retaining the children, either as hostages for the return of the parents, or in order to perpetuate a race of slaves for the future. Now he was for an instant inclined to yield this point; but when the west wind had driven these destroying ravagers into the sea, he recalled all his concessions, and continued steadfast in his former resolutions of resistance to the utmost. At length, therefore, their great divinity, the Sun, was to be put to shame before the God of the slave and the stranger. For three whole days, as Moses stretched his hand towards heaven, a darkness, described with unexampled force as a DARKNESS THAT MIGHT BE FELT, overspread the land; not merely was the sun unable to penetrate the gloom and enlighten his

favoured land, but they could distinguish nothing, and were constrained to sit in awe-struck inactivity. The king would now gladly consent to the departure of the whole race, children as well as grown-up men; yet, as all the latter plagues, the flies, the murrain, the hail, the locusts, the darkness had spared the land of Goshen, the cattle of that district, in the exhausted state of the country, was invaluable; he demands that these should be surrendered as the price of freedom. "Our cattle, also, shall go with us, not a hoof shall be left behind," replies his inexorable antagonist. Thus, then, the whole kingdom of Egypt had been laid waste by successive calamities; the cruelty of the oppressors had been dreadfully avenged; all classes had suffered in the undiscriminating desolation. Their pride had been humbled; their most sacred prejudices wounded; the Nile had been contaminated; their dwellings polluted by loathsome reptiles; their cleanly persons defiled by vermin; their pure air had swarmed with troublesome insects; their cattle had perished by a dreadful malady; their bodies broken out with a filthy disease; their early harvest had been destroyed by the hail, the later by the locusts; an awful darkness had enveloped them for three days, but still the deliverance was to be extorted by a calamity more dreadful than all these. The Israelites will not depart poor and empty-handed; they will receive some compensation for their years of hard and cruel servitude; they levy on their awe-struck masters contributions in gold, silver, and jewels.[1] Some, especially later writers, have supposed that they exacted these gifts by main force, and with arms in their hands. Undoubtedly, though the Israelites appear to have offered no resistance to the Egyptian horsemen and chariots which pursued them in the desert, they fight with the Amalekites, and afterwards arrive an armed people on the borders of Canaan. Josephus accounts for this, but not quite satisfactorily, by supposing that they got possession of the arms of the Egyptians, washed ashore after their destruction in the Red Sea. But the general awe and confusion are sufficient to explain the facility with which the Israelites collected these treasures. The slaves had become objects of superstitious terror; to propitiate them with gifts was natural, and their leader authorised their reception of all

[1] "Wisdom rendered to the righteous a reward for their labours." Wisdom of Solomon x. 17.

presents which might thus be offered.[1] The night drew on, the last night of servitude to the people of Israel, a night of unprecedented horror to the ancient kingdom of Egypt. The Hebrews were employed in celebrating that remarkable rite, which they have observed for ages down to the present day.[2] The Passover, the memorial that God passed over them when he destroyed the first-born of all Egypt, has been kept under this significant name, and still is kept as the memorial of their deliverance from Egypt by every faithful descendant of Abraham. Each family was to sacrifice a lamb without blemish, to anoint their door-posts and the lintels of their houses with its blood, and to feast upon the remainder. The sacrifice was over, the feast concluded, when that dreadful event took place, which it would be presumptuous profanation to relate except in the words of the Hebrew annalist: "*And it came to pass, that at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on the throne, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon, and all the first-born of the cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was not a house where there was not one dead.*" The horrors of this night may be better conceived, when we call to mind that the Egyptians were noted for the wild and frantic wailings with which they lamented their dead. Screaming women rush about with dishevelled hair, troops of people assemble in tumultuous commiseration around the house where a single corpse is laid out—and now every house and every family had its victim. Hebrew tradition has increased the horror of the calamity, asserting that the temples were shaken, the idols overthrown, the sacred animals, chosen as the first-born, involved in the universal destruction.[3] While every household of Egypt was

[1] Compare the very curious account of all these prodigies in the Wisdom of Solomon (ch. xvii.). The Wisdom was no doubt written in Egypt: it is therefore a record of the belief and of the assertion of the belief put forward in later days in Egypt.

[2] Epiphanius describes a curious Egyptian custom in some respects similar—*ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ὅτε τὸ Πάσχα ἐγένετο ἐκεῖσε (ἀρχὴ δὲ αὕτη γίνεται τοῦ ἔαρος ὅτε ἡ πρώτη ἰσημερία) ἐκ μίλτεως λαμβάνουσι πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ χρίουσι μὲν τὰ πρόβατα, χρίουσι δὲ τὰ δένδρα, τὰς συκᾶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φημίζοντες καὶ λέγοντες, ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρα κατέφλεξε πότε τὴν δικουμένην· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ αἵματος τὸ πυρώπον ἀλεξητηρίον ἐστι τῆς τοσαυτης πληγῆς καὶ τοιαύτης.* Hæres. xix. p. 39.

[3] "Illud Hebræi autumant, quod nocte quâ egressus est populus, omnia in Ægypto Templa destructa sunt sive motu terræ sive ictu fulminis." Hieronym.

occupied in its share of the general calamity, the people of Israel, probably drawn together during the suspension of all labour, caused by the former calamities, or assembled in Goshen to celebrate the new national festival; already organised by a sort of discipline among the separate tribes; with all their flocks and herds, with sufficient provisions for an immediate supply, and with the booty they had extorted from their masters, stood prepared, as one man, for the signal of departure. During the night, the permission, or rather entreaty, that they would instantly evacuate the country, arrived, yet no one stirred before the morning, perhaps apprehensive lest the slaughter should be attributed to them, or in religious fear of encountering the angel of destruction. The Egyptians became only anxious to accelerate their departure; and thus the Hebrew people set forth to seek a land of freedom, bearing with them the bones of their great ancestor, Joseph. Their numbers, not reckoning the strangers who followed them, most of whom probably fell off during the march, amounted to 600,000 adult males, which, according to the usual calculations, would give the total sum of the people at 2,500,000, or 3,000,000.[1] From the point of reunion, at which the several bodies had collected, Rameses, on the borders or within the district of Goshen, the borders of Canaan might have been reached, even by so great a multitude, in a few weeks. Two routes led to Canaan; one northward, near the sea, but this was occupied by the Philistines, a very warlike people, with whom the Israelites were not yet sufficiently disciplined to contest their passage.[2] The other passed immediately round the head of the western branch of the Red Sea, coming upon part of the modern track of the caravans from Cairo to Suez. Their first march was to Succoth, originally a place of tents, and which probably afterwards grew up into a village. Josephus considers it the same with Latopolis. From Succoth they advanced to Etham, by some supposed to be a castle or small town at the extreme point of the Red Sea, by Jablonski derived with great probability from an Egyptian word signifying the termination of the sea. Here they were on the borders of

ad Fabiolam. This is probably from Artapanus, who says that many houses fell. καὶ ναῶν τοὺς πλείστους. Euseb. Præp. Evangel., ix. 17, p. 436. The shepherds in Manetho are said κατάσκαψαι τὰ ἱερα.

[1] The question of the numbers will be discussed in a future note.

[2] Exodus xiii. 17. "God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near, for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt."

the desert; should they once advance to any distance in that sandy and barren region, they were safe from pursuit; the chariots of Egypt, or even the horsemen, would scarcely follow them far on a track only suited for the camel, and where the want of water, the fountains being already drained by the flying enemy, would effectually delay the advance of a large army. On a sudden the march of the Israelites is altered; instead of pressing rapidly onwards, keeping the sea on their right hand, and so heading the gulf, they strike to the south, with the sea on their left, and deliberately encamp at no great distance from the shore, at a place called Pi-hahiroth,[1] explained by some, the mouth or opening into the mountains. This, however, as well as much more learned etymology, by which the site of Migdol and Baalzephon, as well as Pi-hahiroth, has been fixed, must be considered very uncertain. The king, recovered from his panic, and receiving intelligence that the Israelites had no thoughts of return, determined on pursuit: intelligence of this false movement, or at least of this unnecessary delay on the part of the Israelites, encouraged his hopes of vengeance. The great caste of the warriors, the second in dignity, were regularly quartered in certain cities on the different frontiers of the kingdom, so that a considerable force could be mustered on any emergency. With great rapidity he drew together 600 war chariots, and a multitude of others, with their full equipment of officers. In the utmost dismay the Israelites beheld the plain behind them glittering with the hostile array; before them lay the sea; on the right, impracticable passes. Resistance does not seem to have entered their thoughts; they were utterly ignorant of military discipline, perhaps unarmed, and encumbered with their families, and their flocks and herds. *Because there were no graves in Egypt*, they exclaimed, in the bitterness of their despair, *hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?* Their leader alone preserved his calmness and self-possession, and an unexpected incident gave temporary relief to their apprehensions. A remarkable pillar, of cloud by day, and fire by night, had preceded their march;[2] it now suddenly shifts

[1] This seems to be implied in Exodus xiv. 2: "Speak unto the children of Israel that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea."

[2] Xenophon in his Lacedæmonian Republic speaks of a fire-beacon which preceded the array (Burder). On the same usage in the army of Alexander, see Q. Curtius, v. 2, also iii. 3. Compare, too, Pitt's *Religion and Customs of the Mahometans*. Extract from Seetzen, *Zachs Monatliche Schrift*, xx. 242;

its position, and stations itself in the rear so as to conceal their movements from the enemy, showing the dark side to them, while the bright one gave light to the Hebrew camp. But this could not avail them long; they could hear, at still diminishing distance, the noise of the advancing chariots, and the cries of vengeance from the infuriated Egyptians. On a sudden Moses advances towards the sea, extends his rod, and a violent wind from the east begins to blow. The waters recede on both sides, a way appears; at nightfall, probably about eight o'clock, the caravan begins to defile along this awful pass. The wind continued in the same quarter all the night; but immediately they had passed over, and while the Egyptians, madly plunging after them, were in the middle of the passage, the wind as suddenly fell, the waters rushed back into their bed, the heavy chariot-wheels of the pursuers sank into the sand, broke and overthrew the chariots, and in this state of confusion the sea swept over the whole host, and overwhelmed the king and all the flower of the Egyptian army.

Such is the narrative in the book of Exodus, which writers of all ages have examined, and, according to the bias of their minds, have acknowledged or denied the miraculous agency, increased or diminished its extent. At an early period, historians (particularly in Egypt) hostile to the Jews, asserted that Moses, well acquainted with the tides of the Red Sea, took advantage of the ebb, and passed over his army, while the incautious Egyptians, attempting to follow, were surprised by the flood, and perished. Yet, after every concession, it seems quite evident that, without one particular wind, the ebb tide, even in the narrowest part of the channel, could not be kept back long enough to allow a number of people to cross in safety. We have, then, the alternative of supposing, that a man of the consummate prudence and sagacity, and the local knowledge, attributed to Moses, altered, suspended, or at least did not hasten his march, and thus deliberately involved the people, whom he had rescued at so much pains and risk, in the danger of being overtaken by the enemy, led back as slaves, or massacred, on the chance that an unusually strong wind would blow at a particular hour, for a given time, so as to keep back the flood, then die away, and allow the tide to return at the precise instant when the Egyptians were in the middle of their passage.

Clemens Alexand. Strom., i. 235; all in Rosenmüller, *A. u. N. Morgenland* ii. 7; see also Ewald's explanation, G. V. T., ii. p. 165.

Different opinions, as to the place where the passage was effected, have likewise been supported with ingenuity and research.[1] The one carries the Israelites nearly seventy miles down the western shore of the sea, to Bedea, where it is said that an inlet, now dry, ran up a defile in the mountains; that in this defile, the opening of which was the Pi-hahiroth of Moses, and which ended in this inlet of the sea, called, according to the advocates of this hypothesis, Clusma, the Israelites were caught as in what is commonly called a cul-de-sac. Here, however, the sea is nearly twelve miles broad, and the time is insufficient to allow so great a multitude to pass over, particularly if they did not, as some Jewish writers suppose, send their families and cattle round the head of the gulf. The other hypothesis rests chiefly on the authority of the Danish traveller, Niebuhr, who had investigated the question on the spot. He supposes that the passage was effected near the modern Suez, which occupies the site of an old castle, called by the Arabians Al Kolsum, a name apparently derived from the Greek Klusma. Here Niebuhr himself forded the sea, which is about two miles across; but he asserts confidently that the channel must formerly have been much deeper, and that the gulf extended much farther to the north, than at present. The intelligent Burckhardt adopts the views of Niebuhr. Here, besides that the sea is so much narrower, the bottom is flat and sandy; lower down it is full of sharp coral rocks, and sea-weed in such large quantities, that the whole gulf is called by a name, *Al Souf*, which signifies the weedy sea. Still, wherever the passage was effected, the Mosaic account cannot, by any fair interpretation, be made consistent with the exclusion of preternatural agency. Not to urge the literal meaning of the waters being a wall on the right hand and on the left, as if they had stood up sheer and abrupt, and then fallen back again,—the Israelites passed through the sea, with deep water on both sides; and any ford between two bodies of water must have been passable only for a few people at one precise point of time. All com-

[1] This question has been discussed, I might almost say exhausted, in a few pages by Mr. Stanley, with local knowledge and far more than ordinary powers of observation. He sums up the whole in these emphatic words—"In all other points [he had referred to Josephus] the words of the narrative almost imperatively require the shallower, the narrower, and therefore the more northern passage." I envy Mr. Stanley his opportunity of judging for himself in these regions, which I am too old to visit. I fully concur in his arguments, the force of which I had anticipated. See Stanley, p. 36, and note p. 67.

parisons, therefore, to marches like that of Alexander,[1] cited by Josephus idly, and in his worst spirit of compromise, are entirely inapplicable. That bold general took the opportunity of the receding tide to conduct his army round a bluff headland in Pamphylia, called Climax, where, during high water, there was no beach between the cliffs and the sea. But what would this, or any other equally daring measures in the history of war, be to the generalship of Moses, who must thus have decoyed his enemy to pursue him to the banks of the sea, and so nicely calculated the time, that the lowest ebb should be exactly at the hour of his greatest danger, while the whole of the pursuing army should be so infatuated, and so ignorant of the tides, as to follow them without any apprehension of the returning flood? In this case Moses would appear as formidable a rival to the military fame of Alexander, as to the legislative wisdom of Solon or Lycurgus.

This great event was not only preserved in the annals of the Jewish people; it was likewise, as might be expected, the great subject of their national poetry. But none of their later bards surpassed, or perhaps equalled, the hymn which Moses, their bard, as well as their leader and lawgiver, composed on the instant of their deliverance, and which was solemnly chanted to the music of the timbrel. What is the Roman arch of triumph, or the pillar crowded with sculpture, compared, as a memorial, to the Hebrew song of victory, which, having survived so many ages, is still fresh and vivid as ever; and excites the same emotions of awe and piety, in every human breast susceptible of such feelings, which it did so many ages past in those of the triumphant children of Israel?

Local traditions have retained the remembrance of the same memorable catastrophe, if not with equal accuracy, with equal fidelity. The superstitious Arabs still call fountains or wells by the names of Moses and Pharaoh. The whole coast is looked on with awe. Wherever, says Niebuhr, you ask an Arab where the Egyptians were drowned, he points to the part of the shore where you are standing. There is one bay, however, where in the roaring of the waters they pretend to hear the cries and wailings of the ghosts of Pharaoh's army. If these were mere modern notions, they would be of little value; but Diodorus Siculus states as a tradition derived by

[1] For Alexander's march, see Arrian, i. 53; Appian, B.C., ii. 522; Strabo, xiv. 2; Plutarch, Vit. Alex. Compare Livy, xxvi. 45; Plutarch, Vit. Luculli.

the Ichthyophagi (the people who live on fish) from their remote forefathers, that once an extraordinary reflux took place, the channel of the gulf became dry, the green bottom appearing, and the whole body of water rolling away in an opposite direction. After the dry land in the deepest part had been seen, an extraordinary flood tide came in, and restored the whole channel to its former state.

The history of the Jewish Exodus, or deliverance from Egypt, under the direction of Moses, was undoubtedly preserved in the Egyptian records, and from thence was derived the strange and disfigured story which we read in Diodorus, Strabo, Justin, and Tacitus. Unfortunately, the ancient enmity between the Egyptian and Hebrew people was kept alive by the civil, religious, and literary dissensions and jealousies under the reign of the Ptolemies in Alexandria. Josephus, in his treatise against Apion, has extracted the contradictory accounts of his ancestors, from three Egyptian historians, Manetho, Chæremon, and Lysimachus. In each of these there is the same attempt to identify or connect the Jews with the earlier shepherd kings, the objects of peculiar detestation to the Egyptian people. So much is their history interwoven, that some learned writers, doubtless Josephus himself, considered the whole account of the fierce and conquering shepherds a fable, built on the history of the Israelites. He states, though in somewhat ambiguous terms, that in another copy of Manetho the word Hyksos, usually translated shepherd-kings, was also rendered shepherd captives. Yet the Egyptian monuments seem conclusively to prove the existence of this distinct and savage race of conquerors. In other points the Egyptian accounts are equally contradictory; they confound or associate together at one time Osarsiph (Joseph) and Moses. All agree in describing the Jews as a people of lepers—a disease to which, notwithstanding the indignation of Josephus, they were in all likelihood very subject. The wise precautions of the Lawgiver against the malady prove its prevalence. Quarantine laws are only strictly enforced where there is great danger of the plague.

There are other points of Jewish history where their ignorance or misrepresentation is unquestionable. They ascribe to Moses, or even to the earlier shepherds, the foundation of Jerusalem and its temple. The testimony of the Jews, unsuspicious at least on this point, shows that they were not in possession of Jerusalem till the reign of David, and that down

to that period it was nothing more than a hill-fort inhabited by the Canaanites. In short, the whole history betrays the controversialist of a much later period, working on materials so obscure and imperfect, as easily to be disfigured and distorted by national animosity. Still these traditions are not without their value: they confirm the plain leading facts of the Mosaic narrative, the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt, their departure under the guidance of Moses, and the connexion of that departure with some signal calamity, at least for a time, fatal to the power and humiliating to the pride of Egypt.

Such was the view which the author, after much consideration, thought fit to adopt, with reservation for the light which might be thrown on the Hebrew annals by the study of the Egyptian monuments, then almost in its initiatory state. That study has been now pursued with indefatigable zeal and industry, with every advantage, with consummate erudition, with the utmost boldness and sagacity, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson and Mr. Birch in this country; by Rosellini in Italy; in Germany by Baron Bunsen, by Lepsius, Brugsch, and many others; in France, especially, after Champollion, by M. de Rongè (I name but a few)—with what general results to our history it is necessary to inquire. The great question of the enormous antiquity claimed for the civilisation of Egypt lies altogether beyond our scope. Though I am compelled, for reasons about to appear, to allow vaguely an ample space, it seems to me that every hypothesis, when it enters into detail and into positive calculations, is built on grounds utterly insecure and baseless. On the other hand, I protest against hazarding the veracity of that which is historically true in the Mosaic records on what is vulgarly called the Bible chronology, a system, or rather many conflicting systems (no two of the ancient copies or versions agree), which rest on precarious and irreconcilable arguments. I freely confess that I cannot award the authority of historical certitude, even as to a few years, to any date earlier than the foundation of the Temple of Solomon, though I am inclined to think that an approximate date for the Exodus, and that much later than the ordinary one, has been fixed with great probability.

But while the synchronism of dates between the monumental history of Egypt and the Hebrew records is, in my opinion, altogether arbitrary and conjectural, there is a much more important synchronism or parallelism of facts, which I conceive approaches much more closely to historical verity. To

these concurrent facts the dubious chronology must conform itself, instead of the chronology disposing the facts according to its convenience. Let us proceed to this parallelism, and ascertain how far the broad and leading facts of the two concurrent histories may harmonise without doing violence to either.[1]

That a great and powerful monarchy subsisted in Egypt from very remote antiquity rests on the irrefragable authority of the monuments—the monuments, whether taken alone, as pyramids, emblematic sculptures, temples, and other works of surpassing magnitude and durability, or the monuments as bearing inscriptions, so far decipherable as to give the names and titles of their royal founders. For at a period almost coeval with the oldest monuments, the Egyptians appear to have invented a form of writing by hieroglyphics, of which

[1] On one point, the warlike character and conquests of the early Egyptian kings, I am at issue with Sir George Lewis (*Astronomy of the Ancients*), a writer with whom I am reluctantly at issue, who does not seem to me to have examined this question with his usual indefatigable industry, but with more than his usual searching scepticism. On the doubtfulness of the chronology we are in perfect accordance.

If there be a prehistoric fact which may claim the certitude of history, it is that some at least of the early Egyptian monarchs were warlike sovereigns, and carried war into countries more or less remote. I cannot believe that warlike legends like those relating to the Rameseids or to Sesostris (all the details may be mythic or fabulous) can have arisen, grown, established themselves in the popular belief of an unwarlike people, or can have found general acceptance in the traditions of other races. Even the Greeks would hardly have invented such legends of a peaceful and industrious race.

But the records of the monuments, the miles, I might almost say, of sculptures and paintings, representing war in all its forms, the battle, the siege, the triumph, foreign kings bearing tributes, and those tributes the products of foreign lands; the kings of nations or tribes of various complexions, forms, countenances, arms, dresses, in attitudes of submission, cannot be pure invention. These sculptures must be historic, not symbolic; or even if symbolic, can we conceive an entirely peaceful people delighting and luxuriating in such symbols?

Consider too the establishment, as all older authors agree, of a warrior caste, only inferior to that of the priesthood.

Besides this, there is the commemoration of the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh in the Hebrew records. Nor does it seem in the order of things that kings without a vast standing army would have the despotic power of oppressing their native subjects into the servitude necessary to erect such monstrous edifices; that they should have commanded wealth enough to keep this expenditure up without foreign conquest, or without a subsidiary force of foreign captives for labourers.

Add to this that in the historic times, the acknowledged historic times, the Egyptian kings appear as conquerors. Almost the earliest mention of Egypt after the Exodus (except the Egyptian wife of Solomon) is the conquest of Jerusalem by Shishak. In all the later period the possession of Palestine is contested by the rival empires, the warlike empires, of Egypt and Nineveh or Babylon.

the key has been but recently discovered by Young and Champollion, but which, we think, so far as these names and titles, may be trusted by the severest historical inquirer.

This most ancient monarchy manifestly possessed a very ancient religion. Religious usages, primeval, yet still very far advanced above savage life, show the concentration of thought and of labour, wonderful at any time, especially wonderful in such early ages, on objects no doubt of pri[illegible] but pride hallowed by religious notions. These two gr[illegible] leading facts, the very ancient monarchy and the very ancient religion, thus irrefragably asserted by the monuments, are illustrated and confirmed by very ancient traditions, which have been handed down to us by Greek writers. According to them, dynasties of kings stretched upward through centuries, through ages, till they culminated in Menes, the first mortal sovereign. But Menes was the successor of dynasties of gods. This may have been pure fable or the tradition of a long period of hierarchical rule, and Menes a mythic or a real king. (His name is singularly accordant with the Indian Menu, the Greek Minos, the Teutonic Mannus, and kindred appellations of a primeval king; though the oldest Egyptian language seems to have had no kindred with the Aryan family, to which the others belong.) But Menes undoubtedly, if he was the founder of the great city of Memphis, a real personage, was followed by one or more lines of kings. Of those kings the priesthood professed to possess the names in their archives, whether resting on tradition or on the scutcheons and titles which they read on the monuments. Of that there can be no doubt. The priests of Memphis communicated some of their secrets to the inquisitive Herodotus; those of Thebes to the later writer, Diodorus the Sicilian. The discrepancy as to the names, titles, and succession of these kings, in the two writers, may manifest great want of exactitude in the priests, or perhaps want of clear understanding of the communications in the quick but not very careful Greeks. It has long been supposed that the historians derived their information from a different priesthood—Herodotus from those of Memphis, Diodorus from those of Thebes. During the reign of the early Ptolemies, an Egyptian priest of Sebennytus, Manetho, and Eratosthenes, a Greek of great learning, undertook to distribute all these dynasties not merely in the order of succession (though some according to either system may have been synchronous), but to establish the chronology,

the length of each reign, as well as their history. Unfortunately we possess only scanty fragments of these writers. The fragments of Manetho are found in the controversial tract of Josephus against Apion, written with the avowed design of proving the superior antiquity of his countrymen the Jews. It is just possible, but highly improbable, that the original Manetho may have been read by some of the Christian chronologers of the third century, Africanus, Eusebius, who, however, writing with special aims and on a preconceived system, though honest, can hardly be held trustworthy expositors of his system. All that we have of Eratosthenes survives in the work of a Byzantine monk of the ninth century, the Syncellus of Constantinople. Now, that the priests themselves should possess such minute and accurate records of centuries, of thousands of years, is in itself an enormous improbability. Manetho and Eratosthenes, if we had their entire works, wrote under the Ptolemies: they may have better comprehended the priests, from whom they acquired their knowledge, than the strangers Herodotus and Diodorus; but who will guarantee the knowledge of the priests, or their repugnance to poetic or priestly fiction—their power of discrimination between history and fable?[1] Grant that they could read the monumental hieroglyphics, then comparatively in perfect preservation, with the utmost fluency and accuracy; that they did read and interpret them with fidelity; that there was, as we find some vestiges, a very considerable Egyptian literature extant: still are we to suppose a monumental history before them of so vast a period, unbroken, with the succession of the kings, the dates and length of their reigns, complete and without chasm or discontinuance? While, then, I venture to doubt, with respectful impartiality, every one of the chronological systems of our learned writers on Egyptian history, the Book of Kings of Lepsius, the calculations of my pious and lamented friend Baron Bunsen, I accept as fully worthy of trust the broad historical facts, to which the undying monuments and their inscriptions, however imperfectly interpreted, bear testimony. The vast antiquity of the Egyptian

[1] This general view is formed from the study of the chief writers on Egyptian antiquities: of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his older works and his notes in Rawlinson's Herodotus; Mr. Sharpe, Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, and Bunsen; more especially, what appears to me the best summary of the whole, the work of M. Brugsch, written in French for the instruction of the Pasha of Egypt in the antiquities of his kingdom. I have not thought it necessary to make citations from each separate work.

monarchy, the immemorial age of the priesthood, even the succession of the dynasties, may to a certain extent rest on sufficient record; and there is no great improbability that some of these dynasties were synchronous—that Egypt was not always ruled by one king, but by several contemporaneous sovereigns. Egypt had certainly, to judge from the monuments alone, many capitals at different periods. Beside Memphis and Thebes, the two great dominant, probably rival cities, others—Tanis, Sais, Heliopolis—were at one time in the ascendant, and possessed either full supremacy or local independence. Memphis, no doubt, was the oldest which displayed the full greatness of the Egyptian mind; and if Memphis was founded, if it attained anything like extent, grandeur, prosperity, under Menes, the first recorded king, this is a great and sure step in advance. If the site of Memphis be to a considerable extent artificial, that is, secured either by embankments or the diversion of the river, and of its perennial inundations, which imply vast concentration and distribution of labour, and much of hydraulic science, rude it may be, but still science, then was Menes (be Menes a proper name or an appellation) the sovereign, and Memphis the capital, of a people far advanced in civilisation. At all events the builders of the Pyramids must not only have made wonderful progress in the arts of construction, in the conveying, raising to enormous height, poising, arranging huge masses of stone, it should seem on profound mechanical principles. But if, as there is no doubt, these Pyramids were intended for places of sepulture, the Egyptians must already, if they had not matured, yet have initiated those religious notions which are the groundwork of their peculiar care of the dead. These kings must have been monarchs of enormous power and wealth—monarchs who would not be content with less than the Pyramids for their tombs. It must have been a religion deeply rooted in the minds of men—a religion which could enforce the erection of the most stupendous and far the most enduring monuments which ever have been raised on earth by the hand of man. But the Pyramids bear the hieroglyphical names and titles, discovered long after the hieroglyphical alphabet had been established, belonging to kings of Manetho's fourth dynasty (a very ancient one indeed, if some of the earlier were synchronous approximating to the earliest); and so far in this broad way we may assuredly trust Manetho, as representing the general tradition of Egypt.

These names, too, agree in a most remarkable manner with those assigned by the traditions collected by Herodotus to the builders of the Pyramids, though the dates of Herodotus, so far as there are dates, by no means ascend so high.

From the rude and simple, though highly artificial form of the Pyramid, Egyptian architecture gradually expanded, and it must have expanded very gradually, to the temple, to the palace, to the spacious hall and chamber, to the excavated rock-tomb, to the obelisk. Sculpture, too, began on the same colossal scale—the gigantic and mysterious Sphinx, the seated Statue, the commemorative Relief. After the earlier dynasties appears a first succession of conquerors, who seem to have extended the arms and the dominion of Egypt over adjacent nations, to have raised temples and other edifices to display their opulence, and to perpetuate the glories of their reigns. But with the exception of the indestructible Pyramids, and just vestiges enough of other edifices to show that the arts had already made great progress, and that Egypt must already have passed through one very long period of gradually developed civilisation, the remains of this primeval period seem to have utterly perished. A revolution then took place, which for a time arrested and threw back this advancing civilisation. The aggressions, the wealth, the fertility, the splendour of Egypt tempted the cupidity of one or more of those vast nomad hordes which still probably occupied the greater part if not the whole of Palestine and immense regions of Asia. This invasion or conquest, and long rule of the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, has every character of historic truth. So long as pastoral or nomad tribes exist, we say not in close proximity, but even at remote distances, with agricultural races, they will be in a state of natural, implacable, necessary hostility. The more precarious subsistence of the pastoral tribes, especially if they have a vast space to wander over with their flocks and herds, will at once induce the habit of perpetual migration, and expose them, as the inevitable lot of their life, to frequent famine. Starvation, setting aside ambition, rapacity, love of adventure, unsettled habits, will drive them upon their neighbours who are in possession of peaceful and inviting plenty. Their invasions will be, on a large and warlike scale, what on a narrower was the peaceful descent of Abraham, the meditated descent of Isaac, the half invited, half compulsory descent of Jacob. It will be here a nation, or many nations, impelled by the same motives and incentives

as the solitary Patriarchs, the patriarchal family, or the patriarchal tribe. (The foolish national vanity of Josephus, it is well known, would identify the vast, irresistible, conquering hordes of the Hyksos with the migration of his few peaceful ancestors.) This seems the law of population where the world is divided between the pastoral and agricultural races. All history bears witness to it: it is shadowed in the implacable hostility of Iran and Turan in the Asiatic nations; in the constant aggressive wars of the so-called Scythians on the Southern Babylonians, Persians, Greeks; in the barbarian ravages of the Roman Empire, and of Christendom by pastoral conquerors, from Attila to Zengis and Tamerlane—we might add the Tartar conquests of China. The traditional history as transcribed by Josephus from Manetho, and the monumental history by some scattered direct indications, by its more significant silence during a long period, confirm this one fact, which seems to me unquestionable; that these irresistible Hyksos or Nomads swept over the rich agricultural and highly cultivated valley of the Nile; that they were hostile to the manners and to the religion of Egypt, destroyers of the nobler but less solid edifices; that they levelled the temples and other monuments, excepting such as the Pyramids, and establishing themselves, like the Mantchou Tartars in China, as sovereigns of the country, partially but not altogether adopted the usages of the land, but did not completely intermingle with the indigenous inhabitants. They are said to have ruled, at least in Lower Egypt, for above five centuries. Two dynasties in succession assumed the throne, probably ruling over tributary sovereigns of native descent. Of these monarchs the monuments are silent: one name only of one king has been deciphered in the hieroglyphic character.

But the native Egyptians at length threw off the yoke. The shepherd strangers were driven, by a succession of insurgent kings, from the cities on the shores of the Nile. The whole valley became again Egyptian. The Hyksos, driven out and retaining their nomad habits, built a vast fortified camp, like the Asiatic Tartars or Huns, on the north-eastern frontier, called Abaris, from which, after an obstinate conflict, they were finally and altogether expelled.

Then arose a magnificent succession of native monarchs, who more than restored the grandeur, wealth, and power of primeval Egypt. An interval of obscuration, according to

some a comparatively short interval, ensued; a period of dark names alternating with glorious ones; and then arose the great nineteenth dynasty, under which Egypt became the conqueror and master of the world. Whether or not Memphis had already lost her ascendancy, Thebes now began to rear those colossal edifices, the glory of her own, the wonder, even in their decay, or ruin, of all succeeding ages; the fame of whose greatness had reached Greece, and was vaguely recorded in the Homeric songs; on which the Romans gazed in undisguised amazement; which oppress and bewilder in our own day the European traveller. Of all works of human hands these doubtless are the most imposing—with the Pyramids, the most eternal—at least above ground. At Nineveh or Babylon, what there is, is shapeless, mostly masses of perishable material—mountains of ruin. The cave temples of India are in comparison but of yesterday. The graceful and exquisitely proportioned temples of Greece are few, and of comparatively small dimensions, however admirable for their beauty, their majesty. The more ambitious and solid structures of Rome must vail their heads before the stupendous remains of the great quadruple city on either side of the Nile, Karnak and Luxor and their satellites.

And these temples, palaces, and tombs are, as it were, instinct with history. They are literally covered with commemorative sculptures and inscriptions, recording the victories, the conquests, the world-wide dominions of that race of kings. Wars are carried on in remote regions, cities besieged, broad rivers bridged, fleets are on the sea. Kings are represented as bearing tribute—kings certainly from the shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, possibly farther east, though I think this extremely doubtful. Asia, Africa, the islands at least of Europe, offer their homage; the civilised regions their most precious products of nature and art, their animals, their fruits, their vessels, and ornaments of wrought or carved gold and silver; the more savage tribes their wild beast skins and furs, and their long trains of slaves. Nor was later history silent of these great Egyptian conquerors; they were perhaps transmuted into fable; but the Sesostris in whom Grecian history seems to have concentred the exploits of a line of kings, though no doubt there was one transcendent prototype of these Egyptian Alexanders or Cæsars, looms through the darkness of primeval history with a reality which cannot be gainsaid.

How, then, do the parallel annals of the Hebrew race con-

form to this broad outline of Egyptian history? Can we ascertain where they touch? and where they touch, do they harmonise so as to illustrate their common truth? or are they committed in manifest and irreconcilable conflict? In the pre-Mosaic and Mosaic Biblical records, the histories come together at three different periods—the descent of Abraham; the viceroyalty of Joseph, with the settlement of the family of Jacob in Egypt; and the Exodus. In the first point of historical contact, the visit of Abraham, there is nothing whatever to determine the period, or the state of the Nile valley, except that it was plentifully supplied with corn, while the conterminous pastoral regions of Palestine suffered grievous famine. Of what race or dynasty was the king, in what city of *Lower* Egypt (this alone seems certain) he dwelt, Memphis, Heliopolis, Sais, whether ruling over the whole country or a local sovereign, there is no certain clue. Perhaps there may be the slighest possible indications from the hospitable reception of Abraham, the reception of a powerful emir by a king of a like race and habits; the absence of an interpreter, who afterwards appears in the history of Joseph; the ready acknowledgment of the power of the stranger's God, which may imply a simpler Theism, more analogous to that of Abraham: such acknowledgment at later times was more sternly compelled from the haughty religion of Egypt. We might be tempted by these, perhaps insignificant points, to guess that the king was of the pastoral or Hyksos race; for in manners, perhaps in descent, these pastoral kings were either of Canaanitish or kindred race, or in their invasion swept with them many of the nomads of Canaan. But this is all in which can be discerned the most faint ground for rational conjecture; and it pretends to nothing more than conjecture.

Not so with Joseph. Even the greater state of the monarch's court may seem to indicate the settled rule of one of the native hereditary kings, rather than that of an usurper who never fully attained to Egyptian civilisation. The whole policy of Joseph concerning the years of plenty and of famine shows him as the minister of a strong established government, which comprehended the whole kingdom, Upper as well as Lower Egypt, under its sole and unresisted sway. That the priesthood were in full power—power, it should seem, never attained under the shepherd kings, who still cherished their hostility to the religion of Egypt—appears, first from the marriage of the minister,

evidently to strengthen his authority, with the daughter of the Priest of On, one of the great seats of the sacerdotal dignity; still more, secondly, by the respect paid to the vast landed estates of the priesthood, while all the rest of the land was escheated to the crown. This intimates reverence, if not prudent awe, of the hierarchical caste, quite in keeping with the relation between the royal and priestly power as it seems to have prevailed under the native constitution of Egypt. The assumed suspicion of Joseph, speaking as an Egyptian, that the sons of Jacob are spies come to see the nakedness of the land, implies the deep-rooted apprehension of a people who had suffered and lived in constant dread of a nomad invasion. All the names, as Lepsius shows, Potiphar, Potipherah, Asnath, are Egyptian, not Semitic. It may be doubted, too, whether the nomad conquerors of Egypt would ever grow up to such an aversion to kindred nomads as to refuse to eat with them: *the Egyptians eat not bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians.*[1] This is the feeling of races totally opposite in origin, in manners, as in religion, belonging strictly to the ancient native population, a population estranged too by long inveterate hostility. Finally, the seclusion of his family of shepherds and herdsmen in a separate district, that of Goshen, it should seem, not merely because that region was peculiarly fitted for the pasture of their flocks and herds, but lest, dwelling among them, they should be exposed to the jealousy and aversion of the native population, *because every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians*,[2] appears the conclusive proof that the Pharaoh whose minister Joseph was, sprang from the native race, and ruled all Egypt as successor of her ancient monarchs.

There is another slight, but very curious circumstance which seems to fall in with these general views. In all the early monuments of Egypt, in the sculptures and the hieroglyphics, the horse seems to be, if not absolutely, almost absolutely unknown. Many other animals form a hieroglyphic character; the horse does not. But the invading armies of the Rameseids fight from their chariots at least, if not as horsemen. Is there not then a strong probability that the horse and the war chariot were introduced into Egypt by the conquering shepherds of Arab descent, or of a kindred race? It may have been among the causes of the rapid conquest of the Hyksos, and what was, for a time, their uncontested superiority. As the

[1] Gen. xliii. 32. [2] Gen. xlvi. 34.

native monarchs, during their subjection, and in their tributary and insurrectionary state, may have acquired the use of that noble animal, hitherto the main strength of their wandering and marauding enemies; so now they may have turned, as it were, their own arms against the invaders, and at a later period found themselves tempted and enabled to carry out their vast schemes of foreign conquest, which, without cavalry, at least, without war chariots, are hardly conceivable.[1] At the later Exodus, the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh are sent in pursuit of the fugitives; and the horse is become so far characteristic of Egypt, that one of the provisions of the Mosaic law guards against their importation into the community which was to settle, as an unenterprising and peaceful community, in the valley of Palestine.

Nothing can be more in the order of things than that an administration like that of Joseph, adding greatly to the power of the crown, but respecting the privileges, the possessions, the authority of the priesthood, should be followed (how immediately we presume not to conjecture) by a line of ambitious, warlike, and magnificent sovereigns, who should make reprisals on, exact vengeance, establish the security of their own dominions, by the subjugation of the conterminous Nomad races, now perhaps resolved again into scattered and separate tribes; and even push forward their conquests to more remote regions, over the monarchies, as such there doubtless were, in Asia, perhaps in Africa. The simple phrase of the rise *of a king who knew not Joseph*, may be but another example of the proverbial ingratitude of kings, especially Oriental despots, to those who have laid the foundations of their greatness. But may it not also imply the abandoment of the peaceful policy of Joseph? That policy seems to have been intent only on the development of the internal resources of the country and the encouragement of the agriculture, which made Egypt in some respects the master, as commanding the only certain food of the human race, with no rival as a corn-growing land, if there were any rival, nearer than the plains of Babylon. The same policy would conduct great works of improvement, canals for irrigation, and so turn to the best account their special privilege, the annual inundation of the Nile. Nothing could more strongly contrast with this pacific policy than the splendid Rameseid period of war, of foreign conquests, subse-

[1] Compare Sir G. Wilkinson's note on Herodotus, l. 108, p. 178. Mesopotamia sent horses as a tribute to Thothmes, III.: *ibid.*

quently of the most costly and magnificent structures, with the most gorgeous ornamentation to commemorate in imperishable records of stone these victories. There is every reason for supposing that Thebes, if it did not owe its foundation, owed its unrivalled grandeur to this dynasty. The vizierate of Joseph, and in all probability the residence of his king, was Lower Egypt; the sale of the captive by the travelling merchants was likely to be made in one of the cities bordering most closely on the Arabian frontier; the sons of Jacob would endeavour to obtain their supplies of corn in one of the nearest cities. The return to their father, and the rapid intercourse between the camp of Jacob in the southern part of Palestine, and the Egyptian city in which Joseph dwelt, tend to the same conclusion. The rise of Thebes as the capital, and the desertion or decline of Memphis and the northern cities, may have been part of the policy of the king *who knew not Joseph*. But if this Rameseid period was subsequent to the time of Joseph, it must have been anterior to that of Moses. These conquests over foreign regions made at the head of vast armies by Sethos I., of the great Rhamses, rest on historical authority absolutely irrefragable. Now though many of these conquests may have been in Africa to the south and to the west, many of them, from the nature of the tributes borne by the captives, from the dress, arms, and accoutrements, from the animals, fruits, and other products of their respective countries, from their Asiatic features and figures, must have been to the east and the north. We may adopt Bunsen's more modest opinion that these conquests, however magnified by later legend, perhaps by Greek imagination, were very limited, and indeed confined to the cities of Palestine and Syria, and to the Naharaim, the regions bordering on the Euphrates and Tigris, and did not advance eastward beyond these rivers. The fleets were probably on the Red Sea, the naval expeditions confined to the coast of Arabia, or at farthest to the shores of the Persian Gulf.[1] But as the marches of the invading armies to these parts of Asia, except perhaps to Arabia, must

[1] "Everything combines to render it probable that the scene of the campaigns of the Tothmoses and Rameseides, as of the peoples whose names are in fact frequently repeated, was, as regards general history, a very narrow one. Wherever we discover an undoubted historical Asiatic name, it is in Palestine or Syria. Here we have Canaan and the Hethites, here also Damascus, and as a general rule the extreme northern point seems to be Mesopotamia Naharaim. Compare the rest of the paragraph." Bunsen, English Translation, iii. p. 165.

have been through Palestine (the highway and battle-field on which in later periods the conflicting forces of the Babylonian and Egyptian empires met in perpetual conflict), it is incredible that they should have left no vestige in the Hebrew annals. Imperfect and fragmentary as are the Jewish annals which record the conquest of Palestine by Joshua and his successors, the successive subjugations and emancipations of the tribes under the Judges by Mesopotamians, Canaanites, Ammonites, Midianites, Moabites, Philistines, it is absolutely impossible that if an Egyptian army occupied or even passed over the country; if there was an Egyptian servitude; if there was any connection whatever either of amicable commerce or hostile collision, that there should be a total and absolute silence in those annals as to any conquests or names connected with Egypt.[1] Nor, considering the length of time over which these foreign conquests extended, is the conjecture in the original text admissible, that they took place during the period of the wanderings in the wilderness. It is just possible that the wars of the later Rameseides of the twenty-first dynasty may have taken place between the Exodus and the final settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, though even in this view there is considerable difficulty. But the parallelism of the two histories imperiously demands a date anterior to the Exodus, for the conquests of the Rhamses, the Sesostris, the king or the kings, who made Thebes their capital, and built up their temples, their palaces, and their tombs, as the eternal record of those conquests.

The mighty conquerors in the course of things became mighty builders. The father of Rhamses the Great may have contented himself with the glory of his achievements. Rhamses the son—the monarch to whom is attributed a reign of sixty-six years—Meiamun, the beloved of Ammon, would show his gratitude to the gods for the successes of the arms of Egypt. His own victories being as yet unrivalled in Egypt, he would dwell in magnificence and luxury in his glorious palace; he would have his sepulchre, the second palace of the undying monarch, almost as gorgeous as the palace of the living king. There must be temples, with their avenues of sphinxes, here raised with incalculable labour,

[1] Would the author of the Book of Judges, relating the sufferings and glorious insurrections of his countrymen, have dwelt on the tyranny of a Sisera, on the ravages of Mesopotamians and Philistines, with not a word on the terrible progress of a Sesostris, who subdued at least all the regions to the Tigris, if such conquest had taken place during those times?

there hewn, as at Ipsambul, out of the solid rock; there must be wonderful palaces, hall within hall, chamber within chamber, to incalculable extent. His own effigy, among those colossal shapes the most colossal, is to be bequeathed to the wondering world; his monumental cave is to be the most solemn and superb; and everywhere are to be ensculptured, in alabaster or marble, his exploits, battles by land and sea, sieges, triumphs, with tributary monarchs and nations.

Rhamses the Great is recorded as having first employed captives in his works.[1] The monuments bear out this tradition. Labourers in foreign dresses, with figures and with countenances certainly not Egyptian, described by names in hieroglyphic characters which designate the inhabitants of the conquered regions, are seen employed in every kind of servile labour, in dragging stones of enormous weight, in every building operation, in the whole process of brick-making. But if the supply of captives taken in war were insufficient (and what hosts of captives would not have been insufficient?) for such buildings, it would naturally occur to tyrannical and jealous despotism to crush or keep down a formidable people, which had been gradually growing up in its own territory, which perhaps had given dangerous signs of insubordination, at all events were alien in religion, in race, in manners, in habits, and allied, if not by secret concert, by habits and occupation with some of the hostile, wild, hardly subjugated people. The pastoral Israelites in Goshen were probably to Egyptian eyes much more connected with the inhabitants of Canaan than with Egypt. For during all this period of conquest on all sides of the realm, in Africa and Asia, the peaceful tribe of Israel were rapidly multiplying in the fertile pastures of Goshen, not powerful enough, or too peaceful, or as foreigners not permitted, to share in the perils and glories of the war, and as yet not formidable enough from numbers to awaken jealousy. They dwelt secluded within themselves, by race, by language, by religion, by occupation—with everything in their lives, ease, sufficiency of subsistence, ample space, moral habits, peace, to encourage, nothing to check the growth of population. At length, however, in process of years, they had become a numerous, it might be

[1] Πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐργασίας τῶν μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οὐδένα παρέλαβε, δι αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἀιχμαλώτων ἅπαντα κατεσκεύασε. διόπερ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπέγραψεν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐγχώριος εἰς αὐτὰ μεμοχθηκε. Diod. Sic. i. 56.

a dangerous people, dwelling among the Egyptians, at least in the Egyptian territory, yet not of them; belonging rather to those nomad tribes, the implacable foes, and now the down-trodden subjects, though once the conquerors and lords, of the husbandmen of the land. If we are to take the words of the Book of Exodus to the letter, which I think by no means necessary, they vied with or surpassed in numbers the indigenous possessors of the soil.[1] What wonder if, at once urged by the want of labourers for their mighty works, by cautious and jealous policy, by uneradicated antipathy of race, the haughty kings of Egypt should fill up the ranks of their captives, the diminishing ranks which their wars caused, with those whom it was at once their advantage and their prudence to depress and keep under? And tyranny, once engaged in oppression, rarely relaxes, usually becomes more severe and merciless. Labour, unwonted and uncongenial labour, enforced in the wantonness of pride and power, leads to murmurs, to suspected if not menaced rebellion; suspected rebellion to measures of still harsher cruelty: it becomes necessary to crush those whom slavery does not entirely subdue. Such was the state of the Israelites when God raised up the deliverer Moses, and the Exodus broke for ever the bonds of the chosen people.

It is certainly a most remarkable fact that at the close of this mighty dynasty there should be a period of obscuration, a short period; for the successors in the next dynasty, a new Rameseid dynasty, seem to have arisen to great wealth and power, to have been conquerors, though on a narrower and less splendid scale.[2]

But before this revival the glorious nineteenth dynasty seems to expire in darkness and ignominy. Not only have the stately structures ceased to arise, the expanding walls to be decorated with processions of tribute-bearing kings and

[1] Exodus i. 9: "And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we."

[2] There is one curious incidental circumstance, the similarity or rather the identity of the name of one of the treasure-cities (Exodus i. 11) with that of the king. Lepsius asserts that the hieroglyphic characters of the king's name exactly coincide with the Hebrew name of the city. The two cities, Pithom (Πατουμος) and Raamses, he places on the Great Canal, which he attributes to Rhamses Meiamun, cities which, as emporia of the commerce of the Canal, and as fortresses for military purposes, might well be called the treasure-cities of a wealthy and warlike monarch.

Die Kanal-bau rief die neue Stadt hervor. Chronologie der Ægypter, p. 356.

nations; but there is a significant silence in the existing monuments; the names and titles of their kings, in their characteristic cartouches, are no longer lavishly inscribed on them; but there are signs of erasure, of studious concealment, as of something which they would shrink from committing to imperishable memory. Some disaster seems to have fallen upon the realm, which, rather than commemorate, the records break off and are mute. It were idle to suppose that such a calamity as the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, by a body of revolted slaves, would have any public record: if the memory of such an event lived, it would live only in tradition, and tradition would disguise and disfigure it to the utmost. It would confine itself to vague expressions of hatred to those who had inflicted the shameful blow on its pride; of the fact itself, still less of its circumstances, it would be carefully forgetful. That a tribe of lepers had broken out,[1] had been suffered to escape, had been cast forth from its territory, was not an unlikely Egyptian version of this great event. In the Egyptian monumental records, obscuration and confusion would be the only commemoration of such a national disaster which we can expect to read upon their monuments; and this occurs, as has been said, at a time when, in other respects, it might least be looked for, under the successor or successors of one, or rather the greatest, of the conquerors and builders. The only explicit fact recorded in the Hebrew annals is the death of that oppressor, and consequently the accession of a new king before the Deliverance. "*And it came to pass in process of time that the king of Egypt died, and the children of Israel sighed by reason of their bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of their bondage.*"[2]

[1] The leprosy among the Hebrews may be more than a hostile fiction. Nothing was more likely to produce and propagate such a malady than the removal of shepherds from the free fresh air of their pastures to the wretched huts by the stone quarries, in the brick fields and building sites to which they were confined during their servitude, above all the miserable and scanty diet to those accustomed to live on their flocks. The rigid provisions in the law against leprosy bear witness to its prevalence; the highest did not escape it, as in the case of Miriam.

[2] Exodus ii. 23.

"Cette lacune monumentale sous Menepthes doit avoir sa raison, et nous la reconnaissons dans les troubles politiques, surtout dans la basse Egypte, qui finirent par la sortie des Hebreux, et des autres captifs Asiatiques retenues depuis longtemps en Egypte pour continuer les ouvrages gigantesques de Ramses II. et de ses ancêtres."

Brugsch believes that Menepthes (the 13th son of his father—Brugsch,

This historical parallelism has brought us to the same conclusion at which the great German Egyptologists, Lepsius, Bunsen, Brugsch (differing on some points, yet with a general concurrence) have arrived, that the Exodus took place towards the close of the nineteenth dynasty. Lepsius gives boldly the name of the king, the Pharaoh under whom it took place—Menepthes, the Pthahmen, the Amenophis, of other writers. They concur, too, in an approximate date: Bunsen 1316, Lepsius 1320, Brugsch about 1330 B.C. This date harmonises with a happy conjecture of the Duke of Northumberland, given by Wilkinson,[1] who, however, from a timid respect for the so-called Biblical chronology, would place his Pthahmen at an earlier period. It is singular, too, that this is the date in the Jewish Seder Olam, a writing as old, or nearly as old, as the Jewish School of Tiberias, on whose determinations the system of chronology usually followed in our common Bibles unquestionably rests.[2] But this late date (I speak always of an approximate date) is inevitable. The Exodus must have been posterior to the great era of Egyptian conquest and Egyptian building, or the parallel histories must be committed in irreconcilable opposition. The Post-Mosaic Jewish history, if it be deserving of any credit, cannot, as has been said, have omitted

p. 171) removed his capital from Thebes to the ancient Memphis. Here are found the most frequent memorials of him, but these after all are few and insignificant. Brugsch dates his reign from 1341 to 1321 B.C.

Lepsius acquiesces in the notion that the king during the Exodus was the Menepthes, the Amenophis son of Armesses (Rameses), Meiamun, who reigned sixty-six years, the great conqueror belonging to the 19th dynasty. "Es scheint mir unmöglich der Ansicht derer noch länger Raum zu geben, welche ihm in der vorhergebenden Dynastie zu finden glauben." He refers to a note in Bunsen, i. p. 227; who, however, has modified his view. Lepsius, Chronologie der Ægypter.

This difficulty is common to all the later systems; the difference is surprisingly small. Wilkinson, Appendix to Herodotus, makes the Pthahmen (the last of the 18th dynasty) the king of the Exodus; the Exodus about B.C. 1326; Bunsen, B.C. 1320; Lepsius, 1314.

Bunsen supposes that during the forty years between the Exodus and the invasion of Palestine by the Jews, the second line of Rameseid kings had waged war in Canaan. Before that invasion the king Rhamses III. had devoted himself to the arts of peace commemorative of his victories. Werke von Rhamses III. von 1280 an. Zwei Paläste in Medinet Habu, westlich von Theben, mit darstellung der Siege in "Kanaan." Unter der Gefangenen liest man die Namen der Philistäer, Hethiter, Riphäer. Eine Seeschlacht, daneben eine Festung am Meer, mit der Aufschrift Maka Tira—Burg des Tyrus.—*Bibelwerk*, i. p. ccxxx.

[1] Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptians, i. p. 81.

[2] Dr. Hales, it appears to me, has proved this—almost the only satisfactory part of his great work.

all notice of the victories and invasions of Rhamses, Sesostris, whether one king or a succession of kings. The history, which at its later period is full and distinct in the relations between Egypt and Palestine, from Shishak to Necho, however the Books of Joshua and Judges may have been more incomplete and fragmentary than the Books of Kings and Chronicles, could not, if genuine or ancient, have been guilty of such an inexplicable omission.

The only difficulty in the adoption of this later date of the Exodus is that it compels the compression of the events between the Exodus and the Building of the Temple by Solomon into a narrower space. In itself the chronology of that period, as ordinarily laid down, especially of the age of the Judges, is, in my judgment, for reasons hereafter to be assigned, altogether untrustworthy. There has been a perpetual controversy among Jewish, followed by Christian writers, as has been shown above, as to the interpretation of one or two passages in the Old Testament (followed of course in the New, in which the writers or speakers naturally and necessarily followed the dominant tradition of their time) which give the total number of years elapsed between the great epochs of Jewish history—the descent of Abraham into Egypt and the Exodus, the Exodus and the building of the Temple. I confess myself to incline to the belief that these are artificial multiples of a conventional number, and that they rest not on the original documents, but on chronological schemes invented in later times. And I must repeat my conclusion, that while the veracity of the historical facts strengthens more and more with more mature consideration, my mistrust in the accuracy of the dates increases, rather than diminishes.

There is nothing in the monumental history of Egypt which refuses to harmonise with the Mosaic history, or rather there is a general correspondence, at least as great as could be expected, considering the opposite nature and character of both; even the synchronisms, in this broad view, are favourable to the veracity of both. Those who on one side place them in obstinate and implacable opposition one to the other, and those who try to make out a more close and intimate union, a confirmation of the minute particulars of one by clear and positive testimonies from the other, appear to me to require more than the history of such remote ages is likely to furnish, and not to comprehend the degree of probability with which the modern historian of those ages must in general content

himself. I utterly despair of making out the synchronisms of Egyptian and Hebrew history with the precision of those of the parallel histories of France and England. I think it idle waste of time and of learning to attempt to determine the absolute year A. C. of Abraham, or Sesostris, or Moses, with the nicety with which we establish those of Louis XIV. or George III.

BOOK III

THE DESERT

The March—Mount Sinai—Delivery of the Law—The Tabernacle—The Law.

THUS free and triumphant, the whole people of Israel set forth upon their pilgrimage towards the promised land—a land described, in the most glowing language, as flowing with milk and honey.[1] But at present an arid and thirsty desert lay

[1] At the time when this work was written, the Peninsula of Sinai had not been investigated with the frequency, the careful observation, and the Biblical knowledge possessed by later travellers. My chief authorities were Della Valle, Shaw, Pococke, Mr. Fazakerley in Walpole's Travels, Niebuhr, but more especially the enterprising and observant Burckhardt, whose knowledge of Arabic was invaluable. From Burckhardt commences a new era of Eastern, especially of Palestinian, travel, of which Dr. Robinson and his companion Dr. Eli Smith, and Mr. Stanley, may be taken as representatives. Dr. Robinson and Mr. Stanley, throwing aside all the vague and untrustworthy traditions, have sought from the Biblical descriptions to comprehend and give reality to all the awful circumstances of the eventful scene—the commanding mountain, to the top and into the clefts of which Moses retired, so as to stand aloof from the people; the plain below, which would afford ample space for the assembled Israelites. The traditions in truth cannot be traced higher than the Christian monks of the fourth century, and ever since have been constantly growing in extravagance and particularity. It is certainly remarkable that as far as we can judge from the sacred books, the Jews seem neither from reverence nor curiosity to have visited the scenes which had witnessed the Delivery of the Law, the presence of their God, with all the marvels of their early annals. The flight of the Prophet Elijah into this desert is the only incident connected with these regions. Pilgrimage, properly speaking, is of comparatively recent date; it is no part of the Jewish religion, as it is of Mohammedanism, and as it was for a considerable period of Christianity. The going up to Jerusalem for the celebration of the Great Festivals is quite another thing. There are allusions in the poetic books to the appalling scenes in the Wilderness, but these are historical or poetic reminiscences, not kindled by, or seemingly kindling, any desire to visit the hallowed places. The name of Horeb is absolutely unknown, Sinai but vaguely and dimly known.

The important question, whether the whole region called the Desert, or the Wilderness, has always been as barren and unproductive as at present, has been examined in later times with great research; the results are given by Mr. Stanley in a remarkable passage, p. 24. See especially the just and unanswerable position—"How could a tribe so numerous and powerful as, on any hypothesis, the Israelites must have been, be maintained in this inhospitable desert?" "It is no answer to say that they were sustained by miracles; for except the manna, the quails, and the three interventions in regard to water, none such are mentioned in the Mosaic history; and if we have no warrant to take away, we have no warrant to add." Read the whole passage.

before them—long levels of sand, or uneven, stony ground broken by barren ridges of rugged mountains, with here and there a green spot where a few palm-trees overshadowed a spring of running water. Extraordinary as it may seem, we can almost trace their march, at least in its earlier stations; for while the face of cultivated countries and the manners of civilised nations are in a perpetual state of change, the desert and its inhabitants are alike unalterable. The same wild clans pitch their tents in the same valleys, where waters, which neither fail nor increase, give nourishment to about the same extent of vegetation. After three days' march through the wilderness of Shur, the Israelites reached the well of Marah, but here a grievous disappointment awaited them. As they rushed to slake their burning lips in the stream, they found it, unlike the soft and genial waters of the Nile, so bitter that it could not be drank. From Ajoun Mousa (the wells of Moses), near that part of the sea where Niebuhr supposes that the passage was made, the observant and accurate Burckhardt travelled in fifteen hours and a quarter (a good three days' march for a whole people like the Israelites) to a well called Howara,[1] "the water of which is so bitter, that men cannot drink it; and even camels, if not very thirsty, refuse to taste it." The spring was sweetened by the branch of a tree, which Moses, by divine direction, cast into it—whether from the natural virtue of the plant seems uncertain. A plant with this property is indicated in the papers of Forskal, who travelled with Niebuhr as botanist, and is said to be known in the East Indies. Burckhardt suggests the berry of the Gharkad,[2] a shrub which grows in the neighbourhood.[3] From hence the caravan passed on to Elim, which

[1] Burckhardt's identification of Howara with Marah is generally received.

[2] Robinson objects that the fruit of the Gharkad would not have been ripe so early in the year. "We made frequent and diligent inquiries whether any process is now known among the Bedouins for thus sweetening bad water, either by the means of the juice of berries, or the bark or leaves of any tree or plant, but we were invariably answered in the negative." Vol. i. p. 98.

I had also in mind this sentence of Bruce—"The Arabs call Elvah a shrub or tree, not unlike our hawthorn in form and flower. It was of this wood, they say, that Moses' rod was made, when he sweetened the waters of Marah." Travels, iii. p. 487. "*Was not the water made sweet by wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?*" Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 5.

[1] Since the publication of the first edition, some water from a fountain, called that of Marah, but probably not the Howara of Burckhardt, has been brought to this country, and has been analysed by a medical friend of the author. His statement is subjoined: "The water has a slightly astringent bitterish taste. Chemical examination shows that these qualities are derived

all travellers place in the valley of Girondel or Gharondel. Here they rested under the shade of seventy palm-trees, with twelve springs of water bubbling up around them. Nine out of the twelve wells still remain, and the palm-trees have spread out into a beautiful grove. The natives pointed out to Shaw a spot called Hummun Mousa, where the household of Moses are said to have pitched their tents.[1] In this delightful resting-place the nation reposed for a month; and then set forth again, not in the direction of Palestine, but towards that mysterious mountain where the Almighty had first made himself known to Moses. Their route lay at no great distance from the sea; several of the valleys, which it crossed, led down to the shore; at the end of one of these, probably that called by Burckhardt the Wady Taybe, they halted on the beach. From thence they struck into the wilderness, but by this time their provisions totally failed, and the dreadful prospect of perishing by famine, in this barren and thirsty desert, arose before their eyes. Of all human miseries, both in apprehension and reality, to die slowly of hunger, and to see others, to whom we can afford no assistance, die around us, is undoubtedly the worst. The Israelites began to look back to Egypt, where, if they suffered toil and oppression, at least they never wanted food. All was forgotten—the miracles wrought in their favour, the promises of divine protection, the authority of their leader. Murmurs of discontent spread through the camp, till at length the whole body broke out into open remonstrances. But their Almighty Protector had not abandoned them; and, in his name, without hesitation, Moses promised an immediate and plentiful supply. In the spring of the year quails, migratory birds, pass in large flocks over the Arabian peninsula; they are very heavy on the wing, and their line of flight depends much on the direction of the wind. A cloud of these birds was suddenly wafted over the camp of the Israelites, and fell around them in immense

from the selenite or sulphate of lime, which it holds in solution, and which is said to abound in the neighbourhood. If, therefore, any vegetable substance containing oxalic acid (of which there are several instances) were thrown into it, the lime would speedily be precipitated, and the beverage rendered agreeable and wholesome. The quantity of acid requisite for this purpose must be inconsiderable, as a pint of water, at its summer temperature in England, is scarcely capable of dissolving twenty grains of the selenite."

[1] Some, embarrassed by the distance from Wady Gharondel to the next station, place Elim at Wady Useit. Robinson; but see Stanley, p. 26.

On the trustworthiness of the names and descriptions of the stations, generally, compare Ewald, ii. p. 10.

numbers.[1] Nor was this all; in the morning, exactly as Moses had foretold, the ground was covered with manna. This is now clearly ascertained, by Seetzen and Burckhardt, to be a natural production; it distils from the thorns of the tamarisk, in the month of June. It is still collected by the Arabs before sunrise, when it is coagulated, but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it. "Its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. It may be kept for a year, and is only found after a wet season. It is still called by the Bedouins 'mann.'"[2] The quantity now collected, for it is only found in a few valleys, is very small; the preternatural part, therefore, of the Mosaic narrative consists in the immense and continual supply, and the circumstances under which it was gathered, particularly its being preserved firm and sweet only for the Sabbath-day. The regulation, that enough, and only enough, for the consumption of the day should be collected at a time, seems a prudent precaution, enforced by the remarkable provision, that no one found that he had collected more or less than an omer, lest the more covetous or active should attempt to secure an unfair proportion, and deprive the rest of their share.

After two other resting-places, at Dophkah and Alush, the Israelites arrived at the foot of that awful mountain already sanctified by the presence of their Almighty Creator. But a new calamity, not less insupportable than famine, the want of water, called forth new discontents and murmurs. So great was the excitement, that the life of Moses was endangered. He cried unto the Lord, saying, "*What shall I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me.*" By the divine command, in the presence of the assembled elders, and with

[1] Josephus, iii. 1.—Λίνα παραιήκη κατεσκεύαζον, ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τον ἀιγιαλὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῦς σταδίους ἱστάντες, τὰς θήρας τῶν ὀρτύγων ἐποιοῦντο φέρονται γὰρ ὄυτοι κατ' ἀγέλας μείζους ἐκ τῦυ πελάγους, ὄυς θηρεύοντες, ἤθροιζον πλῆθος ἱκανὸν εἰς διατροφὴν ἑαυτοῖς. Diod. Sic. i. c. 60. This curious parallel case is described as near Rhinocolura. Compare Sonnini's Travels, ii. p. 414.

[2] The author, by the kindness of a traveller returned from Egypt, has received a small quantity of manna; it was, however, though still palatable, in a liquid state from the heat of the sun. He has obtained the additional curious fact, that manna, if not boiled or baked, will not keep more than a day, but becomes putrid, and breeds maggots. It is described as a small round substance, and is brought in by the Arabs in moderate quantities mixed with sand.

Ritter, in his Erdkunde, xv. p. 665, &c., has above thirty pages in which every fact and every opinion relating to the manna is collected with his indefatigable industry and accuracy. Mr. Stanley has summed up the long controversy in a brief note,—p. 28.

the rod with which he before struck the Nile, Moses smote the rock, and water flowed forth; the place was called Massah and Meribah, from the discontents of the people. Here likewise their fortitude, as well as their faith and patience, was put to the trial. The camp was suddenly surrounded by one of the wild marauding clans, the Amalekites; or, according to Josephus, by a confederacy of all the sheiks of the desert, determined to exterminate these invaders of their territory. Moses delegates the military command to Joshua, who afterwards conducted their armies to the conquest of Canaan. He himself, with his brother Aaron, and Hur, takes his station on an eminence; there, in the sight of the whole army, he raises his hands in earnest supplication to heaven. The Israelites, encouraged by their trust in divine protection, fight manfully. Still the attack is fierce, long, and obstinate. The strength of Moses fails, and the Israelites behold with alarm and trepidation his arms hanging languidly down, and their courage, too, begins to give way.[1] His companions observing this, place him on a stone, and support his hands on each side. The valour of the people revives, and they gain a complete victory. This wanton and unprovoked aggression gave rise to a perpetual hereditary feud between the tribes; the Amalekites were devoted to eternal and implacable hostility.

The fame of these successes reached the pastoral chieftain whose daughter Moses had married. Jethro joins the camp with Zipporah the wife, and Gershom and Eliezer the sons of Moses. He is received with great respect, and by his prudent advice the Jewish leader proceeds to organise the body of his people under more regular and effective discipline.[2] Hitherto the whole burthen of the religious and civil affairs had rested on himself: he had been the sole leader, sole judge, and sole interpreter of the Divine Will. He withdraws into the more remote and sacred character, leaving the common and daily affairs to be administered by officers, appointed in regular subordination over the subdivisions of the whole people, into tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands. These arrangements completed, the Israelites wind along the defiles of this elevated region, till at length

[1] "And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed; and when he let down his hand Amalek prevailed." That this was the attitude of prayer, is at least probable, though not distinctly declared. Exodus xvii. 11.

[2] It is remarkable that by the advice of an Arab chief, at least a Nomad or Desert chief, Moses organised Arab discipline.

they come to the foot of the loftiest peak in the whole ridge, that of Sinai.[1] Here, after the most solemn preparations, and under the most terrific circumstances, the great law-giver of the Jews delivered that singular constitution to his people which presupposed their possession of a rich and fertile territory in which as yet they had not occupied an acre, but had hitherto been wandering in an opposite direction, and not even approached its borders. The laws of a settled and civilised community were enacted among a wandering and homeless horde, who were traversing the wilderness, and more likely, under their existing circumstances, to sink below the pastoral life of their forefathers, than advance to the rank of an industrious agricultural community. Yet, at this time, judging solely from its internal evidence, the Law must have been enacted. Who but Moses ever possessed such authority as to enforce submission to statutes so severe and uncompromising? Yet as Moses, incontestably, died before the conquest of Canaan, his legislation must have taken place in the desert. To what other period can the Hebrew constitution be assigned? To that of the Judges? a time of anarchy, warfare, or servitude! To that of the Kings? when the republic had undergone a total change! To any time after Jerusalem became the metropolis? when the holy city, the pride and glory of the nation, is not even alluded to in the whole Law! After the building of the Temple? when it is equally silent as to any settled or durable edifice! After the separation of the kingdoms? when the close bond of brotherhood had given place to implacable hostility! Under Hilkiah? under Ezra? when a great number of the statutes had become a dead letter! The Law depended on a strict and equitable partition of the land. At a later period it could not have been put into practice without the forcible resumption of every individual property by the state; the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of such a measure, may be estimated by any reader who is not entirely unacquainted with the history of the ancient republics. In other respects, the Law breathes the air of the desert. Enactments intended for a people with settled habitations, and dwelling in walled cities, are mingled with temporary regulations, only suited to the

[1] I would again refer on the geography of the whole district to the two best authorities, Dr. Robinson and Mr. Stanley. It would be presumption in one unacquainted with the district to enter into details, or to pass judgment upon the contested points.

Bedouin encampment of a nomad tribe. I can have no doubt that the statute book of Moses, with all his particular enactments, still exists, and that it recites them in the same order, if it may be called order, in which they were promulgated.[1]

[1] In Lev. iv. 12–20: The sin-offering is to be carried out beyond the camp. Lev. xvi. 10, 21–28: The scape-goat is to be sent out into the wilderness. Lev. xiii. 46: The leper is to dwell without the camp. Add xiv. 3–8. I cannot understand how these provisions at least can be considered anything but contemporaneous with the events, or how they are to be reconciled with the recent theories of the late invention or even compilation of the Law; they would hardly have been left if the people had long dwelt in cities, and had held their worship in the Temple of Jerusalem. Add to this the special Egyptian or anti-Egyptian character of some of the enactments (whether we adopt the theory of Spencer and Warburton or not); the manifest allusions to Egyptian arts and usages, which certainly would not have been introduced at a later period, when the captivity in Egypt was but a remote reminiscence.

As to this want of order (which seems to me to favour the notion of contemporaneity), a later codifier would have been more artificial in his arrangement. See the very commencement. Exodus xx. ends with laws of sacrifice; the next chapter goes into the laws of servitude.

That grave doubts have been and are entertained, it must be acknowledged, on most of these points by a great part of the Critical School of Germany, by some in France, by some in England. And these are the doubts of men distinguished by indefatigable research, by vast knowledge of the Hebrew language and of the cognate tongues, by seemingly the most sincere and conscientious love of truth; in some cases, as in that of my excellent departed friend, Baron Bunsen, of the most profound Christian piety. It is not, I trust, from ignorance, nor want of respectful and candid examination, I will not say of the whole school, for it is countless, but of those admitted to be the chief writers; I trust, too, from no narrow-minded prejudice, nor from superstitious reverence for ancient opinions, nor from any religious timidity, for I cannot think the vital truths of Christianity in the least imperilled by these inquiries—from none of these unworthy motives (if I know myself) do I adhere to the views expressed in the text.

There are two entirely distinct questions, it must be repeated, at issue in these investigations. I. The age, and therefore the authority of the Law. (When was the word Torah, the Law, first considered equivalent to the Pentateuch?) II. The age and authorship of the books of the Pentateuch, in which the Law has come down to us. I. As to great part of the Law in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, most of the boldest writers, Eichhorn, De Wette, Ewald, Bunsen, Bleek, admit that it is of the age, if not from the lips or the pen of Moses; that it existed in its primitive form and words, and, with some of the poems and other historical passages, was among the materials worked up at a later date (when, no two agree) by the compilers or authors of the present Books of Moses; that this original substratum, as it were, of the Law is discernible and distinguishable by critical sagacity. But, II. On the age and authorship of the books ascribed to Moses there is an infinite diversity of opinion. Indeed an adversary of such opinions might almost stand aloof in calm patience, and leave the conflicting theorists to mutual slaughter. There is, however, a strong negative consent against the ancient and long established views as no longer tenable. Every one of the theories alluded to in the text brings down the composition or compilation of the Pentateuch, especially of Deuteronomy, to a later period, and has its ingenious and learned advocates. Some date it after, some during the exile; some in the reigns of the later kings; some hold it to be the book found in the reign of Josiah in

First, however, must be related the circumstances under which the Hebrew constitution was enacted. The Israelites had been accustomed only to the level of the great Egyptian valley, or to the gentle slopes which skirted the pastures of

the Temple; Ewald, especially, ascribes the book of Deuteronomy to the reign of Manasseh, and to a writer in Egypt. Bunsen seems as confident that it was written under Hezekiah as that the Æneid was written in the days of Augustus. Some choose the reign of Solomon, some of David, some (Bleek, the latest published work) under Saul. To examine all these schemes in detail (and the whole force of the argument lies in detail) is obviously impossible in this work. Some of the alleged repetitions and contradictions in the Law will be noticed in the course of the following book. But there is one criticism which, I trust, it may not be presumptuous to submit to the critical school. There seems to me a fatal fallacy in the groundwork of much of their argument. Their minute inferences, and conclusions drawn from slight premises, seem to presuppose an integrity and perfect accuracy in the existing text, not in itself probable, and certainly utterly inconsistent with the general principles of their criticism. They are in this respect, in this alone, almost at one with the most rigid adherent of verbal inspiration.

I have great faith in internal evidence, which rests on broad and patent facts; on laws, for instance, which belong to a peculiar age and state of society, and which there can be no conceivable reason for imagining in later times, and during the prevalence of other manners, and for ascribing them to an ancient people. That the book of the Law delivered in the desert should contain passages seemingly anticipative of later stages of society may be, if the fact is clearly proved, a serious difficulty; but the counter-improbability must likewise be taken into account, that a later compiler of the Law should introduce into it provisions, either entirely obsolete from change of manners, or which never were observed; that he should without any necessity as regards his purpose throw himself back into a past and primitive period.

The argument from language appears to me to be equally insecure, and to be used with great caution and judgment. I mean not that even where we possess only the sacred books themselves, the gradual development of the language, the introduction of new words, of words used in new senses, of new forms, new grammatical constructions, new substitutions of letters, may not (as shown by Gesenius in his History of the Hebrew Language) be a sure, almost an infallible, test of the relative antiquity of certain writings or parts of writings; but these rules, especially in such a case, where we have not, as Bentley had, the Greek of many centuries to compare and to contrast, must be applied with the finest observation, with the most exquisite and suspicious nicety.

This criticism must always bear in mind the uncertainty of the received text, which on its own principles, and on such principles I argue, it is bound to admit. Now, in truth, of the conservation of these earliest Hebrew writings during centuries, their custody, their mode of preservation, their transmission, their perpetuation by successive transcribers, we really know nothing. The single fact, the discovery of the Book of the Law during the reign of Josiah, instead of throwing a clear light on the subject, involves us in greater perplexity. What was that Book of the Law?—the whole Pentateuch?—the Law in a more limited sense?—or as some have supposed the book of Deuteronomy?

It is assumed that because the Jews at a later period, after the Exile, acquired slowly, but it should seem did acquire, a profound reverence for their sacred books, which degenerated into superstition—superstition which gave a mysterious sanctity to every line, word, point—that this was their feeling during all their early history. It is assumed, that as their whole polity rested on their religion, in short because they were the people of God, they must have taken the most rigid measures for the conservation of that which

Goshen; they had been travelling over the flat sands or moderate inequalities of the desert; the entrance into a wild and rugged mountainous region, the peaks of which were lost in the clouds, must in itself have excited awful and appalling

they held to be the Word of God. I fear that our history must show that there were long periods, even centuries, when it will be difficult to find in the people, from the highest to the lowest, from the priesthood and the Levites, that sacred veneration for the Law and for the religion of their God such as no doubt in later days led to the jealous conservation of the sacred books. It is remarkable how rare, if at all, are allusions to them, either in the History or the Prophets. But, passing over this, what was the collection, redintegration, if we may use the word, the canonisation of the sacred books in the time of Ezra? Was what we may presume to call the archaism of the separate books rigidly preserved? Were no modifications of language unconsciously or inadvertently permitted to creep in? Was the precise phraseology, spelling, grammar, as well as the sacred sense and hallowed meaning, maintained with the rigid scrupulousness of an antiquarian? I write this with no disrespect for the marvellous science of language, which has been, I may say, born, and has risen to such ripe maturity in our days; but I would suggest that the considerations stated above must not be lost sight of. I must confess that so many objections that have been raised, and on which great stress has been laid, against the historical value of the Hebrew writings, vanish away, in my point of view, as palpable interpolations, glosses which have crept into the text, errors in numbers: even in linguistic difficulties so much may have grown out of gradual and insensible modernisations, if I may use the word, the accommodation to the prevailing vernacular usage of the people, that the argument from language, however unimpeachable to a great extent, especially by humble scholars like myself, is not a guide quite so sure and infallible as it is sometimes assumed to be.

And what if there be ground for the reconstruction or redintegration of all the sacred books by Ezra, as seems to have been the belief of many, if not most of the early fathers?[1] They assert that Ezra was specially inspired for this function; but setting aside the question of his Divine inspiration, if the sacred books really were recomposed (this is hardly too strong a word) by Ezra, or in the time of Ezra, supposing the most scrupulous fidelity as to the legal and religious provisions, what extensive modifications may have been made as to the smaller historic facts (some for the sake of perspicuity, some to harmonise discrepancies), above all in the language, which would in many places inevitably and insensibly take a varying cast!

There may no doubt be niceties both of style and language to be detected by fine critical sagacity, by exquisite judgment, by long and patient study; and arguments of this kind are of irresistible force. But on the other hand, copyists in successive ages would have a tendency to modernise, to accommodate words, inflections, grammatical constructions to the prevalent vernacular. This takes place since printing has been in use, even in sacred books, our liturgies, hymns, even Bibles. Thus a gradual approximation to later forms of language, to Aramaism, when Hebrew began to Aramaise, might gradually creep in. I cannot think that sufficient attention has been paid to these considerations.

And on the whole, too, I cannot but observe that the question as to the

[1] The expression of Irenæus is very strong. ὃς (Θεὸς) γε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Ναβουχεδονόσορ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ διαφθαρεισῶν τῶν γραφῶν . . . ἔπνευσεν Ἔσδρᾳ τῷ ἱερεῖ . . . τοὺς τῶν προγεγονότων προφητῶν πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους, καὶ ἀποκαταστῆσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Μωσέως νομοθεσίαν. Contra Hæres., iii. 25. See also Jerome ad Helvidium, who boldly says, "Sive Mosem dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Ezram jusdem instauratorem operis non recuso." See also Augustin de Mir. Scrip., ii. 23.

emotions. How much more so, when these high and frowning precipices had been haunted by the presence of their God! Their leader departs alone to the unseen, and apparently inaccessible, summit of the mountain. He returns

period to which the books of the Law, even Deuteronomy, are to be assigned, is materially changed by the clearer views which have opened upon us of the Egyptian civilisation before the Exodus. All the notions of Moses as the inventor—the inspired inventor of written characters, almost of law itself, which religious men have cherished, thinking that they were doing honour to religion, must be cast aside. It is beyond doubt that the Hebrew people came forth from a nation in many respects in a very advanced state. The later Jewish tradition, preserved by the Apostles, of Moses being versed in the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that wisdom of a very high character, whether civil or intellectual, whether of mental acquirements or skill in arts and inventions, is far more consentaneous not only with our enlarged Egyptian knowledge, but with the Mosaic records. Though no doubt, immediately before the Exodus, the Hebrews were reduced to a base helotry, and employed on the lowest industrial occupations, they must in their long peaceful state, though still pastoral rather than agricultural, have advanced, if not with equal steps, at no very remote distance, from their Egyptian masters. That before the Exodus the Egyptians had written characters, besides hieroglyphics, seems beyond doubt, whether we admit the account of the campaigns of Sesostris, said to be contemporaneous, or even the Egyptian novel translated by M. Rongè. I have a strong opinion that at the time of the Exodus the Israelites, at least their leaders, were in a higher state of civilisation in many respects than at any period of their history before the Captivity, excepting perhaps during the later reign of David and that of Solomon. The division and hostility of the two kingdoms was a period in general rather of decline than of advancement. The nations with whom they came in contact or who fell off from their great empire under Solomon, except the Phœnicians, were less civilised in manners and arts, as well as in religion, than the Israelites had been at their culminating period of power and glory. All this seems to me to bear strongly on the period of the Mosaic legislation, and of its formation into a written code. Further, is it credible that such an event as the reproduction of the Law in a form, if not authoritative, at least generally adopted, especially if done with the royal or priestly sanction, should altogether escape the writer of the Book of Kings, or the later compiler of the Chronicles? Bunsen himself supposes that the compilation was made under the control of the King and the High Priest. (See Bibelwerk, ix. p. 261.) Yet of the events, particularly of the reforms during the reign of Hezekiah, we read more fully than of those of any other king. If the discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple under Josiah was so great an event, and is so distinctly chronicled, why this total silence about the reconstitution of the whole Law? Ewald's assignment of Deuteronomy to the reign of Manasseh, on which reign we are almost in the dark, seems to me more utterly wild and arbitrary, and its Egyptian origin wilder still.

The latest, no timid writer, Bleek, Einleitung, p. 348 (Berlin, 1860), thus sums up for the antiquity of the Mosaic law:—

"Die Gesetzgebung des Pentateuchs ist in Wesentlichen echt Mosaisch. Viele Gesetze liegen uns in demselben noch ganz in der Gestalt vor, worin sie von Moses erlassen, und ohne Zweifel auch schon niedergeschrieben sind, da sie in einem späterem Zeitalter in dieser Form nicht wohl hätten concipirt werden können. Was aber andere Gesetze betrifft, von denen sich nachweisen, oder wahrscheinlich machen lässt, dass ihre Abfassung einem späteren Zeitalter angehört, so bieten diese zwar theilweise in einzelnen Punkten Ab-

bearing a message from God, which, while it asserts his universal dominion over the earth, proclaims his selection of the Israelites from all the nations, as his peculiar people; they were to be to the rest of mankind what the great caste of the Egyptian priesthood was to the other classes of that community. The most solemn purifications are enjoined; a line is drawn and fenced at the foot of the mountain, which, on pain of death, they are not to transgress. It is announced, that on the third day the presence of the Almighty will display itself. On the third day the whole people assemble in trembling expectation; the summit of the mountain appears clothed in the thickest darkness; tremendous thunders and lightnings, phenomena new to the shepherds of Goshen, whose pastures had escaped the preternatural tempest in Egypt, burst forth, and the terrors are heightened by a wild sound, like that of a trumpet, mingling with, and prolonging, the terrific din of the tempest. The mountain seems to have shown every appearance of a volcanic eruption; blazing fires, huge columns of smoke, convulsions of the earth. Yet so far, I believe, as scientific observation has gone, it is decided, from the geological formation of the mountain, that it has never been subject to the agency of internal fire. The dauntless leader takes his stand in the midst of this confusion of the elements; the trumpet peals still louder, and is answered by a voice distinct and audible, but from whence it proceeded no man knew. It summons Moses to the top of the mountain; he returns, and still more earnestly enjoins the people not to break through the prescribed limits. Immediately on his descent, the mysterious voice utters those ten precepts usually called the Decalogue, a summary, or rather the first principles of the whole Law. The precautions of Moses to restrain the curiosity or presumption of the people were scarcely necessary. Their fears are too highly excited; instead of approaching the sacred summit of the mountain, they retire in terror from the place where they were assembled, and entreat that from henceforth they may receive the will

weichungen von den Echt Mosaischen dar, aber so dass sie doch in ansehung des Geistes und wesentlichen Characters durchaus mit ihnen harmoniren. Sie gehen fast alle nur darauf aus, die Mosaische Gesetzgebung für die in späterer Zeit veränderte Verhältnisse mehr angemessen zu machen, so dass sie auch damals eine unmittelbare Anwendung finden könnten, was bei manchen von Moses selbst ausgegangenen Gesetzen, nicht ohne weiteres der Fall war, da sie sich nur auf den nomadischer Zustand der Israeliten wahrend des Zuges durch die Wüste beziehen."

of God, not directly, but through Moses, their acknowledged representative. Moses again enters into the darkness, and returns with another portion of the Law. The assent of the people to these leading principles of their constitution is then demanded; religious rites are performed; twelve altars raised, one for each tribe; sacrifice is offered, the Law read, and the covenant between God, the law-giver, and the whole people, solemnly ratified by sprinkling them with the blood of the sacrifice. Moses again ascends the mountain, accompanied this time by Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, who were selected for the priestly office, and by seventy elders of Israel. All these remained at a respectful distance; yet, it is said, they saw the God of Israel; it should seem, the symbolic fire which indicated his presence, beneath which was what appeared like a pavement of lapis-lazuli, or sapphire, or the deep blue of the clearest and most cloudless heaven. Delegating the charge of the people to the elders, to Aaron and to Hur, Moses once more ascended into the cloud, which was now at times illuminated with the glory of the Lord, *like a devouring fire*. For forty days he remained on the mountain, neither appearing nor holding any communication with the people. Day after day they expected his return: the gloom and silence of the mountain remained unbroken. Had he perished? Had he abandoned the people? Aaron himself is in the same total ignorance as to the designs and the fate of his brother. Whither shall they wander in the trackless desert? Who shall guide them? Their leader and their God seem equally to have deserted them. Still utterly at a loss to comprehend the sublime notions of the Deity, which their leader would inculcate, they sink back to the superstitions of the country which they had left. They imperiously demand, and Aaron consents to cast, an image of gold, similar to the symbolic representation of the great god of the Egyptians, under the form of an ox or a calf, and they begin to celebrate this new deity with all the noise, tumult, and merriment of an Egyptian festival.[1] When their leader descends he sees the whole people dancing in their frantic adoration around the idol. In the first access of indignation,

[1] Some have supposed a mystic dance in imitation of the course through the signs of the Zodiac (Stolberg, Geschichte der Religion, ii. p. 127) like the modern usage described by Volney: "La danse des Dervishes, dont les tournoyements ont pour objet d'imiter les mouvements des astres." Voyage en Syrie. Stolberg's reason is—"da der Sonnengott unter dem Bilde des Stiers bey den Alten verehrt ward."

he casts down and breaks the stone tablets, on which the Law was inscribed. He seizes the image, which was most likely of small dimensions, though raised on a lofty pole, commands it to be ground or dissolved to powder, throws it into the neighbouring fountain, and forces the people to drink the water impregnated with its dust. A more signal punishment awaits this heinous breach of the covenant. The tribe of Levi espouse the cause of God; fall upon the people; slay the offenders, without regard to kindred or relationship, till 3000 men lie dead upon the field.[1] The national crime thus dreadfully atoned, the intercourse between the lawgiver and the Deity is renewed.[2] Yet the offended God still threatens to withdraw His own visible presence during their approaching invasion of Canaan, that presence which He had before promised should attend on their armies, and discomfit their enemies; He disclaims them as His people, and gives them over to the tutelar protection of *His angel.*

Already, before the construction of the great tabernacle, there had been a tent set apart for public purposes; where the councils of the leaders had been held; and, most probably, sacrifices performed. This tent Moses removed beyond the polluted precincts of the camp: no sooner had this been done, than the Deity appeared suddenly to return; the people, standing before their tents, beheld the cloud of glory taking up its station at the door of the tabernacle into which Moses had entered. They bowed down at once in awe-struck adoration, while their God and their leader held their secret council within the tent. Within the tent a scene took place which it is best to relate in the language of the sacred writer. Moses having obtained the promise of divine protection for the people addressed the Almighty visitant—*I beseech thee show me thy glory*, that is, make me acquainted with the essence of the divine nature. And God said, *I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee. And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.* Mortal man cannot comprehend the divine nature; but afar off, and overshadowed by my protection, thou shalt be favoured with some farther revelation of the great Creator.[3] On the re-ascent of Moses to the mountain,

[1] Exodus xxxii. 28; the LXX. has 23,000.

[2] Josephus, jealous of the national character, omits this whole scene.

[3] It is right to point out the singular, at least apparent contradiction between the two passages in Exodus xxiv. 10, 11, which concludes in our translation "also they saw God and did eat and drink," and that in the text, xxxiii. 20.

with two new tables of stone, this promise is thus fulfilled,—*The Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed,—the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear (the guilty), visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation.* Such were the notions of the Divinity, taught to a barbarous nation in that remote period of the world![1] Forty days longer the lawgiver remained in secret

It is remarkable, too, that the former is an Elohist, the latter a Jehovist passage. The LXX. translate the former *καὶ ἴδον τὸν τόπον ὃν ἑστήκει ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ. . . . καὶ ὤφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον.*

[1] Nothing is more remarkable throughout this wonderful narrative than the struggle as it were to keep up the purely spiritual, immaterial, and moral conception of the Godhead, and at the same time to reveal that Godhead to a people whose minds seem (as what human mind is not?) only approachable through the senses. Jewish reverence was thus perpetually labouring to seclude the one primal Deity from the profane sight or hearing of man: our Lord afterwards laid down the solemn axiom "*No man hath seen God at any time.*" It was only in Himself—"*in whom,*" according to the Christian scheme, "*dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily,*" and in whom God, and God chiefly in His moral attributes, could be seen of man. But from the earliest period angelic ministrations were interposed throughout the revelation on Sinai for the direct manifestation of the Godhead. The language of St. Stephen in the Acts (vii. 53; compare vii. 38), "*who have received the Law by the disposition of angels,*" was the universal tradition. See also Hebrews ii. 2; Gal. iii. 19. Josephus holds the same doctrine—*ἡμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ τὰ ὁσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νομοις δἰ ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαθέντων.* Antiqq. xv. 5, 3. Compare a fine passage in Philo de Profugis, t. i., p. 370 (edit. Mangey); and the more full statement of Philo's views, ii. p. 163, with Mangey's note. Philo is even shocked that God should have spoken with a human voice. *Ἀρὰ γε φωνῆς τρόπον προίεμενος ἀυτὸς ; ἅπαγε, μηδ' ἐις νοῦν ποτ' ἐλθοι τὸν ἡμέτερον. Ὁυ γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Θεὸς, στόματος καὶ γλώττης καὶ ἀρτηριῶν δεόμενος.* The air became articulate with a sound clear and loud like a trumpet (p. 185). See too in Brucker a discussion on the opinions of Reland, Buddeus, and Basnage, with his own judgment on the meaning of the interpolations in the Samaritan Pentateuch. "Quod in Pentateucho Samaritano Angelus Dei dicatur, quod in Hebræo Deo soli tribuitur," and how it is to be reconciled with the Samaritan disbelief in angels.

The later Jews had a special angel of the Law, named Jesafia. Jalkut Ruben, quoted by Kuinoel on Acts vii. 53. The book Jetsira, quoted by R. Simon, c. vii. p. 48, makes Metatron the angel of Moses.

Ζωροάστρης καὶ Μάγων παῖδες ἄδουσι, παρ' ἐκείνου μαθόντες, ὃν Περσαι λέγουσιν ἑρωτι σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων, καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν ὄρει τινὶ ζῆν· ἔπειτα ἀφῆναι τὸ ὄρος, πυρὸς ἄνωθεν πολλοῦ κατασκήψαντος, συνεχῶς τε καίεσθαι· τὸν οὖν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς ἐλλογιμωτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πλήσιον, βουλόμενον ἐυξασθαι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθῆ, φανέντα δὲ ἀυτοῖς ἵλεων, θαρρεῖν κελεῦσαι, καὶ θῦσαι θυσίας τινὰς, ὡς ἥκοντος ἐις τὸν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ. Dio. Chrys. Borysthen. ii. 93, ed. Reiske.

Is this really Persian, or a Grecian mistake of Zoroaster for Moses? Did the Persians really owe more of their religious traditions to the Jews, or is it an accidental similitude?

conference with God upon the mountain. On his descent with the new tables of stone, the awe-struck people beheld his countenance so radiant and dazzling, that he was obliged to cover it with a veil; but it is not quite clear, whether or not, after that period, like several of the Oriental conquerors, he was constantly shrouded with this veil, excepting only when he went into the tabernacle to communicate with God.[1]

These pure and abstract notions of the Divinity were beyond the age and the people of Moses. No religious impressions would be lasting which were not addressed to the senses. With this view is commenced the sacred tabernacle or pavilion-temple, which hereafter is to occupy the central place of honour, that usually assigned to the king or chieftain of a nomadic horde. The whole nation is called upon to contribute to its construction and ornament. The riches which they brought from Egypt, and the arts which some of them had learnt, now come into request. From all quarters offerings pour in, brass, silver, gold, jewels, fine linen, embroidered stuffs of all colours, valuable skins, spices, oils, and incense, in such profusion that they cannot all be brought into use. The high district immediately around Sinai, extending about thirty miles in diameter, is by no means barren, the vegetation is richer than in other parts of the desert, streams of water flow in the valleys, date and other trees abound, and groves, chiefly of the black acacia (shittim). These latter were speedily felled, all the artificers set to work, the women were employed in weaving and spinning, and the whole camp assumed a busy appearance. The construction of the tabernacle was entrusted to the superintendence of two skilful workmen, Bezaleel and Aholiab. The area, or open space in which the tabernacle stood, was an oblong square, 175 feet long by 87½ wide. The enclosure was made by twenty brazen pillars on the north and south sides, ten to the west and six to the east, where the gate of entrance stood. The capitals of these pillars were of silver; the hooks and the rods, from which the curtains hung, of silver. The curtains were of fine linen or cotton, woven in a kind of network; the curtain before the entrance was of richer materials and more

[1] "Entre cette ville (Zela) et celle de Kakà, qui forme la frontière opposée, la distance est de trois mois de marche. Les habitans se couvrent la tête d'une voile. Le Roi ne se montre que dans les deux fêtes solennelles, le matin et l'après midi. La reste de l'année il se rend invisible, et ceux qui lui parlent sont placées derrière un rideau." Quatremère, Description de l'Egypte, ii. 27. Poetry has given us the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.

brilliant colours—blue, purple, and scarlet, supported by four pillars, which do not seem to have been different from the other six that formed the eastern line of the court. Within the court before the tabernacle stood a great laver of brass, for the purpose of ablution, and the altar of burnt offerings, measuring eight feet and three quarters each way, five feet and a quarter high. The altar was overlaid with brass, and had a grate of brass in the centre. It stood immediately before the gate of the tabernacle.

The tabernacle itself was fifty-two feet and a half long, seventeen and a half wide, and the same high. It was made with planks of acacia (shittim wood), skilfully fitted and held together by poles, which ran the whole length through golden rings. The planks were overlaid with gold. To defend it from the weather it was hung without with curtains of a kind of canvas, made of goat's hair, and over the whole was thrown an awning of skins.[1]

[1] All the difficulties which were urged by the objectors, and which embarrassed the assertors of the truth of the Mosaic history, with regard to the attainments of the Jews in arts, in skill of workmanship, in mechanical processes, have been swept away by the recent discoveries of the progress of the Egyptians in all these signs of civilisation. The Israelites came forth from a nation, they had been the vassals and slaves of a people, which had already reached a very high degree of perfection in all these arts. There is no reason to suppose that they all obstinately adhered to the rude and simple manners of their nomad ancestors, or refused to acquire much of the knowledge, skill, technical and mechanical power, common in the usages and daily life of their masters. I have already dwelt on the art of writing, advanced at least as far as the hieratic writing, among the Egyptians. As to the arts, it may be boldly asserted that there is no single mechanical process or manufacture ascribed to the Israelites in the wilderness, no use of tool or implement, nothing æsthetic, if I may so speak, in the elegance of form and blending of colours, which we do not find painted on the walls of the temples and in the tombs of ancient Egypt, or of which we do not see specimens, as old or older than the time of Moses, in our Egyptian museums. The fine carpentry, the furniture, the spinning, the weaving, the embroidering, the graving on precious stones, the gilding, the working of gold or silver ornaments, rings, brooches, chains, the setting of gems and precious stones, the dyeing of various rich colours; the manufactures of wool, flax, leather; the iron or copper tools, the musical instruments, the trumpets, harps, tambourines, cymbals; of everything mentioned in the books of Exodus or Leviticus, the pattern or the process may be seen in the volumes of Sir G. Wilkinson, Rosellini, or Lepsius.

All this most minute detail concerning the construction of the tabernacle, which fills many pages in the book of Exodus, must surely be contemporaneous. Though in its distribution, arrangement, to a certain degree its ornamentation and furniture, the tabernacle was the type of the temple, yet the tabernacle was the temple of the people only in their wandering and unsettled state. Directly the temple worship was established, it was replaced by the sumptuous and permanent edifice; it was obsolete; it became a subject, if we may so say, of religious antiquarianism. What could induce a writer, or even a compiler, to dwell on it with such extraordinary detail at a later period?

Many nomadic tribes have a tent for a temple. Bergman on the Calmucks; Julius Klaproth, Travels in Caucasus.

The interior of the tabernacle was hung with curtains of the finest linen and the richest colours, embroidered with the mysterious figures called cherubim. The tabernacle was divided into two unequal parts: the first, or Holy Place, thirty-five feet long; in this stood the golden candlestick, the golden altar of incense, the table of show-bread. The second, or Holy of Holies, seventeen feet and a half in length, was parted off by a veil of the same costly materials and splendid colours with the rest of the hangings, and suspended by hooks of gold from four wooden pillars likewise overlaid with gold.

A solemn gloom, unless when the veil was partially lifted, prevailed in the Holy of Holies; in the Holy Place the altar was constantly fed with costly incense, and the splendid chandelier, with seven branches, wrought with knosps and flowers, illuminated the chamber, into which the daylight never entered.

Within the most sacred precinct, which was only entered by the High Priest, stood nothing but the Ark or coffer of wood, plated all over with gold, and surmounted by two of those emblematic figures, the cherubim, usually represented as angels under human forms, but more probably, like the Egyptian sphinx, animals purely imaginary and symbolic; combining different parts, and representing the noblest qualities, of the man, the lion, the eagle, and the ox. They stood face to face at each extremity of the Ark, and spread their golden wings so as to form a sort of canopy or throne. In the Ark were deposited the two tablets of stone, on which the Law was written.[1]

The priests, who were to minister in this sumptuous pavilion-temple, were to be without bodily defect or mutilation; they were likewise to have *holy garments for glory and for beauty*.[2] Aaron and his sons were designated for this office.

[1] Chiarini, in his curious explanation of the Vision of Ezekiel from the Talmudists, writes, "Les Chérubins, qui dans l'origine n'ont été autre chose que animaux sacrés d'Egypte, dont Moïse s'est servi symboliquement pour marquer que les Divinités des autres peuples méritèrent à peine l'honneur d'être les marchepieds du trône de l'Eternel." Chiarini, Talmud de Babylone, p. 91, note.

The stone tablets remained in the Ark till they were transferred to the Temple of Solomon. 1 Kings viii. 9.

Treatises, to be found in abundance in Ugolini's Thesaurus, have exhausted the investigation into all these separate points of the early ceremonial worship, the altar, the furniture of the tabernacle, the attire of the priests, and all the kindred subjects.

[2] Levit. xxi. 21, *et passim*. So in other nations. For the Greek see Potter's Antiquities, and other common books. Seneca, Controv. iv. 2, names Metellus, who gave up the pontificate on account of blindness.

Compare on the dress of the Egyptian priests, Herod. ii. 37, and Sir Gard-

The high priest wore, first, a tunic of fine linen, which fitted close, and without a fold, to his person, with loose trousers of linen. Over this was a robe of blue, woven in one piece, without sleeves, with a hole through which the head passed, likewise fitted close round the neck with a rich border, and reaching to the feet, where the lower rim was hung with pomegranates and little bells of gold, which sounded as he moved. Over this again was the ephod, made of blue, purple, and scarlet thread, twisted with threads of gold. It consisted of two pieces, one hanging behind, the other before, perhaps like a herald's tabard. From the hinder one, which hung much lower, came a rich girdle, passing under the arms, and fastened over the breast. It had two shoulder-pieces, in which were two large beryl stones, set in gold, on which the names of the twelve tribes were engraved. From these shoulder-pieces came two gold chains, which fastened the pectoral, or breast-plate; a piece of cloth of gold, a span square, in which twelve precious stones were set, in four rows, each engraved with the name of one of the tribes. Two other chains from the lower corners fastened the breast-plate to the lower part of the ephod.

In the breast-plate was placed the mysterious Urim and Thummim, the nature of which was so well known to the Jews, as to require no explanation—to us remains mere matter of conjecture. The most probable opinion seems, that the two words mean "Light and Perfection," and were nothing more than the twelve bright and perfect stones set in the breast-plate, emblematic of the union and consent of the whole nation, without which the high priest might not presume to interrogate the oracle of God. If the oracle was given by the Urim and Thummim itself, it seems not improbable, that the stones appearing bright or clouded might signify the favour or disfavour of the Almighty; but it is more likely that the oracle was delivered by a voice from the sanctuary. It is a remarkable coincidence, that the Egyptian high priest, according to Diodorus and Ælian, wore round his neck, by a golden chain, a sapphire gem, with an image representing Truth.[1] The

ner Wilkinson's note in Rawlinson's Herodotus; on the Hebrew priests, Braun de Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebræorum, a thick quarto on this subject.

[1] Εἶχε δὲ ἄγαλμα περὶ τὸν ἰυχένα ἐκ σαπφείρου λίθου, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀλήθεια. Ælian, Var. Hist. xiv. 34.

Ἔφόρει δ' ὁυτος (ὁ ἀρχιδικάστης) περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ χρυσῆς ἁλυσέως ἠρτημένον, ζώδιον τῶν πολυτελῶν λίθων ὁ προσηγόρευσαν Ἀλήθειαν. Diod. Sic. i. 75.

head-dress of the priest was a rich turban of fine linen, on the front of which appeared a golden plate, inscribed, "Holiness to the Lord."

Such were the first preparations for the religious ceremonial of the Jews. As this tall and sumptuous pavilion rose in the midst of the coarse and lowly tents of the people, their God seemed immediately to take possession of the structure raised to His honour. All the day the cloud, all the night the pillar of fire rested on the tabernacle. When the camp broke up, it rose and led the way; when the people came to their resting-place, it remained unmoved.

Thus the great Jehovah was formally and deliberately recognised by the people of Israel as their God—the sole object of their adoration. By the Law, to which they gave their free and unconditional assent, He became their king, the head of their civil constitution, and the feudal lord of all their territory, of whom they were to hold their lands on certain strict, but equitable terms of vassalage. Hence the Mosaic constitution, of which we proceed to give a brief outline, was in its origin and principles entirely different from every human polity. It was a federal compact, not between the people at large and certain members or classes of the community designated as the rulers, but between the Founder of the state, the proprietor of the land which they were to inhabit, and the Hebrew nation, selected from all the rest of the world for some great ulterior purpose. God, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, had bestowed that special province of His universal empire on the chosen people. The Hebrews were not a free and independent people entering into a primary contract in what manner their country was to be governed; they had neither independence nor country, but as the free gift of their sovereign.[1] The tenure by which they held all their present and future blessings, freedom from bondage, the inheritance of the land flowing with milk and honey, the promise of unexampled fertility, was their faithful discharge of their trust, the preservation of the great religious doctrine—the worship of the one great Creator. *Hear, therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it, that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in*

[1] "Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also, with all that therein is" (Deut. x. 14)—"that they may go in and possess the land, which I sware unto their fathers to give unto them" (Deut. x. 11).

the land flowing with milk and honey. Hear, O Israel, THE LORD OUR GOD IS ONE LORD. Thus the rights of the sovereign, not merely as God, but as the head of the state, or theocracy,[1] were anterior to the rights of the people—the well-being of the community, the ultimate end of human legislation, was subordinate and secondary to the great purpose for which the Jews existed as a separate nation. Hence any advantage to be derived from foreign commerce, or from a larger intercourse with the neighbouring tribes, wealth, or the acquisition of useful arts, could not for an instant come into competition with the danger of relapsing into polytheism. This was the great national peril, as well as the great national crime. By this they annulled their compact with their sovereign, and forfeited their title to the promised land. Yet by what legal provisions was the happiness of any people, *sua si bona nôrint*, so beautifully secured as by the Jewish constitution? A country under a delicious climate, where the corn-fields, the pastures, the vineyards, and olive-grounds, vied with each other in fertility; perfect freedom and equality; a mild and parental government; the administration of justice by local authorities according to a written law; national festivals tending to promote national union;—had the people duly appreciated the blessings attached to the strict and permanent observance of their constitution, poets might have found their golden age in the plains of Galilee and the valleys of Judæa.

The fundamental principle of the Jewish constitution, the purity of worship, was guarded by penal statutes; and by a religious ceremonial, admirably adapted to the age and to the genius of the people, and even accommodated, as far as possible, to their previous nomadic and Egyptian habits and feelings. The penal laws were stern and severe, for idolatry was two-fold treason—against the majesty of the sovereign, and the well-being of the state. The permanence of the national blessings depended on the integrity of the national faith. Apostasy in the single city, or the individual, brought, as far as was in their power, the curse of barrenness, defeat, famine, or pestilence, on the whole land. It was repressed with the most unrelenting severity. If any city was accused of this anti-national crime, and after strict and diligent in-

[1] Josephus observes that himself first, doing violence to the Greek language, introduced the word Theocracy—*ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων ὐδσοτιοῦν ἀπείδεν· ὡς δ' ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα.* Contr. Apion. ii. 16.

vestigation was found guilty of setting up false gods for public worship, the inhabitants were to be put to the sword, no living thing, not even the cattle spared; the whole spoil was to be collected in a heap and burned (a wise regulation, lest an opulent community should be unjustly accused and laid waste for the purpose of plunder), the whole city to be set on fire, razed to the ground, and the strongest anathema pronounced against any one who should attempt to rebuild it.[1] To convict an individual of idolatry, the testimony of two witnesses was required; if condemned, he was publicly stoned to death—the two witnesses were to cast the first stone. The nearest relation must not connive at the idolatry of his kindred: the brother, the father, the husband was to denounce brother, son, or daughter, the wife of his bosom; he was not only to denounce, but as the chief witness, to hurl the stone against the guilty head.[2] Idolatry was of two kinds: 1st. Image worship, or the representation of the one great Creator under the similitude or symbolic likeness of any created being. The history of all religion shows the danger of this practice. The representative symbol remains after its meaning is forgotten; and thus the most uncouth and monstrous forms, originally harmless emblems of some attribute belonging to the divinity, become the actual deities of the vulgar worship. 2nd. The substitution, or what was more usual, the association of other gods with the one great God of their fathers.[3] The religion of the natives, in whose territory the Israelites were about to settle, appears to have been a depravation of the purer Tsabaism, or worship of the host of heaven—of that vast and multiform nature worship which prevailed throughout the Asiatic nations. On this primitive form of idolatry had gradually been engrafted a system of rites, absurd, bloody, or licentious. Among the Canaanites human sacrifices were common—babes were burnt alive to Moloch. The inland tribes, the Moabites and Midianites, worshipped that obscene symbol, which originally represented the generative influence of the sun, but had now become a distinct divinity. The chastity of their women was the offering most acceptable to Baal Peor, or the Lord Peor. It was this inhuman and loathsome religion which was to be swept away

[1] Deut. xiii. 13–18.

[2] Compare Deut. xvii. 1, 7.

[3] This distinction is to be borne in mind throughout the Jewish history: the latter of these two idolatries, Polytheism in all its forms, was prohibited by the first Commandment; emblematic, even symbolic, worship of the one true God under material images, by the second.

from the polluted territory of Palestine by the exterminating conquest of the Jews; against the contagion of these abominations they were to be secured by the most rigid penal statutes, and by capital punishments summary and without appeal. All approximation to these horrible usages was interdicted with equal severity. The Canaanites had no enclosed temples, their rites were performed in consecrated or open spaces on the summits of their hills, or under the shade of groves devoted to their deities. The worship of God on mountain-tops, otherwise a sublime and innocent practice, was proscribed.[1] No grove might be planted near the altar of the Holy One of Israel, the strictest personal purity was enjoined upon the priests;[2] the prohibition against prostituting their daughters, as well as that which forbids the woman to appear in the dress of the man, the man in that of the woman, are no doubt pointed against the same impure ceremonies. Not merely were human sacrifices expressly forbidden, but the animals which were to be sacrificed, with every particular to be observed, were strictly laid down. All the vulgar arts of priestcraft, divination, witchcraft, necromancy, were proscribed. Even a certain form of tonsure, certain parti-coloured dresses, and other peculiar customs of the heathen priesthoods, were specifically forbidden.[3]

[1] Ἐπιφήμισαν δὲ καὶ Διὶ ἀγάλματα οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι κορυφὰς ὀρῶν, Ὀλυμπον καὶ Ἴδην καὶ ἐί τι ἄλλο ὄρος πλησιάζει τῷ ὀυρανῷ. Max. Tyr. Dissert. viii. 1.

[2] "Quid vagus incedit tota tibicen in urbe?
Quid sibi personæ, quid stola longa, volunt?"
—Ovid, Fasti, vi. 653.

Compare Macrobius, iii. 8. Lobeck (Aglaophamus, i. 173, 175) will furnish many other illustrations.

[3] Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρεῦνται. Herodot. ii. 36. Compare Levit. xix. 27 with Herodotus iii. 8. See Marsham, p. 105.

Marsham quotes a passage from the More Nevochim of Maimonides (p. 3, c. 32, p. 232), which contains the whole groundwork of Spencer's celebrated book. "Est contra naturam hominis, id momento relinquere, cui longo tempore assuetus est. Ideo Deus, quando misit Mosen, Ductor ut esset nobis, primo in cognitione Dei, deinde in cultu: atque cultus tunc erat universalis, ut variæ animalium species offerentur in templis, in quibus collocabantur imagines, ut coram illis procumberetur et adoleretur; et cultores quidam, ad eum cultum destinati, exercebantur in templis istis, Soli stellisque dicatis. Ideo, inquam, Sapientia Dei mandare voluit, ut omnes illi cultus derelinquerentur et abolerentur. Id enim cor humanum non caperet, quod ad ea semper inclinat, quibus assuetum est. Deus itaque Cultus adhuc retinuit, sed eos a rebus creatis ad Suum Numen transtulit, præcepitque nobis ut illos exhiberemus Ipsi; ita præcepit ut Ipsi Templa ædificaremus; ut altare esset

But while this line of demarcation between the worshippers of one God and the worshippers of idols was so strongly and precisely drawn, a rude and uncivilised horde were not expected to attain that pure and exalted spirituality of religion, which has never been known except among a reasoning and enlightened people. Their new religion ministered continual excitement. A splendid ceremonial dazzled their senses, perpetual sacrifices enlivened their faith, frequent commemorative festivals not merely let loose their gay and joyous spirits, but reminded them of all the surprising and marvellous events of their national history. From some of their prepossessions and habits they were estranged by degrees, not rent with unnecessary violence. The tabernacle preserved the form of the more solid and gigantic structures of Egypt; their priesthood were attired in dresses as costly, in many respects similar; their ablutions were as frequent; the exclusion of the daylight probably originated in subterranean temples hewn out of the solid rock, like those of Ipsambul and the cave temples of India;[1] the use of incense seems to have been common in every kind of religious worship. Above all, the great universal rite of sacrifice was regulated with the utmost precision. It is unnecessary to enter into all these minute particulars, still less into the remote and typical meaning of the Jewish sacrificial law. Suffice it to say, that sacrifices were either national or individual. Every morning and every evening the smoke from the great brazen altar of burnt offerings ascended in the name of the whole people—on the Sabbath two animals instead of one were slain. From particular sacrifices or offerings no one, not even the poorest, was excluded. A regular scale of oblations was made, and the altar of the common God of Israel rejected not the small measure of flour which the meanest might offer. The sacrifices were partly propitiatory, that is, voluntary acts of reverence, in order to secure the favour of

suo Nomini consecratum; ut Sacrificia Ipsi offeruntur; ut incurvaremus nos, et suffitum faceremus coram Ipso; sic separavit Sacerdotes ad cultum Sanctuarii. In Divinâ autem hac sapientiâ consilium fuit ut idololatriæ memoria deleretur, et maximum illud de Dei existentiâ et unitate fundamentum in Gente nostra confirmaretur; neque tamen obstupescerent hominum animi propter istorum cultuum abolitionem, quibus assueti fuerant."

[1] Clemens of Alexandria suggests the solemnity of darkness in a striking passage:—*διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τῆς ἐπικρυψέως τὸν τρόπον θεῖον ὄντα ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἀναγκαιοτατον ἡμιν, ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ τῆς ἀληθείας αποκειμένον, ἱερον ἀτεχνῶς λογὸν, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν διὰ τῶν παρ' ἀντοῖς ἀδυτῶν καλουμένων, Ἑβραίοι δὲ δια τοῦ παρα πετάσματος ηνίξαντο· μονοῖς δ' ἐξην ἐπιβαίνειν ἀυτῶν τοῖς ἱερῶμενοις, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις τῷ Θεῳ.*—Stromat. lib. v. 4.

God to the devout worshipper: partly eucharistic, or expressive of gratitude for the divine blessings. Of this nature were the first fruits. The Israelite might not reap the abundant harvest, with which God blessed his fertile fields, or gather in the vintage, which empurpled the rocky hillside, without first making an oblation of thanksgiving to the gracious Being, who had placed him in the land flowing with milk and honey.[1] Lastly, they were piacular or expiatory; every sin either of the nation or the individual, whether a sin committed in ignorance, or from wilful guilt, had its appointed atonement; and on the performance of this condition the priest had the power of declaring the offender free from the punishment due to his crime. One day in the year, the tenth day of the seventh month, was set apart for the solemn rite of national expiation. First a bullock was to be slain, and the blood sprinkled, not only in the customary places, but within the Holy of Holies itself. Then two goats were to be chosen, lots cast upon them, the one that was assigned to the Lord was to be sacrificed, the other, on whose head the sins of the whole people were heaped by the imprecation of the high priest, was taken beyond the camp and sent into the desert to Azazel, the spirit of evil, to whom Hebrew belief assigned the waste and howling wilderness as his earthly dwelling.[2] An awful example confirmed

[1] Καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ὦρσε
Χωσαμένη, ὃ ὁι ὅυτι θαλύσια γουνῷ ἀλωῆς
Οἰνεὺς ῥέξ', ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίυυντ' ἑκατόμβας.—Il. ix. 530.

It is an Indian custom. Maurice, Antiquities, v. 133.

[2] This is doubtful. In truth, the Azazel is one of the unsolved, perhaps insoluble, problems in the Jewish history. Neither the construction nor the sense of the word is determined. It may be the goat itself, the ἀποπομπαῖος or emissarius; it may be the wilderness, or, as in the text, a vague term, like the Egyptian Typhon, for an evil dæmon, who dwelt in the desert uninhabited by men. Gesenius, *in voce*.

In Egypt the head of the victim was the scape part, the ἀποπομπαιον of the sacrifice—κεφαλῆ δὲ κείνῃ πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι, φέρουσι τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἢ ἀγορὴ, καὶ Ἕλληνές σφίσι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, ὁι δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν [illegible] ὧν ἔδοντο· τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἕλληνες, ὁι δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποτ[illegible] καταρέονται δὲ, τάδε λέγοντες, τῆσι κεφαλῆσι, ἔι τί μέλλει ἢ σφίσι [illegible] θύουσι, ἢ Αιγύπτῳ συναπάσῃ, κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. Herod. ii. 39.

See in Plutarch the scape-slave to avert famine, Sympos. vi. 8. A curious instance in modern Germany, Lobeck, Aglaophamus, Note, i. 175. A very singular instance of a scape camel in Bruce, vol. ii. p. 152: "In short, we found that, upon some discussion, the garrison and townsmen had been fighting for several days, in which disorders the greatest part of the ammunition in the town had been expended; but it had since been agreed on by the old men of both parties that nobody had been to blame on either side, but that the whole wrong had been the work of a camel. A camel, therefore, was seized

the unalterable authority of the sacrificial ritual. At the first great sacrifice, after the consecration of the priesthood, on the renewal of the national covenant with the Deity, fire flashed down from heaven and consumed the burnt-offerings. But Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, kindled their censers with fire, obtained from some less pure and hallowed source; and, having thus acted without command, were struck dead for the offence.

The ordinary festivals of the Jewish nation were of a gayer and more cheerful character. Every seventh day was the Sabbath:[1] labour ceased throughout the whole land, the slave and the stranger, even the beast of labour or burden, were permitted to enjoy the period of ease and recreation: while the double sanction, on which the observance of the day rested, reminded every faithful Israelite of his God, under His twofold character of Creator and Deliverer. All creation should rest, because on that day the Creator rested; Israel more particularly, because on that day they rested from their bondage in Egypt. In later times, as well as a day of grateful recollection, it became one of public instruction in the principles of the law, and of social equality among all classes. Rich and poor, young and old, master and slave, met before the gate of the city, and indulged in innocent mirth, or in the pleasures of friendly intercourse.

The new moon of the seventh month was appointed for the

and brought without the town; and then, a number of old men having met, they upbraided the camel with everything that had been either said or done. The camel had killed men; he had threatened to set the town on fire. The camel had threatened to burn the Aga's house and the castle. He had cursed the Grand Seignior and the Shereeffs of Mecca, the sovereigns of the two parties; and the only thing the poor animal was interested in, he had threatened to destroy—the wheat that was going to Mecca. After having spent great part of the afternoon in upbraiding the camel, whose measure of iniquity it seems was nearly full, each man thrust him through with a lance, devoting him, as it were, Diis Manibus et Diris, by a kind of prayer and with a thousand curses upon his head. After which the men retired, fully satisfied as to the wrong they had received from the camel."

[1] Philo writes that the great Lawgiver enacted that, following the laws of nature, the Sabbath should be a holiday, devoted to indulgent hilarity (*πανηγυρίζειν ἐν ἱλαρίναις διάγοντες ἐυθυμίαις*), abstaining from all works or arts exercised for gain; giving a truce to all laborious and harassing cares; but not, as many do, running mad after the theatre, the mimes, and dances, but philosophising in the highest sense. De Mose, iii. p. 167.

Θεὸι δικτείραντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος ἀναπαύλας αὐτοῖς τῶν πονῶν ἐτάξαντο τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν ἀμοιβάς. Plato, Legg. ii. 634.

Legum conditores festos instituerunt dies, ut ad hilaritatem homines publicè cogerentur, tanquam necessarium laboribus interponentes temperamentum. Seneca de Tranquill. xv. 12.

Feast of Trumpets;[1] it was in fact the beginning of the old Hebrew, and remained that of the civil, year. The new moon, or the first day of the lunar month, was not commanded by positive precept, but recognised as a festival of established usage. But if those weekly or monthly meetings contributed to the maintenance of the religion, and to the cheerfulness and kindly brotherhood among the separate communities, the three great national festivals advanced those important ends in a far higher degree. Three times a year all the tribes assembled wherever the tabernacle of God was fixed; all the males, for the legislator carefully guarded against any dangers which might arise from a promiscuous assemblage of both sexes; besides that the women were ill qualified to bear the fatigue of journeys from the remote parts of the land, and the household offices were not to be neglected. This regulation was a master-stroke of policy, to preserve the bond of union indissoluble among the twelve federal republics, which formed the early state. Its importance may be estimated from the single fact, that, on the revolt of the ten tribes, Jeroboam did not consider his throne secure so long as the whole people assembled at the capital; and appointed Dan and Beth-el, where he set up his emblematic calves, as the places of religious union for his own subjects. The first and greatest of these festivals, the Passover, or rather the first full moon, the commencement of the religious year, was as it were the birthday of the nation, the day of their deliverance from Egypt, when the angel of death passed over their dwellings. The festival lasted seven days, and every ceremony recalled the awful scene of their deliverance. On the first evening they tasted the bitter herb, emblematic of the bitterness of slavery; they partook of the sacrifice, with their loins girded as ready for their flight; they eat only unleavened bread, the bread of slavery, as prepared in the hurry and confusion of their departure. During the fifty days, which elapsed after the Passover, the harvest was gathered in, and the Pentecost, the national harvest home, summoned the people to commemorate the delivery of the law and the formation of the covenant, by which they became the tenants of the luxuriant soil, the abundance of which they had been storing up. The gladness was to be as general as the blessing. *Thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man servant and thy maid servant, and the*

[1] Exod. xii. 2; Deut. xvi. 1.

Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless and the widow. The third of these feasts, that of Tabernacles, took place in autumn, at the end of the vintage, in all southern climates the great time of rejoicing and merriment.[1] If more exquisite music and more graceful dances accompanied the gathering in of the grapes on the banks of the Cephisus,—the tabret, the viol, and the harp, which sounded among the vineyards of Heshbon and Eleale, were not wanting in sweetness and gaiety; and instead of the frantic riot of satyrs and bacchanals, the rejoicing was chastened by the solemn religious recollections with which it was associated, in a manner remarkably pleasing and picturesque. The branches of trees were woven together in rude imitation of the tents in which the Israelites dwelt in the desert, and within these green bowers the whole people passed the week of festivity. Yet however admirably calculated these periodical solemnities for the maintenance of religion and national unity, they were better adapted for the inhabitants of one of the oases in the desert, or a lonely island in the midst of the ocean, than a nation environed on all sides by warlike, enterprising, and inveterate enemies. At each of these festivals, the frontiers were unguarded, the garrisons deserted, the country left entirely open to the sudden inroad of the neighbouring tribes. This was not unforeseen by the lawgiver, but how was it provided against? by an assurance of divine protection, which was to repress all the hostility and ambition of their adversaries. *I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders; neither shall any man desire thy land when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord, thrice in every year.*[2] The sabbatic year was another remarkable instance of departure from every rule of political wisdom, in reliance on divine Providence. The whole land was to lie fallow, the whole people was given up to legalised idleness. All danger of famine was to be prevented by the supernatural abundant harvest of the sixth year; but it is even more remarkable, that serious evils did not ensue from this check on the national industry. At the end of seven periods of seven years, for that number ran through the whole of the Hebrew institutions, the Jubilee

[1] Plutarch confounded the Feast of Tabernacles with the Bacchanalia. Symp. iv. 5, 8.

Boulanger, Antiquité Dévoilée, has an account of the ceremony of the effusio aquarum on that day. His theory is absurd, but the facts he has brought together are curious. Book i. c. 2.

[2] Exod. xxxiv. 24.

was appointed.[1] All the estates were to revert to their original owners, all burthens and alienations ceased, and the whole land returned to the same state in which it stood at the first partition. This singular Agrarian law maintained the general equality, and effectually prevented the accumulation of large masses of property in one family to the danger of the national independence, and the establishment of a great landed oligarchy.[2]

Such was the religious constitution of the Hebrew nation.

[1] This institution, as well as the last, was, perhaps, rather of a civil than religious character.

[2] But was this constitution ever carried out to its perfect development? Did the Jewish people ever fulfil the noble scheme of the Jewish legislator? Was it not, in fact, an ideal religious republic, an Utopia, existing in the mind of the wise lawgiver (how it entered into his mind we pause not to inquire), but never realised upon earth? Of the observance of the Sabbatic year, still less of the great Agrarian Law of the Jubilee, we have no record, not even an allusion, in the Jewish annals or in the sacred books. If it was a periodical or even an occasional usage, whence this silence? Or is it not rather another illustration of the perverseness and unfitness of the Israelites for their wonderful destination? The failure impugns not the wisdom of the legislator, or the truth and goodness of the God in whose name and with whose authority he spoke: it condemns only the people of Israel, who never rose to the height of that wisdom. But this seems to me an important point as regards the great question already discussed at some length, the date of the Books of the Law, especially of Deuteronomy. Now a prospective Utopia in the mind of a man of consummate wisdom like Moses is intelligible, especially at the time of the occupation of a whole country by a conquering tribe and its partition among the conquerors. But a retrospective Utopia, purely imaginary, as an afterthought of later times, and attributed to Moses, when it was known never to have been carried into effect, seems a strange assumption. The later Jews, especially after the disruption of the kingdom, during the schism of the two kingdoms, still more after the exile, could not possibly have looked forward to a redistribution of the land and its perpetuation in families on these singular principles. We understand how, under the new Judaism which prevailed after the return from the exile, many of the old institutions, commanded by God, should be, if we may so say, re-enacted with new rigour as the bond of union, as the spring of religious life in the restored Israelitish community, such as the celebration of the Festivals, the sanctity of the Temple, the regular succession in the services of the priesthood, above all, the Sabbath. But we cannot understand the reassertion of the law of landed property, with all these singular provisions, after the total dislocation and disorganisation of that property during the kingdom, at the exile, and after the return from the exile, when all the proprietors had been ejected from their hereditary possessions, and those possessions alienated to others, perhaps to foreigners; title, tenure swept away in one wide confiscation; and after the migration of the owners and their long residence in distant lands. Even in earlier times, though we have frequent indications as to the sacredness of property, as in the case of Naboth's vineyard, the seizure of which is represented as an act of the most cruel tyranny; the cession of Araunah's vineyard, an act of rare generosity; there is no vestige of these vast schemes of resumption and redistribution. But what conceivable motive could there be, in a late writer or compiler, in attributing such visionary and unreal schemes to the great lawgiver?

Compare Michaelis, Laws of Moses, English Trans., i. pp. 413–416.

But if the lawgiver, educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, departed most widely from the spirit of Egyptian polytheism in the fundamental principle of his religious institutes, the political basis of his state was not less opposite to that established in the kingdom of the Pharaohs.[1] The first, and certainly the most successful legislator of antiquity who assumed the welfare of the whole community as the end of his constitution, Moses annihilated, at once, the artificial and tyrannical distinction of castes, and established political equality as the fundamental principle of the state. The whole nation was one great caste, that of husbandmen, cultivating their own property. Even the single privileged class, that of Levi, stood on a totally different footing from the sacerdotal aristocracy of Egypt. With a wise originality, the Hebrew polity retained all that was really useful, and indeed, under the circumstances of the age and people, absolutely necessary, in a priestly order, and rejected all that might endanger the liberties of the people through their exorbitant wealth or power. In a constitution founded on a religious basis, sacred functionaries set apart from the mass of the people were indispensable; where the state was governed by a written law, minute and multifarious in its provisions, conservators and occasional expositors of the law were equally requisite. A people at first engaged in ferocious warfare, afterwards engrossed by agricultural labours, without an exempt order which should devote itself to higher and more intellectual studies, would soon have degenerated into ignorance and barbarism. Besides the officiating priesthood, the Levitical class furnished the greater number of the judges, the scribes, the genealogists and registrars of the tribes, the keepers of the records, the geometricians, the superintendents of weights and measures; and Michaelis thinks, from the judgment in cases of leprosy being assigned to them, the physicians. Their influence depended rather on their civil than their ecclesiastical functions. They were not, strictly speaking, religious teachers; they were bound to read the whole Law, once in seven years, before the people; but, in

[1] Marsham has, perhaps, put clearly and simply the fact as to the relation between the Laws of Moses and those of Egypt so strongly urged by Spencer and Warburton.

"Multæ Mosis leges ex antiquis moribus. Quicquid verum numinis cultum impedivit, strictè interdicitur. Moses plerosque Ægyptiorum ritus abrogavit, quosdam immutavit, quosdam pro indifferentibus habuit, quosdam permisit, immo ac jussit." Canon Chron., p. 155.

other respects, their priestly duties consisted only in attendance in the tabernacle or the temple, in their appointed courses. There were no private religious rites in which they were called on to officiate. Circumcision was performed without their presence, marriage was a civil contract, from funerals they were interdicted. They were not mingled with the body of the people, they dwelt in their own separate cities. Their wealth was ample, but not enormous. Instead of the portion in the conquered land, to which they had a claim as one of the twelve tribes, a tenth of the whole produce was assigned for their maintenance, with forty-eight cities, situated in different parts of the territory, and a small domain surrounding each.[1] These were the possessions of the whole tribe of Levi. The officiating priesthood received other contributions, portions of the sacrifices, the redemption of the first-born, the first fruits, and everything devoted by vow: yet most of these last were probably laid up in the public religious treasury, and defrayed the expenses of the rich and costly worship, the repair and ornament of the tabernacle, the vestments of the priests, the public sacrifices, the perpetual oil, and incense. The half-shekel poll-tax was, we conceive, only once levied by Moses, and not established as a permanent tax till after the Captivity. Such were the station, the revenue, and the important duties assigned to his own tribe by the Hebrew legislator, a tribe, as one of the least numerous, most fitly chosen for these purposes. On the departure from Egypt, the first-born of each family were designated for these sacred duties; but the difficulties and inconveniences which would have attended the collecting together the representatives of every family into one class, the jealousies which might have arisen from assigning so great a distinction to primogeniture, and many other obvious objections, show that the substitution of a single tribe was, at once, a more simple and a more effective measure. The superiority of Moses, in all other respects, to the pride of family, particularly where hereditary honours were so highly appreciated, is among the most remarkable features in his

[1] The Carthaginians sent a tithe to the national God in Tyre, Diod. Sic. xv. 14; Justin, viii. 7; the Arabians, Pliny, xi. 14; the Persians, Xen. Cyr. v. 5-7; the Scythians, Pomp. Mela, ii. 5; Solinus, xxvii.; the Greeks, Callim., H. ad Delon; Justin, xx. 3; to Jupiter, Herod. i. 89; to Pallas, iv. 152; the Pelasgians, Dion. Halicar. i. 19; the Romans, Varro, Macrobius, iii. 12; to the Gods, especially Hercules, Aur. Vict. in initio.

The first fruits and tithes are mentioned in the Book of Tobit, 6, 7.

character. The example of Egypt and of all the neighbouring nations would have led him to establish an hereditary monarchy in his own line, connected and supported, as it might have been, by the sacerdotal order; but though he made over the high-priesthood to the descendants of his brother Aaron, his own sons remained without distinction, and his descendants sank into insignificance. While he anticipated the probability that his republic would assume, hereafter, a monarchical form, he designated no permanent head of the state, either hereditary or elective. Joshua was appointed as military leader to achieve the conquest, and for this purpose succeeded to the supreme authority. But God was the only king, the law His only vicegerent.[1]

Did Moses appoint a national senate? if so, what was its duration, what its constitution, and its powers? No question in Jewish history is more obscure. At the delivery of the Law on Mount Sinai, Moses was attended by seventy elders; during a rebellion in the wilderness (Num. xi.) he established a great council of the same number.[2] This latter, the Jewish writers suppose to have been a permanent body, and from thence derive their great Sanhedrin, which took so important a part in public affairs after the Captivity. But this senate of seventy is not once distinctly named in the whole intervening course of Hebrew history. Joshua twice assembled a sort of diet or parliament, consisting of elders, heads of families,

[1] The prospective provision for the change of the republican or purely theocratic form of government in the Book of Deuteronomy is the palmary argument for the late date assigned generally by later scholars to that book. This argument would to me be more conclusive, if monarchy had not been the universal form of government in those days, and the republic of Israel the one, it might almost seem experimental, exception. There were kings in Egypt, kings among the Canaanites, in Ammon, in Moab; kings, though called dukes, in Edom. The only doubt is as to Philistia: the history of Samson seems in his day to show a ruling oligarchy. If this terrible description of the evils of kingly rule is extraordinary as prophetic and anticipatory at the time commonly assigned to the Book of Deuteronomy, how still more extraordinary would it be if composed in a time when kingly authority had been for centuries the usage of the nation, endeared, and glorified, and sanctified by the reigns of David and Solomon, not shaken by the disruption of the kingdom, and the tyrannies of later kings, the Ahabs and Manasses! It is certainly remarkable that in the prophets there is nothing democratic, nothing, even in remote suggestion, against kingly power, nothing in favour of popular government. Kings are denounced, threatened with God's visitations for their crimes, their vices, their idolatries, their cruelties; but I know no passage which expresses a desire to throw off kingly government. The prophets look forward to good and pious kings, worshippers of Jehovah, not to a republic, or even to a priestly government.

[2] Ewald is on the whole inclined to believe in the permanence of this assembly of 70 (72), six from each tribe.

judges, and officers, who seem to have represented all Israel. At other times the same sort of national council seems to have met on great emergencies. But most probably neither the constitution, nor the powers, nor the members of this assembly were strictly defined. Moses left the internal government of the tribes as he found it. Each tribe had its acknowledged aristocracy and acknowledged chieftain, and governed its own affairs as a separate republic. The chieftain was the hereditary head of the whole tribe; the aristocracy, the heads of the different families: these, with the judges, and perhaps the shoterim, the scribes or genealogists, officers of great importance in each tribe, constituted the provincial assembly. No doubt the national assembly consisted of delegates from the provincial ones; but how they were appointed, and by whom, does not appear. In short, in the early ages of the Hebrew nation, the public assemblies were more like those of our German ancestors or a meeting of independent septs or clans, where general respect for birth, age, or wisdom, designated those who should appear, and those who should take a lead, than the senate of a regular government, in which the right to a seat and to suffrage is defined by positive law. The ratification of all great public decrees by the general voice of the people (the congregation) seems invariably to have been demanded, particularly during their encampment in the desert. This was given, as indeed it could not well be otherwise, by acclamation. Thus in the ancient Hebrew constitution we find a rude convention of estates, provincial parliaments, and popular assemblies; but that their meetings should be of rare occurrence, followed from the nature of the constitution. The state possessed no legislative power; in peace, unless on very extraordinary occasions, they had no business to transact; there was no public revenue, except that of the religious treasury; their wars, till the time of the kings, were mostly defensive. The invaded tribe summoned the nation to its assistance; no deliberation was necessary; the militia, that is, all who could bear arms, were bound to march to the defence of their brethren. Such was the law: we shall see, hereafter, that the separate tribes did not always preserve this close union in their wars; and, but for the indissoluble bond of their religion, the confederacy was in perpetual danger of falling to pieces.

The judges or prefects, appointed according to the advice of Jethro, seem to have given place to municipal administrators

of the law in each of the cities.[1] The superior education and intelligence of the Levitical order pointed them out as best fitted for these offices, which were usually entrusted, by general consent, to their charge. Of their numbers, or mode of nomination, we know nothing certain. They held their sittings, after the usual Oriental custom, in the gates of the cities. The administration of justice was in most Oriental countries rapid and summary; the punishment of stripes, the ordinary punishment for injuries, was limited as to extent, not exceeding forty stripes, but immediately inflicted.[2] Obstinate refusal to abide by the decision of the legal tribunals was a capital crime.[3]

The people were all free; and, excepting this acknowledged subordination to the heads of their families and of their tribes, entirely equal. Slavery, universal in the ancient world, was recognised by the Mosaic institutions; but of all the ancient lawgivers, Moses alone endeavoured to mitigate its evils. His regulations always remind the Israelites, that they themselves were formerly bond-slaves in Egypt. The free-born Hebrew might be reduced to slavery, either by his own consent, or in condemnation as an insolvent debtor, or as a thief unable to make restitution. In either case he became free at the end of seven years' service. If he refused to accept his manumission, he might remain in servitude. But to prevent any fraudulent or compulsory renunciation of this right, the ceremony of reconsigning himself to bondage was public; he appeared before the magistrate, his ear was bored,[4] and he was thus judicially delivered back to his master; but even this servitude expired at the Jubilee, or in the seventh or the Sabbatical year, when the free-born Hebrew returned into the possession of his patrimonial estate. The law expressly abhorred the condemnation of an Israelite to perpetual servitude. As a punishment for debt, slavery, at

[1] There is some discrepancy between the accounts of the appointment of the Judges in Exodus xviii. and Deut. i. as to the time and some of the circumstances. It seems to me either that "at that time," in Deuteronomy, is to be taken not strictly, but as "about that time," or, more probably, the appointment in Exodus was a hasty measure to meet a pressing exigency, that in Deuteronomy the formal and regular establishment of the judicial system.

[2] Deut. xxv. 1.

[3] Deut. xvii. 11, 12.

[4] "Cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
Natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestræ
Arguerint, licet ipse negem?" Juven. i. 123.

Petronius Arbiter (Satyricon, 102) speaks of boring the ears, as an Arabian custom.

least under its mitigated form, may be considered as merciful to the sufferer, and certainly more advantageous to the creditor and to the public, than imprisonment. The Israelite sold into bondage might at any time be redeemed by his kindred on payment of the value of the service that remained due. He who became a slave, being already married, recovered the freedom of his wife and family as well as his own; he who married a fellow slave, left her and her children as the property of his master. The discharged slave was not to be cast forth upon society naked and destitute; he was to be decently clothed, and liberally furnished *out of the flock, and out of the floor, and out of the wine-press.*[1]

A parent in extreme distress might sell his children; if male, of course the slave recovered his freedom at the usual time—if female, the law took her under its especial protection. By a mitigation of the original statute, in ordinary cases, she regained her freedom at the end of the seven years. But if the master took her himself, or gave her to his son as an inferior wife, she was to receive the full conjugal rights of her station; if denied them, she recovered her freedom. If he did not marry her, she might be redeemed; but on no account was to be trafficked away into a foreign land.[2]

[1] Levit. xxv. 39, 40; Exod. xxi. 2, 3; Deut. xv. 12. There is a curious difference between these two last texts. In Leviticus the slave became free at the Jubilee, in Deut. in the Sabbatical year. The later is the more liberal statute.

A man may sell himself in China in certain cases, such as to discharge a debt to the crown, or to assist a father in distress, or if dead to bury him in due form. If his conduct in servitude should be unimpeachable, he is entitled to his liberty at the end of twenty years. If otherwise, he continues a slave for life, as do his children, if he had included them in the original agreement. The Emperor's debtors, if fraudulently such, are strangled; if merely by misfortunes, their wives and children and property of every kind are sold; and they are sent themselves to the new settlement in Tartary. Sir G. Staunton's Account of Embassy, ii. 493.

A peculiar feature in the state of society in the Eastern Islands is the law between debtor and creditor. Throughout the archipelago, where the European government has not interfered, confinement for debt is unknown. The creditor universally has a right to the effects of the debtor, to the amount of the debt, on proving it before the proper authority; and if the effects are not sufficient to satisfy the demand, he has a right to the personal services of the debtor, and of his debtor's wife and children if necessary. Hence arises that extensive class of people commonly called slave-debtors, or more correctly bondsmen. In Java they are termed bedol. Raffles, Java, i. 394, note, 8vo edit.

"En ce païs-ci quiconque n'a pas de quoi satisfaire son créancier, vend ses enfans, et si cela ne suffit, il devient esclave luy-même." La Loubère, Voyage à Siam, i. 155.

[2] The Hebrew slave, observes Ewald, was equal before God with his master: he rested on the Sabbath day, he was circumcised, and partook of the paschal

After all, slavery is too harsh a term to apply to this temporary hiring, in which, though the master might inflict blows, he was amenable to justice if the slave died under his hands, or within two days, from the consequence of the beating: if maimed or mutilated, the slave recovered his freedom.[1] The law went further, and positively enjoined kindness and lenity: *Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but thou shalt fear the Lord.*

The condition of foreign slaves was less favourable; whether captives taken in war, purchased, or born in the family, their servitude was perpetual. Yet they too partook of those indulgences which, in a spirit very different from that which bestowed on the wretched slaves in Rome the mock honours of their disorderly Saturnalia, the Jewish law secured for the slave, as well as for the poor, the orphan, the widow, and the stranger. The Sabbath was to them a day of rest; on the three great festivals they partook of the banquets which were made on those occasions. All that grew spontaneously during the Sabbatical year belonged to them, in common with the poor. Besides these special provisions, injunctions perpetually occur in the Mosaic code, which enforce kindness, compassion, and charity, not merely towards the native poor, but to the stranger. Far from that jealous inhospitality and hatred of mankind, of which the later Jews were not altogether unjustly accused, the stranger, unless a Canaanite, might become naturalised, or if he resided in the land, without being incorporated with the people, he was not excluded from the protection of the law. He was invited to the public rejoicings; he was to be a witness and partaker in the bounties of the God who blessed the land.[2]

Such were the political divisions among the Hebrew people: but over all classes alike, the supreme and impartial law exercised its vigilant superintendence. It took under its charge the morals, the health, as well as the persons and the property, of the whole people. It entered into the domestic circle, and regulated all the reciprocal duties of parent and child, husband and wife, as well as of master and servant.

feast (Exodus xii. 44), and of the blessings attached to offerings and sacrifices (Deut. xii. 12). Anhang zum Th. ii. p. 194, 1st edit.

[1] Exod. xxi. 20; Levit. xxv. 43.

There is an instance (1 Chron. ii. 34 *et seqq.*) in which an Egyptian slave marries his master's daughter, and in their children is continued the succession to the estate.

[2] Exod. xxii. 21; Levit. xix. 33; Deut. x. 18, 19.

Among the nomad tribes, from which the Hebrews descended, the father was an arbitrary sovereign in his family, as under the Roman law, with the power of life and death. Moses, while he maintained the dignity and salutary control, limited the abuse of the parental authority. From the earliest period, the child was under the protection of the law. Abortion and infanticide were not specifically forbidden, but unknown, among the Jews. Philo, appealing in honest pride to the practice of his countrymen, reproaches other nations with these cruelties.[1] The father was enjoined to instruct his children in all the memorable events and sacred usages of the land. In extreme indigence, we have seen the sale of children, as slaves, was permitted, but only in the same cases, and under the same conditions, that the parent might sell himself, to escape starvation, and for a limited period. The father had no power of disinheriting his sons; the first-born received by law two portions, the rest shared equally. On the other hand, the Decalogue enforced obedience and respect to parents, under the strongest sanctions. To strike or to curse a parent was a capital offence. On parricide, the law, as if, like that of the Romans, it refused to contemplate its possibility, preserved a sacred silence. Though the power of life and death was not left to the caprice or passion of the parent, the incorrigible son might be denounced before the elders of the city, and, if convicted, suffered death.[2] It is

[1] *βρεφῶν ἐκθεσις παρὰ πολλοῦς τῶν ἀλλων ἐθνῶν, ἕνεκα τῆς φυσίκης ἀπανθρωπίας χειρόηθες ἀσέβημα γέγονεν.* Philo de Leg. Spec.

Augendæ tamen multitudini consulitur. Nam et necare quenquam ex agnatis nefas. Tacitus, of the Jews, Hist. v. 5.

The Egyptians abhorred child murder. *τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα τρέφουσι ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἕνεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας.* Diodor. Sic. i.

[2] "Das Kind ist den Eltern unumshränkten Gehorsam schuldig. Antwortet er seinen Vater oder seinen Mutter dreimal, ohne zu gehorchen, es ist Todeswerth." Kleuker, Zendavesta, iii. 222.

"Eltenmord findet sich nicht in der Lasterreihe, wofür die Bücher [illegible] die Strafen beistimmen." Kleuker, Zendavesta, iii. 223.

There is no limit to the parental power in China.

"Lorsqu'un enfant se rebelle contre son père, par des injures ou autrement, ou si même il porte le crime jusqu'au parricide, la province où ce crime a été commis en est alarmée. L'Empire lui même devient le juge du coupable. On dépose les mandarins de la ville qui ont si mal instruit cet enfant dénaturé. On châtie sévèrement ses proches pour avoir été si négligent à le reprendre; car on suppose qu'un si méchant naturel s'était déjà manifesté en d'autres occasions. Il n'est point d'assez grand supplice pour punir ce parricide. On le coupe en mille pièces, on le brûle, on détruit sa maison jusqu'aux fondements, on renverse celles de ses voisins, et on dresse partout des monumens pour conserver la mémoire de cet horrible excès." Picart, Cérém. et Cout. Relig., p. 260.

remarkable that the father and mother were to concur in the accusation, a most wise precaution, where polygamy, the fruitful source of domestic dissension and jealousy, was permitted.

The chastity of females was guarded by statutes, which, however severe and cruel according to modern notions, were wise and merciful in that state of society. Poems and Travels have familiarised us with the horrible atrocities committed by the blind jealousy of Eastern husbands. By substituting a judicial process for the wild and hurried justice of the offended party, the guilty suffered a death, probably, less inhuman; the innocent might escape. The convicted adulterer and adulteress were stoned to death[1] Even the incontinence of a female before marriage, if detected at the time of her nuptials, which was almost inevitable, underwent the same penalty with that of the adulteress. Where the case was not clear, the female suspected of infidelity might be summoned to a most awful ordeal.[2] She was to be acquitted or condemned by God Himself, whose actual interposition was promised by His daring lawgiver. The woman was led forth from her own dwelling into the court of the Lord's house. In that solemn place she first made an offering of execration; not entreating mercy, but imprecating the divine vengeance if she should be guilty. The priest then took some of the holy water, and mingled it with some of the holy earth: as he placed the bowl of bitter ingredients in her hand, he took off the veil in which she was accustomed to conceal herself from the eyes of man, and left her exposed to the public gaze; her hair was loosened, and the dreadful form of imprecation recited. If innocent, the water was harmless; if guilty, the Lord would make her a

"Les punitions en Corée ne sont pas cruelles: on ne tranche pas la tête qu'à ceux qui ont injurié leur père ou leur mère." Klaproth, Aperçu des Trois Royaumes, p. 91.

[1] Levit. xviii. 20; xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22.

Compare Tacitus, Germania, xix. Adultery, considered as the effect of blind destiny, was not the less severely punished by the laws. A rope was tied round the neck of the adulterous woman, and she was dragged into a public square, where she was *stoned* to death in the presence of her husband. The punishment is represented in the ninth sheet of the MS. Humboldt, Researches, ii. 170.

[2] "L'adultère est puni par une amende; la femme est répudiée. Si elle est seulement soupçonnée, elle doit se purger en jurant par sa Fétiche, et mangeant du sel, ou buvant d'un certain breuvage. Elle ne hasarde pas le serment lorsqu'elle se croit coupable, parce que la Fétiche la feroit mourir." Picart, Relig. des Africains, 12.

For ordeals of this nature, see Asiatic Researches, i. 389; Park's Travels; Dampier's Travels, iii. 91, 92.

curse and an oath among the people: she was to be smitten at once with a horrid disease; *her thigh was to rot, her belly to swell.* To this adjuration of the great all-seeing God, the woman was to reply, *Amen, Amen.* A solemn pause ensued, during which the priest wrote down all the curses, and washed them out again with the water. She was then to drink the water, if she dared; but what guilty woman, if she had courage to confront, would have the command of countenance, the firmness and resolution to go through all this slow, searching, and terrific process, and finally expose herself to shame and agony, far worse than death? No doubt, cases where this trial was undergone were rare; yet, the confidence of the legislator in the divine interference can hardly be questioned; for, had such an institution fallen into contempt by its failure in any one instance, his whole law and religion would have been shaken to its foundation.

Marriages were contracted by parents, in behalf of their children. A dowry, or purchase-money, was usually given by the bridegroom. Polygamy was permitted,[1] rather than encouraged: the law did not directly interfere with the immemorial usage, but, by insisting on each wife or concubine receiving her full conjugal rights, prevented even the most wealthy from establishing those vast harems which are fatal to the happiness, and eventually to the population, of a country. The degrees of relationship, between which marriage was forbidden, were defined with singular minuteness.[2] The lead-

[1] Deut. xxi. 15, on polygamy. γαμοῦσι δὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὅι μὲν ἱερεῖς μίαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσας ἂν ἕκαστος προαιρῆται. Diod. Sic. i. 51.

The Jews inferred from the law that the High Priest was to marry a virgin, that he was to marry but one.

"Allein das Gesetz forderte doch die Einehe nicht; und viele Häuptlinge oder sonst reichste Männer in Israel zogen es vor lieber dem Beispiele des zweiweibigen Jaquob als dem reiner Vorbilde Isaaqs zu folgen . . . Aber obgleich durch Gesetz nie aufgehoben, verliert sich die Vielweiberei sichtbar allmahlig immermehr, je stärker die hohere Religion im Verlaufe der Zeit die Sitten unvermerkt besserte: so dass die Geschichte Israels endlich mit [illegible] ungezwungen aber entschiedene Siege der Einehe schliesst." I had come to the same conclusion, thus confirmed by Ewald, Anhang, p. 178.

M. Frank observes that in the second chapter of Genesis monogamy is laid down in the strongest terms as the law of mankind—a man shall cleave to his wife, and be one flesh. "C'est ainsi que Moïse s'exprime sur le mariage quand il le considère en moraliste et en théologien. C'est tout autre chose quand il parle en législateur: alors il autorise la polygamie, la divorce, la répudiation, ces trois causes de dissolution et de servitude qui ont exercés et exercent encore une si funeste influence, non seulement sur la famille, mais sur la société Orientale." Etudes Orientales, p. 133.

[2] Levit. xviii. 6, 18. The Egyptians, as Philo observes, married their sisters. It is certain that they did so in the time of the Ptolemies. The usage

ing principle of these enactments was to prohibit marriage between those parties among whom, by the usage of their society, early and frequent intimacy was unavoidable, and might lead to abuse. Divorce was tolerated under certain circumstances, not very clearly understood. A Bill of divorcement, a regular legal process, might be given, and the wife dismissed;[1] yet some disrepute seems to have attached to the practice. A priest might not marry a divorced woman.[2]

Having thus secured the domestic happiness of his people, or, at least, moderated, as far as the times would allow, those lawless and inordinate passions which overbear the natural tenderness of domestic instinct and the attachment between the sexes[3]—guarded the father from the disobedience of the son, the son from the capricious tyranny of the father—secured the wife from being the victim of every savage fit of jealousy, while he sternly repressed the crime of conjugal infidelity, the lawgiver proceeded, with the same care and discretion, to provide for the general health of the people. With this view he regulated their diet, enforced cleanliness, took precautions against the most prevalent diseases, and left the rest, as he safely might, to the genial climate of the country, the wholesome exercise of husbandry, and the cheerful relaxations afforded by the religion. The health of the people was a chief, if not the only object of the distinction between clean and unclean beasts, and the prohibition against eating the blood of any animal. All coarse, hard, and indigestible food is doubly dangerous in warm climates. The general feeling of mankind has ordinarily abstained from most of the animals proscribed by the Mosaic law, excepting sometimes the camel, the hare, the coney, and the swine.[4] The flesh of

(according to Herodotus, iii. 31) was introduced among the Persians by Cambyses.

[1] Deut. xxiv. 1, 4.

[2] Levit. xxi. 14; Num. xxx. 9; compare Jerem. iii. 8. The law first appears in Deuteronomy; it is *implied* in the earlier books. See our Lord's words—"On account of the hardness of their hearts" (Mark x. 5).

Among the Arabians divorces are very common. A man of 45 had had fifty wives. Nothing is necessary but to say "*ent talih*," "thou art divorced," and to send her home to her parents on a she camel. Burckhardt, Manners of Arabians.

[3] The laws concerning rape are remarkable; they relate to virgins betrothed. In the city, where the female might have obtained succour if she had given alarm, she was presumed to be consenting to the crime; in the country, where she could not so defend herself, she was presumed to be the innocent victim of force. This is a law peculiar to Deuteronomy, xxii. 23.

[4] Levit. xi.; Deut. xiv. Compare the Institutes of Menu for remarkable coincidences; Jones's Menu, v. ii. 66. For the similarity between the

the camel is vapid and heavy;[1] the wholesomeness of the hare is questioned by Hippocrates; that of the swine in southern countries tends to produce cutaneous maladies, the diseases to which the Jews were peculiarly liable;[2] besides that the animal being usually left in the East to its own filthy habits, is not merely unwholesome, but disgusting; it is the scavenger of the towns. Of the birds, those of prey were forbidden; of fish, those without fins or scales. The prohibition of blood (besides its acknowledged unwholesomeness, and in some instances fatal effects) perhaps pointed at the custom of some savage tribes, which, like the Abyssinians, fed upon flesh torn warm from the animal, and almost quivering with life.[3] This revolting practice may have been interdicted not merely as unwholesome, but as promoting that ferocity of manners which it was the first object of the lawgiver to discourage. Beasts which died of themselves, or torn by other beasts, were not to be eaten.[4]

Cleanliness, equally important to health with wholesome diet,[5] was maintained by the injunction of frequent ablutions,

Egyptian and Jewish law of uncleanness as regards animals, Porphyrius de Abstinent., lib. iv. p. 514. Some of the Jewish usages prevail in Siam. La Loubère, i. 204.

[1] During the voyage of Nearchus nothing but extreme distress could prevail on the Greeks to eat camel's flesh: Vincent, i. p. 272. The Arabs eat the young camel: Russell's Nat. Hist. of Aleppo. Meidan, Prov. Arab., Schultens, p. 138.

[2] Mohammedans, it is well known, inherit the Jewish aversion for swine. They are eaten in India and China. Swine's flesh was eaten in Greece; bacon was the common food in Rome. On the aversion of the Egyptians to swine, Herod. ii. 47; Ælian, Hist. Anim. x. 16; xvi. 37. Ælian says that there were no swine and that they were not eaten in India (xii. 37).

De Pauw endeavours to show that the Egyptian dietetics were especially intended to counteract the leprosy (ii. pp. 109 and 150).

The Turks, according to Russell, will not eat the hare; the Arabs do. The word translated "coney" is probably the Jerboa. It is not eaten by the Arabs, according to Russell and Hasselquist.

[3] "When we asked them if they were accustomed to eat live flesh, they (the Bokhara) denied it, but spoke with pleasure of the luxury of opening the veins of a dromedary or a sheep, and drinking the warm blood." Hamilton, Ægyptiaca, p. 28.

Levit. xviii. 14. The blood of the sacrifices was especially forbidden, being sanctified as the means of atonement; with the Hebrews it was the seat of life.

[4] Levit. xxii. 8. The flesh of an animal killed by another is prohibited. Phocylides, 136; by Pythagoras, Diog. Laert. viii. 33. The Koran, Sura v. 4. According to Niebuhr the prohibition is still observed in Arabia.

[5] Compare the regulations for personal cleanliness in the Vishnu Purana, p. 301. Among Greek writers Porphyr. de Abstin. iv. 7: *καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀυτὸν καθαρεύειν ἀπό τε κήδους, καὶ λέχους, καὶ μιάσματος παντὸς, καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι βρῶτων θνησειδίων τε κρεῶν, καὶ τριγλῶν, καὶ μελανουρῶν καὶ ὠῶν καὶ τῶν*

particularly after touching a dead body, or anything which might possibly be putrid; by regulations concerning female disorders, and the intercourse between the sexes; provisions which seem minute and indelicate to modern ideas, but were doubtless intended to correct unseemly or unhealthful practices, either of the Hebrew people or of neighbouring tribes. The leprosy was the dreadful scourge which excited the greatest apprehension. The nature of this loathsome disease is sufficiently indicated by the expressive description—*a leper as white as snow*. In its worst stage the whole flesh rotted, the extremities dropped off, till at last mortification ensued, and put an end to the sufferings of the miserable outcast; for as the disease was highly infectious, the unhappy victim was immediately shunned, and looked on with universal abhorrence.[1] The strict quarantine established by Moses provided for the security of the community, not without merciful regard to the sufferer. The inspection of the infected was committed to the Levites; the symptoms of the two kinds of disorder accurately pointed out; the period of seclusion defined; while all, if really cured, were certain of readmission into the community, none were readmitted until perfectly cured. Clothes, and even houses which might retain the infection, were to be destroyed without scruple; though it

ὠοτόκων ζῴων, καὶ κυάμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν παρακελεύονται ὁι τὰς τελετὰς ἐν τοις ἱεροῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες. Diog. Laert. viii. 34. It is observable that what was the distinction of Pythagoras and of the initiate in the Mysteries, was enacted by Moses on the whole people.

[1] Nothing can exceed the notion of disgrace attached to the unfortunate sufferer. No Arab will sleep near a leper, nor eat from the same dish with him; nor will he permit his son or daughter to connect themselves with a leprous family. Burckhardt's Manners of Arabians, p. 54.

Suicide is never committed by males except in cases of leprosy, where in other parts of India the leper sometimes burns himself alive. Asiatic Researches, xvi. 198, 4to.

For the singularly tender and charitable, yet rigid provisions concerning lepers in the Middle Ages, Milman's Latin Christianity, v. 480.

"Moyse a donné les preuves les moins équivoques de ses connaissances profondes en médecine dans la partie de ses lois qui contient des preceptes d'hygiène et l'indication des caractères auxquels on peut reconnaître la lèpre blanche, fort répandue parmi les peuples de Dieu, ainsi que celles des moyens qu'il faut mettre en usage pour le guérir. Il apprend à distinguer les taches qui annoncent l'invasion prochaine ou l'existence de cette lèpre, de celles qui ne doivent inspirer aucun soupçon. Il porte un jugement très-sain sur la nature critique des croûtes, et des éruptions herpétiformes qui s'observent dans cette affection, sur la complication de la lèpre blanche invétérée avec la lèpre ulcérée, et sur plusieurs autres accidens de cette redoutable maladie. Les modernes ont eu quelquefois, mais rarement, occasion de s'assurer combien tout ce qu'il dit est exact." Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine, traduit par A. L. Jourdan, i. p. 67.

does not seem quite clear whether the plague, which lurked in the plaster of houses, was the same leprosy which might become contagious, or a kind of mildew or worm, which might breed some other destructive malady.

Human life, in all rude and barbarous tribes, is of cheap account; blood is shed on the least provocation; open or secret assassination is a common occurrence. The Hebrew penal law enforced the highest respect for the life of man. Murder ranked with high treason (*i.e.*, idolatry, blasphemy), striking a father, adultery, and unnatural lust, as a capital crime: the law demanded blood for blood.[1] But it transferred the exaction of the penalty from private revenge, and committed it to the judicial authority. To effect this, it had to struggle with an inveterate though barbarous usage, which still prevails among the Arabian tribes. By a point of honour, as rigorous as that of modern duelling, the nearest of kin is bound to revenge the death of his relation: he is his Goel or blood-avenger.[2] He makes no inquiry: he allows no pause: whether the deceased has been slain on provocation, by accident, or of deliberate malice, death can only be atoned by the blood of the homicide. To mitigate the evils of an usage too firmly established to be rooted out, Moses appointed certain cities of refuge, conveniently situated. If the homicide could escape to one of these, he was safe till a judicial investigation took place. If the crime was deliberate murder, he was surrendered to the Goel; if justifiable or accidental homicide, he was bound to reside within the sanctuary for a certain period: should he leave it and expose himself to the revenge of his pursuers, he did so at his own peril, and might be put to death.[3] In case of strife, what was called the law of retaliation was enacted, life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

[1] Exodus xxi. 12; Levit. xxiv. 17, 21, 22.

Selden interpreted Levit. xix. 16, "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour," Non stabis otiosus. Rosenmüller rightly, and in connection with the former clause, "Thou shalt not stand up as false witness against thy neighbour." Rosenmüller *in loco.*

[2] The Goel in Homer, and redemption from the Goel, ix. 628.

Νηλής· καὶ μεν τίς κε κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο
Ποινὴν, ἢ οὗ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνειῶτος.

Compare Plato de Leg. ix.; Demosthen. contr. Aristog.; Pausanias, v. 11, viii. 34; Pollux, viii.

Pallas: The Circassians. The Koran, Sura xvii. 35. Burckhardt, Manners and Customs, p. 86. In the island of Sardinia this custom still prevails in all its force. Compare Tyndale's Travels, and Gregorovius.

[3] Numbers xxxv. 19.

There was especial provision for injury to a woman with child.[1] Where a murder was committed, of which the perpetrator was undetected, the nearest city was commanded to make an offering of atonement. With the same jealous regard for human life, a strict police regulation enacted that the terrace on the top of every house should have a parapet.[2] In one case inexcusable carelessness, which caused death, was capitally punished. If an ox gored a man so that he died, the beast was put to death:[3] if the owner had been warned, he also suffered the same penalty; but in this case his life might be redeemed at a certain price. In other cases, as was said, personal injury was punished by strict retaliation, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." The Jews however assert that, from the earliest period, these penalties were commuted for a pecuniary mulct, according to a regular scale.

While the law was thus rigorous with regard to human life, against the crime of theft it was remarkably lenient. The midnight burglar might be killed in the act.[4] Man-stealing, as the kidnapped person could only be sold to foreigners, inflicted political death, and was therefore a capital offence;[5] but the ordinary punishment of theft was restitution. Here personal slavery was a direct advantage, as it empowered the law to exact the proper punishment without touching the life. No man was so poor that he could not make restitution; because the labour of a slave being of higher value than his maintenance, his person could be sold either to satisfy a creditor, or to make compensation for a theft.

The law of property may be most conveniently stated after the final settlement of the country.

In all the foregoing statutes we see the legislator constantly, yet discreetly, mitigating the savage usages of a barbarous people. There are some minor provisions to which it is difficult to assign any object, except that of softening the ferocity of manners, and promoting gentleness and humanity; kindness to domestic animals—the prohibition to employ beasts of unequal strength, the ox and the ass, on the same

[1] Exod. xxi. 22 *et seqq.*; Levit. xxiv. 19; Deut. xix. 21.

[2] Deut. xxii. 8.

[3] *ἐὰν δ' ἅρα ὑποζύγιον ἢ ζωον ἄλλό τι φονεύσῃ τινὰ, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἐν ἀγῶνι τῶν δημοσιᾷ τιθεμένων τι ἀθλεύοντα τοιοῦτον δράσῃ, ἐπεξίτωσαν μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες τόν φόνου τῷ κτείναντι.* Plato de Leg. ix. p. 44, edit. Bipont.

The exception is remarkable, and Greek.

[4] Exod. xxii. 2.

[5] Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7.

labour (unless this is to be classed with those singular statutes of which we have no very satisfactory explanation, which forbade wearing garments of mixed materials, or sowing mixed seeds)—the prohibition to seethe a kid in its mother's milk (though this likewise is supposed by Spencer to be aimed at a religious usage)—or to take the young of birds and the dam together.[1] Towards all their fellow-creatures the same kindly conduct was enjoined on the Hebrew people, both by general precept and by particular statute. The mildness of their slave-law has been often contrasted, to their advantage, with that of those ancient nations which made the loudest boast of their freedom and civilisation. The provisions for the poor were equally gentle and considerate; the gleanings of every harvest field were left to the fatherless and widow; the owner might not go over it a second time; the home of the poor man was sacred; his garment, if pledged, was to be restored at nightfall. Even towards the stranger oppression was forbidden; if indigent, he shared in all the privileges reserved for the native poor.

The general war-law, considering the age, was not deficient in lenity. War was to be declared in form. The inhabitants of a city which made resistance, might be put to the sword, that is, the males; but only after it had been summoned to surrender. Fruit-trees were not to be destroyed during a siege.[2] The conduct towards female captives deserves particular notice. The beautiful slave might not be hurried, as was the case during those ages falsely called heroic, in the agony of sorrow, perhaps reeking with the blood of her murdered relatives, to the bed of the conqueror. She was allowed a month for decent sorrow: if, after that, she became the wife of her master, he might not capriciously abandon her, and sell her to another; she might claim her freedom as the price of her humiliation.

To the generally humane character of the Mosaic legislation there appears one great exception, the sanguinary and relentless warfare enjoined against the seven Canaanitish nations. Towards them mercy was a crime—extermination a duty. It is indeed probable, that this war-law, cruel as it

[1] Exod. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21. The iteration of this law is remarkable.

See also Cudworth on the Lord's Supper.

[2] In the Indian laws, says Vincent, the produce of the field, the works of the artisan, the city without walls, and the defenceless village, were declared sacred and inviolate. Commerce of Ancients. He quotes Strabo, xv.; Diod. Sic. ii. 1; Paolini, 227.

seems, was not in the least more barbarous than that of the surrounding nations, more particularly of the Canaanites themselves. In this the Hebrews were only not superior to their age. Many incidents in the Jewish history show the horrid atrocities of warfare in Palestine. The mutilation of distinguished captives, and the torture of prisoners in cold blood, were the usual consequences of victory. Adonibezek, one of the native kings, acknowledges that seventy kings, with their thumbs and toes cut off, had gathered their meat under his table. The invasion and conquest once determined, no alternative remained but to extirpate or be extirpated. The dangers and evils to which the Hebrew tribes were subsequently exposed by the weakness or humanity which induced them to suspend their work of extermination, before it had been fully completed, clearly show the political wisdom by which those measures were dictated: cruel as they were, the war once commenced, they were inevitable. The right of the Jews to invade and take possession of Palestine depended solely on their divine commission, and their grant from the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth; for any other right—deduced from the possession of the patriarchs, who never were owners of more than the sepulchres they purchased; and, if they had any better title, had forfeited it by the abeyance of many centuries —is untenable and preposterous. Almighty Providence determined to extirpate a race of bloody, licentious, and barbarous idolaters, and replace them by a people of milder manners and purer religion. Instead of the earthquake, the famine, or the pestilence, the ferocious valour of this yet uncivilised people was allowed free scope. The war, in which the Hebrew tribes were embarked, was stripped of none of its customary horrors and atrocities; nor was it till these savage and unrelenting passions had fulfilled their task, that the influence of their milder institutions was to soften and humanise the national character. Such was the scheme, which, if not, as we assert, really authorised by the Supreme Being, must have been created within the daring and comprehensive mind of the Hebrew legislator. He undertook to lead a people through a long and dreadful career of bloodshed and massacre. The conquest once achieved, they were to settle down into a nation of peaceful husbandmen, under a mild and equal constitution. Up to a certain point they were to be trained in the worst possible discipline for peaceful citizens; to encourage every disposition opposite to those inculcated by the general

spirit of the law. Their ambition was inflamed; military habits formed; the love of restless enterprise fostered; the habit of subsisting upon plunder encouraged. The people who were to be merciful to the meanest beast, were to mutilate the noblest animal, the horse, wherever they met it: those who were not to exercise any oppression whatever towards a stranger of another race, an Edomite, or even towards their ancient enemy—an Egyptian; on the capture of a Canaanitish city, were to put man, woman, and child to the sword. Their enemies were designated; appointed limits fixed to their conquests: beyond a certain boundary the ambitious invasion, which before was a virtue, became a crime. The whole victorious nation was suddenly to pause in its career. Thus far they were to be like hordes of Tartars, Scythians, or Huns, bursting irresistibly from their deserts, and sweeping away every vestige of human life: at a given point their arms were to fall from their hands; the thirst of conquest subside; and a great unambitious agricultural republic—with a simple religion, an equal administration of justice, a thriving and industrious population, brotherly harmony and mutual goodwill between all ranks; domestic virtues, purity of morals, gentleness of manners—was to arise in the midst of the desolation their arms had made; and under the very roofs—in the vineyards and corn-fields—which they had obtained by merciless violence.

The sanction on which the Hebrew law was founded, is, if possible, more extraordinary. The lawgiver—educated in Egypt, where the immortality of the soul, under some form, most likely that of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul, entered into the popular belief—nevertheless maintained a profound silence on that fundamental article, if not of political, at least of religious legislation—rewards and punishments in another life.[1] He substituted temporal chastisements

[1] On this opinion, held by Warburton, but held by Warburton in that paradoxical form in which his vigorous gladiatorial mind delighted, I find myself to have anticipated the conclusion at which Ewald had arrived. The thought of another life was obscured, and, as it were, superseded, by the belief in direct providential government in the present. "Denn jenes reine Vertrauen auf Jahve, und diese Hoffnung stätiger Erlösung genügte dem menschlichen Geiste, und so einzig fühlte er sich vor dem göttlichen Geiste, und dessen Leitung verschwindend, dass er sogar auf die Hoffnung seiner eigenen einzelnen Fortdauer kein Gewicht legt, und nur für das irdische Leben lange Dauer und Wohlergehen wünscht. So zeigen es sogar die 10 Gebote; und alle göttlichen Verheissungen oder Drohungen welche in Leben der alte Religion laut werden, beziehen sich stets nur auf diese Erde und das jetzige Leben." I

and temporal blessings. On the violation of the constitution, followed inevitably blighted harvests, famine, pestilence, barrenness among their women, defeat, captivity; on its maintenance, abundance, health, fruitfulness, victory, independence. How wonderfully the event verified the prediction of the inspired legislator—how invariably apostasy led to adversity—repentance and reformation to prosperity — will abundantly appear during the course of the following history.

fully concur with Ewald that the general and intuitive presentiment of another life lingered, though latent in the Jewish mind, to be reawakened at a later time, that of the Prophets. Ewald, ii. p. 121, 1st Edition.

The Rabbinists were so perplexed to find the Resurrection in the Law, that they cited Deut. xxxi. 16: "Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and the people shall rise up." There they stopped short of the unseemly conclusion. Tract. Sanhedrin, ii. They also quoted Deut. i. 8. Compare Beer, Geschichte der Juden, i. 116; on the Egyptian transmigration, Herod. ii. 123; Diodor.; Heeren, Ideen Ægypten, i. 192. Hereen wrote thus: "Ich glaube mich dadurch berechtigt annehmen zu dürfen das die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung nur ein philosophem der Priester, keineswegs aber Volksreligion war." The recent discoveries in Egyptian lore, especially the remarkable "Todtenbuch" published by Lepsius, seem to show that the notions of another life were far more profoundly incorporated with the popular Egyptian mind. Ewald writes that it was so much so that "die man ebenso richtig die Religion des Todes, als den Jahventhum die des Lebens nennen kann" (p. 124).

BOOK IV

THE INVASION

Advance to the Holy Land—Repulse—Residence in the Desert—Second Advance—Conquests to the East of the Jordan—Death and Character of Moses.

At length the twelve tribes broke up their encampment in the elevated region about Mount Sinai.[1] A year and a month had elapsed since their departure from Egypt. The nation assumed the appearance of a regular army; military order and discipline were established; each tribe marched in succession under its own leaders, with its banner displayed, and took up its position in the appointed quarter of the camp. When the silver trumpets sounded, the tribe of Judah, mustering 74,600 fighting men, defiled forward from the east side of the camp, and led the van, followed by Issachar, with 54,400, and Zebulun, 57,400. Then came a division of the tribe of Levi, the descendants of Gershom and Merari, bearing the tabernacle, which was carefully taken down, and, thus moving after the advanced guard, might be set up, ready for the reception of the ark. Then Reuben, numbering 46,500, Simeon 59,300, Gad 45,650, broke up, and advanced from the southern part of the encampment. The second division of the Levites, the family of Kohath, next took their station, bearing the sanctuary and the ark, and all the sacred vessels, with the most religious care, lest any hands but those of Aaron and his assistants should touch a single part. All the males of the house of Levi amounted only to 22,000. Ephraim 40,500, Manasseh 32,200, Benjamin 35,400, defiled, and formed the western wing of the encampment: Dan 62,700, Asher 41,500, Naphthali 53,400, brought up the rear. The whole number of fighting men was 603,550.[2] This formidable army set forward

[1] Numbers x.

[2] Of the difficulties and discrepancies which occur in the sacred writings of the Hebrews, perhaps two-thirds are found in passages which contain numbers. Of the primitive Hebrew system of notation we are most likely ignorant; but the manner in which the numbers are denoted in the present copies of the sacred books, is remarkably liable to error and misapprehension. (See

singing, "*Rise up, O Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered;*" and thus—already furnished with their code of laws, irresistible both in their numbers and the promised assistance of their God—they marched onward to take possession of the fruitful

dissertation in the last edition of Calmet.) It is by no means easy to reconcile the enormous numbers, contained in the census, with the language of other passages in the Scriptures, particularly that of the seventh chapter of Deuteronomy. The nation which could arm 600,000 fighting men is described as "the fewest of all people," as inferior in numbers, it should seem, to each of the seven "greater and mightier nations" which then inhabited Canaan. And it is remarkable, that while there has been much controversy, whether the whole area of Palestine could contain the Hebrew settlers, the seven nations are "to be put out by little and little, lest the beasts of the field increase upon" the new occupants. The narrative of the campaign, in the Book of Joshua, is equally inconsistent with these immense numbers; *e.g.*, the defiling of the whole army of 600,000 men, seven times in one day, round the walls of Jericho; the panic of the whole host at the repulse of 3000 men before Ai. The general impression from this book is, that it describes the invasion of nations, at once more warlike and numerous, by a smaller force, which, without reliance on divine succour, could not have achieved the conquest; rather than the irruption of an host, like that of Attila or Zengis, which might have borne down all opposition by the mere weight of numerical force. I have not, however, thought fit to depart from the numbers as they stand in the sacred writings; though, if we might suppose that a cypher has been added in the total sum, and throughout the several particulars; or if we might include men, women, and children under the 600,000, the history would gain, in my opinion, both in clearness and consistency. It may be added, that the number of the first-born (Num. iii. 43) is quite out of proportion to that of the adult males.

The more I study this question, the more strongly am I convinced that great abatement is absolutely necessary in the numbers of the Israelites, not merely for historic credibility, but to maintain the consistency and veracity of the sacred records. I am not ignorant or forgetful of the passage in Exodus i. 7, in which Pharaoh is represented as declaring the Israelites "more and mightier" than they. If however these words, spoken in the secret council of Pharaoh, are to be taken to the letter, they cannot be regarded but as the expression of fear and jealousy at the growth of so formidable and dangerous a people within his realm; for to press the sentence to its literal meaning would be to suppose the inhabitants of the narrow district of Goshen more numerous than those of the whole valley of the Nile, and all its vast and populous cities—than a nation which in all probability had a short time before conquered large parts of Africa and Asia. I am aware too that the modern critical school accept these numbers without hesitation—Ewald, I think, the two millions and a half, Bunsen at least two millions. Bunsen has even calculated the time which it would take for such a host, marching in so many files, and so many men in each file, to cross the Red Sea (of course the shorter passage). With due respect to these most learned scholars, I cannot think them very high authorities for moving large bodies of men. I should like to have put the plain abstract question to Napoleon or the Duke of Wellington. Remember that there is no word of miraculous interposition. If Biblical interpreters are resolved to adhere to the text, and throw themselves on the vague assertion that nothing is impossible with God, there is an end of the question; but to those who would reconcile the main facts of the Jewish annals with historic credibility, according to the ordinary rules of human reason, I venture to suggest some further investigation. Conceive two millions and a half of people (the population of London and its suburbs), some assembled from

land, which had been promised as a reward of their toils. The cloud still led the way; but their prudent leader likewise secured the assistance of Hobab,[1] his brother-in-law, who, at the head of his clan, had been accustomed to traverse the desert, knew intimately the bearings of the country, the usual resting-places, the water-springs, and the character and habits of the wandering tribes.

Their march was not uninterrupted by adventures.[2] At Taberah a fire broke out, which raged with great fury among the dry and combustible materials of which their tents were made. The people trembled before the manifest anger of the Lord: the destructive flames ceased at the prayer of Moses.[3] Not long after (at a place subsequently called Kibroth Hattaavah), discontent and mutiny began to spread in the camp. The manna, on which they had long fed, began to pall upon the taste. With something of that feeling which reminds us of sailors who have been long at sea, they began to remember the flesh, the fish, and particularly the juicy and cooling fruits and vegetables which abounded in Egypt, a species of lotus, a

various parts of Egypt, suddenly called on to migrate, including the aged, the infirm, the sick, women and children; not to migrate in slow, deliberate order, but in the utmost haste, with an armed enemy, mounted on chariots, in pursuit; with no previous organisation or discipline except perhaps some loose habits of obedience to elders or heads of families and tribes; laden too with the spoils of the Egyptians (for their baggage, to judge from the materials of all kinds required and actually used in building the tabernacle, and for the public ceremonial in the wilderness, if it accompanied them, must have been no slight incumbrance)—at all events with their flocks and herds, if not sufficient for their maintenance, certainly embarrassing and retarding their movements—and all this mass of human beings of all ages and both sexes, and beasts with their burthens, in the disorder of a flight, with the enemy in their rear, till the Red Sea was passed, and in the Desert moving at the regular pace of a caravan, about 15 miles a day; and 600,000 fighting men (how armed we are not told), an army one-third larger, exclusive of the contingents, than that with which Napoleon invaded Russia; larger probably than those of Attila, Zengis, or Timour, in their first military enterprise, are checked and only secured from rout through prevailing prayer to God, by one Bedouin tribe, the Amalekites, and are so frightened by the report of the spies as not to dare to cross the border.

If the passage in Exodus is to be taken literally, that the Israelites were more numerous than the Egyptians, so must that in Deuteronomy, that each of the seven nations in Canaan was more numerous than the Israelites. Palestine, in that case, will have had a population of at least twenty millions, Egypt of about two millions.

There is another singular discrepancy to be noted: the first-born were only 22,273; the adult males 603,550. How many males does this give to a family? See Rosenmüller's note on Numbers iii. 43.

[1] Numbers x. 29–32. "Forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes."

[2] Numbers xi. 1, 3.

[3] Numbers xi. 4, 31, 34.

favourite food among the lower orders, and the water-melon, the great luxury of southern climates. The discontents rose so high that, to strengthen the authority of the leader, a permanent council of seventy elders was appointed: the model, and, as the Jews assert, the origin of their famous Sanhedrin. Still Moses doubted whether it might not be necessary to satisfy the mutinous spirits by slaying all the flocks and herds, which had hitherto been religiously reserved for sacrifices. By divine command he promised an immediate supply of food; but at the same time warned them of the fatal consequences which would attend the gratification of their appetites. Quails again fell in great abundance around the camp; but immediately on this change of diet, or even before, if we are to receive the account to the strict letter, a dreadful pestilence broke out.[1] It has been suggested, that quails feed on hellebore, and other poisonous plants, and may thus become most pernicious and deadly food. The place was called Kibroth Hattaavah, the graves of the greedy after food. During the height of this mutiny, the leader received unexpected assistance from two of the seventy, Eldad and Medad,[2] who, of their own accord, began to prophesy, to speak in the name of God, or to testify their religious zeal by some peculiar and enthusiastic language. Far from reproving with jealous indignation these intruders on his own spiritual function, the prudent leader commended their zeal, and expressed his desire that it might spread throughout the nation.

At their next stage new difficulties arose—jealousy and dissension within the family of the lawgiver. Miriam, the sister of Moses, who, from the prominent part she took in the rejoicings on the shore of the Red Sea, seems to have been the acknowledged head of the female community, found, or supposed herself, supplanted in dignity by the Arabian (Ethiopian) wife of Moses—whether Zipporah, or a second wife, is not quite clear. Aaron espoused her quarrel; but the authority of Moses, and the impartiality of the law, were at once vindicated. The offenders were summoned before the tabernacle, and rebuked by the voice from the cloud. The mutinous Miriam was smitten with leprosy. Notwith-

[1] Compare Beohart, i. 657. "Coturnicibus veneni semen gratissimus cibus, quam ob causam eas damnavere mensis." Plin. H. N., x. 23. See also quotation from Didymus in Geoponicis. Rosenmüller, note on Numbers xi. 33.

[2] Numbers xi. 26.

standing the intercessory prayer of Moses for her pardon (the brotherly tenderness of Moses is worthy of remark), she is cast, like a common person, out of the camp, till she should have completed the legal term of purification.

At length the nation arrived on the southern frontier of the promised land, at a place called Kadesh Barnea. Their wanderings are now drawn to an end, and they are to reap the reward of all their toil and suffering, the final testimony of the divine favour. Twelve spies, one from each tribe, are sent out to make observations on the fruitfulness of the land, the character of the inhabitants, and the strength of their fortifications. Among these, the most distinguished are, Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, and Joshua, of Ephraim. During the forty days of their absence the assembled people anxiously await their return; and at length they are seen advancing towards the camp, loaded with delicious fruits, for it was now about the time of the vintage. In one respect their report is most satisfactory. Canaan had undergone great improvement since the time when Abraham and Jacob had pastured their flocks in the open and unoccupied plains. The vine, the olive, the pomegranate, and the fig, were cultivated with great success; and the rich sample which they bear—a bunch of grapes, almost as much as two men can carry, suspended from a pole, with figs and pomegranates—confirms their cheering narrative. But, on the other hand, the intelligence, exaggerated by the fears of ten out of the twelve spies, overwhelms the whole people with terror. These treasures were guarded by fierce and warlike tribes, not likely to abandon their native plains without an obstinate and bloody contest. Their cities were strongly fortified; and above all, nearly the first enemies they would have to encounter would be men of colossal stature, the descendants of the gigantic people celebrated in their early national traditions, people before whom they would be *as grasshoppers*. The inhabitants of Egypt are in general of small stature;[1] and the same causes which tended to the rapid increase of the Jewish people in that country were unfavourable to their height and vigour. But, worse than this, their long slavery had debased their minds: the confidence in the divine protection gave way at once before their sense of physical inferiority, and the total deficiency of moral courage. "*Back to Egypt*," is the general cry. The brave

[1] See Pettigrew on the Stature of the Mummies, p. 167. The tallest male, when unrolled, does not reach to more than five feet five inches.

Joshua and Caleb in vain reprove the general pusillanimity; their own lives are in danger; and, in bitter disappointment, the lawgiver perceives that a people accustomed to the luxuries of a relaxing climate, and inured to slavery from their birth, are not the materials from which he can construct a bold, conquering, and independent nation. But his great mind is equal even to those dispiriting circumstances; and, in all the wonderful history of the Jews, perhaps nothing is more extraordinary, or more clearly evinces his divine inspiration and confident reliance on the God in whose name he spoke, than his conduct on this trying occasion. The decision is instantaneously formed; the plan of immediate conquest at once abandoned; the people are commanded, on the authority of God, to retreat directly from the borders of the promised land. They are neither to return to Egypt, nor assail an easier conquest; but they are condemned to wander for a definite period of forty years, in the barren and dismal regions through which they had marched. No hope is held out that their lives shall be prolonged; they are distinctly assured that not one of them shall receive those blessings, on the promise of which they had surrendered themselves to the guidance of Moses, abandoned Egypt, and traversed the wilderness. Even Moses himself, at the age of eighty, acquiesces in the discouraging apprehension, that he never shall enjoy the reward of his honourable and patriotic ambition—the pride and satisfaction of seeing his republic happily established in the land of Canaan. A desperate access of valour, or an impatient desire of beholding once, at least, the pleasant land, in vain repressed by their leader, brought the Hebrews into collision with their enemies. Those who ascended the hill were fiercely assailed by the native warriors, and driven back to the main body with great loss. All the spies, except the faithful two, were cut off by an untimely death, a pestilence sent from God. Nothing remained, but in sullen resignation to follow their inexorable leader into that country in which they were to spend their lives and find their graves—the desert.

Yet, however signal this evidence of the authority acquired by Moses over the minds of the people, the first incident during the retreat showed a dangerous and widely-organised plan of rebellion. A formidable conspiracy was entered into to wrest the supreme civil power from Moses, and the priesthood from his brother. Korah, a Levite of the race of Kohath, announced himself as the competitor of the latter: Dathan,

Abiram, and On, all descended from Reuben, rested their claim to pre-eminence on the primogeniture of their ancestor —the forfeiture of whose title they did not acknowledge: two hundred and fifty of the chieftains engaged in the rebellion. Moses confidently appealed to God, and rested his own claim, and that of his brother, on the issue. The earth suddenly opened, and swallowed up the tents of the Reubenite mutineers. Korah and his abettors were struck dead by fire from heaven. The people, instead of being overawed and confounded by these dreadful events, expressed their pity and indignation. The plague immediately broke out, by which 14,700 perished. Another miracle left Aaron in undisputed possession of the priestly office. Twelve rods, one for the prince of each tribe, were laid up in the tabernacle: that of Aaron alone budded, and produced the flowers and fruits of a living branch of the almond tree.

On the Hebrew history, during the period of thirty-eight years passed in the wilderness, there is total silence. Nothing is known, except the names of their stations.[1] Most of these,

[1] Burckhardt expresses his regret that the old Hebrew local names in this region have almost invariably given place to more modern Arabian ones.

If this be the case, I fear that there is not much chance that Mr. Stanley's very cautious admission of the possibility that light may hereafter be thrown on the stations recorded in the itinerary of the 33rd chapter of the Book of Numbers will be realised: "At present none has been ascertained with any likelihood of truth, unless we accept the doubtful identification of Hazeroth with Haderah" (p. 93).

The key to the whole geography is the site of Kadesh. It is quite clear that in the first advance, the spies on their return found the Israelites encamped at Kadesh: "They came unto the wilderness of Paran, to *Kadesh*" (Numbers xiii. 26). It is as certain that towards the close of the long period, of which the sacred narrative is silent, they rested on the second advance at Kadesh. "So ye abode in Kadesh many days" (Deut. i. 46). Now were there two places named Kadesh—one distinguished as Kadesh Barnea, the other the "city" of Kadesh, which Mr. Stanley with great probability fixes at Petra? Was there a district as well as a city called Kadesh?

The most perplexing fact in the whole narrative is that the Book of Numbers seems to leap in the interval between two verses (chap. xx. 13, 14) from the consequences of the discomfiture on the first advance to the borders of Palestine, to the second advance towards the close of the forty years. The 13th verse leaves the host at Meribah; in the 14th they are preparing to go through or to skirt the kingdom of Edom. Whoever divided the book into chapters seems not to have perceived that an entirely new series of events begins with verse 14. Compare Ewald, p. 190.

There are some difficulties too to be got over in the conflicting narrative—conflicting we must acknowledge it to be; for no one has yet fully reconciled the itinerary in Numbers xxxiii. with the narrative in the same book, still less with that in Deuteronomy; otherwise I should be much inclined to Bunsen's theory, that a great part of the "forty" years, the period of obscurity, were passed in the more fertile region east of the Jordan, bordering on Moab.

probably, were in the elevated district around Mount Sinai, which is about thirty miles in diameter, the most fruitful and habitable part of the peninsula. There the tribes would find water, and pasture for their flocks and cattle. Their own labours, and traffic with the caravans which crossed this region, would supply most of their wants. In short, their life was that of the Bedouins of the desert.[1]

At length the curtain which had fallen on the history of the Jews at the close of thirty-eight years is uplifted again, and we now behold a people totally changed in character and mind. Now, when the former generation had gradually sunk into the

[1] There seems a distinct allusion to commerce, at least for subsistence, with neighbouring tribes. Of Edom it is said, "Ye shall buy meat of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink. For the Lord thy God hath blessed thee in all the works of thy hand: he knoweth thy walking through this great wilderness: these forty years the Lord thy God hath been with thee; thou hast lacked nothing" (Deut. ii. 6, 7).

So too the laws of sacrifice in Leviticus, which seem certainly to be contemporaneous and by no means prospective or prophetic, imply abundance of the finest corn, and the produce of the vineyard and olive ground.

There was an absurd notion, originating, I believe, with the Talmudists, but adopted by some Christian writers, that the words "*thy raiment waxed not old upon thee*" were to be taken literally—that for forty years the clothes they wore neither decayed nor were torn by accident; that their clothes grew like their skin along with their bodies, and fitted them when they were men. As one generation perished in the wilderness, these same clothes must have descended to their children, and "grown with their growth." This is one of the extreme instances of that determination to interpret the figurative Oriental language of the Hebrews with the precision of a modern Act of Parliament.

Where did Jerome get the strange addition to these wonders, that neither the nails nor the hair of the Israelites grew during these forty years?—"Scientes Israeliticum populum per quadraginta annos nec unguium nec capillorum incrementa sensisse."

Dr. Jortin, after animadverting on the absurdity of the Rabbinical notion, proceeds with his usual good sense. Others explain it thus:—"The good providence of God took care that the Israelites in the wilderness never wanted raiment. They were supplied partly by the flocks and the materials which they brought out of Egypt, and partly by the Arabs, Ishmaelites, and neighbouring people; so that they had change of apparel when they stood in need of it, and were not obliged to go barefoot, ragged, and half naked for want of clothes. God so ordered the course of things, that they obtained whatsoever was needful by natural means, or, if they failed, by a miraculous interposition."

These sentences stood in the earlier editions:—"An opinion, advanced by Eusebius, has been recently revived—that, during this time, the great Egyptian conqueror Sesostris mounted the throne, and extended his victorious arms over a considerable part of the world. Should future discoveries in the hieroglyphical literature of Egypt throw light on this subject, it would be a remarkable fact, that the Israelites should have escaped, in the unassailable desert, the conquering and avenging power of their former masters." This notion is clearly untenable: the Jews may possibly have escaped in the desert the conquests of the later Rameseids, certainly not of the earlier.

grave, and a new race had sprung up, trained to the bold and hardy habits of the wandering Arab—when the free air of the desert had invigorated their frames, and the canker of slavery had worn out of their minds—while they retained much of the arts and knowledge acquired in Egypt—the Hebrew nation suddenly appeared again at Kadesh; the same point on the southern frontier of Palestine, from which they had retreated. At this place Miriam died, and was buried with great honour. The whole camp was distressed from want of water, and was again miraculously supplied. Here, likewise, Moses himself betrayed his mistrust in the divine assistance; and the final sentence was issued, that he should not lead the nation into the possession of the promised land. Many formidable difficulties opposed their penetrating into Canaan on this frontier. The country was mountainous; the hills crowned with strong forts, which, like Jerusalem, then Jebus, long defied their arms. Jerusalem was not finally subdued till the reign of David. It was not the most fruitful or inviting district of the land; part of it was the wild region where David afterwards maintained himself with his freebooting companions, when persecuted by Saul. The gigantic clan about Hebron would be almost the first to oppose them; and the Philistines who occupied the coast, the most warlike of the tribes, might fall on their rear. They determine therefore to make a circuit; to pass round the Dead Sea, and crossing the Jordan, proceed at once into the heart of the richest and least defensible part of the land. To effect this march they must cross the deep valley which, under the name of El Ghor and El Araba, extends from the foot of the Dead Sea to the gulf of Elath. On the eastern side of this valley rises a lofty and precipitous ridge, Mount Seir, still called Djebal Shera, traversed by a few narrow defiles; one only, called El Ghoeyr, passable by a large army. This ridge was occupied by the Edomites; and Moses sends to demand free passage through the country, under a strict promise to keep the high way (the Ghoeyr), and commit no ravage or act of hostility. While this negotiation was pending, one of the Canaanitish chieftains, the king of Arad, made a bold and sudden attack on their out-posts.[1] He was repulsed, pursued into his own country, and some of his towns taken. But this advantage did not tempt them to alter their plan; and when the Edomites not merely refused,

[1] Robinson (ii. 472) describes a hill called Tell Arad. This marks, no doubt, the site of the ancient city of Arad.

but appeared in great force to oppose their passage, no alternative remained, unless to march southward along the valley of El Araba, and turn the ridge where it is very low, close to the branch of the Red Sea. Before they commenced this march, Aaron died, and was buried on Mount Hor. His place of burial is still pointed out by the natives, with every appearance of truth. Josephus fixes the position of Mount Hor a short distance to the west of Petra, the capital of the Nabathæan Arabs. The ruins of this city were discovered by Burckhardt, and have since been visited by many travellers; and exactly in the position pointed out by the Jewish historian, is shown the burying-place of Aaron.[1] Marching along the valley, due south, the Israelites arrived at a district dreadfully infested by serpents, "sent among them," in the language of the sacred volume, "as a punishment for their renewed murmurs." An adjacent region, visited by Burckhardt, is still dangerous on this account.[2] Moses caused a serpent of brass to be made: by steadfastly gazing on this mysterious emblem, whoever had been bitten, was miraculously restored to health.

From the end of the ridge, near the gulf of Elath, their march turned northward. The Edomites, taken in flank on the open side of their country, offered no resistance, and the army advanced to the borders of the territory of the Moabites. This tribe had been weakened by an unsuccessful war against the Amorites, their northern neighbours, who had pushed their own frontier to the river Arnon. The Israelites passed without opposition along the district of Moab, till they reached that stream, now called the Modjeb, which flows in a deep bed, with steep and barren banks. Before they violated the territory of the Amorites, they sent a peaceful message to Sihon, their king, requesting free passage on the same terms offered to the Edomites. The answer was warlike: a bloody battle took place, which decided the fate of the Amoritish kingdom; and the victorious Israelites advanced to the brook Jabbok, which divided the Amorites from the Ammonites,

[1] The march was from Kadesh to Mount Hor. If, as there seems no reason to doubt, the place of Aaron's burial is rightly fixed by tradition, Mr. Stanley can hardly be wrong in fixing Kadesh, the city, the Holy City (such is the meaning of Kadesh), at Petra, which may have been an ancient sanctuary of the dwellers in the Desert.

Petra, when this book was written, was known only from Burckhardt, and Irby and Mangles' Tour. It is now almost as well known as any city in the East. See Stanley and authors referred to.

[2] Burckhardt, Travels, p. 499. This is confirmed by Schubert, Reise von Akabah nach den Hor, ii. 406.

who lay to the eastward, and Bashan which extended along the banks of the Jordan, and the lake of Gennesareth. Og, the chieftain of the latter district, was of a gigantic stature. His iron bedstead, or the iron framework of the divan on which he used to recline, was nine feet long.[1] But the terror of these formidable antagonists had now passed. Og was defeated; his cities were taken; Argob, his capital, fell: and thus two decisive battles made the Israelites masters of the whole eastern bank of the Jordan, and of the lake of Gennesareth. Still the promised land remained unattempted; and the conquerors drew near the river, at no great distance above its influx into the Dead Sea, in a level district, belonging to the Moabites, nearly opposite to Jericho.

The Moabites hitherto had made no resistance. They had hopes, it should seem, of succour from the Israelites against their hostile neighbours, the Amorites. Now, in the utmost apprehension, they sent to entreat succour from their more powerful neighbours, the tribes of Midian, who were scattered in different parts of northern Arabia, but lay in the greatest strength to the south-east of Moab, beyond the line on which the Israelites had advanced. Their messengers recounted the fearful numbers of the invaders in language singularly expressive to a people of herdsmen, *They shall lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass.* But they looked for more effective succour than the armed squadrons of Midian. The march of the Israelites had rather the appearance of a religious procession than of a warlike invasion. In the centre of the camp, instead of the sumptuous pavilion of their Emir or king, arose the consecrated tent of their God. Their leader openly avowed a sacred and inspired character. Their battle-cry denounced their adversaries as the enemies of their God, who was to arise and scatter them. Would the gods of Moab and Midian, who seem to have been closely connected in their religious belief, interfere in their behalf? Could not some favourite of heaven be found who might balance the fortunes of the Hebrew chieftain, and rescue the natives from their otherwise inevitable servitude? There lived near the river Euphrates a religious man, whose reputation for sanctity extended through all the tribes between that river and the Jordan. The imprecations of Balaam might arrest that tide of victory, which the prayers and sacrifices of Moses had

[1] The cubit here is not the sacred cubit, one foot nine inches long, but the natural cubit.

obtained for his people; the disheartened warriors under the influence of their own prophet, would take courage to encounter again the fierce enthusiasm of the invaders; and in the strength and under the protection of their own deities, the contest might be renewed with confidence of success. But Balaam at once rejects the invitation of Balak, king of Moab, and declares that the God of the Israelites forbade him to take part against them. Again, the Moabites send a more urgent request by ambassadors of still higher rank, accompanied with gifts far more costly than they had offered, as the customary present, on the former occasion. At first Balaam refuses, alleging the same insuperable reason, the interdiction laid upon him by the powers of heaven. At length he consents to set forth, and Balak, king of Moab, receives him with the highest honour in one of his frontier cities. But the prophet came not with the lofty mien and daring language of an interpreter of the Divine Will, confident in the success of his oracular predictions. Strange prodigies, he related, had arrested him on his journey; an angel had appeared in his way; the beast on which he rode had spoken with a human voice, and whether favourable or unfavourable to the cause of Balak, he could only utter what he was commanded from on high.[1] Balak first led him to an eminence sacred to the god of the country; here the king and the prophet built seven alars, a mystical number, sacred among many people, and on each altar offered a bullock and a ram. Balaam then retired apart to another holy and perhaps more open eminence, to await the inspiration. He cast his eyes below; he saw the countless multitudes of the Israelitish tents whitening the whole plain to an immense distance. Awe-struck, he returned to the king, and in wild oracular poetry began to foretell the splendid fortunes of the people whom he was called upon to curse. Balak carried him to another eminence, where, as if he apprehended that the numbers of the enemy had appalled the mind of the prophet, he could only see a part of their

[1] The interpretation of this scene as a vision, or a struggle in the mind of Balaam, which took this wild form, is as old as Maimonides, if not much older. "Ita dico, in negotio Balaam, totum illud quod in viâ ei contigisse dicitur, et quomodo asina locuta fuerit, in visione propheticâ factum esse, quod in fine historiæ explicatur, quod *Angelus* Dei locutus fuerit." More Nevochim, p. II, c. 42. There is a note in Bishop Law's Theory of Religion, full of the opinions held on this subject during the last century.

Deuteronomy omits the whole history of Balaam and Balak, excepting in an allusion (xxiii. 4, 5).

camp. Again the sacrifice is offered, again the prophet retires, and comes back unfolding, in still more vivid strains, the irresistible might of the people whose cause God so manifestly espouses. A third time the trial is made. On the mountain which was the sanctuary of Peor, or from which, as his most sacred place, the great national god received his name, a third sacrifice is offered. But here the prophet did not, as before, retire to perform his private rites of divination. The trance fell on him at once, and he broke out in admiration of the beautiful order in which the tents of Israel were arrayed, magnified their force, and foretold their uninterrupted career of victory. In vain the king remonstrated. The language assumed a still higher strain and a more mysterious import; the glory of Israel, the total discomfiture of all their adversaries, was the burthen of his song. On the one side he beheld the mighty and regular army of Israel, on the other the few and scattered troops of some of the native tribes. On the latter he denounced ruin and destruction, to the former he promised the most splendid destiny which prophetic language could unfold. The general belief of the Jews has dwelt on these mysterious words, *I shall see him, but not now, I shall behold him, but not nigh; there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre out of Israel,* as foretelling that great king and conqueror, the Messiah, who was to discomfit the enemies of the Jewish people, and establish their universal and permanent dominion.

But the perverse and venal mind of Balaam was little affected by his own predictions; he gave advice to the native princes more fatal than all his imprecations could have been. While the Israelites lay still encamped under the acacia groves in the plains near the Jordan, the festival of the Midianites approached, in which their maidens were accustomed to prostitute themselves, like the Babylonians and others of the Eastern tribes, in honour of their deity. To these impure and flagitious rites, celebrated probably with voluptuous dances and effeminate music, the Israelites are invited: they fall into the snare, they join in the idolatrous sacrifices, partake of the forbidden banquets, worship the false gods, even their princes are corrupted, and the contagion reaches the camp. Zimri, a Simeonite of high rank, publicly leads to his tent the daughter of a Midianitish chieftain. In this dangerous emergency the conduct of the lawgiver is, as usual, prompt and decisive. The judges are commanded to

pronounce the capital sentence enacted in the law. Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the high priest, seized with holy indignation, transfixes the Simeonite and his mistress in each other's arms. No sooner had this been done, than the pestilence ceased which had broken out in the camp, and by which 24,000 persons had died. The tribes of Midian paid a dreadful penalty for this insidious and unprovoked attempt on the prosperity of the Israelites: 12,000 chosen warriors, 1000 from each tribe, made a rapid descent on their country, carried fire and sword into every quarter, destroyed their towns, slew their kings, cut off all their males with the sword, not sparing those of their women who had been the cause of the war, and reserving only the young virgins as slaves. In the general massacre fell Balaam the prophet. The booty in cattle and slaves was immense; 675,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, 61,000 asses, 32,000 female slaves. This was divided into two equal portions, one half assigned to the combatants, the other to the rest of the people. From the share of the combatants a five hundredth part, a fiftieth part from that of the people, was deducted for the sacred treasury committed to the care of the priests and Levites.

After this conquest some of the Israelites began to think that they had done enough. The tribes of Reuben and Gad, addicted to a pastoral life, and rich in flocks and herds, could desire no fairer possession than the luxuriant meadows of Bashan, and the sloping pastures of Gilead. They demanded their portion of the land on the east of the Jordan. The lawgiver assented to their request on the condition that their warriors, leaving their women and their flocks behind, should cross the river, and assist their brethren in the conquest of Palestine. Accordingly the whole conquered territory was assigned to Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh.

At length the termination of the forty years approached, the appointed period at which the Israelites were to enter into the promised land. But the triumph of the people was to be preceded by the death of the lawgiver. He was to behold, not to enter the promised land. Once he had sinned from want of confidence in the divine assistance; the penalty affixed to his offence was now exacted. As his end approached, he summoned the assembly of all Israel to receive his final instructions. His last thoughts were the welfare of the commonwealth, and the permanence of the

constitution. Already the people had been numbered for the third time; they were found not to have increased or decreased very materially since the departure from Egypt. Moses recounted their whole eventful history since their deliverance, their toils, their dangers, their triumphs; he recapitulated and consolidated in one brief code, the book of Deuteronomy, the whole Law, in some degree modified and adapted to the future circumstances of the republic. Finally he appointed a solemn ratification of the Law. Although the fulfilment of the Law was not to take place, nor did take place, till after the conquest, yet the transaction is so deeply impressed with the genius and lofty character of the inspired lawgiver, that it may be better to relate it here, than at the time when it was fulfilled under the direction of Joshua.[1]

[1] In assigning this antiquity to the book of Deuteronomy I run directly counter to almost the whole critical school. I have re-examined the question, I trust dispassionately (I hold such questions to be entirely irrelevant to the truth of our religion), and adhere to my conclusion. It must first be remembered that there are two distinct questions—whether Deuteronomy was written by Moses, or whether it is a faithful contemporaneous record of the words and acts of Moses. In either case all will admit the closing chapter, describing the death of Moses, to have been added after that event. In discussing the internal evidence (I speak not now of the evidence from style and language) there are two separate and distinct points of inquiry. I. Is that evidence in favour of its belonging to this early period; or are there objections to this conclusion, fatal and unanswerable? II. Can it be assigned to any other period of the Jewish annals with greater probability, or without raising difficulties infinitely more perplexing? In the first place nothing can be more probable than that the lawgiver, now in the presence of a new generation (the old generation had heard the delivery of the Law); when the wanderings in the wilderness had come to an end; when the Israelites were to cease to be a Bedouin tribe, and to become a settled agricultural people; that Moses, at the close of his mission, at the close of his own life, should recapitulate, if I may use the word, codify the Law, which to all appearance had been delivered in fragments, at different times. The Law in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, lies in confusion, with no apparent order or sequence, and interspersed with the history. It contains laws on entirely different subjects following each other with no natural connection. Is it extraordinary that Moses should now reiterate in the most solemn and impressive way the sanctity of the Law, the penalties and the promises; that he should give as it were a shorter and more popular manual of the former Divine legislation? There might be even modifications and corrections, a harmonising of the provisions, and in some degree an adaptation to the change of circumstances. The wild desert would now be left behind; the promised land, with its settled life, expand more fully. Certainly in Deuteronomy the people seem to be in a transitional state. Strange if a late imaginative writer, or even compiler, should preserve this singular accuracy—if I may so say, this naturalness of detail. Even in Deuteronomy there is still great want of order and arrangement; the laws do not follow each other in natural sequence; they pass from one subject to another, apparently with no connection or relation to each other; they are more or

Never did human imagination conceive a scene so imposing, so solemn, so likely to impress the whole people with deep and enduring awe, as the final ratification of their polity, commanded by the dying lawgiver. In the territory afterwards assigned to the tribe of Ephraim, a central region, stand two remarkable mountains, separated by a deep and narrow ravine, in which the ancient Sichem, the modern Naplous, stands. Here all Israel was to be assembled, six tribes on one height, six on the other. In the open day, and in a theatre, as it were, created by the God of nature

less mingled with historical incidents. But all this seems to me to belong to an early, inartificial period of composition; it is precisely that which a later writer or compiler would have laboured to avoid. The ancient legislation would afford materials for a code, the later would have framed a code. Read the book of Deuteronomy, and fairly estimate the difficulties which occur—and that there are difficulties I acknowledge—such as the appointment at this time of Ebal and Gerizim as the scene of the rehearsal of the Law by Moses or a writer on the other side of the Jordan (the prophetic power of Moses is excluded from such an argument), though one cannot suppose Moses or the Israelites at that time unacquainted with the main features, the general topography of Cis-Jordanic Palestine. Then read it again, and endeavour to assign it to any other period in the Jewish annals, and judge whether difficulties do not accumulate twenty-fold. In this case how would the signs of that period have inevitably appeared, anachronisms, a later tone of thought, of incident, of manners! Even on this special point, at what period would Ebal and Gerizim have been chosen as the two equal antagonistic centres of Jewish reverence and sanctity? If it is a fiction, it is certainly a most felicitous fiction.

As to the style and language, if I am right in what I think no violent assumption, that the briefer, more emphatic, in some respects fuller book of Deuteronomy (as far as it contains the statutes of the Jews) was intended to be, and indeed was, the popular and common book of the Law, if it was to be in ordinary use among the expounders and administrators of the Law; then, as more frequently copied, as more in common usage, it would be more likely to be modernised, to undergo those slight changes of phrases and words which are discerned with such exquisite and subtle knowledge and ingenuity by the scholars of our day. What I contend for is not the absolute, unaltered, unmodified integrity of the text, but what I may call the substantial antiquity. Even the form may in some degree be later; the different discourses of Moses, or those ascribed to Moses, at one time separate, may have been gathered into one. The historical part, the strictly legal part; the threats and promises, the blessings and curses, by which the Law is sanctioned; the appointed publication of the heads of the Law on Ebal and Gerizim; the two highly poetical passages of the close may have been moulded and fused together. Of course the account of the death of Moses stands by itself—yet that bears to me a strong stamp of antiquity.

When did the Pentateuch take the name of Torah, the Law? We have no knowledge. It is probable at a later period, to distinguish it from the books of the Prophets and the Ketubim, the miscellaneous Scriptures.

There is still a curious admixture of the laws of the camp and of the city life. The provision that every house was to have a battlement, to avoid danger, belongs to a civic police (Deut. xxii. 8); that to secure cleanliness clearly is an ordinance for a camp (xxiii. 24). So Deut. xxiii. 16 is the law of a settled agricultural people, Deut. xxiii. 12 that of a wandering tribe.

for the express purpose, after a sacrifice offered on an altar of stones, the people of Israel testified their free and deliberate acceptance of that constitution which their God had enacted. They accepted it with its inseparable conditions, maledictions the most awful, which they imprecated on their own heads, in case they should apostatise from its statutes—blessings, equally ample and perpetual, if they should adhere to its holy and salutary provisions. The type of either destiny lay before them: Mount Ebal was a barren, stony, arid, and desolate crag; Gerizim a lovely and fertile height, with luxuriant verdure, streams of running water, and cool and shady groves.[1] As God had blasted Ebal, so He would smite the disobedient with barrenness, hunger, and misery; as He crowned Gerizim with beauty and fruitfulness, so He would bless the faithful Israelites with abundance, with peace, with happiness. On Mount Ebal—as the Levites read the heads of the prohibitory statutes, and denounced the curse against the idolater, the oppressor, the adulterer, the unnatural son, the incestuous, the murderer—the tribes of Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphthali, with one voice, which was echoed back from the opposite height, responded Amen, so be it. On Gerizim stood the tribes of Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, as the blessings of the Law were recited, to give the same unreserved assent.

Having thus appointed all the circumstances of this impressive scene, the lawgiver himself enlarged on the blessings of obedience; but with a dark and melancholy foreboding of the final destiny of his people, he laid before them still more at length the consequences of apostasy and wickedness. The sublimity of his denunciations surpasses anything in the oratory or the poetry of the whole world. Nature is exhausted in furnishing terrific images; nothing, excepting the real horrors of the Jewish history—the miseries of their sieges, the cruelty, the contempt, the oppressions, the persecutions, which, for

[1] Whether the sacrifice was offered on Ebal or Gerizim was a question long contested with the greatest acrimony by the Jews and Samaritans, each appealing to their own copy of the Law; and this to me is an unanswerable argument for the historical truth, the contemporaneity of this remarkable passage. Written at a later period, it must have borne some mark of the indelible and all pervading jealousy and hatred of Jews and Samaritans, that of the two rival kingdoms, even earlier, that of Ephraim and Judah which appears so soon after the conquest. No inventor (for the later writer must have been an inventor) would have chosen that site for this great national ceremony, and left the slightest ground for rivalry between the northern and southern tribes, especially after Jerusalem had become the capital of the nation and of the religion.

ages, this scattered and despised and detested nation have endured—can approach the tremendous maledictions which warned them against the violation of their Law. *The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. And the heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee iron. The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust; from heaven shall it come down upon thee till thou be destroyed. . . . And thou shalt become an astonishment, and a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. A nation of fierce countenance . . . shall besiege thee in all thy gates, . . . and thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee. . . . And among the nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; for the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.* The sequel of our history must furnish a most awful comment on these terrific denunciations.

And now closing, at length, his admonitions, his warnings, and his exhortations to repentance—having renewed the covenant with the whole nation from the highest to the lowest, *from the prince to the hewer of wood and drawer of water*—having committed the Law to the custody of the Levites, and appointed the valiant Joshua as his successor—finally, having enriched the national poetry with an ode worthy of him who composed the hymn of triumph by the Red Sea—Moses ascended the loftiest eminence in the neighbourhood, in order that he might once behold, before his eyes closed for ever, the land of promise. From the top of Mount Abarim, or Nebo, the former of which names may perhaps be traced in Djebel Attarous, the highest point in the district, the lawgiver, whose eyes were not yet dimmed, and who had suffered none of the infirmities of age, might survey a large tract of country. To the right lay the mountain pastures of Gilead, the romantic

district of Bashan; the windings of the Jordan might be traced along its broad and level valley, till, almost beneath his feet, it flowed into the Dead Sea. To the north, spread the luxuriant plains of Esdraelon, the more hilly, yet fruitful country of Lower Galilee. Right opposite stood the city of Jericho, embowered in its groves of palms—beyond it the mountains of Judæa, rising above each other till they reached the sea. Gazing on this magnificent prospect, beholding in prophetic anticipation his great and happy commonwealth occupying its numerous towns and blooming fields, Moses breathed his last. The place of his burial was unknown, lest, perhaps, the impious gratitude of his followers might ascribe divine honours to his name, and assemble to worship at his sepulchre.[1]

Such was the end of the Hebrew lawgiver—a man who, considered merely in an historical light, without any reference to his divine inspiration, has exercised a more extensive and permanent influence over the destinies of his own nation and mankind at large, than any other individual recorded in the annals of the world. Christianity and Mohammedanism alike respect, and, in different degrees, derive their origin from the Mosaic institutes. Thus, throughout Europe, with all its American descendants—the larger part of Asia, and the north of Africa—the opinions, the usages, the civil as well as religious ordinances—retain deep and indelible traces of their descent from the Hebrew polity. To his own nation, Moses was chieftain, historian, poet, lawgiver. He was more than all these—he was the author of their civil existence. Other founders of republics, and distinguished legislators, have been, like Numa, already at the head of a settled and organised community; or have been voluntarily invested with legislatorial authority, like Charondas, Lycurgus, and Solon, by a people suffering the inconveniences of anarchy. Moses had first to form his people and bestow on them a country of their own, before he could create his commonwealth. The Hebrews would either have been absorbed in the population of Egypt, or remained a wretched Pariah caste, had Moses never lived, or never received his divine commission. In this condition he took them up, rescued them from captivity: finding them unfit for his purpose, he kept them for forty years under the severe

[1] See in Pastoret, Moyse considéré comme Législateur et comme Moraliste, Paris, 1788, p. 20, the fables and superstitions of the later Jews, adopted by some of the Christian fathers, concerning the death and burial of Moses. One of these traditions is alluded to in the Epistle of Jude.

discipline of the desert; then led them as conquerors to take permanent possession of a most fruitful region. Yet, with singular disregard to his own fame, though with great advantage to his design, Moses uniformly referred to an earlier and more remote personage the dignity of parent of his people. The Jews were children of Abraham, not of Moses; they were a distinguished nation as descendants of the patriarch, not as compatriots of the lawgiver. The virtue of pure and disinterested patriotism never shone forth more unclouded. He nobly declined the offer made to him by the Almighty, to substitute his own family for the offending race of Israel. The permanent happiness of the whole people was the one great object to which the life of Moses was devoted; so that, if we could for an instant suspect that he made use of religion for a political purpose, still that purpose would entitle him to the highest rank among the benefactors of mankind, as having been the first who attempted to regulate society by an equal written law. If God was not the sovereign of the Jewish state, the Law was: the best, and only safe, vicegerent of Almighty Providence, to which the welfare of human communities can be entrusted. If the Hebrew commonwealth was not a theocracy, it was a nomocracy. On the other hand, if, as we suppose, in the Mosaic polity the civil was subordinate to the religious end, still the immediate well-being of the community was not sacrificed to the more remote object. Independent of the temporal blessings promised to the maintenance of the Law, the Hebrew commonwealth was so constituted as to produce (all circumstances of the times, the situation and character of the people considered) as much, or more, real happiness and independence than any existing or imaginary government of ancient times. Let Moses, as contrasted with human legislators, be judged according to his age, he will appear, not merely the first who founded a commonwealth on just principles, but a lawgiver, who advanced political society to as high a degree of perfection, as the state of civilisation which his people had attained, or were capable of attaining, could possibly admit. But if such be the benign, the prematurely wise, and original character of the Mosaic institutions, the faith of the Jew and the Christian in the divine commission of the great legislator is the more strongly established and confirmed.[1]

[1] Reverting to the age of Deuteronomy, I have asserted that the alterations and modifications of the Law, if they do not clearly point to, at least are in no

way inconsistent with the old theory—that it was composed towards the close of the wanderings, before the entrance into the Holy Land. I have examined the catalogue of these variations in Bunsen's Bibelwerk, ix. p. 274. Some relate to a permanent place for the Divine worship, hereafter to be determined by God. This provision could not have been made during the wanderings (Deut. xii. 5, 26; xiv. 23, 24; xv. 20; xvi. 2 *et passim*). Some forbid idolatrous usages common among the tribes with whom they were or were about to be in contact; men wearing women's clothes (xxii. 5); worship of sacred trees, less common no doubt in the wilderness (xvi. 21; vii. 5; xii. 3); the bringing the price of a whore into the treasury (xxiii. 18; compare xviii. 9, 14); laws about captive women and runaway slaves (xxi. 14). These laws were especially necessary when war was about to begin. Some are modifications of ritual observances; tithes and first-fruits to the Levites, widows, and orphans, not to the sanctuary; the slaughter of beasts only before the door of the tabernacle (Lev. xvii. 3, &c.), now anywhere (xii. 15, 20, 22). Strangers are bound to keep the whole law (Exod. xii. 40; Lev. xvi. 29; xvii. 26), now with certain exemptions (xiv. 21). Some are more precise provisions for the administration of justice, being necessary for a settled people; the inhibition of man-stealing (xxiv. 7), not very likely in the wandering life; inheritance of elder sons (xxi. 15, 17). I have already observed on the provisions concerning kingly government, and what may be called the prophet-law. The simplicity of this law is singularly inconsistent with any later time, after schools of the prophets had been an historic institution, and during or after the great age not of one but of many prophets. All these discrepancies seem to me sufficiently accounted for by the change in the state and position and character of the people; from that when the original Law was delivered in the actual Desert, and forty years after, when they had approached and were about to enter into Palestine.

BOOK V

THE CONQUEST

Joshua assumes the Command—Passage of the Jordan—Capture of Jericho—War with the Canaanites of the South—and of the North—Partition of the Land—Law of Property.

THE lawgiver had done his part; the warrior succeeded to the administration of affairs, and to the directing intercourse with God. For thirty days Israel lamented the death of Moses, and then prepared to fulfil his dying instructions. The first military operation of Joshua was to send spies to gain intelligence, and to survey the strength of Jericho, the most powerful city near the place where he proposed to cross the Jordan. The spies entered the city, and took up their lodging in the house of a woman who kept a public caravansary.[1] The king sent to apprehend them; but Rahab, the mistress of the house, struck with religious terror at the conquests of the Jews, and acknowledging the superiority of their God, concealed them, and provided them with means of escape, letting them down the city wall on which her house stood, and directing them to fly by the opposite road to that which their pursuers had taken. She received a promise, that on the capture of the city the lives of herself and her family should be spared. She was commanded to mark her house by a scarlet line hanging from the window. The spies brought word that the success of the Hebrew arms had struck terror into the native princes; and Joshua immediately gave orders to effect the passage of the river. The entrance into the promised land was made with suitable solemnity, not in the usual order of march. Instead of occupying its secure central position, the Ark of God, borne by the Levites, advanced to the van. This was a bold and dangerous measure. Joshua had no security against a sudden movement or a secret ambush of the enemy, which might surprise

[1] I follow the more modest rendering of this word usually adopted by the Jews; the coarser, "harlot," appears in the LXX., and following the LXX. is found in Hebrews xi. 31, and in most modern versions. Rosenmüller denies that the word is ever used in the former sense.

the sacred coffer or Ark, and thus annihilate the hopes, by extinguishing the religious courage, of the people. The Ark moved forward to the bank of the river; the whole army—for the warriors of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, leaving their families and flocks behind, assembled in the common enterprise—followed at the distance of more than three-quarters of a mile. In the spring, the Jordan is swollen by the early rains, and by the melting of the snow on Mount Lebanon. In its ordinary channel, it is described by Pococke as being about the breadth of the Thames at Windsor, deep and rapid; but, during its inundation, it forms a second bed, of much greater width, the boundaries of which, according to Maundrell, may be distinctly traced.[1] It was now the season of the flood; but no sooner had the priests, bearing the Ark, entered the river, than the descending waters were arrested, the channel became dry, and the whole army—while the Ark remained in the centre of the river—passed in safety to the western bank. They encamped in a place named Gilgal;[2] there they kept the fortieth Passover since its first institution in Egypt. A rude monument, formed of twelve stones from the bed of the river, was set up to commemorate their wonderful passage; all who had not undergone circumcision were initiated by that rite into the commonwealth; and here the manna, on which they had fed in the desert, entirely failed.

Palestine was at this time governed by a multitude of petty independent kings. Since the time when the nomad patriarchs wandered over the land, and found wide pastures for their flocks and herds, a great, no doubt a slow, revolution had taken place in the state of the country. The agricultural had encroached on the pastoral life, the vine and olive had been extensively cultivated; strong walled cities, fenced cities, had arisen on the heights and in the plains; the Canaanites, manifestly a warlike people, had encountered, defended themselves against, or been compelled to subjection by the Egyptian conquerors. The kings with whom Jacob meets are heads of tribes; in the days of Joshua they are local sovereigns.

[1] Read on this passage of the Jordan, Stanley, p. 297.
The depth of the Jordan valley is perhaps the most extraordinary in the world. It is on a level with the Mediterranean at the Lake Merom; it sinks to 650 feet below that level at the Sea of Gennesareth; to 2000 at its outlet into the Dead Sea. Never was a country protected by so deep a trench from the rest of the Eastern world.

[2] Gilgal, Stanley, p. 301. See especially Lynch's navigation of the river, and Ritter's lengthy but most valuable volume.

These kings, it should seem of different races, Canaanites, Hivites, Jebusites, and many others,[1] were appalled by this sudden invasion, not of a hostile tribe in quest of plunder, or of a neighbouring monarch with the design of reducing the country to a tributary province; but of a whole people, advancing with the obvious and avowed intention of obtaining a permanent settlement. The extraordinary circumstances which attended the march of the Israelites did not abate the fears of these nations. But their fears neither taught them prudence nor unanimity. At first they entered into no league to resist the common enemy; each kingdom or city was left to make the best defence in its power. The storm first broke upon Jericho,[2] a city standing at the extremity of a plain which slopes to the Jordan, encircled on every side by an amphitheatre of hills, which almost overhang it with their precipitous cliffs. The inhabitants of Jericho prudently awaited behind their walls the approach of the enemy. To their surprise, no attempt was made to scale the walls, or force the gates. They saw what might seem a peaceful procession going regularly round the walls of the city. The army marched first, in total silence. In the rear came the Ark, escorted by seven priests, blowing seven trumpets, made of rams' horns. For six successive days this mysterious circuit took place; no voice was heard from the vast and breathless army—nothing but the shrill wailing of the trumpet. On the seventh day this extraordinary ceremony was repeated seven times. At the close of the last round, the whole army on a sudden set up a tremendous shout, the walls of the city fell, and the defenceless people found the triumphant enemy rushing along their streets. The slaughter was promiscuous and unsparing; not merely human life, but the beasts of labour were destroyed. Rahab and her family alone escaped. The city was devoted to perpetual desolation, and a malediction imprecated upon the head of him who should attempt to rebuild it.

The capture of Jericho was of great importance; for the art of besieging towns, however rudely fortified, was yet in its

[1] Movers, die Phœnicier, ii. p. 69. It is by no means an improbable conjecture of Chwolson (die Ssabier, i. p. 333) that many of these warlike tribes, with their war chariots, and skill in fortifying cities, were descended from the Hyksos, who had acquired agricultural and more disciplined habits of war in Egypt, and had been expelled by the native Egyptian kings.

[2] Jericho, the City of Palms. Mr. Stanley supposes that at this time a vast grove of majestic palms, nearly three miles broad, and eight miles long, intervened between the Jordan and the city. The last palm has now fallen (p. 306).

infancy. The cities to the east of the Jordan had surrendered in consequence of pitched battles in the open field. Some of the hill fortresses, like Jerusalem, were not taken till the reign of David.

In their next expedition the Israelites suffered a sudden check. Three thousand men marched against the neighbouring city of Ai, but were repulsed with loss. The discomfiture implied the abandonment of their cause by the great Giver of victory—their abandonment, guilt. The lots were cast to discover the offender. The lot of condemnation fell on the tribe of Judah. Among the families of Judah, it fell on the family of the Zarhites—of that family, on the household of Zabdi—of that household, on Achan, the son of Carmi. The criminal confessed that he had purloined from the part of the booty consecrated to God, a rich garment of Babylonian work, and some silver. He was stoned, and his remains, and all his property, burned with fire.

After this signal proof that no crime could escape detection, the army set forth, and by a stratagem became masters of Ai.[1] The main body approached the city, and when the enemy, emboldened by their former success, sallied forth against them, the Israelites, pretending a sudden panic, fled on all sides. The warriors of Ai pursued; but turning back, saw, in utter amazement, their city in a blaze. Joshua had placed 5000 men in ambush, who, rising at an appointed signal, rushed on the town, and, having set it on fire, advanced to take the enemy in the rear, while Joshua, facing about, attacked them in front. The whole people was exterminated, their king hanged.

The great body of the Israelites remained encamped at Gilgal, a central position. Hither in a short time came some travel-tainted men, with mouldy provisions, their wine-skins full of rents, their shoes worn through. They described themselves as coming from a distant country, where the fame of the Jewish conquests had reached them, to tender their humble submission. The Israelites incautiously consented to a treaty; but found shortly that they had been outwitted by the inhabitants of Gibeon (a Canaanitish city) and its dependent villages, which lay at no great distance. The treaty was held sacred; the lives of the Gibeonites spared; but they were degraded into a sort of slaves to the officiating priesthood, in which humble condition we find their descendants at a late period in the history.

[1] Scene of the battle of Ai, Stanley, 198.

A league was now formed among the southern princes of the Amoritish race, five in number, headed by Adonibezek, King of Jerusalem, to revenge the defection of Gibeon, and to arrest the further progress of the invaders. They attacked the Gibeonites, who sent in all haste to demand assistance. Joshua, by a rapid night march, fell on the Canaanites, defeated and pursued them with immense slaughter; while a tremendous hailstorm increased the panic and destruction of the flight. During this pursuit took place that memorable event, the arresting of the sun and moon in their respective courses, at the prayer of Joshua, in order that he might complete the extermination of his flying enemies. Many learned writers, whom to suspect of hostility to revealed religion would be the worst uncharitableness, have either doubted the reality or the extent of this miracle. Some have supposed the miracle only apparent, and have imagined a preternatural refraction of the sun's rays after it had really sunk below the horizon. The words "about a whole day," during which the sun hasted not to go down, they translate, "after the day was finished." Others conceive that the whole is a highly-wrought poetical passage from the book of Jasher[1] (which there is good reason to believe was the great collection of national lyrics), and hence abounding, according to the genius of Hebrew poetry, with the most daring apostrophes, and delighting in figures drawn from the heavenly bodies. Those who contend for the literal acceptation of the miracle, urge, as its obvious purpose, the giving a death-blow to the prevailing superstition of the country, the worship of the Sun and Moon. Nor can it be denied that there is something astonishingly sublime in supposing the deities of the conquered people thus arrested in their career, and forced to witness the discomfiture and contribute to the extirpation of their worshippers.

After this victory the conquest was rapid and easy: the five

[1] I have no scruple in avowing my opinion that it is pure poetry. It is given as a quotation from the book of Jasher. The book of Jasher is twice cited, here, and in 2 Samuel i. 18. Both passages are clearly and distinctly metrical. There can be no doubt, I think, that Jasher was a book of pure poetry—a book of odes, hymns, or brief narrative poems.

It is remarkable that to this miracle, certainly the most stupendous of all, there is no allusion in the poetic books of the Old Testament. The Psalms and other poems are full of lofty reminiscences of the incidents of the Exodus and of the conquest, the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host, the passage of the Red Sea, the fall of Og the king of Bashan, and the other defeated kings.

The late (apocryphal) book of Ecclesiasticus is the only one, I believe, which refers to it. "Did not the sun go back by his means? and was not one day as long as two?" (xlvi. 4).

kings had fled for refuge to a cave, from which they were taken and put to death; city after city fell; tribe after tribe was exterminated. Joshua returned to Gilgal, having completed the subjugation of the south as far as Gaza, with the exception of some of the strong fortresses.[1]

The northern chieftains had looked on with impolitic indifference during the subjugation of the south; they now saw the tide of conquest roll back upon themselves, and too late began to prepare for their defence. They organised a powerful confederacy, and pitched their camp near the waters of Merom, probably the Samachonite Lake, the first into which the Jordan flows. Their strength lay in their cavalry and chariots, which, in the central plains and valleys of Palestine, could act with greater effect than in the more mountainous districts of the south. Joshua suddenly fell upon them; and one battle decided the fate of the whole region. The conqueror deliberately destroyed all the chariots, and maimed the horses; thus wisely incapacitating the people from extending their conquests beyond the borders of Canaan.

The war lasted, on the whole, seven years, the latter part of which was consumed in the reduction of the cities. During this period the seven nations—the Canaanites, properly so called—the Amorites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Girgashites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites—were entirely subdued though not extirpated; thirty-one kings had fallen under the sword. At the end of the seven years, the Israelites grew weary of the war; they longed to enjoy the fruits of their victories. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, impatiently demanded to be dismissed to their families and possessions on the east of the Jordan. Fatally for the future peace of the commonwealth, the war was suspended; the conquest was unfinished; many of the Canaanites remained within the Jewish territory, ready on all occasions to wreak their ven-

[1] With Ewald, I hold the strange story in Procopius (Bell. Vand. ii. 10) of the Moorish tribes in the West of Africa boasting descent from the Canaanites expelled by Joshua, to be a late fiction. They had passed, it is said, from Palestine to Egypt, from Egypt all along the North Coast of Africa to the Pillars of Hercules, spread everywhere their language, and built a city in Numidia named Tigesia (Tanger). Near this city, beside a well, was read an inscription in the old Phœnician language—"We are those who fled before the Robber Jesus, son of Nave." Procopius, as Evagrius asserts (H. E. iv. 18), was the only writer who mentioned this story. As Ewald observes, the reading an ancient Phœnician inscription at that time would have been no light matter; the names in Procopius (he may have changed them) are not from the Hebrew, but from the LXX.

Compare St. Martin, Notes on Le Beau, xi. 324; Ewald, iii. 226.

geance on their conquerors; and perpetually weaning the Israelites from their own pure and spiritual faith to the barbarous or licentious rites of idolatry.

The two main objects, after the conquest, were first, the solemn recognition of the Law on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, according to the last instructions of Moses. This scene took place with all its imposing circumstances. Secondly, the survey and division of the land, with the location of the tribes.

It is almost impossible to calculate, with accuracy, the area of a country, the frontier of which is irregular on every side. Lowman has given three different estimates of the extent of territory occupied by the twelve tribes; the mean between the two extremes approaches, probably, the nearest to the truth. According to this computation, the Jewish dominion, at the time of the Division, was 180 miles long, by 130 wide, and contained 14,976,000 acres. "This quantity of land will divide, to 600,000 men, about 21½ acres in property, with a remainder of 1,976,000 acres for the Levitical cities, the princes of tribes, the heads of families, and other public uses." Assuming this estate of 21½ acres assigned to each household, of course a larger proportion of pasture must have been given to those tribes who subsisted on their herds and flocks, than of arable to those who lived by tillage; the portions of the latter, therefore, must be considerably reduced. On the other hand, the extraordinary fertility of the whole country must be taken into the account. No part was waste; very little was occupied by unprofitable wood; the more fertile hills were cultivated in artificial terraces, others were hung with orchards of fruit trees; the more rocky and barren districts were covered with vineyards. Even in the present day, the wars and misgovernment of ages have not exhausted the natural richness of the soil. Galilee, says Malte Brun, would be a paradise were it inhabited by an industrious people, under an enlightened government. No land could be less dependent on foreign importation; it bore within itself everything that could be necessary for the subsistence and comfort of a simple agricultural people. The climate was healthy, the seasons regular: the former rains, which fell about October, after the vintage, prepared the ground for the seed; the latter, which prevailed during March and the beginning of April, made it grow rapidly. Directly the rains ceased, the grain ripened with still greater rapidity, and was gathered in before the end of May. The summer months were dry and very hot, but the nights cool

and refreshed by copious dews. In September the vintage was gathered. Grain of all kinds, wheat, barley, millet, zea, and other sorts, grew in abundance; the wheat commonly yielded thirty for one. Besides the vine and the olive, the almond, the date, figs of many sorts, the orange, the pomegranate, and other fruit trees, flourished in the highest luxuriance. Great quantity of honey was collected. The balm tree, which produced the opobalsamum, an important object of trade, was probably introduced from Arabia in the time of Solomon. It flourished about Jericho and in Gilead.

By giving a rapid sketch of the territory assigned to each tribe, we shall be enabled to show the political divisions, the boundaries, the more remarkable features in the general surface of the country, and the productions most abundant in each district.[1] Commencing from the trans-Jordanic possessions, the Israelites' southern border was the river Arnon, which divided the land of the Hebrews from that of Moab. Here the tribe of Reuben received their allotment — the northern bank of the Arnon up to Aroer. It comprehended a large portion of the Ghor, or valley of the Jordan. Its chief cities, Heshbon, Eleale, and Sibmah, were famous for their vines. All these towns stood inland in the more mountainous district. The ruins of many of them are still visible, and retain their ancient names, Aroer (Arayer), Heshbon (Hesbon), Eleale (El Aal), Baal Meon (Myoun), Medeba (Madeba). The whole district is called the Belka. The superiority of its pasturage over that of all southern Syria is the cause that its possession is still fiercely contested by the Arabs. The Bedouins have a saying, "Thou canst not find a country like the Belka." The beef and mutton of this district are preferred to all others. The tribe of Gad was placed to the north of the Reubenites. It is almost impossible to trace their boundary to the south. Their land lay on both sides of the Jabbok (the modern Zerka). On the east it extended as far as Rabbath Ammon, afterwards Philadelphia. It contained all the east side of the valley of the Jordan up to the foot of the sea of Gennesareth, and the southern part of the moun-

[1] Mr. Stanley happily calls this description in the book of Joshua, the Domesday Book of the conquest of Canaan. The whole geography, and the character of each separate country, have been developed with such wonderful accuracy of observation and power and felicity of description during the last thirty years, since the publication of this book, that I am almost ashamed to leave it in its rapid brevity, yet have been unwilling to spread it out to that extent which alone could have done justice to the subject.

tain range called Gilead, the name of which, Djelaad, is still found belonging to a ridge south of the Jabbok; formerly, however, it extended to the whole range from Lebanon to the land of Reuben. Mr. Buckingham was struck with the romantic scenery of this district. Gilead was celebrated for its flocks, and for goats with remarkably fine hair, to which the tresses of the bride, in the Song of Solomon, are compared. North again of Gad was settled the half tribe of Manasseh, occupying the eastern shore of the lake of Gennesareth, the whole of Bashan,[1] famous for its vigorous breed of cattle, and probably some part of the fertile corn-lands of the ancient Auronitis, the modern Haouran. This part of the tribe was under the command of Machir, the eldest descendant of Manasseh.

Within the borders of the promised land, the most northern point, at the foot of Lebanon and near the fountains of the Jordan, was occupied by part of the tribe of Dan, who, finding themselves straitened in their quarters, migrated and took the town of Laish, which assumed the name of their tribe. Next came Naphthali, its possessions probably running up into the delightful valleys of the Anti-Libanus. To Asher was assigned the sea coast, a long and narrow slip of land, from the frontiers of Sidon, all round the noble bay of Ptolemais, excepting where it was broken by part of the territory of Zebulun, to Carmel, including the mountain and part of the rich valley at its foot. But the seaports, Achzib (Ecdippa) and Acco (the celebrated Ptolemais, the key of the country during the Crusades), remained in the power of the old inhabitants. The tribe of Zebulun stretched across the land, with one extremity resting on the lake of Gennesareth, the other on the sea, in some part of the bay of Acco. Issachar, the other half of

[1] Bashan was the kingdom of Og: it is also called Argob, the Rugged region. The Trachonitis of the Gospels, now called the Lejah, "is an island of basalt, rent in the wildest manner into deep clefts, like the crevasses of a glacier."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. 106, p. 388.

We are yet imperfectly acquainted with this region, which has been penetrated by Mr. Porter, and to a greater extent by Mr. Cyril Graham. Mr. Graham's description of the ruins of great cities in this region is of the highest interest. But here, as throughout Palestine and the adjacent regions, we want the skill and knowledge of a consummate antiquarian architect to discriminate the respective age of the different buildings and parts of buildings, some of which no doubt belong, the foundations and substructions, to the most remote antiquity, but are overlaid by later superstructures, Oriental, perhaps Greek, certainly Roman, here and there it may be European, of the times of the Crusades, and Saracenic. Why will not Mr. Fergusson resolve these problems?

Manasseh, and Ephraim, lay in the same manner, one below the other, extending from the Jordan to the Mediterranean. On the borders of Zebulun and Issachar rose the Mount Tabor, standing quite alone, on the edge of the great plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon), which is described, even in the present day, as spreading out a boundless expanse of the most luxuriant grain, waving like the sea. The portion of Manasseh became more hilly. Ephraim lay below, a fertile, but uneven, and in some parts mountainous territory. On its northern extremity rose Ebal and Gerizim, and to the south the Mount of Ephraim, a district in which were several passes of great importance in the military history of the Jews. Ephraim ranked as the most numerous and powerful of the northern tribes: for four centuries it was the dominant tribe, with Manasseh, sometimes with Benjamin. Shiloh the religious capital, Shechem the political capital, were within the bounds of Ephraim. It was thus for a long time the centre of Jewish life; it became so again after the fatal schism, on the death of Solomon. Southward, the sea coast and the western part of the inland district fell to the lot of Dan. Benjamin took possession of the groves and fertile plain of Jericho, spread over part of the valley of the Jordan and the head of the Dead Sea, and extended westward as far as Jebus, then a fortress in the possession of the enemy, afterwards Jerusalem. The rest of the south, to the borders of Edom, excepting a district on the south-west about Gaza, assigned to Simeon, made the large and opulent domain of the great tribe of Judah, to whom the first lot had fallen. On the whole, the best pastures were on the east of Jordan, the central plains were the most productive corn-lands, the hills of Judah and Benjamin had the richest vineyards and olive grounds.

The assignment of the different estates, the average of which we will assume at about twenty acres, as a farther deduction should be made at this period on account of the unconquered parts of the territory, seems to have been left to the local government of each tribe. Certain distinguished persons, as Joshua and Caleb, received grants of land larger than ordinary; perhaps the heads of the tribes enjoyed a similar privilege; but the whole land was subject to the common law of property. The great principle of this law was the inalienability of estates. Houses in walled towns might be sold in perpetuity, if unredeemed within the year; land only for a limited period. At the Jubilee, every estate reverted, without repurchase, to

the original proprietor. Even during this period it might be redeemed, should the proprietor become rich enough, at the value which the estate would produce during the years unelapsed before the Jubilee. This remarkable Agrarian law secured the political equality of the people, and anticipated all the mischiefs so fatal to the early republics of Greece and Italy, the appropriation of the whole territory of the state by a rich and powerful landed oligarchy, with the consequent convulsions of the community from the deadly struggle between the patrician and plebeian orders. In the Hebrew state, the improvident individual might reduce himself and his family to penury or servitude, but he could not perpetuate a race of slaves or paupers. Every fifty years God, the King and Lord of the soil, as it were, resumed the whole territory, and granted it back in the same portions to the descendants of the original possessors. It is curious to observe in this earliest practical Utopia the realisation of Machiavelli's great maxim, the constant renovation of the state according to the first principles of its constitution.[1] The outline of this plan may have been Egyptian. The king of that country, during the administration of Joseph, became proprietor of the whole land, and leased it out on a reserved rent of one-fifth, exactly the two-tenths or tithes paid by the Israelites. Thus the body of the people were an independent yeomanry, residing on their hereditary farms, the boundaries of which remained for ever of the same extent; for the removal of a neighbour's landmark was among the crimes against which the law uttered its severest malediction; an invasion of family property, that of Naboth's vineyard, is selected as the worst crime of a most tyrannical king; and in the decline of the state, the prophets denounce, with their sternest energy, this violation of the very basis of the commonwealth. In this luxuriant soil, each man had the only capital necessary to cultivate his property to the highest degree of productiveness, the industry of himself and his sons. Hence large properties would by no means have increased the general wealth, while they might have endangered the independence of the people. The greater danger to be apprehended in so populous a country might seem to have been the minute sub-

[1] But see what is said above as to the uncertainty whether this noble ideal Republic was ever fully carried out. The perverseness or the pusillanimity, the want of faith in their God, prevented that which was the groundwork of the constitution—the full, peaceable, and uncontested possession of the whole land.

divisions of the estates, as all the sons inherited; the eldest had a double portion. Females succeeded only in default of males, and then under the restriction that they might not marry out of their own tribe. Yet this inconvenience seems never to have been practically felt; the land, though closely, was never over peopled. Periods of famine are by no means common.

The law against usury must not be omitted.[1] It is well known how much the exactions from the poor, through the enormous rate of interest, added to the political inequalities, factions, and jealousies, which distracted Rome and Athens. The Hebrew lawgiver anticipated this evil likewise. He positively prohibited, not merely usury, but all interest whatever on money lent to a Hebrew. A loan was a charitable accommodation, due from a brother to a brother. Money might be lent with profit or advantage only to a foreigner. Even pledges, or goods taken in pawn, were under strict regulations. Nothing absolutely necessary to life was to be retained; on no account both the upper and lower stones of the hand-mill in common use. Raiment was to be restored before nightfall; the raiment of a widow was not to be taken at all in pledge. The house was sacred, and could not be entered to seize the goods in pawn.

Each estate was held on the tenure of military service; all Israel was one standing army. Some curious exemptions were made, which show the attention of the lawgiver to the agricultural habits and domestic comfort of his people—the being just married, or having newly taken a piece of land into cultivation.

The only taxes were the two-tenths and the other religious offerings. The first tenth was assigned to the tribe of Levi, as we have before observed, for the maintenance of this learned nobility, and in return for the surrender of their right to a twelfth portion of the land. The Levites had likewise forty-eight cities, each with a domain of between eight and nine hundred acres. Thirteen of these cities were in the northern provinces of Naphthali, Issachar, Asher, and the half Manasseh beyond Jordan. Twelve in Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun. In Ephraim, half Manasseh, and Dan, ten. In Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon, thirteen.

The second tenth was called the Tithe of Feasts, or the Tithe of the Poor. For the first and second year, in the place

[1] Exod. xxii. 25; Levit. xxv. 36; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.

where the nation assembled for divine worship, *in the presence of the Lord;* every third year, in the chief town of the district, public tables were opened, at which all ranks and classes feasted together at the common expense of the richer proprietors. An institution, simple and beautiful, securing the advantages of brotherhood and kindly feeling, while it avoided that too great interference with the private and domestic habits which arose out of the public tables in some of the Grecian republics. The Hebrew was reminded sufficiently often that he was member of a larger national, and a smaller municipal community, but his usual sphere was that of private life. The Greek was always a public man; the member of the family was lost in the citizen.

The only public revenue of the Hebrew commonwealth was that of the sacred treasury, the only public expenditure that of the religious worship. This was supported by a portion of the spoils taken in war; the first fruits, which in their institution were no more than could be carried in a basket, at a later period were rated to be one part in sixty; the redemption of the first-born, and of whatever was vowed to the Lord. Almost everything of the last class might be commuted for money according to a fixed scale. The different annual Festivals were well calculated to promote internal commerce: maritime or foreign trade is scarcely mentioned in the Law, excepting in two obscure prophetic intimations of advantages which the tribes of Dan and Zebulun were to derive from their maritime situation. On this subject the lawgiver could have learned nothing in Egypt. The commerce of that country was confined to the inland caravan trade. The Egyptians hated or dreaded the sea, which they considered either as the dwelling of the evil principle, or the evil principle itself. At all events, the Hebrews at this period were either blind to the maritime advantages of their situation, or unable to profit by them. The ports were the last places they conquered. Sidon, if indeed within their boundary, never lost its independence; Tyre, if it existed, was a town too obscure to be named; Ecdippa and Acco remained in the power of the Canaanites; Joppa is not mentioned as a port till much later. The manufactures of the people supplied their own wants; they brought from Egypt the arts of weaving woollens and linens, stuffs made of fine goat's hair, and probably cotton; of dyeing in various colours, and bleaching, and of embroidering; of many kinds of carpenter's work; of building, some of the rules of which were regulated

by law; of making earthenware vessels; of working in iron, brass, and the precious metals, both casting them and forming them with the tool; of gilding, engraving seals, and various other kinds of ornamental work, which were employed in the construction of the altars and sacred vessels of the Tabernacle.

Thus the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were permanently established in the promised land; each man, according to the picturesque language of the country, dwelt under his own vine or his own fig-tree. No accident disturbed the peace and harmony of the state before the death of Joshua, excepting a dispute between the tribes within and those beyond the Jordan. The trans-Jordanic tribes raised a public altar to God; this was resented by the rest of the nation as a signal of defection from the national religion and national confederacy. But before they resorted to violent means, they tried an amicable remonstrance. The conference was conducted with temper and moderation; the tribes beyond the river disclaimed all intention of derogating from the dignity of the single national place of divine worship, and protested that they had raised the altar, not for the purpose of offering rival sacrifices, but only to commemorate to the latest posterity that their tribes formed a part of the great national confederacy. The explanation was considered satisfactory, and peace was restored.

A short time after this event Joshua, whose military prowess and experience had directed the conquest of the country, died. He appointed no successor to the supreme authority, and the separate republics, under the control of their own chieftains, and other local officers, assumed the administration of affairs. The Utopia of the lawgiver commenced its political existence; the land of milk and honey began to yield its fruits to a simple, free, and pious race of husbandmen, a people worthy of its blessings: but one fatal act of disobedience, the desisting from the war before their enemies were rooted out, prevented its permanence; and the land which was intended to be a scene of peace and freedom, before long became that of war and servitude.

BOOK VI

THE JUDGES

Authority of the Judges—Destruction of the Tribe of Benjamin—Othniel—Deborah—Gideon—Jephthah—Samson—Eli—Samuel—Nomination of Saul as King.

IN the former editions I had inserted the two schemes of chronology in this period, one supposed to rest on the authority of Josephus, and countenanced by St. Paul (but compare Marsham, Canon. Chron., p. 309), the other the vulgar one in the margin of our Bible. I have withdrawn them; for I must acknowledge that further study has led me to the conviction that there are no trustworthy materials for an exact chronology of these times. If we assume, as I am disposed to assume, about 1320 B.C. for the Exodus (see above, p. 114), it is necessary to compress the events between the Exodus and the Building of the Temple, the first certain or approximately certain date.

There are two, in my judgment, insuperable difficulties :—

I. The recurrence of the number 40—a recurrence which can be accounted for, if literally taken, on no intelligible principle of providential government, and is still more doubtful, since we know that forty is, and always has been, an indefinite number in the East, and that the same Hebrew word, or the same with the slightest variation, stands for forty and for a great number. II. There is no certainty that the book of Judges is a continuous and consecutive history.

Bredow, in his preface to Syncellus, cites the following instances of the iteration of the number forty: "The waters of the flood rose for *forty* days and *forty* nights (Gen. vii. 4, 12, 17); they ebbed *forty* days (Gen. viii. 6); Isaac was *forty* years old when he married Rebecca (Gen. xxv. 20); Esau *forty* when he married (Gen. xxvi. 34); the life of Moses is divided by Jewish tradition into three periods of *forty* years; he was *forty* when he returned to Egypt, *forty* more in the desert, died at the age of 120. He remained on Mount Sinai *forty* days and *forty* nights (Exod. xxxiv. 38); the land had peace after the Mesopotamian captivity *forty* years (Judges iii. 11); after the victory of Deborah, peace for *forty* years (Judges v. 31); after the destruction of the Midianites peace for *forty* years (Judges viii. 28); the Israelites in bondage to the Philistines *forty* years (Judges xiii. 1); Eli Judge of Israel for *forty* years (1 Sam. iv. 18); Goliath defied Israel *forty* days (1 Sam. xvii. 16); David reigned *forty* years (2 Sam. v. 4); Ishbosheth was

made king at *forty* years old (2 Sam. ii. 10); Absalom came to the king after *forty* years (2 Sam. xv. 7). (This is the most curious instance; indeed an absolute impossibility.) Solomon reigned *forty* years (1 Kings xi. 42); Elijah fasted *forty* days and nights (1 Kings xix. 8). Many other cases might be added, as Ezek. xxix. 12, 13; Jonah 3, 4, &c." Bredow had before given some very remarkable illustrations of this fact from the Jewish Apocryphal Books. Of modern instances he gives the *Phœnician* tradition (Herod. i. 165), that Agathonius, king of Tartessus, came to the throne at *forty* years, reigned *forty* years before the arrival of the Phœnicians, and died *forty* years after. The Tchel-Minar, the *forty* pillars, at Persepolis, are not *forty*. Chardin, ii. p. 33, and others.

Bredow thus proceeds: "Causam hujus modi loquendi, non in casu, cui quidem in usu dicendi nimium arbitrium est, sed in etymologiâ reperiri posse arbitror. Nam אַרְבָּעִים quadraginta et אַרְבֻּה multitudo ab eâdem origine, a רָבַב multum, deducenda esse videntur. Fortasse principio multitudinem, non stricte finitam significant, paulatim vero nomen certi numeri factum est, quanquam significatione infinitæ multitudinis non omissa" (p. 33 *et seqq.*).

The 480 years of 1 Kings vi. 1, the great authority alleged for the period between the Exodus and the Building of the Temple, is a multiple of 40 by 12.

II. It is by no means clear, as Marsham long ago observed, that some of these Judgeships and Captivities may not have been contemporaneous. Marsham observes: "Neque est absonum a politico Ebræorum statu, diversis in partibus aut plures Judices aut bellum pacemque eodem tempore extitisse."

There is nothing in the history, inconsecutive and fragmentary as it obviously is, to make it certain that the events recorded were successive, and not in some instances contemporaneous. Though Shamgar is named as a judge after Ehud (Judges iii. 31), yet the Canaanitish captivity seems to follow immediately after the death of Ehud. Ewald believes that the Philistine and Ammonitish war were at the same time.

The Period from the Exodus to the Building of the Temple.

The period of the Judges is the heroic age of Hebrew history. It abounds in wild adventure, and desperate feats of individual valour. Personal activity, daring, and craft, were the qualifications which raised the Judges to their title and eminence. They appear in their history as gallant insurgents or guerilla leaders, rather than as grave administrators of justice, or the regular authorities of a great kingdom. The name by which

they are called, Sophetim, derived from a word signifying "to judge," bears remarkable resemblance to the Suffetes of the Carthaginians. The office of the Hebrew Judge was rather that of the military dictator, raised on an emergency to the command of the national forces. What his judicial functions could have been, seems very doubtful, as all ordinary cases would fall under the cognisance of the municipal judicatures. Nor do we find the Judges exercising authority, or even engaged in war, beyond the boundaries of their own tribe; unless perhaps Deborah, who sat under her palm-tree judging the tribes of Israel. Yet even this convention bears the appearance rather of an organised warlike confederacy, to break the yoke of the Canaanites, than of a peaceful judicial assembly; and some of the tribes took no share in her gallant enterprise, nor, as far as appears, rendered any allegiance to her authority. The wars were on all the borders of the land, sometimes, as in the Canaanitish conflict of Deborah and Barak, in the centre of the land. The Judges were of different tribes, and seem to have arisen, and to have been summoned to power and authority, according to the exigencies of the time. Othniel, the first, was the only judge certainly from the great tribe of Judah; Shamgar is uncertain, but later, Ibzan was probably of Judah; Ehud was from the tribe of Benjamin. Deborah and Barak were of the great northern tribe of Ephraim; Gideon a Manassite of the central cis-Jordanic settlement of Manasseh; Tola of Issachar; Jair and Jephthah of the trans-Jordanic province; the enemies of Jephthah were those of the trans-Jordanic tribe of Ammon; Elon was of Zebulun, Samson of Dan, his foes were the Philistines on the south-western frontier. In most cases the Judge appears at war with some conterminous tribe. But the hostility or even the oppressions of the conterminous or immingled races were less dangerous than their amity. The Israelites in general yielded themselves up to the idolatries, before they were subjugated by the arms, of the surrounding nations. Nor can we help speculating on the different state of things, had the powerful Hebrew Republic become a nation, with a strong federal government; its centre the sanctuary of Jehovah, its strength faith in Jehovah; instead of an assemblage of jealous, sometimes, as in the case of Benjamin, hostile tribes. If the whole land, with all its strong-holds, whether on the mountain or on the plain, had been in their possession; if they had had no enemies, no races alien in blood, in manners, in religion, within their borders: if they

had been wielded, as it were, by one supreme government, and each tribe furnished its contingent to one army; if, in short, they had not paused in the career of conquest, and another Joshua had been summoned to take the lead, and organise and keep in discipline the national forces—in that state of strength and unity they might then have resisted with effect any foreign invader, even if that invader had been the prototype, in ambition and power, of one of the mighty Ninevite or Babylonian sovereigns. But, in fact, the want of union among the tribes arose naturally out of their disobedience to the commands of their lawgiver, and brought with it the punishment of that disobedience, not merely in the abandonment of protecting Providence but in the ordinary course of events. The neighbourhood of the idolatrous tribes led to apostasy, apostasy to weakness and servitude. For, as the national strength depended on the national union, and the only bond of the national union was the national religion, that bond weakened or dissolved, the tribes remained a number of scattered cantons, each entirely dependent on its own internal resources to resist foreign invasion, or the insurrection of the Canaanites.

The imperfect conquest had left formidable enemies, not only on the frontier, but in the heart of the land. The necessity of taking up those arms which they had so rashly laid down, speedily became urgent. It was no longer, however, a national war, but a war of the separate tribes against their immediate enemies. The Danites were driven into the mountains by the revolt of the Amorites; and part of the tribe was obliged to seek a settlement by force of arms on the extreme northern frontier. The town of Laish was hence called Dan. Judah and Simeon attacked Bezek, a powerful king, of Jebus or Jerusalem—defeated him with great loss—and treated him, as he had been accustomed to treat the other kings whom he had subdued, by the mutilation of his extremities.[1] They burned the lower part of Jerusalem; then, turning their arms southward, expelled the gigantic inhabitants of Hebron: but

[1] On the mutilation of enemies taken in war compare Cic. de Officiis, iii. 11. The Athenians cut off the thumbs of the Æginetans; on which Cicero finely observes—"Hoc visum est utile . . . sed nihil quod crudele utile." Ælian, ii. 9; Val. Max. ix. 2-8. The Egyptian paintings and sculptures, in Wilkinson, Rosellini, Lepsius, will afford copious and frightful illustrations of the manner in which war was then waged; especially Brugsch, p. 184, where a notary is taking down the number of hands and of Phalli laid before the conquering king.

Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, still defied their power; and though they starved many of the mountain fortresses to surrender, they dared not encounter the iron chariots of the inhabitants of the southern valleys. Ephraim took the town of Beth-el; but the other tribes seem to have adopted the dangerous measure of entering into terms with their enemies, and permitting them to reside in the land on the payment of tribute. Intermarriages soon followed, and led to community of religious worship. The Israelites strayed, without scruple, into the shady groves, where the voluptuous rites of the Canaanites were held, or attended at their gay and splendid festivals. By degrees they began to incorporate the two religions, and to pay indiscriminate homage to the symbolic representations of the powers of nature, particularly of the sun and moon, as well as to their own peculiar God, the Creator of the Universe; and throughout the period of the Judges down to the time of David, among those who repudiated the grosser idolatry of Polytheism, there lingered a kind of idolatrous Monotheism, far below the sublime Mosaic worship of Jehovah. Some who preserved inviolate the first commandment of the Law, lived in almost unconscious infringement of the second: they worshipped on the high places, they worshipped symbols or emblems of the great "I AM," the Invisible, the Eternal. Gideon had an ephod, which his followers worshipped;[1] and the men of Ephraim a golden image.[2]

The decline of the national faith, and the dissolution of manners, were fearfully exemplified in certain other transactions which occurred before the time of the Judges.[3] Part of the Danites, on their way to their conquest of the northern border, took violent possession of a silver idol, the property of a man named Micah, and set it up, with a wandering Levite for its priest, as an object of religious worship. The crime of Benjamin was of a more cruel nature, and as directly

[1] Judges viii. 27.

[2] Judges xvii. 3, 10, 13.

[3] It is generally agreed that the date of the events recorded in the five last chapters of the book of Judges was anterior to the time of the Judges. The adventure of Micah must have preceded the establishment of Dan in their appointed province. That of Benjamin must have been after the death of Joshua, under whose administration such an act of religious high treason would not have been tolerated. But not long after; for Phineas, the son of Eleazar, at that time "stood before the altar"; but Eleazar died soon after Joshua, and was succeeded by Phineas. This observation is as old as Theodoret: Quæst. xxvii. on this passage. Josephus places the events in their chronological order: Antiqq., l. v., c. 2, 8.

opposite to the principles of the moral law, as to the spirit of the national union. It led to a bloody civil war, and almost to the total annihilation of the guilty tribe. It is a history of bloody guilt, wild justice, and still wilder mercy. A Levite returning to his home with his concubine, or inferior wife, entered, to pass the night, the city of Gibeah, in the territory of Benjamin. The dissolute inhabitants abused the wretched woman till she died. The Levite cut the body into pieces, and sent a portion to each of the tribes. The whole of Israel assembled as one man, at Mizpeh, heard with indignation the appeal to their justice, and sent to demand the surrender of the delinquents. The proud and powerful tribe refusing satisfaction, the rest declared war, and invaded their territory. Twice they were defeated with great slaughter: on the third attack, employing a common stratagem, they enticed their enemies, by a pretended flight, to leave the strong walls of Gibeah, and follow them into the plain. An ambush rose up behind, and surprised the city. Benjamin was defeated with the loss of 25,000 men—the guilty city razed—the whole land laid desolate—men, women, and children put to the sword: 600 men alone remained strongly posted on the rock of Rimmon. But even in the pride of triumph, and the stern satisfaction of just revenge, Israel could not behold the extermination of one of their tribes without the deepest sorrow and repentance. Yet they had sworn at Mizpeh never to give their daughters in marriage to the unnatural and rebellious race. How then shall the families of Benjamin be renewed, and the twelve tribes of Jacob again meet in their solemn assemblies? Strange situations lead to strange expedients. One city, Jabesh in Gilead, had been guilty of that most heinous crime, the desertion of the common cause at a time of danger and distress. The city was devoted; all the men were slain; the women given to the survivors of Benjamin. The number not being sufficient, the rest of the Benjamites were permitted to surprise the damsels dancing at a festival without the gates of Shiloh; and by these Sabine marriages the tribe of Benjamin gradually recovered its strength and consideration.

The generation which had entered the land with Joshua, is said to have passed away before the declension of the people from the national faith led to servitude; but not entirely; for the first deliverer of the people was Othniel, the nephew and son-in-law of Caleb, whose name occurs as a brave warrior

during the conquest. The federal league between the tribes was not yet so far relaxed but that Othniel, of Judah, took up their defence. At the end of eight years the Mesopotamian was entirely defeated, and the whole land remained in peace for forty more.[1]

The eastern tribes were then assailed by a confederacy of the Ammonites, Amalekites, and Moabites, under Eglon, king of the latter tribe. Jericho, the City of Palms, or its site, was also taken, perhaps from the tribe of Benjamin not having yet recovered its strength. This oppression lasted eighteen years. The deliverance was effected by a desperate enterprise of Ehud, a Benjamite.[2] Ehud was a man ambidexter, who could use his left hand as well as his right. He obtained an audience of Eglon, a remarkably fat man, struck his dagger into his body, escaped, and flying to the mountainous part of the land of Ephraim, roused that powerful tribe, and totally defeated the Moabites. Eighty years of peace were the fruit of this hazardous adventure. The only exploit recorded of the next judge, Shamgar,[3] is the slaughter of 600 Philistines with an ox-goad, a formidable weapon, if like that described by Maundrell—a strong pike, eight feet long, and pointed with iron. By this time the Canaanites in the north had grown into a powerful people. Hazor, the capital of Jabin their king, was on the shore of the Samachonite Lake, and

[1] It is remarkable that the first servitude was not to one of the neighbouring tribes; it was a foreign and apparently very powerful kingdom which established its dominion over the whole of Palestine. For it is from the territory of Judah, the most remote from Mesopotamia, that the deliverer arises, and, it should seem, threw off a yoke which had heavily pressed on the whole race. Nor is it probable that the Mesopotamian religion, whatever it may have been, should have penetrated so far into the heart of the land as to estrange the Israelites in any degree from their worship of Jehovah. But it is a curious question how far this conquest of the King of Aram Naharaim (the land of the Naharaim, it must be remembered, was among the great scenes, probably the limit, of the Rameseid conquests) was a reaction of an Asiatic empire upon the Egyptian; how far Cushan Rishathaim was a predecessor, if not an ancestor, of the mighty Assyrian monarchs—of Pul, and Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar; how far Palestine had already become, not as yet perhaps the highway of traffic between the East and Egypt, but the border land on which the conflict took place for the empire of the world.

[2] It may be observed, that, although all these men were, in Hebrew phraseology, said to be raised up by the Lord, that is, inspired with the noble design, and endowed with ability, to deliver their country, yet all their particular actions are nowhere attributed to divine direction.

[3] Shamgar, from his exploits against the Philistines, was probably of one of the southern tribes, Judah, Simeon, or Dan; but from the passage in the Song of Deborah, his resistance to the enemies of Israel was not very effective. The highways were impassable, the villages suffered heavy oppression, till the rise of Deborah herself.

his general, Sisera, was a man terrible for his valour and conduct. For twenty years he oppressed the northern tribes. Deborah, a high-born woman of the tribe of Ephraim, richly endowed at least with the poetic part of the character of a prophetess, was inspired with the noble design of freeing her brethren from the yoke. She sat in the open air, under a palm-tree, reminding us of the Velleda of ancient Germany, and organised a strong confederacy. Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, as well as the northern tribes, obeyed her call. She commanded Barak to draw up the forces of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphthali, on the summit of Mount Tabor. The vast army of the Canaanites, 900 chariots strong, covered the level plain of Esdraelon at its foot. Barak burst suddenly from the mountain—the Canaanites were broken and fled.[1] The river Kishon, which bounded the plain, was swollen, and multitudes perished in the waters. But for the criminal inactivity of the inhabitants of Meroz, an adjacent town, who did not join in the pursuit, few would have escaped. Sisera fled, and took refuge in the tent of Jael, a woman of the Kenite tribe (the descendants of Hobab, Moses' brother-in-law). She received him hospitably; entertained him with the pastoral refreshment of milk, and left him to repose. In his sleep she drove one of the iron pegs of the tent into his head, and killed him. Deborah's hymn of triumph was worthy of the victory. The solemn religious commencement—the picturesque description of the state of the country—the mustering of the troops from all quarters—the sudden transition to the most contemptuous sarcasm against the tribes that stood aloof—the life, fire, and energy of the battle—the bitter pathos of the close—lyric poetry has nothing in any language which can surpass the boldness and animation of this striking production. But this hymn has great historic as well as poetic value. It is the only description of the relation of the tribes to each other, and of the state of society, during the period of the Judges. The northern tribes, Zebulun, Issachar, Naphthali, appear in a state of insurrection against their oppressors: they receive some assistance from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. The pastoral tribes beyond Jordan remain in unpatriotic inactivity. Dan and Asher are engaged in their maritime concerns; a curious fact, for we have no other intimation of any mercantile transactions of the Hebrews—as these expressions seem to imply—earlier than the reign of Solomon. Of

[1] On the scene and local circumstances of this battle, Stanley, p. 331.

Judah and Simeon there is no notice whatever, as if they had seceded from the confederacy, or were occupied by enemies of their own.

Thus sang Deborah and Barak, son of Abinoam,
In the day of victory thus they sang ;
That Israel hath wrought her mighty vengeance,
That the willing people rushed to battle,
Oh, therefore, praise Jehovah !

Hear, ye kings ! give ear, ye princes !
I to Jehovah, I will lift the song,
I will sound the harp to Jehovah, God of Israel !

Jehovah ! when thou wentest forth from Seir !
When thou marchedst through the fields of Edom !
Quaked the earth, and poured the heavens,
Yea, the clouds poured down with water :
Before Jehovah's face the mountains melted,
That Sinai before Jehovah's face,
The God of Israel.

In the days of Shamgar, son of Anath,
In Jael's days, untrodden were the highways,
Through the winding by-path stole the traveller ;
Upon the plains deserted lay the hamlets,
Even till that I, till Deborah arose,
Till I arose in Israel a mother.

They chose new gods :
War was in all their gates !
Was buckler seen, or lance,
'Mong forty thousand sons of Israel ?

My soul is yours, ye chiefs of Israel !
And ye, the self-devoted of the people,
Praise ye the Lord with me !
Ye that ride upon the snow-white asses ;
Ye that sit to judge on rich divans ;
Ye that plod on foot the open way,
Come, meditate the song.

For the noise of plundering archers by the wells of water,
Now they meet and sing aloud Jehovah's righteous acts :
His righteous acts the hamlets sing upon the open plains,
And enter their deserted gates the people of Jehovah.

Awake, Deborah, awake !
Awake, uplift the song !
Barak, awake ; and lead thy captives captive,
Thou son of Abinoam !

With him a valiant few went down against the mighty,
With me Jehovah's people went down against the strong
First Ephraim, from the Mount of Amalek,[1]
And after thee the bands of Benjamin!
From Machir came the rulers of the people,
From Zebulun those that bear the marshal's staff;
And Issachar's brave princes came with Deborah,
Issachar, the strength of Barak:
They burst into the valley on his footsteps.

By Reuben's fountains there was deep debating—
Why satt'st thou idle, Reuben, 'mid thy herd-stalls?
Was it to hear the lowing of thy cattle?
By Reuben's fountains there was deep debating—

And Gilead lingered on the shores of Jordan—
And Dan, why dwelled he among his ships?—
And Asher dwelled in his sea-shore havens,
And sat upon his rocks precipitous.
But Zebulun was a death-defying people,
And Naphthali from off the mountain heights.

Came the king and fought,
Fought the kings of Canaan,
By Taanach, by Megiddo's waters,
For the golden booty that they won not.

From the heavens they fought 'gainst Sisera,
In their courses fought the stars against him:
The torrent Kishon swept them down,
That ancient river Kishon.
So trample thou, my soul, upon their might.

Then stamped the clattering hoofs of prancing horses
At the flight, at the flight of the mighty.

Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord,
Curse, a twofold curse upon her dastard sons;
For they came not to the succour of Jehovah,
To the succour of Jehovah 'gainst the mighty.

[1] The remarkable fact here, as is observed, is the total silence about Judah and Simeon, Judah up to this time the leading, the most numerous, most warlike of the tribes. Was Judah occupied by enemies—Philistines, on her own border? Did she stand aloof in haughty indifference, in contemptuous inactivity? Was the jealousy between the northern and southern tribes, which prevails throughout the later history, already commencing? Did Judah refuse to serve under the rival tribe of Ephraim, now, it should seem, rising to pre-eminence, and as yet, at Mizpeh and at Shiloh, the guardians of the sanctuary and the ark. Compare Ewald, ii. 312.

Above all women blest be Jael,
Heber the Kenite's wife,
O'er all the women blest, that dwell in tents.

Water he asked—she gave him milk,
The curded milk, in her costliest bowl.

Her left hand to the nail she set,
Her right hand to the workman's hammer—
Then Sisera she smote—she clave his head;
She bruised—she pierced his temples.
At her feet he bowed; he fell; he lay;
At her feet he bowed; he fell;
Where he bowed, there he fell dead.

From the window she looked forth, she cried,
The mother of Sisera through the lattice:
"Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariot?"
Her prudent women answered her—
Yea she herself gave answer to herself—
"Have they not seized, not shared the spoil?
One damsel or two damsels to each chief?
To Sisera a many-coloured robe,
A many-coloured robe, and richly broidered,
Many-coloured and broidered round the neck."

Thus perish all thine enemies, Jehovah;
And those who love thee, like the sun, shine forth,
The sun in all its glory.[1]

At the end of forty years of peace new enemies appeared—the wild hordes of the desert. Midianites, Amalekites, and other nomadic tribes, swept over almost the whole land, pitched their tents, and fed their camels in the midst of the rich corn-fields of Israel. This was the most extensive and destructive servitude the nation had yet suffered. The people fled to mountain fastnesses, and hid themselves in caves. The land lay uncultivated, the cattle were destroyed, and a grievous famine ensued. The miserable Israelites called upon their God for succour, and Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, a man of highly noble person, and of a noble race, who was "as the son of a king, and whose brothers were each one like the children of kings," received the divine

[1] In the above translation an attempt is made to preserve something like a rhythmical flow. It adheres to the original language, excepting where an occasional word is, but rarely, inserted for the sake of perspicuity.

commission as the deliverer of his country. An angel appeared to him while he was threshing corn by stealth in an underground wine-press; preternatural signs convinced him of the celestial nature of his visitant. Gideon had offered, as a present to this superior being, a kid and a small portion of flour: he laid them on a rock. The angel touched them, and fire arose from the rock and consumed them. His first exploit, after having built an altar, and, according to divine command, offered sacrifice, was to overthrow at midnight the altar of Baal in the city of Ophrah. His father Joash was commanded by the indignant citizens to bring forth his son to be punished for this offence. *Will ye plead for Baal?* said the old man: *let Baal plead for himself!* And Gideon thence was called Jerubbaal—*let Baal plead.* The whole host of the invaders lay encamped on the plain of Jezreel. Gideon demanded a sign from heaven; it was granted. One night, the dews which fall so copiously in those regions, fell only on a fleece which he had spread; the next night the ground was steeped with moisture, the fleece remained dry. Gideon now prepared for a vigorous attack; 22,000 men from Manasseh, Zebulun, Naphthali, and Asher, rallied at the sound of his trumpet—but the victory was to be achieved by a much smaller band. The army was first diminished to 10,000—all whose valour could not be relied on, being allowed to return home. These were again reduced, by a singular process, of which it is difficult to discover the meaning. They were led to the water-side: those who knelt down to drink were dismissed; those who stood up, and lifted the water to their lips with their hands, were retained. Thus 300 of the bravest were chosen for a night attack. Each of these had a trumpet, a concealed lamp, and an earthen pot. At the onset, each crashed his pot in pieces, and blew his trumpet with all his might. The wild and mingled tribes awoke, and in their panic and confusion, turned their arms against each other.[1] The herds, and particularly the camels, affrighted at the lights, ran wildly about, and added to the tumult. The fugitives were slain by the rest of Gideon's troops. The Ephraimites now joined the insurrection, pursued the remnant of the Midianites beyond Palestine, and slew two of their princes, Oreb and Zeb.[2]

[1] The scene of this battle, with a glowing description of it, Stanley, 334, 336.

[2] The "Raven" and the "Wolf," according to Ewald: ii. p. 326.

Their indignation against Gideon, at not being earlier summoned to the war, was soothed by the courtesy of the leader. Gideon took a dreadful revenge on the inhabitants of Succoth for having refused refreshment to his famishing warriors—he scourged their elders to death with thorns. He inflicted as dreadful a chastisement on the surviving princes of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, who had slain his kindred: he put them to death without mercy; and thus the war ended with the loss of 120,000 men to the Midianites. The gratitude of his compatriots induced them to make an offer of royal authority to Gideon, but his ambition was satisfied with the deliverance of his country; he returned to dwell in quiet in his native city.[1] Yet even Gideon fell into a direct violation of the law. From the spoil of the Midianites, who, like all the inhabitants of those regions, wore enormous golden earrings, and from the splendid raiment of the kings, he made an ephod or priestly garment; and set up a worship distinct from the one sacred place in Shiloh, where the Ark rested.

After the death of Gideon, his bastard son Abimelech, a daring and bloody man, determined to attain the crown which his father had rejected. He formed a conspiracy with his mother's kindred at Shechem; with a band of adventurers fell unexpectedly on Ophrah; seized his father's seventy sons, slew them all; and in a great convention of the Shechemites and the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, was elected king by acclamation. Of all Gideon's sons, Jotham alone, the youngest, had escaped. On the summit of Gerizim, which overlooked Shechem, Jotham denounced the usurper, and reproved the people in the well-known parable: "The olive-tree and the vine refused to assume the royal dignity, but the worthless bramble accepted at once the first offer of a tyrannous superiority over the trees of the forest." The authority of Abimelech seems to have been confined to Shechem and its neighbourhood: the other tribes neither contributed to his rise nor downfall. But the fickle Shechemites, after three years, began to be weary of their king, and attempted to throw off the yoke. The usurper was not wanting in vigour and promptitude; he took the city, razed it to the ground, and burnt the

[1] The inactivity of Judah and the southern tribes, in this great struggle for freedom, is again to be remarked. The insurrection is at first a league of the smaller cis-Jordanic tribes.

citadel, on which they seem to have relied as a place of strength. Pursuing his conquest, he was accidentally wounded by a woman, during an attack on Thebez, but disdaining to die by so ignoble a hand, he commanded his armour-bearer to pierce him with his sword; and so ignominiously closed this premature attempt to found a monarchy, not perhaps over the whole of Israel, but over a portion of a few tribes.

Two undistinguished names follow in the list of Judges: Tola, of the tribe of Issachar, who, nevertheless, dwelt at Shamir, in the mountainous country of the Ephraimites; and Jair, a Gileadite, whose thirty sons were masters of thirty cities, *and rode on thirty ass colts*. A new apostasy led to a new invasion. The Philistines attacked the southern border; and a more formidable enemy, the Ammonites, not merely subdued the tribes beyond Jordan, but crossed the river, and engaged the combined forces of Ephraim, Judah, and Benjamin.

Jephthah, a bastard son of Gilead, having been wrongfully expelled from his father's house, had taken refuge in a wild country, and become a noted captain of freebooters. His kindred, groaning under foreign oppression, began to look to their valiant, though lawless, compatriot, whose profession, however, according to their usage, was no more dishonourable than that of a pirate in the elder days of Greece. They sent for him, and made him head of their city. Jephthah's first measure was to send an embassy to the Ammonitish king, remonstrating on his unprovoked aggression. The Ammonite demanded the formal surrender of the trans-Jordanic provinces, as the patrimony of his own ancestors, and of those of his allies. Negotiations being fruitless, Jephthah prepared for war. But before he set forth, Jephthah made the memorable vow, that if he returned victorious, he would sacrifice as a burnt offering whatever first met him on his entrance into his native city, Mizpeh. He gained a splendid victory. But it was neither one of those animals appointed for sacrifice, nor even an unclean beast, an ass, or camel, prohibited by the law—which was destined for the burnt offering of Jephthah. At the news of her father's victory, his only daughter came dancing forth in the gladness of her heart, and with the most jocund instruments of music, to salute the deliverer of his people. The miserable father rent his clothes in agony, but the noble-spirited maiden would not hear of the evasion or disregard of the vow; she only demanded a short period to

bewail upon the mountains, like the Antigone of Sophocles, her dying without hope of becoming a bride or mother in Israel, and then submitted to her fate.[1] Many learned writers have laboured to relieve the Jewish annals and the character of the Judge from the imputation of human sacrifice, and have supposed that Jephthah's daughter was consecrated to the service of the tabernacle, and devoted to perpetual virginity. But all these expedients are far more improbable than that a fierce freebooter in a period of anarchy should mistake an act of cruel superstition for an act of religion; and it is certain that vows of celibacy were totally unknown among the Hebrews, and belong to a different stage of society.[2] Another objection of Michaelis is fatal to these views. The daughter could not be consecrated to the service of the high priest, for the high priest and the Ark were then at Shiloh, in the territory of Ephraim, with whom Jephthah was at deadly war. The haughty and overbearing character of this tribe resented, as usual, their not being summoned to take the lead in the Ammonitish war. They threatened to wreak their vengeance on Jephthah and his adherents; but the Gileadite chieftain defeated them, and at the passage of the Jordan, distinguishing the Ephraimites by a peculiar pronunciation (Shibboleth —water-streams—they sounded as Sibboleth), put them to the sword without mercy to the number of 42,000. Jephthah enjoyed his dignity for seven years; then follow a list of undistinguished names—of their actions, or against whom they waged war, the record is silent. Ibzan of Bethlehem judged seven; Elon of Zebulun ten; Abdon, an Ephraimite, eight years.

The oppressions of the foreign powers which had hitherto overrun or subdued Palestine had been heavy and debasing while they lasted, but once repelled, the invaders retired within their own frontiers; the Philistines[3] on the southern borders

[1] ἀλλ' ἔμ' ὁ παγκόιτας
Ἀΐδας ζῶσαν ἄγει
τὰν Ἀχέροντος
ακταν, δυθ' ὑμεναίων
ἐγχλῃρον, δυτ' ἐπινυμφίδιὸς
πω μέ τις ὕμνος
ὕμνησεν, Αλλ' Ἀχέροντι νυμφευσω.
Ant. 810.

[2] Ewald writes, "Die ängstliche Ansicht Neuerer dass Jiftah seine Tochter nicht wirklich geopfert habe, verdient keine Widerlegung" (ii. p. 400).

[3] It is difficult to resist the many slight but accumulated evidences of the connection of the Philistines with Crete. On the other hand, all or almost all

were more dangerous and implacable enemies to the peace of Israel. They had subdued apparently the whole allotment of Simeon; this tribe was annihilated, or scattered for refuge among the rest. Gaza and Askelon were in the power of the conquerors, and their frontier extended to that of Dan. At this juncture the most extraordinary of the Jewish heroes appeared; a man of prodigious bodily power, which he displayed not in any vigorous and consistent plan of defence against the enemy, but in the wildest feats of personal daring. It was his amusement to plunge headlong into peril, from which he extricated himself by his individual strength. Samson never appears at the head of an army, his campaigns are conducted in his own single person. As in those of the Grecian Hercules and the Arabian Antar, a kind of comic vein runs through the early adventures of the stout-hearted warrior, in which, love of women, of riddles, and of slaying Philistines out of mere wantonness, vie for the mastery. Yet his life began in marvel, and ended in the deepest tragedy. An Angel announced to the wife of Manoah, a man of eminence, in the tribe of Dan, that her barrenness should be removed, and that she should become the mother of a wonderful child. The child was to be a Nazarite from the womb, that is, dedicated by vow to the Lord; he was, therefore, to allow his hair to grow, and to pre-

that is known of their religion and language makes them a Semitic people, closely connected with the Phœnicians.

The nature of the long and internecine war with the Philistines is most happily illustrated by the description of the Philistine territory in Stanley. "But the most striking and characteristic feature of Philistia is its immense plain of corn-fields, stretching from the edge of the sandy tract right up to the very wall of the hills of Judah, which look down its whole length from north to south. These rich fields must have been the great source at once of the power and the value of Philistia; the cause of its frequent aggressions on Israel, and of the unceasing efforts of Israel to master the territory. It was in fact 'a little Egypt'" (p. 254). Read the rest of the passage.

Of the origin, the race, the language of the Philistines, the little that is known, and the much which is conjectured, there is a brief yet very full summary in M. Ernest Renan (*Les Langues Sémitiques*, p. 53 *et seqq.*). The allusions to them during the Patriarchal times are vague and obscure; but at the time of the Exodus they were a formidable people; they stood across the direct road (the coast road) from Egypt to the Holy Land in irresistible strength; the dread of them seems to have turned the Israelites southward into the Desert (Exodus xiii. 17). On the invasion of Joshua, five Philistine chieftains held the cities of Gaza, Ashdod, Askelon, Gath, Ekron. The actual conquest of these cities, though they were apportioned to Judah, seems not to have been accomplished. In the time of the Judges the Philistines appear as the most dangerous enemies, at times the masters of the southern tribes. In one respect they may have been a protecting barrier to the Israelites against Egyptian inroads; but the protection was dearly bought by their own implacable hostility, and, till the time of David their seeming superiority in war.

serve the most rigid abstinence.[1] A second time, the Angel appeared to Manoah and his wife, renewed the command and the promise, and mounting with the smoke of the sacrifice they had offered, ascended into Heaven. When Samson grew up, his first demand was, that he might marry a Philistine woman, whom he had seen, and fallen in love with, at Timnath. With reluctance his parents consented, for they suspected some latent design against the oppressor. As he went down to Timnath, a young lion roared at him—Samson tore him asunder with his hands. The next time he passed that way, bees had hived in the lion's carcase, and at his bridal feast he gave this riddle to the thirty youths who attended him; if they found it out, he was to forfeit to each a sheet and a garment; if they did not, they were to pay the same to him. *Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.* At the entreaty of his wife, he betrayed the secret to her, and she to her countrymen. *Had ye not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle*, replied the indignant bridegroom, and immediately set out and slew thirty Philistines, in order to make good his promise. He then returned home in anger, but in a short time, visiting his wife again, he found her married to another. To revenge himself, he caught three hundred jackals, tied them tail to tail, with a firebrand between them, and turned them loose into the dry corn-fields of the Philistines. In return, they burned his wife and her father to death. Samson immediately fell on them and slew great numbers: he then took refuge on a rock called Etam. The Philistines were assembled in a narrow pass, from some fanciful resemblance to the jawbone of an ass or more probably from the adventure of Samson, called Lehi. So completely were the valiant tribe of Judah disheartened by the Philistine oppression, that, to appease their wrath, they determined to surrender Samson. They seized and bound him, and brought him to the pass. There *the spirit of the Lord came upon him*, he burst the bonds like flax, seized the jawbone of an ass that

[1] This is the first appearance in the Jewish history (the Nazarite is recognised in the Law — Numbers vi.) of these ascetic vows, which gradually worked into the religion of the Israelites, it may perhaps be said, as into all the religions of the East and of the West, and in time, in different forms, forced themselves into Christianity and Mohammedanism. It is here as it were in its infancy, confining itself to certain outward ceremonies and peculiar usages. As to the abstaining from wine, Mohammedanism is purely Nazaritish; some of the Arab tribes (Hamasa, quoted by Ewald) preserved their hair unshorn. Ewald, ii. 403, note.

lay in the way, and with this strange weapon slew a thousand men. But, exhausted with fatigue and thirst, he began to faint, the ground was suddenly cloven, and a spring of water flowed before his feet. His next exploit was to visit a harlot in Gaza, the capital city of his enemies. They closed their gates, and waited quietly, to seize their formidable foe. At midnight, Samson arose, burst the gates, took them on his shoulders, and left them on a hill, near twenty miles distant. He then fell into the more fatal snares of Dalilah.[1] The Philistine chieftains bribed her to obtain the secret of his prodigious strength. Twice he eluded her—the third time he betrayed himself into her power. It lay in the accomplishment of his Nazaritish vow, part of which was, never to permit his hair to be shorn. In his sleep, she deprived him of his hair and of his strength. The Philistines seized him, put out his eyes, bound him with brazen fetters, and set him to the servile task of grinding at the mill. The grave and solemn mind of Milton has seized upon the history of Samson at this point, and arrayed the close of his life in all the grandeur of heroic patience and resignation. The insults of the Philistines did not end with the prison; savages delight in making a public exhibition of distinguished captives, and this barbarous people sent for their prisoner to contribute to their diversion in a kind of rude amphitheatre, in the area of which stood the captive; —the roof, which formed the seats, was crowded with spectators. But the strength of Samson had now returned; the whole building was supported by two pillars, which he grasped, and leaning forward, dragged down the whole building, burying himself and all his enemies in one common ruin.

While Samson was thus wasting his prodigal strength, not altogether uselessly, for, without doubt, the terror of his name retarded the progress of the Philistine conquests, and inspired courage into the disheartened Israelites; still without that permanent advantage to the liberty of his countrymen which might have been expected from such preternatural powers regulated by prudence and self-restraint; a wiser and more useful head of the state was growing up within the sacred precincts of the tabernacle. Hannah, one of the wives of Elkanah, a Levite who resided in Rama-Zophim, a city in Mount Ephraim, made a vow, that if the curse of barrenness were removed from her, she would devote her first-born to the service of God. Samuel, her son, was thus educated in the

[1] Ewald translates Delilah, "the traitress:" note, p. 414.

service of the high priest Eli. It was to be expected that the high priest would obtain great weight and authority in the Hebrew constitution. Wherever the Ark resided, might be considered the temporary capital of the state. The present circumstances of the Hebrew history contributed to exalt still higher the sacerdotal power. The Tabernacle and the Ark were at Shiloh in the territory of Ephraim, from its fortunate central position the most powerful, as the least exposed to foreign invasion, of all the provinces. The northern and eastern tribes had enough to do to defend their frontiers: Judah, the great rival of Ephraim, now tamely acknowledged the dominion of the Philistines. Hence the uncontested pre-eminence of the Ephraimites led to a temporary union of a civil as well as religious supremacy in the high priest Eli. The imminent or actual dissolution of the confederacy, which threatened the Mosaic republic during the whole almost anarchical period of the Judges, the subjugation of the separate tribes to some one of the border or indwelling races, needed some stronger principle of union, some central, all embracing, and all revered authority to hold it together as one nation. The local and temporary power assumed and exercised in succession or simultaneously by the heaven-appointed Judges has passed away with their lives; the splendid feats of arms, it may be the civil wisdom and dignity of Deborah under her palm-tree; the adventurous valour, the inexhaustible fertility in resource, the power of discipline and organisation, by which the noble Gideon, with a small but well-appointed army and by extraordinary stratagems, had broken and thrown back the assault of a formidable league of all the most warlike neighbouring tribes (the attempt to establish an hereditary monarchy in his line had begun and ended in Abimelech); the gallant exploits of the freebooter Jephthah, and his liberation of the trans-Jordanic tribes; the wild but isolated feats of personal valour, activity, and superhuman strength of Samson against the Philistines. But now the concentration of the hereditary religious authority, with the dictatorial power of the judge, in Eli, at once judge and high priest; the raising of Shiloh into a religious capital, and, in a certain sense, a seat of government—might seem to offer that which would be more stable and enduring, more vigorous, and more comprehensive in its authority. If this union of the civil and religious government in the person of Eli did not accomplish but only pave the way to the reconsolidation of the tribes in one confederacy, before

long to be developed into a monarchy, it failed, not from want of wisdom and fitness in itself for the exigencies of the state, but from the feebleness and insufficiency of that man in whom for the first time was vested this transcendent power and influence. For Eli was now old and almost blind; his criminal indulgence to his sons Hophni and Phineas had brought disorder and licentiousness into the sacred ceremonies. The priests had become overbearing and tyrannical; instead of taking the portions of the sacrifices assigned by the Law, they selected all the better parts for their own use; and Hophni and Phineas had introduced still worse abuses,—those which disgraced the voluptuous rites of the heathen deities. They debauched the women who assembled before the tabernacle, and the worship of Jehovah was thus in danger of becoming as impure as that of Baal Peor or the Babylonian Mylitta.

In the midst of this corruption the blameless Samuel grew up to manhood. Already in his early youth he had received divine intimations of his future greatness; the voice of God, while he slumbered within the area where the tabernacle stood, had three times called upon his name; and at length aroused him, and commanded him to communicate to the aged Eli the fate which awaited his family. The war between the Philistines and Israelites broke out anew; whether the Israelites, encouraged by the destruction of so many of the Philistine chieftains in the fall of the temple at Gaza, had endeavoured to throw off the yoke, or whether the Philistines seized the opportunity of Samson's death to extend their dominion, does not appear. A bloody battle took place at Aphek, in the northern part of Judah, in which the Israelites were totally defeated, and in their desperation they determined to resort to those means of conquest which had proved irresistible under the direction of Joshua. The haughty Judah, which had so long stood apart, and waged, almost with her own forces, the war against the Philistines, at Aphek perhaps had condescended to the aid of contingents from other tribes; at all events was now compelled to throw herself on the central civil and religious government. Judah sought now not only military aid from her rival Ephraim, but that religious aid which could only be given by the high priest, as the guardian of the Sanctuary, the Ark, the sacred national treasure. They sent to Shiloh for the Ark, and the Ark was brought forth from its holy place; for not one tribe only, but the independence, the safety, the existence of the whole nation seemed at issue before

these terrible foes. The Ark was placed in the centre of the camp—the camp not of Judah alone, but of all Israel. But the days were gone when the rivers dried up, and the walls of cities fell down, and the enemy fled at once, before the symbol of the presence of Israel's God. The measure was unauthorised by the Divine command. Yet even the victorious Philistines were not free from hereditary apprehension of the mighty God who had discomfited the Egyptians, and subjugated the whole land of the Canaanites. They exhorted each other to maintain their character for valour. The Israelites fought with desperate but unavailing resolution—the iron chariots of the Philistines triumphed. Thirty thousand Israelites perished, and the Ark of God fell into the hands of the uncircumcised —the guilty sons of Eli were slain in its defence. The aged high priest sat by the wayside in dreadful anxiety for the fate of the Ark. A messenger rushed in, bearing the sad intelligence; a wild cry ran through the whole city; the blind old man, now ninety-eight years of age, fell from his seat, broke his neck, and died. The wife of Phineas was seized with the pains of premature labour; the women around her endeavoured to console her with the intelligence that she had borne a male child: she paid no attention to their words, and only uttered a passionate exclamation, by which we may judge how strongly the religious reverence for the divine worship was rooted in the hearts of the Israelites. The pride and exultation of maternal tenderness, the grief for her father-in-law and her husband were absorbed in a deeper feeling. She said, *The Ark of God is taken;* and she called her child Ichabod, the glory is departed from Israel.

Nothing now remained to the race of Abraham but the prospect of hopeless and irremediable servitude. Their God had abandoned them—perhaps might appear on the side of their enemies. Not merely the glory and the independence, even the political existence of Israel seemed departed with the Ark, departed for ever. With what amazement and joy must the extraordinary intelligence have been received, that, after seven months, the Philistines were sending back the Ark of God, not in contempt of His power, but with signs of reverential terror! They had sent the strange deity from city to city, everywhere their own gods had been rebuked, the statues had fallen prostrate, their harvests had been wasted by mice, their persons afflicted by a loathsome disease. They yoked two milch kine to the car, and loaded it with propitiatory

offerings. Instead of lingering near their calves, the kine had set off on the direct road to Bethshemesh, within the border of the Israelites. The Lords of the Philistines had followed the solemn procession in wonder and in awe. There the Levites received the Ark, and sacrificed the kine to the Almighty. The profane curiosity of the inhabitants of Bethshemesh was punished; a great number of men were struck dead for presuming to look within the Ark, which was soon after solemnly removed to the city of Kirjath-jearim.

Yet twenty years longer the Israelites groaned under the yoke of the Philistines; but Samuel was now grown to manhood, and was established not merely with the authority of a Judge, but likewise of a prophet. Prophetism, if the word may be ventured, now appears among the established and recognised institutes of the Israelitish people. The Patriarchs, Abraham especially, and Moses, are designated vaguely as prophets; and the great era of Prophetism was to come, commencing with Elijah, and continuing through that great line of Poet Prophets during the later kings, and the decline and fall of the kingdoms. Those prophets' writings, the sublimest lyric strains that have ever been uttered by the lips of man, form a most important part of the sacred books of the Hebrews, have lived, and are destined to live, for ever in the hearts of religious men, and (their most wonderful office) have softened, expanded, enlightened the mind of man, so as to prepare it for the revelation of Christianity. But great confusion has arisen in the conception of Prophetism and of the office and character of the prophet, from the absorption of the primary and real sense of the word by a secondary, and it should seem by no means necessary signification. Vaticination, the foretelling future events, is, according to the common notion, the dominant attribute of the Hebrew prophet. But the Hebrew word Nabi and the Greek Prophetes convey a much more comprehensive and at the same time distinct meaning. The Nabi is the man who speaks in the name and with the authority of God; he is, as it were, the voice of God, addressed to the religious and moral sense of man, and recognised and discriminated from that of false prophets (who seem to have arisen simultaneously) not so much by outward signs, as by the religious and moral instincts of the human heart. In the time of Samuel this office was recognised as belonging, not only to individuals, but to a class of men. There were schools of the prophets,

which seem to require a distinct and peculiar life, and a certain training and discipline of which I cannot but think that the study of the Law (this implies a written law widely promulgated) formed an important part. They were probably (like most Orientals when believed or believing themselves to be under supernatural possession) wrought up occasionally to a kind of ecstatic excitement, powerfully aided by music, and expressing itself in dance or in wild gesture.

Thus Samuel appears in his threefold character as Judge, as Prophet, or Head of the schools of the prophets, and as Priest, of which he undoubtedly discharged the sacrificial functions. The high priesthood had passed into the next branch of the family of Eli, and sunk into comparative insignificance before the acknowledged dignity of the new leader. Samuel had been brought up too in the very sanctuary of God, dedicated to God from his earliest youth, a Nazarite (peculiar austerity, or peculiar isolation from his fellow men, ever powerfully affects the popular feelings); and the commanding mind of Samuel appears at the height of his great calling. Having laboured with success to extirpate the idolatrous practices which had grown up among the people, he summoned a general assembly at Mizpeh. The Philistines took alarm, and put their forces in motion to suppress the insurrection. The Israelites were full of terror, but too far engaged to recede; their confidence in the favour of God towards their righteous judge, induced them to risk their safety on the acceptance of his prayers. His prayers alone were the authority which he wielded, the source of their unwonted bravery, the groundwork of their unexpected triumph. For Samuel does not seem to have been either warrior or general; he has nothing of the wild and adventurous valour of Samson or of Jephthah, the wily stratagems of Gideon, the military skill of Deborah and Barak. The event was a victory so complete, caused partly by a tremendous storm, that the Philistines were forced to evacuate the whole country, and to accept of equitable terms of peace.

The civil administration of Samuel was equally prosperous. He united at least all the southern tribes under his authority, possibly the whole nation. This was his great achievement, the crowning point of his service to Israel and the God of Israel. The scattered and disunited tribes became again a nation. The rival tribes Ephraim and Judah make common cause against the common enemy; and the more distant

tribes do not seem to withhold their allegiance either from Samuel the last Judge, or from Saul the first King of Israel. No doubt the loss and the recovery of the Ark would tend powerfully to consolidate the disorganised realm. The tidings of that awful calamity, the capture of the Ark, the seeming abandonment of His people by their God, would sound like a knell in the heart of every one born of Israel. From the foot of Lebanon to the edge of the Desert, from the remotest pastures of Gilead to the sea coast of Asher, the dormant religious feeling would be stirred to its depths. Even those who had thought but little of the Ark of God, who had furtively cast their grain of incense on the altar of Baal or mingled in the voluptuous dances of Succoth Benoth, would be roused by the terrible shock, and prostrate themselves in penitence, if not in despair. That universal religious movement, from grief, from shame, from fear, would be maddened to tumultuous excitement at the tidings, as rapidly, as widely spread, of the restoration of the inappreciable treasure, Jehovah's rescue of Himself from the ignominious bondage, His return in all His power and majesty to the centre of the chosen people. Samuel held three annual sessions of justice at Beth-el, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, at which it is probable that all the tribes gave at least some attendance; his residence he fixed in his native city of Ramah.

But Samuel's sons, who in his old age were installed in the judicial office, did not follow the example of their upright father; they were venal and corrupt. The people, therefore, having seen the superior efficacy of the monarchical government, which prevailed in the neighbouring countries, by a formal representation of their elders, demanded that their republican polity should be changed into an hereditary kingdom. It is most remarkable, and yet, as we have shown, not in the circumstances unlikely, that Moses had anticipated this resolution; and, providing against the contingency of kingly government, had laid down regulations for the election of a sovereign and the administration of regal power. The king was not to be a foreigner, lest the independence of the country should be lost, and the Israelitish commonwealth sink into a province of some great empire. He was prohibited from maintaining any force of cavalry, lest he should attempt foreign conquest, to the neglect or danger of the internal strength and security of the kingdom. The lawgiver either perceived that a free republic, or rather

a federal government of twelve distinct republics, was an experiment in the constitution of society, or that the external relations of the commonwealth might so far change as to require a more vigorous executive. The avowed objects of the people in demanding a king were the more certain administration of justice, and the organisation of a strong and permanent military force; *that our king might judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles.* The national militia, untrained and undisciplined, might be sufficient to repel the tumultuary invasions of the wandering tribes; but they had now to resist powerful monarchies, and the formidable league of the Philistine chieftains, who could bring into the field an overwhelming power of chariots and cavalry. The prosperity of the state under David and Solomon amply justifies the deviation from the original constitution. The conduct of Samuel on this occasion was prudent and moderate; he fairly laid before the people the dangers of an Oriental despotism, the only monarchy then known, with all the exactions and oppressions of arbitrary power; and left them to make their choice. The popular feeling was decided in favour of the change. The next object therefore was the election of the king. The nomination took place by divine instruction, but may be admired on the plainest principles of human policy. The upright and disinterested Samuel showed no favour to his own family, kindred or tribe. It was expedient that the king should be chosen from the southern tribes, as more immediately exposed to the most dangerous and implacable enemy. A prince of Asher or of Naphthali might have neglected the interests of Judah and Benjamin. An election from the great rival tribes of Ephraim or Judah might excite mutual jealousy, or dread of a domineering influence among the weaker clans.

A youth of singularly tall and striking person, an eminent distinction in the East, arrived at Ramah. He was the son of a Benjamitish chieftain, and had been wandering in search of some asses, a valuable property, which his father had lost. Him Samuel is directed to nominate and receive with regal honours. Giving him the chief seat, and distinguished portion, at a feast where thirty persons were present, he proceeds privately to anoint Saul as the future king. But the youth was to be prepared for his high office by a course of religious instruction, and his mind imbued with deep and powerful enthusiasm for the national law and national faith. He was

sent to one of those schools of the prophets, most likely instituted by Samuel, where the pupils were initiated in the circle of Hebrew education—religious knowledge, religious music, and religious poetry. Here the character of the youth was totally changed:[1] he mingled in the sacred dances: his spirit became full of lofty and aspiring thoughts. So totally was the former levity and carelessness of his youth cast off, that his wandering compatriots exclaimed, *Is Saul also among the prophets?* Thus qualified for the royal dignity, at a solemn assembly at Mizpeh, attended, it is distinctly said, by "all the tribes,"[2] the small tribe of Benjamin is designated by lot, and Saul of the tribe of Benjamin is at once received as king, not indeed without murmur or opposition from some few factious spirits, but by the unanimous consent of the great majority. His first measure was bold, and answerable to the public expectation, as showing that the strength and vigilance of the royal power would extend its protection to the remotest part of the commonwealth. Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had invaded the trans-Jordanic tribes, and now besieged the town of Jabez, in Gilead. He demanded that the inhabitants should submit to have their eyes put out; a revolting act of cruelty, which he had exacted, as a sign of subjection, from all the people whom he had subdued. The inhabitants sent in all haste to the king for succour. Saul instantly hewed a yoke of oxen to pieces, and sent this sign, like the fiery cross of the Highlanders, to summon all the tribes of Israel. The army mustered to the number of 330,000 men. The Ammonites were totally defeated and dispersed. The young king signalised his victory by an act of mercy; though persuaded to use his power to revenge himself on the factious persons who had opposed his elevation, he refused, and declared that the life of no Israelite should be sacrificed at such a period of public rejoicing.

Encouraged by this prosperous commencement, Samuel assembled the people at Gilgal. Here the upright magistrate solemnly appealed to the whole assembly to bear witness to the justice and integrity of his administration; invited their scrutiny, and defied their censure: and thus, having given a public account of his charge, rebuked the people, both by his own words, and a sign from heaven, a thunder-storm at the

[1] "And the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man." 1 Samuel x. 7.

[2] 1 Samuel x. 20.

unusual time of the wheat-harvest, for their innovation on the established constitution without direct pre-instruction from heaven, he surrendered his judicial authority, and proceeded to the formal inauguration of the king elect.

Thus ended the period of the Judges; a period, if carelessly surveyed, of alternate slavery and bloody struggles for independence. Hence may rashly be inferred the total failure of the Mosaic polity in securing the happiness of the people. It has already been shown that the views of the legislator were not completely carried into effect, and that the miseries of the people were the natural consequences of their deviation from their original statutes. But, in fact, out of this period of about 460 years as commonly reckoned, not one fourth was passed under foreign oppression; and many of the servitudes seem to have been local, extending only over certain tribes, not over the whole nation. Above 300 years of peaceful and uneventful happiness remain, to which History, only faithful in recording the crimes and sufferings of man, bears the favourable testimony of her silence. If the Hebrew nation did not enjoy a high degree of intellectual civilisation, yet, as simple husbandmen, possessing perfect freedom, equal laws, the regular administration of justice—cultivating a soil which yielded bountifully, yet required but light labour—with a religion, strict as regards the morals which are essential to individual, domestic, and national peace, yet indulgent in every kind of social and festive enjoyment—the descendants of Abraham had reached a higher state of virtue and happiness than any other nation of the period. An uniform simplicity of manners pervaded the whole people; they were all shepherds or husbandmen. Gideon was summoned to deliver his country from the threshing-floor: Saul, even after he was elected king, was found driving his herd: David was educated in the sheepfold. But the habits of the people are nowhere described with such apparent fidelity and lively interest as in the rural tale of Ruth and her kinsman—a history which unites all the sweetness of the best pastoral poetry, with the truth and simplicity of real life. Now, however, we must turn to the rise, the greatness, and the fall of the Hebrew monarchy.

BOOK VII

THE MONARCHY

Reign of Saul—David—Death of Saul—Union of the whole Kingdom under David—His Conquests—Occupation of Jerusalem—His Crime—Expulsion—Restoration—Death—Solomon—The Building of the Temple—Magnificence and Commerce of Solomon.

SOME time must have elapsed between the nomination of Saul, and his active and regular administration of the kingly office: he was a youth when nominated; his son, Jonathan, now appears grown up, a gallant and daring warrior.[1] The monarch's first care was to form a regular and disciplined army; for the Philistines were mustering the most numerous and overpowering host they had ever brought into the field. Jonathan began the war, by attacking a garrison at Geba, before the preparations were completed. The Philistines broke into the country, and, with 3000 chariots and 6000 horses, swept the whole region. On the plains war-chariots and cavalry seem to have been in general irresistible by the infantry of the Jews. The panic-stricken Israelites fled on all sides: the few troops which obeyed the trumpet of Saul met at Gilgal. Here Saul, in direct violation of the Hebrew constitution, and against the express command of Samuel, took upon himself the priestly function, and offered sacrifice. The union of these two offices in one person would either have given an overweening weight to the kingly authority, or the religious primacy, instead of maintaining its independent dignity, would have sunk into a subordinate branch of the royal office. Samuel, who, if he offered sacrifice, assumed that right either as belonging to the prophetic function or, as is more probable, being himself of priestly descent, denounced, as the penalty of Saul's offence, that the kingdom should not be hereditary in his line, but pass into that of a

[1] The perplexing passage (1 Sam. xiii. 1), "Saul reigned one year; and when he had reigned two years over Israel," does not appear in the LXX. I cannot but think it an interpolation in the Hebrew. The period when Samuel laid down his judicial office is not determined; Samuel now seems to have retired into his priestly function.

man more obedient to the divine institutions. In the meantime the Philistines overran the territory; part turned southward to the valley near the Dead Sea, part to the mountainous country of Ephraim, part towards the Jordan as far as Ophrah. They seized all the arms, and carried away all the smiths in the country, forcing the inhabitants to go to their towns to get all their larger implements of husbandry ground.[1] Saul occupied the strong fortress of Gibeah, with 600 ill-armed men. From this critical situation he was delivered by an adventurous exploit of Jonathan. This daring youth, unknown to his father, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, scaled a rock, which was an outpost of the enemy, slew twenty men, and threw such confusion into the camp, that the army, most likely formed of different tribes, fell upon each other. Saul, perceiving this from the height of Gibeah, rushed down, and increased the tumult. The Philistines fled on all sides: the Israelites sallied forth from their hiding-places in the woods and rocks, and slew them without mercy. The blow would have been more fatal, but for an impolitic vow of Saul, who had adjured the people not to taste food till the close of the day. Many evils ensued from this rash oath. The weary soldiers could not pursue their advantage: when they came to eat, they seized the spoil, and, in direct violation of the law, devoured the meat while the blood was still in it. Saul hastened to prevent this crime, and commanded a large stone to be rolled forward, on which the cattle might be slain, and the blood flow off. Worse than all, Jonathan was found to have violated the vow, of which he was ignorant, by tasting a little wild honey. Saul was about to sacrifice his noble and victorious son for this breach of discipline, and the Hebrew annals might have anticipated the glory or the crime of the Roman Torquatus, but the people, with more humane feeling, interfered, and forbade the execution.

Saul continued to wage a successful war with the enemies on all quarters: the most harassing and unconquerable were the wild tribes of the desert, called the Amalekites. These fierce marauders constantly hovered on the borders, swelled

[1] Grotius, before Niebuhr, had directed attention to the passage in Pliny which shows that Porsena compelled the Romans to submit to a like ignominious stipulation. "Caverant enim Philistini, ne forte Hebræi gladium aut lanceam. . . Extorto fœdere cui non dissimilis lex quam Porsena in fœdere cum Romanis posuit, ne ferro nisi in agriculturâ uterentur. Tacent id Historici ut pudendum victori postea gentium populo, ut Plinius ingenuè fatetur." Lib. xxxiv.

the Philistine armies, or followed in the rear, like Tartar hordes, pillaging and massacring; and, as the Israelites had no cavalry, retreated without loss to the security of their deserts. It was a cruel but inevitable policy to carry a war of extermination into their country. There was an old feud of blood between the nations, since their first attack on the Israelites near Sinai. The war-law of nations, and necessity, as well as the divine command, justified this measure. Even the flocks and herds were to be involved in the general destruction, lest the scattered fugitives (for the tribe was not so entirely annihilated but that it appeared again in some force during David's residence at Ziklag) should re-assemble, and form a new settlement on the Israelitish frontier. In the conduct of this expedition Saul again transgressed the divine commandment: he reserved the best part of the spoil, under the pretext of offering it in sacrifice, and spared the life of the king. There seems to be an obvious policy in this command to destroy all plunder, lest the Israelites should have been tempted to make marauding excursions upon their neighbours, and by degrees be trained up as an ambitious and conquering people. This danger the lawgiver clearly foresaw, if they should fall under a monarchy. Agag, the king of the Amalekites, to whom the Jews owed long arrears of vengeance for his cruelties to their countrymen, was hewn in pieces before the altar by the command of Samuel—a fearful example to the merciless chieftains of the wild tribes: *As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.* Whatever be thought of the humanity, the worldly policy of this barbarous act was shown by the result. The Amalekite power was crushed for ever: the Amalekites, among their most deadly and dangerous enemies, except in the marauding descent against David at Ziklag noted above, disappear for some centuries from Jewish history.

The darkness of Saul's decline has thrown back a shade upon the glories of his earlier reign. Saul was not a king distinguished only by his stately person and kingly demeanour. The man who could unite all the Jewish tribes, and deliver the trans-Jordanic provinces from their formidable neighbours, the Ammonites; who almost exterminated the Amalekites and waged an obstinate, at times successful, war against the best organised and on the whole, the most indomitable of the borderers on the Holy Land, was not unworthy to be the first in the succession of the Hebrew monarchs. His religion,

his reliance on Jehovah, the God of Israel, though at times breaking out into paroxysms of intense faith (he would have sacrificed his son to the fulfilment of his vow), was capricious and vacillating. He seems to have had no deliberate jealousy or impatience of the priestly authority, still maintained by Samuel. Saul's rash vows, his usurpation of the priestly office, were sudden, impulsive acts, singularly in unison with that wild, ungovernable temperament which got the dominion over him in his later years. The character of Saul has been still further obscured by the glory of his unrivalled successor, the true founder of the Hebrew monarchy, of its unity, its power, and its greatness. But his repeated acts of disobedience had destroyed all hope of finding in Saul a religious and constitutional king, punctual in his conformity to the law of the land and to the divine commandment. Another fatal objection to his sovereignty and that of his race began to display itself: he was seized with the worst malady to which mankind is subject; and as the paroxysms of his insanity became more frequent and violent, the brave though intractable warrior sank into a moody and jealous tyrant.

The early history of David is involved in great, it should seem, insoluble difficulty. The events are here related in what appears the most easy and natural order. Samuel, by the divine command, went down to Bethlehem to sacrifice, and there selected and anointed as king the youngest of the eight sons of Jesse; a beautiful youth, then employed in his father's pastures, where he had already signalised his bravery by combating and slaying two wild beasts, a lion and a bear. A short time after, in the course of the Philistine war, the whole army of the Israelites was defied by a gigantic champion, Goliath of Gath, who was almost cased in brazen armour. Notwithstanding a splendid reward offered by Saul, no warrior dared to confront this terrible foe. Suddenly a youth, of modesty and piety equal to his beauty and valour, appeared; accepted the combat, slew the insulting Philistine with a stone from his sling, and returned in triumph, with the head of the enemy, to the camp. This bold achievement endeared David to the kindred spirit of Jonathan, the son of Saul, and proved the commencement of a romantic friendship, one of the most beautiful incidents in the Jewish annals.[1] But in their

[1] The cardinal difficulty in the Scriptural narrative is this:—If David, according to the order of events in the book of Samuel, had already attended the sick couch of Saul as minstrel, and had been rewarded for his services

triumphant songs the maidens of Israel had raised the fame of David above that of Saul: deep and rankling jealousy sank into the distempered mind of the monarch. For several years the increasing malady preyed upon his spirit, till it was thought that the power of music (in modern times, and among nations less susceptible of deep emotions from sound, employed not without success in cases of derangement) might soothe him to composure. David, who may have passed the intermediate time in a prophetic school, had attained that exquisite skill in music and poetry which appears in the energy and tenderness of his psalms. He was summoned to attend upon the king. At first the wayward spirit of Saul is allayed by the exquisite musical skill of the son of Jesse;[1] but the paroxysms return: twice he attempts the life of David; but his trembling hand cannot direct the spear with fatal force. In his lucid interval he promotes David to a military command, in which the future king acquires universal popularity. A short time after, Saul promises David his daughter in marriage, on the invidious condition that he should bring the foreskins of a hundred Philistines. David with his troop slay two hundred; and receives not Merab, the daughter of Saul who had been promised to him at first, but Michal, who loved him tenderly, as his reward. On this occasion he was appointed to the high office of Captain of the king's bodyguard, with Abner and Jonathan, the third military dignity in the kingdom. In a conference with the Philistine chieftains, he acquired great reputation, even among the enemy, for his wisdom in council. The jealousy of Saul again broke out; but

with the office of armour-bearer, and so become intimately attached to the person of the king—how could he be the unknown shepherd-boy who appeared to combat with Goliath in the field of Ephez-dammim? On the other hand, if already distinguished as the conqueror of Goliath, how could he be, as it appears from the record, a youthful stranger, only known by report as an excellent musician, when summoned to the couch of Saul? I have chosen what seems to me the least improbable arrangement. But this early life of David, in the book of Samuel, reads much like a collection of traditions, unharmonised, and taken from earlier lives (lives of David are ascribed to Samuel, to Gad, and to Nathan) or from poems in his praise.

[1] I am tempted to quote the following passage from a singularly elegant essay of one of our old scholar physicians:—"Inter prima antiquorum remedia extitisse musicam, tum monumenta ipsorum, tum priscæ medendi rationis vestigia quædam quæ ætas nondum delevit, abundè contestantur. Musicæ autem in eo sita esse videtur vis omnis, ut animum unicè afficiat, eumque vel languescentem excitare possit vel tumentem et iras attollentem pacare leniter ac demulcere; et inde nervos fibrellasque corporis in concentum quondam secum atque harmoniam trahere." G. Baker, de Affectibus Animi, et malis inde oriundis.

was allayed by the friendly interference of Jonathan. New triumphs of David excited new hostility; and hardly saved by a stratagem of his wife, who placed an image in his bed, he fled to Samuel, at Ramah. With Samuel he retired to Naioth, the pastures in the neighbourhood of Samuel's city, Ramah. Officers were despatched to seize him: they found him employed among the sacred choir, who, with Samuel at their head, were chanting some of their solemn religious hymns. The messengers were seized with the same enthusiasm, and mingled their voices with those of the prophets. Three times the awe of the inspired prophets thus prevented the officers of Saul from executing his commands. At length Saul himself set forth with the same hostile design; but his melancholy spirit was not proof against the sacred contagion; the early and gentle associations of his youth arose within him; he too cast off his royal habits, and took his former place in the devotional assembly.

After this reconciliation, David was rescued from new danger, by the generous intervention of Jonathan. This noble youth not merely sacrificed his hopes of a kingly succession to his friend, the designated heir of the throne; but, confronting the worst paroxysm of his father's frenzy, had nearly lost his life. The lance hurled at him missed its aim. David was made acquainted with the failure of his friend's interference, by a concerted signal; and after taking a long farewell of Jonathan, he made his escape to Nob, a sacerdotal city in the tribe of Benjamin. Here he pretended a secret mission from the king; deceived by his plausible story, in order to hasten him on his way, the priest bestowed on him a part of the bread offering, which it was profanation in any but those of Levitical race to touch; and the more valuable present of Goliath's sword, which had been laid up as a trophy. David then fled to Gath; but mistrusting the hospitality of the Philistine king, he feigned idiocy, and escaped to a wild cave, that of Adullam, where he became the captain of an independent troop of adventurers, composed of the discontented and distressed from all quarters.[1] He was joined by some marauders, warriors of remarkable bravery,

[1] To the period of his flight from the court of Saul belongs the 59th Psalm. According to Ewald, the 6th and 7th.

Adullam is placed not far from Bethlehem. It is said by Mr. Stanley to be the only very large cave in Palestine. According to Bonar, Land of Promise, p. 244, it is now called Khureitun.

from the tribe of Gad, who crossed the Jordan, and placed themselves under his banner. Among these were a famous warrior, Abishai, and the prophet Gad, known to David in the schools of the prophets, who from that time was attached to his fortunes, and afterwards wrote a life of the king. The devoted attachment of these men to their chieftain was shown in a gallant exploit performed by three of them, who broke through the Philistine army to procure water for David, which he had earnestly wished to have from his native fountain in Bethlehem. But David would not taste water purchased at such a risk as the lives of three brave men—*he poured it out to the Lord*. This gallant troop undertook no enterprise against their native country, but they fell on the Philistine army, who were besieging some valuable corn magazines, at Keilah,[1] defeated them with great slaughter, and established themselves in that stronghold.

Saul, in the meantime, had wreaked dreadful vengeance on the priesthood. From the information of Doeg, an Edomite, a proselyte to the religion of Israel, he had been apprised of the service rendered to David at Nob by Abimelech. His jealous nature construed this into a general conspiracy of the whole order. He commanded their indiscriminate slaughter; his awe-struck followers refused to imbrue their hands in holy blood; and Saul was forced to employ the less scrupulous arm of an alien, the sanguinary Doeg. Eighty-five of the sacred order were slain; Abiathar, the son of Abimelech, fled to David; he bore with him the ephod and the oracle of God. After this atrocity, Saul set out in pursuit of David, and had almost surprised him at Keilah. The fugitive, having entrusted his family to the generous protection of the king of Moab, fled from cave to rock, from desert to fastness, perpetually making hairbreadth escapes, yet disdaining to avail himself of any advantage, or to commit any violence against the person of his royal enemy, who was twice within his power. Once the king retired to sleep in a cave at Engedi, the inner part of which was the lurking-place of David. He cut off the skirt of Saul's robe, and then making himself known, expressed his repentance for having so far ventured to desecrate the royal person. The better spirit of Saul revived, and a temporary accommodation took place. A second time David, by the negligence of the guard, surprised the king, sleeping as before,

[1] The site of Keilah, as of Hareth in the mountains of Judah, from whence he made this expedition, is not known.

in his tent; he repressed the murderous intentions of his companion, Abiathar; but to show what he might have done, carried away a spear and a cruse of water that stood by the bed-side. He then, from the top of a hill, reproved Abner, Saul's general, for keeping so negligent a watch over the sacred person of the monarch. The magnanimity of David was equalled by the generous fidelity of Jonathan, who, regardless of his own advancement, the great object of his father's jealousy, expressed his anxious desire that David might succeed to the throne of Israel, and he himself fill the subordinate place of *his vizier*. But the resentment of Saul is implacable: he gives to another Michal, David's wife: and David himself, like Themistocles or Coriolanus, takes refuge in the capital of his country's enemy; but with no design either of hostility to his native land, or even of revenge against the ungrateful king. Achish assigns him the town of Ziklag for his residence, where he dwells with his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, the widow of the churlish Nabal, from whom, during his freebooting life, he had demanded a supply of provisions, in return for the protection which his troops had afforded to the pastures of the Israelites. Abigail had averted his wrath from her parsimonious husband, who refused the succour required, by propitiatory gifts; and Nabal dying of drunkenness and terror, David took her as his wife. Thus an involuntary exile, David found himself in great difficulty to avoid embarking in hostilities against his native land. For some time he deceived the Philistine king by making inroads on the wild tribes of the desert, while he pretended that his troops had been employed in ravaging Judæa. His embarrassment increased when the king of the Philistines seized the favourable opportunity to renew the war; and he was formally summoned to range his forces under the banner of his new liege lord. He appeared at the rendezvous; but he was fortunately relieved from this difficult position by the jealous mistrust of the Philistine chieftains. Dismissed from the invading army, he found on his return to Ziklag that his old enemies, the Amalekites, had made a sudden descent on his residence, burnt the city, and carried off all the women and children. David pursues, overtakes, falls on them by night, slaughters them without mercy, and having rescued the captives, returns laden with booty.

The end of the unhappy Saul drew near. Ill supported by his subjects, many of whom, even in the remotest districts,

seem to have maintained a friendly correspondence with David, he determined to risk his crown and kingdom on a great battle with the Philistines. Still, however, haunted with that insatiable desire of searching into the secrets of futurity, inseparable from uncivilised man, he knew not to what quarter to turn. The priests, who had escaped the massacre, outraged by his cruelty, had forsaken him; the Urim and Thummim was with Abiathar, he knew not where. The prophets stood aloof; no dreams visited his couch; he had persecuted even the unlawful diviners. He hears at length of a female necromancer, a woman with the spirit of Ob: strangely similar in sound to the Obeah women in the West Indies.

To the cave-dwelling of this woman, in Endor, the monarch proceeds in disguise. The woman at first alleges her fears of the severity with which the laws against necromancy were then executed. Saul promises her impunity. He commands her to raise the spirit of Samuel. At this daring demand of raising a man of such dignity and importance, the woman first recognises, or pretends to recognise, her royal visitant. "Whom seest thou?" says the king; "Mighty ones ascending from the earth."—"Of what form?" "An old man covered with a mantle."—Saul in terror bows his head to the earth; and, it should seem, not daring to look up, receives from the voice of the spectre the awful intimation of his defeat and death. On the reality of this apparition we presume not to decide: the figure, if figure there were, was not seen by Saul; and, excepting the event of the approaching battle, the spirit said nothing which the living prophet had not said before repeatedly and publicly.[1] But the fact is curious, as showing the popular belief of the Jews in departed spirits to have been the same with that of most other nations.

The prophecy, like others, may have contributed to its own accomplishment. A bloody battle took place at Gilboa, towards the northern boundary of Ephraim, at no great distance

[1] The Rabbins, cited in the Dissertation of David Mill on Oboth, say that in these cases of raising the dead, only the enchantress sees, he who consults only hears a voice, and in fact the apparition of Samuel was only visible to the witch. Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, present at the Council of Nicea, wrote a treatise on the unreality of the apparition. He explains it as in the text. He observes that the prediction was untrue, or at least inexact. Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, and Methodius adopted the opinion of Eustathius. Compare Herod. v. c. 92. See Freret, *Oracles des Morts, ad fin.*

Those of the older school, who insist on the reality of the scene, forget that God would thus be sanctioning and confirming the belief in necromancy, a capital crime in the Law.

from the Jordan. This shows the great extent of the Philistine conquests, the subjugation of the whole southern realm. In this battle the Israelites were totally defeated; Jonathan and the other sons of Saul were slain; and the desperate monarch, determined not to outlive his fall, commanded his armour-bearer to pierce him with his sword. The attached servant refused to obey. His master then fell on his own sword, but the wound not being mortal, he called on a youth, an Amalekite, to drive the weapon home. The faithful armour-bearer slew himself on his master's corpse. The bodies of Saul and Jonathan were taken by the Philistines, treated with great indignity, and that of Saul hung on the walls of the city of Beth-Shan,[1] afterwards Scythopolis. The body of Saul, and those of his sons, were soon after rescued by a daring incursion made by the inhabitants of Jabesh, a city beyond Jordan, who, remembering how Saul had rescued their city from the cruelty of the Ammonites at the commencement of his reign, displayed that rarest of virtues, gratitude to a fallen monarch, and adorned the annals of their country with one of its most noble incidents. They burned the bones with due funeral rites, and fasted seven days.[2]

The news of the battle of Gilboa soon reached David. The young Amalekite took possession of the bracelet and ornaments of Saul, and carried them with all possible speed to his designated successor; but David ordered him to execution for thus assisting in the death and plundering the person of the king. He expressed the deepest sorrow, not merely for the defeat of Israel and the death of his dear friend Jonathan, but also for that of the gallant monarch, whose early valour demanded unmixed admiration, whose malady might extenuate much of his later aberrations. During David's wild and adventurous life, his poetic faculty had been constantly kept alive. Many of his most affecting elegies receive a deeper interest when read in connection with his personal history; but none is more touching than that which he composed on the death of Saul and Jonathan—*lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their death not divided.*

David did not waste the time in lamentations: he suddenly appeared at Hebron, was welcomed by the tribe of Judah,

[1] Beth-Shan was thus also within the Philistine territory. The few of the western cis-Jordanic tribes who still maintained their independence took refuge at Mahanaim, beyond the Jordan.

[2] 1 Sam. xxxi. 11; 2 Sam. ii. 4.

and immediately raised, by common acclamation, to the vacant throne. From all quarters adventurers, some from Manasseh, flocked to his standard.[1] Abner,[2] the most powerful of the military leaders in the army of Saul, and his near relative, appealed to the jealousy of the northern tribes against Judah, and set up Ishbosheth, Saul's only surviving son, as king. Ishbosheth resented Abner's taking to himself Rizpah, a concubine of Saul. The possession of the harem of a dead or conquered king seems to have given some vague right, or betrayed pretensions, to his throne. Ishbosheth was totally unfit for the high situation; and after Abner had supported the contest for more than two years by his personal weight and activity, on some disgust he fell off to David. But unfortunately in a battle which had taken place at Gibeon, he had slain Asahel, the brother of Joab,[3] David's most powerful follower. Joab in revenge assassinated him with his own hand. David was deeply grieved, and, as well to show his regret, as to remove all suspicion of participation in the crime, Abner received an honourable burial, and the king appeared as chief mourner. The loss of Abner was fatal to the party of Ishbosheth, and as the falling never want enemies, he was put to death by some of his own followers. Rechab and Baanah, the murderers, instead of meeting with a welcome reception and reward from David, were executed for their crime.

The power and character of David, now thirty years old, triumphed over all the jealousies of the tribes. The whole nation received him as their king; their united forces ranged themselves under his banner; their most valiant captains took pride in obeying his commands. The Philistines, who, from the terror of his name, seem immediately to have withdrawn within their own frontier, were defeated in all quarters.[4] Yet the exterminating character of the former wars with this people

[1] 1 Chron. xii. 19, 22. The chronicler anticipates David's accession to the throne "over all Israel."

[2] He was the son of the brother of Saul's father, therefore his first-cousin.

[3] Joab, it must be remembered, Asahel, and Abishai were nephews of David. They are called the sons of Zeruiah, who was the daughter of Jesse.

[4] Ewald is of opinion that for some years of his reign at Hebron, David owned a kind of vassalage, and was under the supremacy of the Philistines. There is no distinct account of the emancipation of the Israelites from this yoke, which pressed upon them so heavily and to so wide an extent during the later years of Saul, nor of the reverses which drove the Philistines first within their own borders, and finally brought them into subjection to the vast empire of David.

may be estimated from the number of troops contributed from the several tribes, if indeed the numbers are correct. Judah musters only 6000 men, Ephraim 20,800, Zebulun 50,000; the powerful tribes beyond Jordan 120,000 men.

After a reign of seven years and a half at Hebron, David determined to find a capital city, which should thenceforth be the seat of the government and the religion. Josephus asserts that the foundation of Jerusalem and the building of the Temple were expressly enjoined by Moses, and that he even anticipated the nature of the hill on which the latter was to stand, and the size of its stones. But, except in one obscure prophetic passage, there is no allusion to Jerusalem in the writings of the lawgiver. The German writer, Herder, has drawn an ingenious inference from a verse in the same last prophecy of Moses, where the passage is found, in which Jerusalem is supposed to be designated. It is said of Zebulun, *they shall call the people into the mountain, there they shall offer sacrifices of righteousness.* This mountain he supposes to be Tabor, on the borders of Issachar and Zebulun, which stands alone at the edge of a vast plain, with a fine level space on its top, admirably calculated for the site of a city; while the sides are richly clothed with wood, and capable of a high degree of cultivation. Herder dwells with great eloquence on the commanding majesty and the strength of a situation which is seen on all sides from an immense distance, and overlooked by no neighbouring eminence. It is an obvious objection to this hypothesis that Tabor fell early, in the days of Joshua, into the power of the Israelites, but no attempt was made either to found a city, or to transfer thither the Tabernacle and Ark of God.

So, independent of his designation and anointing as king in his early youth by the Prophet of God in the name of God, what qualifications for a king, to rule in such an age over such a people, were wanting to the son of Jesse? In war he had displayed personal daring and prowess, which even in his boyhood had triumphed over the gigantic Goliath; and when his hardy, well-knit, enduring frame had developed into its manly strength, had called forth the dangerous popular praise, Saul had slain his thousands, David his ten thousands. As a chieftain of marauders nothing could surpass his patience, presence of mind, decision, rapidity, inexhaustible resources, to which he must have added, in his later successes against the Philistines, great power of organising and leading armies.

His sternness, hardened into barbarity, when it was necessary to wreak terrible vengeance in those exterminating wars; his craft, only held in less honour in those days than courage (Ulysses was second only to Achilles), enabled him to escape the wiles and surprises of Saul, to baffle the policy of the Philistines, to extricate himself from his questionable position, as serving of necessity under the banner of his country's enemies, yet eluding all actual traitorous collision with his countrymen. Beyond and above that, how admirable his singular power of fascinating and attaching with inextinguishable love to his own person the son of his deadly enemy, the heir of king Saul, to whose succession he was the dangerous rival; the wild, desperate men who joined him in the cave of Adullam; the patriot warriors who crowded to his banner, even it might almost seem the Philistine kings; his gentleness, and generosity, and self-sacrifice; his profound reverence for the royal authority and the sacred person of the anointed king: crowning the whole, or rather the life and mainspring of the whole, his profound religiousness; the inherent, inextinguishable sense of the providence of God, of the perpetual presence of Jehovah, in all his acts, in the depths of his thought!—where could such a king be found to rule over the theocracy; to be the vicegerent of God, who was still the supreme and actual king of Israel? Even his accomplishments, his music, his poetry, flowing from the all-reverenced, and as yet recognised prophetic spirit, were to his subjects a further witness to his divine commission; while they enthralled the more devout hearts, and wrought them up to the highest enthusiasm for their Prophet King.

But Jerusalem was destined to become the seat of the Hebrew government, and the scene of more extraordinary events, more strange and awful vicissitudes, than any city in the universe, not excepting Rome. There stood on the borders of Judah and Benjamin a strong fortress, which had remained in the possession of the native inhabitants, the Jebusites, since the conquest of Canaan. The natural strength and long security of the citadel tempted the Jebusites to treat a summons to surrender with insolent defiance. They manned the walls with the lame and the blind. David, however, exasperated by the insult, offered a reward to whoever should scale the rugged ascent and plant his standard on the walls. This was the first great achievement of Joab, who became chief captain of the host. Thus David took both the town and the

citadel, which stood on Mount Sion, and there established his royal residence.[1] The situation of Jerusalem is remarkably imposing; it stands on several eminences of unequal heights, some parts of which slope gradually, on others the sides are abrupt and precipitous. All around, excepting to the north, run deep ravines or valleys, like intrenchments formed by nature, beyond which arise mountains of greater height, which encircle and seem to protect the city. It is open only to the north, as if the way had been levelled for the multitudes from the rest of the tribes to arrive at the holy city, without difficulty or obstacle. The hill of Sion, on which David's city stood, rose to the south; it was divided by a deep and narrow ravine from the other hills, over which the city gradually spread.

The next great step of David was the re-establishment of the national religion, the worship of Jehovah, with suitable dignity and magnificence. Had David acted solely from political motives, this measure had been the wisest he could adopt. The solemn assembling of the tribes would not only cement the political union of the monarchy, but also increase the opulence of his capital, and promote the internal commerce of the country: while it brought the heads of the tribes, and indeed the whole people, under the cognisance and personal knowledge of the sovereign, it fixed the residence of the more eminent of the priesthood in the metropolis.

The Ark, after the restoration by the Philistines, had probably remained at Kirjath-jearim; from thence it was moved with the greatest state, attended by David at the head of 30,000 men. It was placed on a car; Uzzah, who presumed to touch it, was struck dead. Wherever it moved, it was escorted with instruments of music and hymns, which recalled all the former wonders of the Jewish history, the triumphs of God over His enemies. That noble ode, the 68th Psalm, *Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered*, is generally supposed to have been written on this occasion. The Ark remained for three months in the house of Obed-Edom, while preparations were making for its solemn reception within the city. When the pavilion was ready, David made a feast for the whole

[1] Jerusalem was first besieged soon after the death of Joshua (Judges i. 8). According to Josephus the siege lasted some time. The event seems to have been that it was the lower city which was "taken, smitten by the sword, and set on fire"; that the rock-citadel (Mount Sion of after times) defied the invader; that the Jews abandoned the siege and retired to Hebron. From that time it remained, though partially inhabited by Benjamites, a Jebusite city.

people, and himself having cast off his royal robes, and put on a simple linen tunic, joined the procession, which was conducted with that dramatic union of music, singing, and dancing, common to the festal worship of all southern nations. On this second removal the 105th and 106th Psalms were sung. Michal alone, the daughter of Saul, the wife of David's youth, whom on his accession he had taken back, entered not into the general enthusiasm ; she rebuked her husband for thus derogating from the royal dignity, of which she seems to have entertained truly Oriental notions. David, offended by her presumption and irreligion, from that time abstained from her bed.

David had already built a royal palace, with the assistance of Hiram, king of Tyre, of whom he received cedar timber from Lebanon and experienced artisans. This was the commencement of that amity between the Tyrians and the Hebrews so mutually advantageous to the two nations, the one agricultural, and the other commercial. The religious king, in pursuance of the wise policy which led him to found a capital, and reinstate the religion in its former splendour, determined to build a permanent temple. The Tabernacle might be suitable to the God of the wandering Israelites, but a more solid and durable edifice seemed accordant to the Deity of a settled people. *See, now*, says the king to the prophet Nathan, *I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains.* The prophet at first highly approved of this pious design ; but shortly after, the divine commandment was proclaimed that David was to desist from the great national enterprise, and leave the glory of it to his son, who was to inherit his throne. The reason of the prohibition is most remarkable, entirely in unison with the spirit of the Mosaic institutions, which aimed at forming a peaceful, not a warlike or conquering people. *Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars ; thou shalt not build a house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight.* From whence could so sublime a precept descend, amidst a people situated as the Jews then were, unless from the great Father of Love and Mercy? Still the reorganisation of the priesthood and of the Levitical order, the great preparatory step to the establishment of the temple worship, was carried out by David. Abiathar, the high priest, of the elder race of Ithamar, had escaped from the massacre of his father Abimelech and the priesthood by

Saul; he had adhered to the fortunes of David in all his adversities, and might aspire to share his higher fortunes. But during the reign of David, a second or rival high priest, Zadok, of the house of Eleazar, appears to share his honours. Under Solomon Abiathar is deposed, and Zadok and his house assume the supremacy. But the priesthood itself is subordinate to the king; there is no attempt as yet to set up the priestly authority as a rival or superior to the temporal power. All this is of a much later period in Jewish history. We shall see hereafter its commencement, its growth, its final ascendency. But it is to Zadok and the house of Eleazar, not to Abiathar and the house of Ithamar, that the high priesthood traces its line.

The sanguinary career of David's victorious arms was not yet terminated. On every side he extended his frontier to the farthest limits of the promised land, and secured the whole country by the subjection or unrelenting extermination of restless enemies. He defeated the Philistines, and took Gath and a great part of their dominion. He conquered and established garrisons in the whole territory of Edom: Hadad, the last of the royal race, fled to Egypt. He treated the Moabites with still greater severity, putting to the sword a great part of the population.[1] He overthrew the Syrians of Zobah (supposed by Michaelis to be the kingdom of Nisibis, bordering on Armenia, which was famous for its breed of horses); Zobah lay between the trans-Jordanic tribes and the Euphrates: they were routed with a loss of 1000 chariots, 700 horsemen, and 20,000 foot. Faithful to the law, David mutilated all the horses, except a certain number reserved for state and splendour. The Syrians of Damascus marched to the defence of their kindred, but retreated, having suffered the loss of 22,000 men.[2] The kingdom of Hamath entered into a strict alliance with the conqueror. Thus the Euphrates became the eastern boundary of the Hebrew kingdom; the northern was

[1] It seems rather that he divided the prisoners into three by a line drawn between the divisions: two-thirds were slain, the other spared.

[2] The king Hadadezer held Damascus, either as actual sovereign, or as tributary to his kingdom.

Ewald joins together this war against the Zobahites with that against Ammon. Mr. F. Newman's conjecture seems more probable—that David entered into this war as the ally of Tor, king of Hamath, both kingdoms being interested to break the overweening power of the Zobahites, who had already overrun Damascus and all the adjacent territory. Ewald thinks Zobah the *Saba* of Ptolemy. Nisibis, he thinks, lies too far east, Aleppo too far north.

secured by the occupation of the fortresses in the kingdom of Damascus, and by the friendly state of Tyre; the southern by the ruin of the Philistines and the military possession of Edom.

In the height of his power, David did not forget his generous friend Jonathan. One of Jonathan's sons, Mephibosheth, a lame youth, still survived. He was sent for, kindly received, and assigned a maintenance at the royal table. David soon after restored to him the personal estate of Saul, which was entrusted to the management of his adherent, Ziba. The estate must have been considerable, much larger than the patrimonial inheritance of Saul; perhaps increased by confiscation during his possession of royal authority. A new war broke out, shortly after, against the Ammonites, who had entered into a defensive alliance with several of the Syrian princes. The war originated in this manner. On the accession of Hanun, the son of Nahash, to the throne, David, who had been on friendly terms with the father, sent an embassy of congratulation. The Ammonites, suspecting the ambassadors to be spies, treated them with the greatest contumely; shaved their beards, the worst insult that can be inflicted in the East, cut their garments short, and dismissed them. The forces of David marched immediately into the country, commanded by Joab and Abishai, who totally defeated the Ammonites and their allies. Another formidable army of Syrians making its appearance, David took arms in person, and discomfited them with the loss of 700 chariots.

So far unexampled splendour and prosperity had marked the reign of David: the remainder was as gloomy as disastrous. His own crime was the turning point of his fortunes. Walking on the terrace roof of his palace, he looked down on the bath of a neighbouring harem, in which he saw a beautiful woman, Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, a man of Canaanitish descent, but one of his bravest soldiers. He became enamoured of her, and sent for her to his palace. To cover the consequences of his crime, her husband was summoned from the army, then occupied with the siege of Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites. But Uriah, either from secret suspicion, or mere accident, avoided the snare; the brave warrior refused to enjoy the comforts and luxuries of his home, while his companions in arms were sleeping in the open air. Foiled in his purpose, David plunged headlong down the precipitous declivity of guilt: he sent secret orders that Uriah should be exposed on

a post of danger, where his death was inevitable. He did not perpetrate this double crime without remonstrance. The prophet Nathan addressed to him the beautiful and affecting apologue of the rich man, who, while possessed of abundant flocks, took by force the one ewe lamb of the poor man to feast a stranger. The bitterness of the king's repentance may be estimated by his own sad and pathetic expressions in the poems, particularly the 51st Psalm, composed on this humiliating subject. But henceforth the hand of God was against him. The Ammonitish war, indeed, was brought to a favourable termination; Joab, after wasting the whole country, pressed the siege of Rabbah. David joined the army, and took the city; where he wreaked the most dreadful vengeance on the inhospitable people. All, those at least who were found in arms, were put *under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made to pass through the brick kiln.* The long hostilities of the nations around Palestine were not likely to mitigate the ferocity of the usages of war; and the Ammonites seem to have been the most savage people of the whole region, and were for this reason, as well as on account of their conduct to the ambassadors, whose persons are sacred among the fiercest tribes, selected as fearful examples to the enemies of Israel.

But now the life of David began to darken; a curse, fatal as that which the old Grecian tragedy delights to paint, hung over his house. Incest, fratricide, rebellion of the son against the father, civil war, the expulsion of the king from his capital —such are the crimes and calamities which blacken the annals of his later years. The child, of which Bathsheba was pregnant, died; but its loss was replaced by the birth of the famous Solomon. Worse evils followed. Amnon, the eldest born son of David, committed an incestuous rape on Tamar, the sister of Absalom. Absalom (for in many Eastern nations, as has before been observed, the honour of the brother is wounded more deeply even than that of the parent, by the violation of an unmarried female) washed out the stain in the blood of his brother, whom, after brooding over his vengeance for two years, he slew at a feast. The murderer fled, but, three years after, by the intervention of Joab, David's faithful captain, he was permitted to return; and at length, by a singular artifice, admitted to his father's presence. A woman of Tekoah was directed to appear in mourning apparel before the king. Of her two sons, one had slain the other in an

accidental quarrel; the family sought to put the survivor to death, and leave her alone in her childless house. The analogy of her situation with his own, struck the mind of David; though he detected the artifice, in evil hour he recalled his offending and exiled son to Jerusalem; but still refused him permission to appear in his court. Before long, the daring youth set fire to a field of barley belonging to Joab, declaring that he had rather appear before his father as a criminal, than be excluded from his presence. An interview followed, in which the parental feeling of David triumphed over his justice and his prudence. Absalom was a youth of exquisite beauty, remarkable for his luxuriant hair; his manners were highly popular, and by consummate address, and artful impeachment of his father's negligence in the administration of justice, he gradually won the hearts of the whole people. He was aided by Ahitophel, a man of the most profound subtlety, and acute political foresight. Having thus prepared the way, Absalom suddenly fled to Hebron, raised the standard of revolt, and, in a short time, the conspiracy grew so formidable, that David was obliged to fly from his capital. He went forth from the eastern gate, crossed the brook Kidron, and ascended the Mount of Olives, from whence he looked back upon the city which he had founded or ornamented, the abode, for many years, of all his power, his glory, and his happiness. He was leaving it in his old age, perhaps for ever, a miserable fugitive, driven forth by a people whose independence as a nation he had established, and by an unnatural son, whose forfeited life had been his gift. He did not attempt to disguise his sorrow: with his head covered, and his feet bare, he began his melancholy pilgrimage, amid the tears and lamentations of the people, who could not witness without commiseration this sad example of the uncertainty of human greatness. Yet the greatness of David did not depend upon his royal state; it was within his lofty soul, and inseparable from his commanding character. Neither his piety, nor his generosity, nor his prudence, deserted him. The faithful priests, Zadok and Abiathar, followed him with the Ark; he sent them back, unwilling that the sacred treasures of God should be exposed to the perils and ignominy of his flight. He remonstrated with Ittai, a stranger, on the imprudence of adhering to his falling fortunes. At the same time, he left Hushai, a man of great address, to counterwork the intrigues of the crafty Ahitophel. He had more trials to endure; as he passed Bahurim, a man

named Shimei loaded him with the bitterest and most contemptuous execrations. David endured his reproaches with the humblest resignation, as punishments from the Almighty, nor would he permit his followers to attempt the chastisement of the offender. Absalom, in the meantime, entered Jerusalem without resistance. It is a singular usage in the East, that he who assumes the crown of a deceased or dethroned monarch, becomes master of his harem. Absalom, by Ahitophel's advice, took public possession of that of David.[1] Ahitophel urged the immediate pursuit of the fugitive monarch, but Hushai having insinuated himself into Absalom's counsels, insisted on the danger of driving so brave a warrior to desperation. *They be mighty men, and they be chafed in their minds like a bear robbed of her whelps.* He advised, as a more prudent course, the assembling an army from the whole nation. The counsel of Hushai prevailed; and during the time thus gained, David escaped beyond the Jordan to the city of Mahanaim, where he was hospitably received, particularly by the wealthy Barzillai. The crafty politician, Ahitophel, saw at once the failure of his scheme, and to anticipate the vengeance of his enemies, destroyed himself. The event justified his sagacity. A powerful army assembled round David, and the termination of the contest depended on a decisive battle to be fought beyond the Jordan. Amasa commanded the troops of Absalom, Joab those of David. Before the conflict began, the fond father gave the strictest charge, that the life of his rebellious son should be respected. The battle took place on ground encumbered with wood; and Absalom, riding at full speed, got entangled in the boughs of an oak. Thus, suspended by his beautiful hair, the relentless Joab found him, and transfixed his body with three darts. David awaited the issue of the conflict in the city of Mahanaim. The messengers came rapidly one after the other to announce the victory. The king only answered with the question, *Is the young man Absalom safe?* His conduct, when the fatal tidings at last arrived, can be described in no other language but that of the sacred historian. *The king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate*

1 According to Josephus (contra Apion, p. 1162), Sethous, when he leaves his kingdom to the care of his brother Armais, *μόνον δὴ ἐνετείλατο διάδημα μὴ φέρειν, μήδε τὴν βασίλιδα, μήτερα τε τῶν τέκνων, ἀδικεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλίκων παλλακίδων.* It appears that Armais did violate the royal concubines.

and wept, and as he wept, thus he said, O my son, Absalom! my son, my son, Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son! This ill-timed, though natural grief, roused the indignation of the hardy Joab, and David was constrained to repress it. On the death of Absalom the nation returned to its allegiance; the king, with humane policy, published a general amnesty, from which not even the insulting Shimei was excepted. Among the faithful adherents of David, the aged Barzillai declined all reward; his advanced age was incapable of any gratification from honour or pleasure; his son, Chimham, was raised to the highest dignity. Ziba, the faithless steward of Mephibosheth, endeavoured to implicate his master in the conspiracy, in order to secure the confiscated estate. He succeeded at first, but Mephibosheth exculpating himself, proved that he deeply mourned the expulsion of David, and had only been prevented following his fortunes by his infirmity and the craft of Ziba. The decree was revoked.

But at this period, the seeds of fatal jealousy between the northern tribes and that of Judah were sown. The northern tribes were exasperated because the men of Judah took upon themselves to reinstate the king without their assent and concurrence. An adventurer, named Sheba, put himself at the head of a revolt. Amasa, the general of Absalom, suspected of traitorous dealings with the insurgents, was barbarously despatched by Joab; and Sheba shut up in the city of Abel, where he was put to death by his own party, and his head thrown over the wall. These two rebellions were followed (if the order of events be observed by the sacred historian),[1] or preceded by some time (if we are to judge from probability), by a famine, attributed to some obscure crime of Saul

[1] Ewald observes that this transaction must have preceded the rebellion of Absalom; it is distinctly alluded to in the bitter speech of Shimei: 2 Sam. xvi. 7, 8. It is declared that though the divine oracle proclaimed the famine to be a visitation on account of the cruelty of Saul to the men of Gibeon, yet David seems reluctantly to have yielded up these unhappy victims to the inexorable vengeance of the Gibeonites (it is implied that they refused all other compensation). The Law compelled him to yield; yet the dark suspicion that David took the opportunity of ridding himself of the survivors of the rival house of Saul, on which Shimei grounded his curse, might have been perplexing if it had occurred at an earlier period. As it is, it is a singular illustration of the notions of the Nemesis for crime which cannot be averted, and which exacts penalty from the children or children's children of the guilty man; as well as of the implacable Law, which could only be satisfied by atonement. The hanging them "before the Lord" is an appeal, it should seem, to the divine justice, as authorising this extreme act of the Law.

and his bloody family, in slaying the Gibeonites, the inhabitants of a Canaanitish or Amoritish town in the tribe of Benjamin. The event, in all probability, was connected with the massacre of the priesthood in Gibeah, in which some of the Gibeonites may have fallen. Seven descendants of Saul were put to death, and hung upon a high hill, "before the Lord:" but the barbarity of the transaction is relieved by the tender fidelity of Rizpah (told with such pathetic simplicity), one of Saul's concubines, who watched for months the remains of her unhappy children, lest the vultures or wild beasts should destroy them. David afterwards gave honourable burial to their bones, as well as to those of Saul and Jonathan. The civil wars, perhaps the three years' famine, had so enfeebled the strength of the kingdom, that the restless Philistines began to renew hostilities. Four gigantic champions, one of whom had put the life of David in peril, having been slain by his valiant chieftains, the war terminated.

David, now reinstated in all his strength and splendour, determined to take a census of his vast dominions, which extended from Lebanon to the frontiers of Egypt, from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. The numbers differ, but the lowest gives 800,000 men fit to bear arms in Israel, 500,000 in Judah. Benjamin and Levi were not reckoned. Whether, in direct violation of the law, David began to contemplate schemes of foreign conquest, and to aspire to the fame of a Sesostris; or whether the census exhibited the relative strength of Judah, so weak at the commencement of David's reign, as become formidable to the rest of the tribes; this measure was reprobated by the nation in general, as contrary to the divine command, and as impolitic, even by the unscrupulous Joab. It called down the anger of God. The king was commanded to choose between seven years' famine, three months of unsuccessful war and defeat, or three days' pestilence. David, with wise humility, left the judgment in the hand of God. The pestilence broke out, 70,000 lives were lost; the malady spread to Jerusalem, but the king was commanded to build an altar on Mount Moriah, the site of the future Temple, then occupied by the threshing-floor of Araunah, one of the old Jebusite race. Araunah offered to make a gift of the place, and all the utensils, to be burnt for sacrifice; but David insisted on paying the full price of the ground. There the altar was built, and the plague immediately ceased.

The remaining years of David were spent in making the

most costly preparations for the building of the Temple, and in securing the succession to his son Solomon, to whom this great trust was to be bequeathed. As his time drew near, those evils began to display themselves which are inseparable from Oriental monarchies, where polygamy prevails; and where among children, from many wives, of different ranks, no certain rule of succession is established. Factions began to divide the army, the royal household, and even the priesthood. Adonijah, the brother of Absalom, supported by the turbulent Joab, and by Abiathar the priest, assembled a large body of adherents at a festival. When this intelligence was communicated to David, without the slightest delay he commanded Nathan the prophet, and Zadok the priest, with Benaiah, one of his most valiant captains, to take Solomon down to Gihon, to anoint and proclaim him. The young king re-entered the city amid the loudest acclamations; the party of Adonijah, who were still at their feast, dispersed and fled. Adonijah took refuge at the altar: his life was spared. David, after this success, assembled first the great body of leading men in the state, and afterwards, perhaps, a more extensive and popular convention of the people, before whom he designated Solomon as his successor, commended to the zeal and piety of the people the building of the Temple, and received their contributions towards the great national work.

As his death approached, David strictly enjoined his son to adhere to the Mosaic laws and to the divine constitution. He recommended him to watch, with a jealous eye, the bold and restless Joab; a man who, however brave and faithful, was dangerous from his restless ambition, and from the savage unscrupulousness with which he shed the blood of his enemies. Abner and Amasa had both fallen by his hand, without warrant or authority from the king. Solomon, *according to his wisdom*, on the first appearance of treasonable intention, was to put him to death without mercy. Shimei was in the same manner to be cut off, if he should betray the least mark of disaffection. But to the sons of Barzillai, the Gileadite, the successor of David was to show the utmost gratitude and kindness.

Thus having provided for the security of the succession, the maintenance of the law, and the lasting dignity of the national religion, David breathed his last, having reigned forty years over the flourishing and powerful monarchy of which he may be considered the founder. He had succeeded to a kingdom

distracted with civil dissension, environed on every side or occupied by powerful and victorious enemies, without a capital, almost without an army, without any bond of union between the tribes. He left a compact and united state, stretching from the frontier of Egypt to the foot of Lebanon, from the Euphrates to the sea. He had crushed the power of the Philistines, subdued or curbed all the adjacent kingdoms: he had formed a lasting and important alliance with the great city of Tyre. He had organised an immense disposable force: every month 24,000 men, furnished in rotation by the tribes, appeared in arms, and were trained as the standing militia of the country. At the head of his army were officers of consummate experience, and, what was more highly esteemed in the warfare of the time, extraordinary personal activity, strength, and valour. His heroes remind us of those of Arthur or Charlemagne, excepting that the armour of the feudal chieftains constituted their superiority; here, main strength of body and dauntless fortitude of mind. The Hebrew nation owed the long peace of the son's reign to the bravery and wisdom of the father. If the rapidity with which a kingdom rises to unexampled prosperity, and the permanence, as far as human wisdom can provide, of that prosperity, be a fair criterion of the abilities and character of a sovereign, few kings in history can compete with David. His personal character has been often discussed; but both by his enemies, and even by some of his learned defenders, with an ignorance of, or inattention to his age and country, in writers of such acuteness as Bayle, not less melancholy than surprising. Both parties have been content to take the expression of the *man after God's own heart*, in a strict and literal sense. Both have judged, by modern, European, and Christian notions, the chieftain of an Eastern and comparatively barbarous people. If David in his exile became a freebooter, he assumed a profession, like the pirate in ancient Greece, by no means dishonourable. If he employed craft, or even falsehood, in some of his enterprises, chivalrous or conscientious attachment to truth was probably not one of the virtues of his day. He had his harem, like other Eastern kings. He waged war, and revenged himself on his foreign enemies with merciless cruelty, like other warriors of his age and country. His one great crime violated the immutable and universal laws of morality, and therefore admits of no excuse. On the other hand, his consummate personal bravery and military talent—his gene-

rosity to his enemies—his fidelity to his friends—his knowledge of, and steadfast attention to the true interests of his country—his exalted piety and gratitude towards his God, justify the zealous and fervent attachment of the Jewish people to the memory of their great monarch.

The three most eminent men in the Hebrew annals, Moses, David, and Solomon, were three of their most distinguished poets. The hymns of David excel no less in sublimity and tenderness of expression than in loftiness and purity of religious sentiment. In comparison with them, the sacred poetry of all other nations sinks into mediocrity. They have embodied so exquisitely the universal language of religious emotion, that (a few fierce and vindictive passages excepted, natural in the warrior-poet of a sterner age) they have entered, with unquestioned propriety, into the ritual of the holier and more perfect religion of Christ. The songs which cheered the solitude of the desert-caves of Engedi, or resounded from the voice of the Hebrew people as they wound along the glens or the hill-sides of Judæa, have been repeated for ages in almost every part of the habitable world, in the remotest islands of the ocean, among the forests of America or the sands of Africa. How many human hearts have they softened, purified, exalted!—of how many wretched beings have they been the secret consolation!—on how many communities have they drawn down the blessings of Divine Providence, by bringing the affections into unison with their deep devotional fervour!

SOLOMON succeeded to the Hebrew kingdom at the age of twenty. He was environed by designing, bold, and dangerous enemies. The pretensions of Adonijah still commanded a powerful party: Abiathar swayed the priesthood; Joab the army. The singular connection in public opinion between the title to the crown, and the possession of the deceased monarch's harem, has been already noticed. Adonijah, in making request for Abishag, a youthful concubine taken by David in his old age, was considered as insidiously renewing his claims to the sovereignty. Solomon saw at once the wisdom of his father's dying admonition: he seized the opportunity of crushing all future opposition, and all danger of a civil war. He caused Adonijah to be put to death; suspended Abiathar from his office, and banished him from Jerusalem: and though Joab fled to the altar, he commanded him to be slain for the two murders of which he had been guilty, those of Abner and Amasa. Shimei, another dangerous man, was

commanded to reside in Jerusalem, on pain of death if he should quit the city. Three years afterwards he was detected in a suspicious journey to Gath, on the Philistine border; and having violated the compact, he suffered the penalty.

Thus secured by the policy of his father from internal enemies, by the terror of his victories from foreign invasion, Solomon commenced his peaceful reign, during which Judah and Israel dwelt safely, *every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Beersheba.* This peace was broken only by a revolt of the Edomites. Hadad, of the royal race, after the exterminating war waged by David and by Joab, had fled to Egypt, where he married the sister of the king's wife. No sooner had he heard of the death of David and of Joab than he returned, and seems to have kept up a kind of predatory warfare during the reign of Solomon. Another adventurer, Rezon, a subject of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, seized on Damascus, and maintained a great part of Syria in hostility to Solomon. Solomon's conquest of Hamath Zobah in a later part of his reign, after which he built Tadmor in the wilderness and raised a line of fortresses along his frontier to the Euphrates, is probably connected with these hostilities.[1] The justice of Solomon was proverbial. Among his first acts after his accession, it is related that when he had offered a costly sacrifice at Gibeon, the place where the Tabernacle remained, God had appeared to him in a dream, and offered him whatever gift he chose: the wise king requested an understanding heart to judge the people. God not merely assented to his prayer, but added the gift of honour and riches. His judicial wisdom was displayed in the memorable history of the two women who contested the right to a child. Solomon, in the wild spirit of Oriental justice, commanded the infant to be divided before their faces: the heart of the real mother was struck with terror and abhorrence, while the false one consented to the horrible partition: and by this appeal to nature the cause was instantaneously decided.

The internal government of his extensive dominions next demanded the attention of Solomon. Besides the local and municipal governors, he divided the kingdom into twelve districts: over each of these he appointed a purveyor, for the collection of the royal tribute, which was received in

[1] 1 Kings xi. 23; 1 Chron. viii. 3.

kind; and thus the growing capital and the immense establishments of Solomon were abundantly furnished with provisions. Each purveyor supplied the court for a month. The daily consumption of his household was 300 bushels of finer flour, 600 of a coarser sort; 10 fatted, 20 other oxen; 100 sheep; besides poultry, and various kinds of venison. Provender was furnished for 40,000 horses, and a great number of dromedaries. Yet the population of the country did not, at first at least, feel these burthens: *Judah and Israel were many, as the sands which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and making merry.*

The foreign treaties of Solomon were as wisely directed to secure the profound peace of his dominions. He entered into a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Egypt, whose daughter he received with great magnificence; and he renewed the important alliance with the king of Tyre.[1] The friendship of this monarch was of the highest value in contributing to the great royal and national work, the building of the Temple. The cedar timber could only be obtained from the forest of Lebanon: the Sidonian artisans, celebrated in the Homeric poems, were the most skilful workmen in every kind of manufacture, particularly in the precious metals. Solomon entered into a regular treaty, by which he bound himself to supply the Tyrians with large quantities of corn; receiving in return their timber, which was floated down to Joppa, and a large body of artificers. The timber was cut by his own subjects, of whom he raised a body of 30,000; 10,000 employed at a time, and relieving each other every month; so that to one month of labour, they had two of rest. He raised two other corps, one of 70,000 porters of burthens, the other of 80,000 hewers of stone, who were employed in the quarries among the mountains. All these labours were thrown, not on the Israelites, but on the strangers, who, chiefly of Canaanitish descent, had been permitted to inhabit the country. These preparations, in addition to those of King David, being completed, the work began. The

[1] After inserting the correspondence between King Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre, according to 1 Kings v., Josephus asserts that copies of these letters were not only preserved by his countrymen, but also in the archives of Tyre: ὥστ' εἴ τις θελήσειε ἀκριβὲς μαθεῖν, δεήθεις τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Τυρίων γραμματοφυλακίων δημοσίων, ἔυροι συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις. I presume that Josephus adverts to the statement of Tyrian historians, not to an actual inspection of the archives, which he seems to assert as existing and accessible.

eminence of Moriah, the Mount of Vision, *i.e.* the height seen afar from the adjacent country, which tradition pointed out as the spot where Abraham had offered his son—(where recently the plague had been stayed, by the altar built in the threshing-floor of Ornan or Araunah, the Jebusite)—rose on the east side of the city. Its rugged top was levelled with immense labour; its sides, which to the east and south were precipitous, were faced with a wall of stone, built up perpendicular from the bottom of the valley, so as to appear to those who looked down of most terrific height; a work of prodigious skill and labour, as the immense stones were strongly mortised together and wedged into the rock. Around the whole area or esplanade, an irregular quadrangle, was a solid wall of considerable height and strength: within this was an open court, into which the Gentiles were either from the first, or subsequently, admitted. A second wall encompassed another quadrangle, called the court of the Israelites. Along this wall, on the inside, ran a portico or cloister, over which were chambers for different sacred purposes. Within this again, another, probably a lower, wall, separated the court of the priests from that of the Israelites. To each court the ascent was by steps, so that the platform of the inner court was on a higher level than that of the outer. The Temple itself was rather a monument of the wealth than the architectural skill and science of the people. It was a wonder of the world, from the splendour of its materials more than the grace, boldness, or majesty of its height and dimensions. It had neither the colossal magnitude of the Egyptian, the simple dignity and perfect proportional harmony of the Grecian, nor perhaps the fantastic grace and lightness of later Oriental architecture. Some writers, calling to their assistance the visionary temple of Ezekiel, have erected a most superb edifice; to which there is this fatal objection, that if the dimensions of the prophet are taken as they stand in the text, the area of the Temple and its courts would not only have covered the whole of Mount Moriah, but almost all Jerusalem. In fact our accounts of the Temple of Solomon are altogether unsatisfactory. The details, as they now stand in the books of Kings and Chronicles, the only safe authorities, are unscientific, and, what is worse, contradictory. Josephus has evidently blended together the three Temples, and attributed to the earlier all the subsequent additions and alterations. The Temple, on the whole, was an enlargement

of the Tabernacle, built of more costly and durable materials. Like its model it retained the ground plan and disposition of the Egyptian, or rather of almost all the sacred edifices of antiquity: even its measurements are singularly in unison with some of the most ancient temples in Upper Egypt. It consisted of a propylæon, a temple, and a sanctuary; called respectively the Porch, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. Yet in some respects, if the measurements are correct, the Temple must rather have resembled the form of a simple Gothic church. In the front to the east stood the porch, a tall tower, rising to the height of 210 feet. Either within, or, like the Egyptian obelisks, before the porch, stood two pillars of brass; by one account 27, by another above 60 feet high: the latter statement probably including their capitals and bases. These were called Jachin and Boaz (Durability and Strength).[1] The capitals of these were of the richest workmanship, with net-work, chain-work, and pomegranates. The porch was the same width with the Temple, 35 feet; its depth 17½ feet. The length of the main building, including the Holy Place, 70 feet, and the Holy of Holies, 35, was in the whole 105 feet; the height 52½ feet.[2] Josephus carries the whole building up to the height of the porch; but this is out of all credible proportion, making the height twice the length and six times the width. Along each side, and perhaps at the back of the main building, ran an aisle, divided into three stories of small chambers: the wall of the Temple being thicker at the bottom, left a rest to support the beams of these chambers, which were not let into the wall. These aisles, the chambers of which were appropriated as vestiaries, treasuries, and for other sacred purposes, seem to have reached about halfway up the main wall of what we may call the nave and choir: the windows

1 Ewald, following, as he states, the LXX., makes these two pillars, not standing alone like obelisks before the porch, but as forming the front of the porch, with the capitals connected together, and supporting a kind of balcony, with ornamental work above it. The pillars measured 12 cubits (22 feet) round.

2 Mr. Fergusson, estimating the cubit rather lower than in the text, makes the porch 30 by 15; the pronaos or Holy Place, 60 by 30; the Holy of Holies, 30; the height 45 ft. Mr. Fergusson, following Josephus, supposes that the whole Temple had an upper story of wood, a talar, as appears in other Eastern edifices. I doubt the authority of Josephus as to the older Temple, though, as Mr. Fergusson observes, the discrepancies between the measurements in Kings and in Chronicles may be partially reconciled on this supposition. Mr. Fergusson makes the height of the Eastern tower only 90 ft. The text followed 2 Chron. iii. 4, reckoning the cubit at 1 ft. 9 in.

into the latter were probably above them; these were narrow, but widened inwards.

If the dimensions of the Temple appear by no means imposing, it must be remembered that but a small part of the religious ceremonies took place within the walls. The Holy of Holies was entered only once a year, and that by the High Priest alone. It was the secret and unapproachable shrine of the Divinity. The Holy Place, the body of the Temple, admitted only the officiating priests. The courts, called in popular language the Temple, or rather the inner quadrangle, were in fact the great place of divine worship. Here, under the open air, were celebrated the great public and national rites, the processions, the offerings, the sacrifices; here stood the great tank for ablution, and the high altar for burnt offerings. But the costliness of the materials, the richness and variety of the details, amply compensated for the moderate dimensions of the building. It was such a sacred edifice as a traveller might have expected to find in El Dorado. The walls were of hewn stone, faced within with cedar which was richly carved with knosps and flowers; the ceiling was of fir-tree. But in every part gold was lavished with the utmost profusion; within and without, the floor, the walls, the ceiling, in short the whole house is described as overlaid with gold. The finest and purest—that of Parvaim, by some supposed to be Ceylon—was reserved for the sanctuary. Here the cherubim, which stood upon the covering of the Ark, with their wings touching each wall, were entirely covered with gold. The sumptuous veil, of the richest materials and brightest colours, which divided the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place, was suspended on chains of gold. Cherubim, palm-trees, and flowers, the favourite ornaments, everywhere covered with gilding, were wrought in almost all parts. The altar within the Temple and the table of shew-bread were likewise covered with the same precious metal. All the vessels, the 10 candlesticks, 500 basins, and all the rest of the sacrificial and other utensils, were of solid gold. Yet the Hebrew writers seem to dwell with the greatest astonishment and admiration on the works which were founded in brass by Huram, a man of Jewish extraction, who had learned his art at Tyre. Besides the lofty pillars above mentioned, there was a great tank, called a sea, of molten brass, supported on twelve oxen, three turned each way; this was 17½ feet in diameter. There was also a great altar, and ten large vessels for the purpose of

ablution, called lavers, standing on bases or pedestals, the rims of which were richly ornamented with a border, on which were wrought figures of lions, oxen, and cherubim. The bases below were formed of four wheels, like those of a chariot. All the works in brass were cast in a place near the Jordan, where the soil was of a stiff clay suited to the purpose.

For seven years and a half the fabric rose in silence. All the timbers, the stones, even of the most enormous size, measuring seventeen and eighteen feet, were hewn and fitted, so as to be put together without the sound of any tool whatever; as it has been expressed, with great poetical beauty,

Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric grew.

At the end of this period, the Temple and its courts being completed, the solemn dedication took place, with the greatest magnificence which the king and the nation could display. All the chieftains of the different tribes, and all of every order who could be brought together, assembled. David had already organised the priesthood and the Levites; and assigned to the 38,000 of the latter tribe, each his particular office; 24,000 were appointed for the common duties, 6000 as officers, 4000 as guards and porters, 4000 as singers and musicians. On this great occasion, the Dedication of the Temple, all the tribe of Levi, without regard to their courses, the whole priestly order of every class, attended. Around the great brazen altar, which rose in the court of the priests before the door of the Temple, stood in front the sacrificers, all around the whole choir, arrayed in white linen. 120 of these were trumpeters, the rest had cymbals, harps, and psalteries. Solomon himself took his place on an elevated scaffold, or raised throne of brass. The whole assembled nation crowded the spacious courts beyond. The ceremony began with the preparation of burnt offerings, so numerous that they could not be counted. At an appointed signal commenced the more important part of the scene, the removal of the Ark, the installation of the God of Israel in his new and appropriate dwelling, to the sound of all the voices and all the instruments, chanting some of those splendid odes, the 47th, 97th, 98th, and 107th Psalms. The Ark advanced, borne by the Levites, to the open portals of the Temple. It can scarcely be doubted that the 24th Psalm, even if composed before, was adopted and used on this occasion. The singers, as it drew near the gate, broke out in these words—*Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye*

lift up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may come in. It was answered from the other part of the choir—*Who is the King of Glory?*—the whole choir responded—*The Lord of Hosts, he is the King of Glory.* When the procession arrived at the Holy Place, the gates flew open; when it reached the Holy of Holies, the veil was drawn back. The Ark took its place under the extended wings of the cherubim, which might seem to fold over, and receive it under their protection. At that instant all the trumpeters and singers were at once *to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lifted up their voice, with the trumpets, and cymbals, and instruments of music, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever, the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God.* Thus the Divinity took possession of his sacred edifice. The king then rose upon the brazen scaffold, knelt down, and spreading his hands towards heaven, uttered the prayer of consecration. The prayer was of unexampled sublimity: while it implored the perpetual presence of the Almighty, as the tutelar Deity and Sovereign of the Israelites, it recognised his spiritual and illimitable nature. *But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? behold heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house which I have built?* It then recapitulated the principles of the Hebrew theocracy, the dependence of the national prosperity and happiness on the national conformity to the civil and religious law. As the king concluded in these emphatic terms—*Now, therefore, arise, O Lord God, into thy resting place, thou and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and thy saints rejoice in goodness. O Lord God, turn not away the face of thine anointed: remember the mercies of David thy servant*—the cloud which had rested over the Holy of Holies grew brighter and more dazzling; fire broke out and consumed all the sacrifices; the priests stood without, awe-struck by the insupportable splendour; the whole people fell on their faces, and worshipped and praised the Lord, *for he is good, for his mercy is for ever.* Which was the greater, the external magnificence, or the moral sublimity of this scene? Was it the Temple, situated on its commanding eminence, with all its courts, the dazzling splendour of its materials, the innumerable multitudes, the priesthood in their gorgeous attire, the king

with all the insignia of royalty, on his throne of burnished brass, the music, the radiant cloud filling the Temple, the sudden fire flashing upon the altar, the whole nation upon their knees? Was it not rather the religious grandeur of the hymns and of the prayer: the exalted and rational views of the Divine Nature, the union of a whole people in the adoration of the one Great, Incomprehensible, Almighty, Everlasting Creator?

This extraordinary festival, which took place at the time of that of Tabernacles, lasted for two weeks, twice the usual time: during this period 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep were sacrificed,[1] every individual probably contributing to this great propitiatory rite; and the whole people feasting on those parts of the sacrifices which were not set apart for holy uses.

Though the chief magnificence of Solomon was lavished on the Temple of God, yet the sumptuous palaces, which he erected for his own residence, display an opulence and profusion which may vie with the older monarchs of Egypt or Assyria. The great palace stood in Jerusalem; it occupied thirteen years in building. A causeway bridged the deep ravine, and leading directly to the Temple, united the part either of Acra or Sion, on which the palace stood, with Mount Moriah. In this palace was a vast hall for public business, from its cedar pillars, called the House of the Forest of Lebanon. It was 175 feet long, half that measurement in width, above 50 feet high; four rows of cedar columns supported a roof made of beams of the same wood; there were three rows of windows on each side facing each other. Besides this great hall, there were two others, called porches, of smaller dimensions, in one of which the throne of justice was placed. The harem, or women's apartments, adjoined to these buildings; with other piles of vast extent for different purposes, particularly, if we may credit Josephus, a great banqueting hall. The same author informs us, that the whole was surrounded with spacious and luxuriant gardens, and adds a less credible fact,

[1] Gibbon, in one of his malicious notes, observes: "As the blood and smoke of so many hecatombs might be inconvenient, Lightfoot, the Christian Rabbi, removes them by a miracle. Le Clerc (*ad loc.*) is bold enough to suspect the fidelity of the numbers." To this I ventured to subjoin the following illustration:—"According to the historian Kotobeddyn, quoted by Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, p. 276, the Khalif Moktader sacrificed during his pilgrimage to Mecca, in the year of the Hegira 350, 40,000 camels and cows, and 50,000 sheep. Barthema describes 30,000 oxen slain, and their carcases given to the poor. Tavernier speaks of 100,000 victims offered by the King of Tonquin." Gibbon, ch. xxiii. iv. p. 96, edit. Milman.

ornamented with sculptures and paintings. Another palace was built in a romantic part of the country, in the valleys at the foot of Lebanon, for his wife, the daughter of the king of Egypt; in the luxurious gardens of which we may lay the scene of that poetical epithalamium,[1] or collection of Idyls, the Song of Solomon.[2] The splendid works of Solomon were not confined to royal magnificence and display; they condescended to usefulness. To Solomon are traced at least the first channels and courses of the natural and artificial water supply which has always enabled Jerusalem to maintain its thousands of worshippers at different periods, and to endure long and obstinate sieges.[3]

The descriptions in the Greek writers of the Persian courts in Susa and Ecbatana; the tales of the early travellers in the East about the kings of Samarcand or Cathay; and even the imagination of the Oriental romancers and poets, have scarcely conceived a more splendid pageant than Solomon, seated on his throne of ivory, receiving the homage of distant princes who came to admire his magnificence, and put to the test his noted wisdom.[4] This throne was of pure ivory, covered with gold; six steps led up to the seat, and on each side of the steps stood twelve lions. All the vessels of his palace were of pure gold, silver was thought too mean: his armoury was furnished with gold; 200 targets and 300 shields of beaten gold were suspended in the house of Lebanon. Josephus mentions a body of archers who escorted him from the city to his country palace, clad in dresses of Tyrian purple, and their hair powdered with gold dust. But enormous as this wealth appears, the statement of his expenditure on the Temple, and of his annual revenue, so passes all credibility, that any attempt at forming a calculation on the uncertain data we possess, may at once be abandoned as a hopeless task. No

[1] I here assume that the Song of Solomon was an Epithalamium. I enter not into the interminable controversy as to the literal or allegorical or spiritual meaning of this poem, nor into that of its age. A very particular though succinct account of all these theories, ancient and modern, may be found in a work by Dr. Ginsberg. I confess that Dr. Ginsberg's theory, which is rather tinged with the virtuous sentimentality of the modern novel, seems to me singularly out of harmony with the Oriental and ancient character of the poem. It is adopted, however, though modified, by M. Renan.

[2] According to Ewald, the ivory tower in this poem was raised in one of these beautiful "pleasances," in the Anti-Libanus, looking towards Hamath.

[3] See Ewald, Geschichte, iii. pp. 62-68: a very remarkable and valuable passage.

[4] Compare the Great Mogul's throne in Tavernier, that of the King of Persia in Morier.

better proof can be given of the uncertainty of our authorities, of our imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew weights of money, and, above all, of our total ignorance of the relative value which the precious metals bore to the commodities of life, than the estimate, made by Dr. Prideaux, of the treasures left by David, amounting to 800 millions, nearly the capital of our national debt.

Our inquiry into the sources of the vast wealth which Solomon undoubtedly possessed, may lead to more satisfactory, though still imperfect results. The treasures of David were accumulated rather by conquest than by traffic. Some of the nations he subdued, particularly the Edomites, were wealthy. All the tribes seem to have worn a great deal of gold and silver in their ornaments and their armour; their idols were often of gold, and the treasuries of their temples perhaps contained considerable wealth. But during the reign of Solomon almost the whole commerce of the world passed into his territories. The treaty with Tyre was of the utmost importance: nor is there any instance in which two neighbouring nations so clearly saw, and so steadily pursued, without jealousy or mistrust, their mutual and inseparable interests.[1] On one occasion only, when Solomon presented to Hiram twenty inland cities which he had conquered, Hiram expressed great dissatisfaction, and called the territory by the opprobrious name of Cabul. The Tyrian had perhaps cast a wistful eye on the noble bay and harbour of Acco, or Ptolemais, which the prudent Hebrew either would not, or could not—since it was part of the promised land—dissever from his dominions. So strict was the confederacy, that Tyre may be considered the port of Palestine, Palestine the granary of Tyre. Tyre furnished the ship-builders and mariners; the fruitful plains of Palestine victualled the fleets, and supplied the manufacturers and merchants of the Phœnician league with all the necessaries of life.[2]

This league comprehended Tyre, Aradus, Sidon, perhaps

[1] The very learned work of Movers, Die Phonizier (Bonn, 1841; Berlin, 1849), contains everything which true German industry and comprehensiveness can accumulate about this people. Movers, though in such an inquiry conjecture is inevitable, is neither so bold, so arbitrary, nor so dogmatic in his conjectures as many of his contemporaries. See on Hiram, ii. 326 *et seqq.* Movers is disposed to appreciate as of high value the fragments preserved in Josephus of the Phœnician histories of Menander and Dios.

Mr. Kenrick's "Phœnicia" may also be consulted with advantage.

[2] To a late period Tyre and Sidon were mostly dependent on Palestine for their supply of grain. The inhabitants of these cities desired peace with Herod (Agrippa) because their country was nourished by the king's country. (Acts xii. 20.)

Tripolis, Byblus, and Berytus. The narrow slip of territory which belonged to these states was barren, rocky, and unproductive. The first branch of commerce into which this enterprising people either admitted the Jews as regular partners, or at least permitted them to share its advantages, was the traffic of the Mediterranean. To every part of that sea the Phœnicians had pursued their discoveries; they had planted colonies, and worked the mines. This was the trade to Tarshish, so celebrated, that ships of Tarshish seem to have become the common name for large merchant vessels. Tarshish was probably a name as indefinite as the West Indies in early European navigation; properly speaking, it was the south of Spain, then rich in mines of gold and silver, the Peru of Tyrian adventure. Whether or not as early as the days of Solomon,—without doubt in the more flourishing period of Phœnicia; before the city on the mainland was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and insular Tyre became the emporium—the Phœnician navies extended their voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, where they founded Cadiz. Northward they sailed along the coast of France to the British isles; southward along the African shore; where the boundaries of their navigation are quite uncertain, yet probably extended to the Gold Coast. The second branch of commerce was the inland trade with Egypt. This was carried on entirely by the Jews. Egypt supplied horses in vast numbers, and linen yarn. The valleys of the Nile produced flax in abundance; and the yarn, according to the description of the prudent housewife in the Proverbs, was spun and woven by the females in Palestine. The third and more important branch was the maritime trade by the Red Sea. The conquests of David had already made the Jews masters of the eastern branch of this gulf. Solomon built or improved the towns and ports of Elath and Ezion-geber. Hence a fleet, manned by Tyrians, sailed for Ophir, their East Indies, as Tarshish was their West. They coasted along the eastern shore of Africa, in some part of which the real Ophir was probably situated. When the Egyptians under Necho, after the declension of the Israelitish kingdom, took possession of this branch of commerce, there seems little reason to doubt the plain and consistent account of Herodotus, that the Tyrians sailed round the continent of Africa.[1] The whole

[1] So I wrote thirty years ago. The subject has since that time been discussed by many learned writers. It has been exhausted by Sir George

maritime traffic with eastern Asia, the southern shores of the Arabian peninsula, the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and without doubt some parts of India, entered, in the same manner, the Red Sea, and was brought to Elath and Ezion-geber. Yet even this line of commerce was scarcely more valuable than the inland trade of the Arabian peninsula. This was carried on by the caravans of the native tribes, who transported on camels the spices, incense, gold, precious stones, valuable wood, particularly the almug, thought to be the sandal, and all the other highly prized productions of that country; perhaps also the foreign commodities which were transported across the Persian Gulf, or which were landed, by less adventurous traders from the east, in the Arabian ports on that sea. Both these lines of commerce flowed directly into the dominions of Solomon. Those goods which passed on to Tyre were, not improbably, shipped at Joppa. Two of the towns which Solomon built, Gezer and lower Beth-horon, were nearly on the line from the Red Sea to that haven.[1] This traffic was afterwards recovered by the Edomites, under the protection, or as sharing its advantages with the Egyptians; still, however, the Tyrians were most likely both the merchants who fitted out the enterprises, and the mariners who manned the ships. The goods intended for Tyre were then, most probably, shipped at Rhinocorura. Under the Romans the Nabathean Arabs carried on the same traffic, of which their great city, Petra, was the inland emporium; at least that by the caravans, for the Ptolemies had diverted great part of the Red Sea trade to their new port of Berenice. A fifth line of commerce was that of inland Asia, and crossed from Assyria and Babylonia to Tyre. In order to secure and participate in this branch of traffic, Solomon subdued part of the Syrian tribes, and built two cities, as stations, between the Euphrates and the coast. These were Tadmor and Baalath, one the celebrated Palmyra, the other Baal-bec. After the desolating

Cornewall Lewis in his late work on the Astronomy of the Ancients. Even those who dissent from the conclusions of Sir George Lewis (I confess that I find great difficulty in maintaining dissent) may feel confident that all the opposing theories are stated with his accustomed fulness, perfect honesty, and candour. Read the whole instructive chapter (viii.) on the Navigation of the Phœnicians.

[1] I need hardly refer for much of this to the excellent work of Heeren, "Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmster Völker der alten Welt." The notices of Heeren on some points may have been enlarged, corrected, modified by later writers, but it remains a book of high authority and surpassing interest.

conquests of Assyria and the total ruin of old Tyre, this line of trade probably found its way to Sardis, and contributed to the splendour of Crœsus and his Lydian kingdom. It was from these various sources of wealth that the precious metals and all other valuable commodities were in such abundance—that, in the figurative language of the sacred historian, *silver was in Jerusalem as stones, and cedar trees as sycamores.*

Solomon was not less celebrated for his wisdom than his magnificence. The visits of the neighbouring princes, particularly that of the queen of Sheba (a part of Arabia Felix), were to admire the one as much as the other. Hebrew tradition, perhaps the superstitious wonder of his own age, ascribed to Solomon the highest skill in magical arts, and even unbounded dominion over all the invisible world. Tadmor, in the wilderness, was said to have been built by his enchantments. More sober history recognises in Solomon the great poet, naturalist, and moral philosopher of his time. His poetry, consisting of 1005 songs, except his epithalamium, and perhaps some of the Psalms, has entirely perished. His natural history of plants and animals has suffered the same fate. But the greater part of the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (perhaps more properly reckoned as a poem [1]) have preserved the conclusions of his moral wisdom.

The latter book, or poem, derives new interest, when considered as coming from the most voluptuous, magnificent, and instructed of monarchs, who sums up the estimate of human life in the melancholy sentence—*Vanity of vanities! vanity of vanities!* It is a sad commentary on the termination of the splendid life and reign of the great Hebrew sovereign. For even had not this desponding confession been extorted by the satiety of passion and the weariness of a spirit over-

[1] I am well aware that the general voice of German criticism assigns a later date to this book. But I am not convinced by any arguments from internal evidence which I have read. It appears to me, broadly stated, that this is the work of a period of high civilisation—civilisation verging towards ease, luxury, and mental discontent. But according to my view the Hebrew civilisation was in a state of degeneracy from the reign of Solomon to the Captivity. On the language I cannot presume to offer so decided a judgment. Ewald has no doubt of the degeneracy of that language, and dates it, on that account alone, as undoubtedly after the exile (iv. p. 205). But Ecclesiastes is strangely inconsistent with the serious religious outburst of those days and the return to the Law with all its rigid requirements. The internal objections to the authorship of Solomon are stated by Herzfeld with great force and distinctness (iii. p. 66, 67). I am, though I confess shaken by them, not convinced. Perhaps my judgment is warped by the wonderful poetical beauty of the poem, if read in connection with the life of Solomon.

excited by all the gratifications this world can bestow—had no higher wisdom suggested this humiliating conclusion—the state of his own powerful kingdom, during his declining years, might have furnished a melancholy lesson on the instability of human grandeur. Solomon, in his old age, was about to bequeath to his heir an insecure throne, a discontented people, formidable enemies on the frontiers, and perhaps a contested succession. He could not even take refuge in the sanctuary of conscious innocence and assume the dignity of suffering unmerited degradation; for he had set at defiance every principle of the Hebrew constitution. He had formed a connection with Egypt—he had multiplied a great force of cavalry—he had accumulated gold and silver—he had married many foreign wives. His seraglio was on as vast a scale as the rest of his expenditure—he had seven hundred wives, and three hundred concubines. The influence of these women not merely led him to permit an idolatrous worship within his dominions; but even Solomon had been so infatuated as to allow to be consecrated to the obscene and barbarous deities of the neighbouring nations, a part of one of the hills which overlooked Jerusalem; a spot almost fronting the splendid Temple which he himself had built to the one Almighty God of the universe.[1] Hence clouds on all sides gathered about his declining day. Hadad, of the blood-royal of the Edomite princes, who had early in the reign of Solomon betrayed his hostility, probably became more powerful at this time: and the vassal king began to organise a revolt in that province on which so much of the Jewish commerce depended. An adventurer, Rezon, who had seized on and held Damascus, and set up an independent sovereignty, interrupted the communication from Tadmor. A domestic enemy, still more dangerous, appeared in the person of

[1] Ewald is of opinion, and adduces strong grounds for his opinion, that there is no accusation in the sacred books against Solomon of having himself actually fallen off to idolatry. He punctually attended on the worship of Jehovah, made his offerings three times a year (1 Kings ix. 25). His Sidonian, Ammonitish, Moabitish wives were permitted to worship their national deities, and hence, on the height which was afterwards called the Mons Scandali, altars were raised to Astarte, to Chemosh, to Milcom, as Ewald would read, on good grounds, for Moloch. In truth the extent of the empire enforced either toleration or internecine persecution. When the King of the Jews became king of a great Eastern Empire, he had no course but to tolerate the religion of his non-Jewish subjects, or to exterminate them. Thus the grandeur of the kingdom, by destroying its unity, and enfeebling the religion—the centre and bond of unity—led inevitably to its fall.

Jeroboam, an Ephraimite, a man of great valour, supported by the prophet Ahijah, who foretold his future rule over the ten tribes. Though forced to fly, Jeroboam found an asylum with Shishak, or Sesak, the Sesonchosis of Manetho, or perhaps more probably his predecessor in the Bubastic dynasty, who was raising the kingdom of Egypt to its former alarming grandeur. Sesak, notwithstanding the alliance of Egypt by marriage with Solomon, made no scruple against harbouring his rebellious subject. Above all, the people were oppressed and dissatisfied; either because the enormous revenues of the kingdom were more than absorbed by the vast expenditure of the sovereign, or because the more productive branches of commerce were molested by the rebellions of the Edomites and Damascenes. At this period, likewise, Solomon departed from the national, though iniquitous, policy of his earlier reign, during which he had laid all the burthens of labour and taxation on the captives and strangers, and exempted the Israelites from every claim but that of military service. The language held to Rehoboam, on his accession, shows that the people had suffered deeply from the arbitrary exactions of the king, who, with the state and splendour, had assumed the despotism of an Oriental monarch. Hence the decline of the Jewish kingdom, supported rather by the fame of its sovereign than by its inherent strength, was as rapid as its rise. Solomon died after a reign of forty years, and with him expired the glory and the power of the Jewish Empire—that Empire which had extended from the shores of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, from the foot of Lebanon to the desert bordering on Egypt.[1]

[1] During the reigns of David and Solomon the parallel histories in the books of Kings and Chronicles have seemingly drawn from the same authorities, the one at times supplying what was wanting in the other. They sometimes refer to, sometimes imply their authorities. The prophets among their various functions seem to have been the historiographers. The life of David was written by the prophets Samuel, Gad, and Nathan (1 Chron. xxix. 29); that of Solomon by Nathan, Abijah, and Iddo (2 Chron. ix. 29, &c.). But after the disruption of the two kingdoms, the discrepancies become more embarrassing and irreconcilable, and the peculiar character of each history becomes more manifest. The Book of Kings is properly so called; it dwells chiefly on the succession of kings to the two thrones, the acts of the kings, their lives and their deaths. The books of Chronicles may be rather called the books of the High Priests, more especially those of the House of Zadok, the line of Eleazar. Throughout there is a sacerdotal bias: though relating the same events, and the same royal reigns, wherever power or influence may be attributed to the priesthood, it comes forth in the Chronicles into greater importance. Even in the life of David and of Solomon, Zadok the Priest is more prominent; and this sacerdotalism becomes more manifest as the

history darkens to its close. The reason of this seems to be simple. From its own internal evidence, and from its words, the book or books of Chronicles cannot have been written before the Captivity, not before the time of Ezra, to which they descend. But at that time the high priesthood was aspiring towards the supremacy; it was gradually acquiring that kingly power which it afterwards assumed. The compiler therefore, one perhaps of that order, would adopt that tradition, that version, or that colouring of events, which would give the sanction of antiquity or authority to these sacerdotal claims. This perhaps unconscious and hardly perceptible leaning does not necessarily imply either dishonesty or untruth. At that period the best and wisest Jews might look to the ascendency of the religious power of the high priesthood as the only saving influence (especially while the nation was still under a foreign yoke). It was the only guarantee for the unity of the nation, which depended on the unity and therefore on the strength of the religion. The Temple (now that they had no king) was the true centre around which the tribes might gather; in which the Jewish life, and that which was the life of its life, the worship of Jehovah, might take refuge as in its last sanctuary, and work outwards, if not to the temporal, to the spiritual independence of the nation.

It is one of the irreparable evils of the great sacerdotal tyranny established over Christian Europe, at its height during the Middle Ages, that it has left a sort of reactionary jealousy of all priestly power, whether beneficial or not; and so has sometimes warped history to an opposite extreme of unreasoning hostility to all such power. This seems to me the fault of a very ingenious and acute book—the History of the Hebrew Monarchy, by Mr. Francis Newman. The writer sees throughout a latent conspiracy for the tyrannous elevation of the priestly order, and in the compiler of the book of Chronicles, its artful, and (it can hardly be ascribing too strong a word to Mr. Newman) mendacious apologist. Geiger (in his Urschrift der Bibel, &c., p. 24) has traced this distinctive oppugnancy between the books of Kings and Chronicles with accuracy and completeness, but in a calmer spirit.

BOOK VIII

KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL

Accession of Rehoboam—Jeroboam—Separation of the Two Kingdoms—Asa—House of Omri—Building of Samaria—Ahab—The Prophets—Elijah—Elisha—Jehoshaphat—Hostilities with Syria—House of Jehu—Athaliah—Uzziah—Hazael—Jeroboam the Second—Ahaz—Fall of Samaria—Captivity of the Ten Tribes—Hezekiah—Manasseh—Josiah—Assyrian Conquests—First—Final Capture of Jerusalem.

FIRST PERIOD.

Kings of Judah.			Kings of Israel.		
		YEARS.			YEARS.
Rehoboam . .	B.C. 979	reigned 17	Jeroboam . .	reigned	22
Abijah . .	B.C. 962	,, 3			
Asa	B.C. 959	,, 41			
	B.C. 957		Nadab . . .	,,	2
	B.C. 955		Baasha . .	,,	23
	B.C. 932		Elah . . .	,,	2
	B.C. 930		Zimri, Omri . .	,,	11
	B.C. 919		Ahab . . .	,,	22
Jehoshaphat . .	B.C. 918	,, 25			
	B.C. 897		Ahaziah . .	,,	2
	B.C. 895		Jehoram . .	,,	12
Jehoram . .	B.C. 893	,, 8			
Ahaziah . .	B.C. 885	,, 1			

SECOND PERIOD.

Kings of Judah.			Kings of Israel.		
		YEARS.			YEARS.
Athaliah . .	B.C. 884	reigned 6	Jehu . . .	reigned	28
Jehoash . .	B.C. 878	,, 40			
	B.C. 855		Jehoahaz . .	,,	14
	B.C. 841		Jehoash . .	,,	16
Amaziah . .	B.C. 838	,, 29			
	B.C. 825		Jeroboam II. .	,,	42
Uzziah or Azariah.	B.C. 809	,, 52			
	B.C. 781		Interregnum . .		11
	B.C. 770		Zachariah and Shallum	,,	1
	B.C. 769		Menahem . .	,,	10
	B.C. 759		Pekahiah . .	,,	2
	B.C. 758		Pekah . . .	,,	20

SECOND PERIOD—*continued.*

KINGS OF JUDAH.			KINGS OF ISRAEL.	
	YEARS.			YEARS.
Jotham . .	. reigned 16	B.C. 757		
Ahaz . .	. ,, 16	B.C. 741		
		B.C. 737	2nd Interregnum . .	9
		B.C. 728	Hoshea . . reigned	9
Hezekiah .	. ,, 29	B.C. 726		
		B.C. 719	Samaria taken.	
Manasseh .	. ,, 55	B.C. 697		
Amon . .	. ,, 2	B.C. 642		
Josiah . .	. ,, 31	B.C. 640		
Jehoahaz .	3 months —	B.C. 609		
Jehoiachim .	. reigned 11			
Jehoiachin or Coniah	3 months —	B.C. 598		
Zedekiah .	. reigned 11			
Jerusalem destroyed .	.	B.C. 587[1]		

REHOBOAM, the son of Solomon, was received as king by the whole nation. But his title, though recognised at Jerusalem, seemed insecure without the formal adhesion of the other tribes. An assembly, therefore, was summoned at Shechem; but instead of adopting the wise and conciliatory language recommended by the older counsellors of Solomon, Rehoboam followed the advice of the young and violent; and when the assembly, headed by the popular Jeroboam, who made his appearance from Egypt, demanded an alleviation of the public burthens, the rash and inconsiderate king not merely refused compliance, but in the true character of Eastern monarchy, threatened them with still heavier exactions. "*My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.*" "*To your tents, O Israel!*" was the instantaneous cry; the

[1] Of all the discrepancies between the books of Kings and Chronicles, as usual that of the dates is the most obstinately conflicting. I confess that I cannot see how any exact chronology can be framed. No two writers agree. Genebrard's curious rule will scarcely be admitted in our day. According to him, the reigns of the heretical kings (of Israel) are to be corrected by those of the Catholics (of Judah). "Certam et indubitatam Deus voluit extare recensionem, incertam et difficultatibus plenam regni hæretici, quo doceremur in hæresi omnia esse confusa, perturbata, incerta, motuum plena, et de iis historia legenda narrari non possit." Dr. Hales for his scheme alters the texts at least ten times.

I cannot think these discrepancies of much historical importance. In two if not more periods the parallel histories of necessity coincide. I. The simultaneous death of the two kings, Jehoram and Ahaziah, before the accession of Jehu. II. The fall of Samaria, which took place in the ninth year of Hoshea, in the sixth of Hezekiah.

ten tribes unanimously renounced their allegiance, raised Jeroboam to the throne, forced the son of Solomon to fly to his native kingdom of Judah, and stoned Adoram, the collector of his tribute. Thus, the national union was for ever dissolved, and the Hebrew kingdom never recovered this fatal blow. This revolution had been threatened, foreseen, foreshown in the later and darker days of Solomon;[1] and Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, had been designated, as it has been already briefly shown, by his Ephraimitish birth, by his active and enterprising character, by his ambition, by the prescient fears and jealousy of Solomon, as the leader in this inevitable disruption of the Hebrew kingdom. Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, was an Ephraimite, it should seem of some distinction, and had been left to the care of his mother, a widow, described (perhaps by a later and unfriendly hand) as a harlot. His strength, activity, and power of mind had been remarked by Solomon, when employed in his fortifications at Jerusalem. King Solomon had promoted him to the rank of overseer of these works, and afterwards, it should seem, employed him in the building of a stronghold in the mountainous district of Ephra'm. In this capacity Jeroboam had heard in Jerusalem the bitter complaints of the Israelites who, in Solomon's later days, had been compelled to servile labour on the public works, which up to a certain time had been executed, as of old in Egypt, only by servile hands, by captives and strangers. In Ephraim he may have heard the murmurs of that haughty tribe, who had never fully acquiesced in the supremacy of Judah, or in the removal of the Ark and of the divine worship from their cities, Gilgal or Shechem, to the new capital. By one account he must have accumulated vast wealth, and assumed something approaching to royal state; he had three hundred chariots and horses. Above all he had been marked, and secretly foretold (if such things could be secret), as the future king of ten of the tribes of Israel. The prophetic order, the stern, unswerving guardians of the worship of Jehovah, could not but be alienated by the idolatries, or toleration of idolatry, in Solomon's latter days. Ahijah, too,

[1] Much of this and the account of the wealth and pomp of Jeroboam are from the very curious addition to the 12th chapter of 1 Kings, in the Vatican, but not in the Alexandrian copy of the LXX. It is not in the Hebrew text. Ewald is inclined to doubt whether it is derived from ancient sources. He supposes it conceived in a spirit of hostility to Jeroboam, and of course to the seceding tribes. But there is a circumstantialness about its incidents, which gives an air of authenticity, or rather antiquity.

one of the most famous of the prophets, had by a significant action declared the coming revolution: he led Jeroboam apart, rent his own new robe into twelve shreds, with ten of which he invested the son of Nebat, as the destined lord of ten tribes. All this had roused the fears of the king; he would have seized the suspected usurper, but Jeroboam fled into Egypt; and in the court of Egypt he had been received as no common fugitive—he had obtained for his wife the sister of the queen. Jeroboam did not return till after the death of Solomon, nor then, according to one account, immediately. He was retained by the king of Egypt, who had not yet bestowed on him his royal bride, who had now, however, borne him a son. It might seem that the king of Egypt anticipated, in some degree, the kingly career of his guest, thus closely connected with him by marriage. But on the appearance of Rehoboam to receive the allegiance of the northern tribes, Jeroboam was at hand, either openly or secretly, inhabiting the strong city Sicera, which he had built in the time of Solomon.

Rehoboam had recourse to arms, and raised an host of 180,000 men. But the authority of the prophet Shemaiah prevented the civil war, and Rehoboam was obliged to content himself with fortifying and securing his own dominions. So desperately irreconcilable appeared the schism, so hostile the attitude at once assumed by the rival kingdoms, that Rehoboam strengthened, garrisoned, and victualled not only the towns on what to us seems the dubious border, yet which seems to have been accepted as the frontier of the two kingdoms, but also the southern cities, Bethlehem and Hebron, those also in the old Philistine boundary, even the once Philistine city of Gath.[1] Rehoboam's territory comprehended the lands of Judah and Benjamin. Simeon already seems to have been as it were effaced, great part having been conquered by the Philistines, and when reconquered, Simeon was not recognised as a separate and independent tribe. In the meantime, the politic and unscrupulous Jeroboam pursued every measure which could make the breach irreparable, and thus secure his throne. As long as Jerusalem was the place of the national worship, it might again become the centre of the national union. The Levitical class, who constantly went up to the Temple in their courses, and the religion itself, were bonds which must be dissolved; a separate kingdom must have a separate priest-

[1] 2 Chron. xi. 8, 12.

hood and a separate place and establishment for sacred purposes. The Levites seem to have returned to Jerusalem, and the new kingdom was as yet without temple, without shrine, without the Ark, with none of the ancient and venerable religious treasures of the days of the Delivery from Egypt, with no ceremonial worship, with no priesthood, it might seem almost without the presence of Jehovah. To this end, Jeroboam caused two golden calves to be made, and consecrated some ignoble persons, not of the Levitical tribe, as the priesthood. These calves were set up, the one in the central position of Beth-el, already consecrated by ancient veneration as once the seat of divine worship, the other in the remote city of Dan.[1] They were not, strictly speaking, idols, but were speciously contrived as symbolic representations, probably preserving some resemblance to the cherubim, of which the ox was one of the four constituent parts. Still, they were set up in no less flagrant violation of the law, than if they had been the deities of Egypt, to which they bore a great likeness. This heinous deviation from the Mosaic polity, and from the Mosaic religion, was not carried into effect without remonstrance on the part of the prophets. As Jeroboam stood by the altar to burn incense, one of the seers made his appearance, denounced a curse, and foretold the disasters that would inevitably ensue. The king attempting to seize him, his hand was suddenly withered, but restored at the prayer of the prophet. The prophet himself, not strictly complying with the divine command, was destroyed on his return home by a lion, an awful example to all those who should unfaithfully exercise that function, so important in the later period of the Jewish kingdom. But Jeroboam was not satisfied with thus securing his throne against the influence of the national religion. It may be assumed, that, not without his suggestion or connivance, his patron, Shishak,[2] king of Egypt, made

[1] Dan, if Ewald's translation of 1 Kings xii. 30 be right, "*and all Israel worshipped as one man*," must have been a very popular place of religious resort.

[2] M. Champollion has found at Karnak a sculpture, with the name of Shishonk (Shishak), represented dragging the chiefs of thirty nations before his gods. Among these is the figure of one with the Jewish character of form and countenance, and the inscription Joudaha Melek, king of the Jews: the names of the other Egyptian kings mentioned in the Hebrew Annals, Zerah the Ethiopian, Tirhakah, and So, have likewise been made out satisfactorily.

This I believe is now doubted, yet Bunsen in one of his later works writes: "Die uns erhaltenen ägyptischen Denkmäler die uns Scheschonks Triumph über Juda und Amalek so erkundlich vor Augen stellen." Gott in Geschichte, i. p. 327.

a descent on the kingdom of Judah, now weakened by the corrupt morals of the people. The Ammonitish mother of Rehoboam, Naamah, had perverted the mind of her son to the idolatry, or at least to endure the idolatry, of her forefathers. Foreign usages crept into the worship of God, corruption infected the morals, and so sapped the strength of Judah. Rehoboam offered no effectual resistance to th invader; his fenced cities seem to have made no resistance—for the king of Egypt came up with an army which might rival those of the famous older kings, the Rhamses, the Sesostris of ancient times. Libyans, Nubians, Ethiopians, marched under his banner—1200 chariots, and 60,000 cavalry.[1] On the admonition of the prophet Shemaiah, Rehoboam bowed and humbled himself before the overwhelming foe. He was content to save Jerusalem from utter desolation; but the treasures of the Temple and palace of Solomon were plundered, the golden shields carried away, and replaced by others made of the baser metals, brass especially.

After a reign of seventeen years Rehoboam was succeeded on the throne of Judah by Abijah, his son (B.C. 962), who immediately raised a great force to subdue the kingdom of Israel. The armies of Abijah and Jeroboam met in Mount Ephraim. Jeroboam had on his side both numbers (800,000 men to 400,000) and military skill, which enabled him to surround the forces of Judah. But Abijah had the religious feelings of the people. The presence of the priesthood and the sound of the sacred trumpets inspirited Judah, as much as they disheartened Israel. Jeroboam was totally defeated with the loss of 500,000 men;[2] the disaster preyed on his mind, and he never after recovered his power or enterprise. The sacred city of the kingdom of Israel, Beth-el, fell into the hands of the conqueror.[3]

[1] 2 Chron. xii.

[2] These numbers I must presume humbly to question. Such a defeat by a kingdom which could at its outset muster only 180,000 men (if we take these numbers as accurate), which had yielded tamely it should seem, and had been weakened by the Egyptian invasion, can hardly be conceived as inflicting, nor the rival kingdom as suffering, such enormous losses. This reading is, moreover, now questioned.

[3] This war, which is passed over in a single sentence in the Book of Kings, assumes this magnitude and importance in the Book of Chronicles (2 Chron. xiii.). There it is described as the vengeance of God against Jeroboam for his expulsion and persecution of the priesthood. The victory is attributed to the offerings, the ceremonies, the prayers, and finally to the terrible shouts and trumpets of the priesthood.

After a short reign of three years—having raised the kingdom by this victory to great power, and having assumed the state and pomp of an Oriental sovereign—Abijah died. He left a numerous offspring by fourteen wives—twenty-two sons, and sixteen daughters.[1] He was succeeded by his son Asa (B.C. 959), a prudent and religious prince. Asa pursued the wiser policy of establishing the national religion in all its splendour and influence, encouraging those who came up to the feasts from the neighbouring kingdom, and checking idolatry. He enacted capital punishment against all who should refuse to worship Jehovah according to the rites of their forefathers: this was done at the admonition of the prophet Azariah, the son of Oded. He punished idolatry even in the person of Maachah, the queen-mother, whom he degraded and banished. Asa strengthened his army and fortified his cities, and thus was enabled to repel a most formidable invasion headed by Zerah the Ethiopian, some suppose an Arabian, or, more probably, either Osorchon, the king of Egypt, or his general, at the head (it is said) of a million of men, and 300,000 chariots.[2]

But while, from the sacred reverence in which the lineage of David and Solomon were held, the throne of Judah passed quietly from son to son, the race of Jeroboam, having no hereditary greatness in their favour, were speedily cut off from the succession, and adventurer after adventurer contested the kingdom of Israel. During the illness of his elder son, Abijah, Jeroboam had sent his wife, in disguise, to consult the prophet Ahijah upon his fate. This singularly pathetic incident is related towards the close of Jeroboam's reign, but must have taken place much earlier. At the close of a reign of twenty-two years, Jeroboam's son born of the Egyptian princess, perhaps born in Egypt, could not have been a child. The mother, the Egyptian princess, is sent, and in her maternal agony, consents to go, and cast herself at the feet of the Hebrew prophet (it was the friendly prophet Ahijah, who had designated Jeroboam for the royal throne). She bore not only offerings to propitiate the priest—loaves of bread, a bunch of grapes, and honey, but cakes also for the prophet's children.[3] The blind and aged prophet recognised the wife of Jeroboam though in disguise, and refused all gifts from her unholy hand. He then pronounced the dark doom

[1] 2 Chron. xiii. 21. [2] 2 Chron. xiv.
[3] From the passage in the LXX.

which impended over the house of Jeroboam. The child, the heir, was to be distinguished from the rest of the race only by an early peaceful death and an honourable burial. The rest were to be cut off cruelly, ignominiously. As the mother returned to Tirzah,[1] the capital city, the wild wail of her attendants from the walls told that all was over. As she crossed the threshold the child died, and all Israel mourned for the child. So, in this case alone, was the dismal prophecy not fulfilled: *Him that dieth of Jeroboam in the city shall the dogs eat: and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat.* At the death of Jeroboam the fatal prophecy immediately came to pass in all its crushing terribleness. Nadab, his son and successor (B.C. 957), was dethroned and put to death, and his whole lineage put to the sword by Baasha (B.C. 955)—a man of low birth, not of the tribe of Ephraim, but of Issachar. Baasha fell upon Nadab while besieging Gibbethon, a Philistine city. Baasha filled the throne for twenty-four years. He endeavoured to counteract the prudent policy of Asa, by building a city (Ramah) on the frontier, to intercept those who deserted to the older kingdom and to the purer religion of Jerusalem. In the war that ensued, the king of Judah carried off the materials collected for building this city. Asa adopted a more unprecedented measure, a league with a foreign potentate, the king of Syria. The kingdom of Damascus, after the dissolution of the empire of David and Solomon, and the disruption into the hostile kingdoms of Israel and Judah, had risen to great power. Asa scrupled not to form an alliance with heathen Damascus against his Israelitish brethren. This league he purchased by a considerable present, taken from the treasures of the Temple. These treasures must have remained after the plunder of Shishak, or accumulated since that time. Benhadad fell with overwhelming force on the northern part of the Israelitish kingdom, thus making a formidable diversion in favour of king Asa. The zeal of the prophets took fire, and Hanani, in the name of God, remonstrated against the unnatural alliance. The house of Baasha, after his death, suffered the same fate with that of Jeroboam; his son, Elah, was overthrown by Zimri, Zimri in his turn by Omri. Omri finally prevailing over another antagonist, Tibni, transferred the royal residence from Tirzah, a beautiful city (in Tirzah

[1] This is called elsewhere Sicera: were they the same place?

Zimri had set fire to the royal palace, and burnt himself and all the treasures in the flames), to Samaria, so long the hated rival of Jerusalem. Omri founded a fourth dynasty of Israelitish sovereigns, which lasted for four generations.

The apostasy of the ten tribes, and the wickedness of their kings, did not reach their height till the accession of Ahab, the son of Omri (B.C. 919). This prince married Jezebel, the fierce and cruel daughter of the king of Sidon.[1] Under her influence the Sidonian worship of Baal, the Sun, was introduced; his temples were openly built and consecrated; and this fierce and persecuting idolatry threatened to exterminate the ancient religion. The prophets—who throughout the whole period from the accession of Jeroboam are constantly rising up and rebuking the growing idolatry and wickedness specially of the house of Omri—were put to death. 100 only escaped, concealed in a cave. Yet these intrepid defenders of the God of their fathers still arose to remonstrate against these fatal innovations; till at length Elijah, the greatest of the order, took up the contest, and defied and triumphed over the cruelty both of the king and his bloodthirsty consort.

At this period the prophets act their most prominent and important part in Jewish history, particularly in that of Israel, where, the Levites having been expelled and the priesthood degraded, they remained the only defenders of the law and religion of the land. Prophecy, it has been observed before, in its more extensive meaning, comprehended the whole course of religious education; and as the Levitical class were the sole authorised conservators and interpreters of the law, the prophets were many of them of that tribe, or at least persons educated under their care. Now, however, they assume a higher character, and appear as a separate and influential class in the state. They are no longer the musicians, poets, and historians of the country, but men full of a high and solemn enthusiasm, the moral and religious teachers of the people. They are the voice of Jehovah to His people. The most eminent are described as directly, and sometimes suddenly, designated for their office by divine inspiration, endowed with the power of working miracles, and of fore-

[1] There can be no doubt from authorities, drawn it should seem from the Tyrian archives, that there was at this time a king of Tyre, Ethabolus or Ethbaal. The relation of Tyre and Sidon, their relative antiquity or supremacy—whether they were the alternate heads of a great maritime confederacy, under the same or under rival governments—seems a question which will hardly admit of solution.

telling future events. But, even setting aside their divine commission, the prophets were the great constitutional patriots of the Jewish state; the champions of virtue, liberty, justice, and the strict observance of the civil and religious law, against the iniquities of the kings and of the people. In no instance do they fall beneath, often they rise above, the lofty and humane morals of the Mosaic Institutes.[1] They are always on the side of the oppressed; they boldly rebuke, but never factiously insult, their kings; they defend, but never flatter the passions of the people. In no instance does one of the acknowledged seers, like the turbulent demagogues of the Grecian or Roman republics, abuse his popular influence for his own personal aggrandisement or authority. They endure, they suffer, they even, as tradition reports of Isaiah, are martyrs to their faith: but they aspire to no office of state; they have no civil dignity; they stand alone, a separate and acknowledged power, but that power purely and essentially religious, yet without any sacerdotal dignity or authority. Sometimes the Hebrew prophets ventured beyond the borders of their own land, and were universally received with honour and with awe; for, in fact, most of the Eastern nations treat with reverence all pretensions to divine afflatus; so as to respect even madness or idiocy, as possibly partaking of that mysterious influence. Hence, the appearance of Elisha at Damascus, or even of Jonah at Nineveh, is by no means improbable. Nevertheless the exercise of the prophetic function was attended with the greatest danger, particularly in their native country. The Mosaic law, while it promised an uninterrupted line of prophets, provided by the enactment of the severest penalties, and by the establishment of a searching test, against the unwarranted assumption of the holy office. If the prophet's admonitions were not in accordance with the law, or if the event answered not to his predictions, he was to be put to death. Hence though false prophets might escape by dexterously flattering the powerful, the bold and honest discharge of the office demanded the highest zeal and intrepidity.

[1] See above, p. 220. Among the older writers there is a good account of the Institution of the Prophets in Vitringa de Syn. Vet. "Propheta נביא apud Hebræos vocatur omnis divinæ voluntatis interpres, omnis inquam qui de rebus divinis disserit, easque liberius enarrat, sive earum scientiam Deo debet ἀμέσως, sive etiam aliis qui a Deo instructi sunt, viris sanctis. Est autem נביא idem prorsus iis qui apud nos dicitur theologus" (p. 356). On the prophetic schools compare p. 950

Of all the prophets, none united such distinguished qualifications, or was so highly gifted, as Elijah, who appeared at this disastrous juncture, when the abrogation of the ancient religion, and the formal establishment of the Sidonian worship, were subtly and deliberately attempted. Ahab might seem, at the instigation of his Sidonian wife, to have had this impious design, not merely of abolishing, for the worship of the Sidonian Baal and Sidonian Astarte, the pure and exclusive adoration of Jehovah, now restored at Jerusalem by the holy care of Asa and Jehoshaphat, but even the more mitigated idolatry of Jeroboam, the symbolic images, the calves erected in Beth-el and in Dan. To this end Ahab meditated, or had already almost perpetrated, the destruction of the whole prophetic order, formidable from their numbers, as well as their courage and zeal. For at one time we find 400 assembled; and, as above stated, out of a wider massacre, Obadiah had concealed in two caves 100 prophets, supplied them with provisions, and, it should seem, preserved their imperilled lives from the murderous persecution. At this time the order, and each individual of the order, disappears for a while, either put to death or in concealment, or having taken refuge in Judæa. But in place of the whole order stands forth one prophet, single in power, in courage, in awfulness; in him the spirit of God has concentred itself; till he takes to himself his appointed successor Elisha, the Tishbite is absolutely alone.

Elijah was born and bred we know not where (of the place from which he is called the Tishbite there is no record or tradition)—but it was in the wild, free mountain pastures of Gilead that the spirit fell upon the seer. He was not of the race of the prophets; he was trained in no school of the prophets; he had not been educated to his spiritual wisdom; we hear nothing of his powers of music; there is no record of any of those sublime bursts of poetry which distinguish the later prophets, Isaiah or Jeremiah. He appears suddenly, abruptly; his language is brief, plain, rude. It should seem that his outward appearance was appalling. He was above the common height of man. His dress (strange in the luxurious court, in the ivory palace, that wonderful work of king Ahab) was that of the desert herdsman: he had long, wild hair, the sheepskin and the leathern girdle around his loins, the coarse mantle of haircloth, which fell from and hung in its dark folds around his massy shoulders.

At his first appearance before Ahab, unsummoned, unex-

pected (when the king might have supposed himself safe from the intrusion of any of those bold detecters of his designs), this greatest of the prophets, in few, terrible words, denounced, as imminent and immediate, one of those penalties, with which, according to the first principles of the Mosaic law, the land was threatened on the desertion of the national worship, a long and distressing drought of many years.[1] Having delivered his message, Elijah withdrew as suddenly as he appeared. In an instant he was beyond all apprehension, all vengeance. First he concealed himself near a brook which ran into the Jordan; there he was fed, as some translate the word, by ravens; as others, by travelling merchants, or Arabians.[2] At length the brook dried up, and Elijah fled into Sarepte, a town within the dominions of his Sidonian enemies. Here he was entertained by a charitable widow, whose services were rewarded by the miraculous repletion of her cruse of oil, and the restoration of her swooning son to life.[3] Still year after year the drought continued; the fruitful plains and the luxuriant valleys of Ephraim and Zebulon lay parched and crumbling with heat; the fountains, the wells, the rivers, were all dried up; there was not herbage enough to feed the royal horses and cattle. The king and his chief minister set off on a survey of the land, to see the extent of the calamity. At this juncture, Elijah suddenly appeared again before the king, having previously sent him a message by the reluctant Obadiah. He demanded to put the truth of the two religions to the test of a public and splendid miracle. The scene took place on the summit of that lofty mountain, Carmel, which, on one side, commands a view of the boundless sea, on the other, of the richest valleys of the promised land. The priests of Baal, the Sun-god, assembled to the number of 450; Elijah stood alone. All the people awaited the issue in anxious expectation. Whichever sacrifice was kindled by fire from

[1] Josephus appeals to Menander's History of King Ethbaal of Tyre for an allusion to a great drought at this time—Ἀβροχία δὲ ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς, ἕως τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου. Ἱκετείαν δ' αὐτῶν ποιησαμένου κεραυνοὺς ἱκανοὺς βεβληκέναι. Joseph. Ant. viii. 13.

[2] Some Jews raise a scruple whether ravens brought Elias bread and flesh, or men called עורבים, "Ravens." *So* Kimchi upon the place:—"There are some who, by עורבים, understand merchants, according to that which is said, מערבך עורבי, 'The men of Orbo of thy merchandise,' Ezekiel xxvii. 27." See Lightfoot (who does not agree to this version), Chorographical Decad. Works by Pitman, x. 245.

[3] The original text does not authorise the notion that he was actually dead.

heaven, was to decide the cause. The priests of Baal having selected their victim, placed it on the altar. As their god began to arise above the eastern horizon, they hailed his appearance with the smoke of their incense, and the loud sound of their orisons. They continued their supplications till he reached the height of his noonday splendour; then with frantic cries, wild dances, cutting their flesh with knives and lancets, they summoned their god to reveal his power. All above was mute and still, the altar cold and unkindled. Elijah began to taunt them. *Cry aloud* (he said), *for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked.* Still as the orb began to descend, they continued to chant their hymns, till at length it sank into the waves of the sea. Elijah then raised an altar of twelve stones, filled the trench around it with water, placed the victim upon it, and uttered a brief and simple prayer to the God of his fathers. Instantaneously the fire flashed down, and consumed both the sacrifice and the altar, and licked up the water in the trench. The people at once recognised the hand of God; the law was put in force against the idolatrous priests, they were taken down and put to death on the banks of the Kishon. Immediately the curse was removed from the land: Elijah saw a small cloud, the usual forerunner of rain, arise as from the sea, and the whole country was refreshed by abundant showers. Elijah entered Jezreel with Ahab, but was soon obliged to fly from the vengeance of the queen. The Israelitish king acknowledged the power of the God of Israel; but the strange Sidonian worshipper of Astarte would lose her life, or have that of the audacious prophet.

Elijah passed, first to Beersheba, the southern extremity of Judah, then into the desert, to Horeb, the scene of the delivery of the Law. Imagination would fain follow the greatest of the prophets, the man who may be held to be, who appears in the solemn scene of the Transfiguration as the representative of prophetry, as the divine interpreter of the divine law, as the moral mediator, if we may so speak, between the barbarous code of a yet barbarous race and the religion of the Gospel, the religion of love and civilisation, as the connecting bond, dare we say? between Moses and Jesus—among the appalling scenes, the frowning precipices, the deep ravines, the mountain summits, hallowed, according to the Mosaic records, by the presence of God. But imagina-

tion has not even a tradition, certainly not a tradition of the least antiquity, to guide its way. In the desert Elijah received a divine commission to anoint a new king of Syria, Hazael; a new king of Israel, Jehu; a new prophet in his own place, Elisha. The circumstances of the divine communication are remarkable, as apparently designed to impress the mind with notions of the greatness and goodness, rather than of the terror and wrath of God. It might seem as a kind of symbolic prediction of the Gospel, a quiet prophetic preparation of the human mind for something gentler, calmer, more soothing to the spirit of man, which was yet to come. God appears neither in the earthquake nor the fire, but in the still small voice behind: *behold the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord, the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire, a still small voice.*

In the meantime the affairs of Israel, after the restoration of the ancient religion, had prospered. This restoration might seem more surprising, as in the solitude of Horeb it is communicated to Elijah, for his support and consolation, that in the whole kingdom might be found seven thousand true worshippers who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Ahab lived in the utmost magnificence: he erected splendid buildings in many cities, especially in Jezreel. Ere long, however, a great confederacy of the Syrian kings, headed by Benhadad, a name common to the kings of Damascus, after an insolent command of unconditional surrender, besieged Samaria. These Syrian wars, full of striking incident, must be related with rapidity. As the Syrian troops were negligently feasting in their camp, certain of the youth of high rank fell upon them, and discomfited them with terrible slaughter. The Syrians consoled themselves by the notion, that the God of Israel was the God of the Hills; on the plain their superior numbers and immense force in chariots would regain their superiority. A second total defeat destroyed their confidence, though the Israelites were described as two little flocks of kids in comparison with the vast army of their foe. The fugitives took refuge in Aphek, and great numbers were crushed by the falling of the walls of that city. Benhadad and his leaders had no course but to surrender. Ahab received them honourably, spared their lives, on condition that all the conquests

of the Syrians should be restored, and that the Israelites should have a quarter in the city of Damascus assigned for their residence. This unusual lenity, and the neglect to secure the inviolability of the Holy Land by the exemplary punishment of foreign invaders, roused the indignation of the prophets, one of whom appeared wounded and with ashes on his head, and rebuked the king for this, according to the existing notions, most criminal weakness.

The providential success of Ahab's arms neither reconciled him to the worship of the true God, nor taught him reverence for the institutes of his country. The law of property was still in full force; but a piece of land, occupied by a vineyard, lying conveniently near that of the king in Jezreel, he desired to purchase it. Naboth, the owner, refused to alienate the inheritance of his family. By the advice of his crafty queen, Ahab caused the unhappy man to be accused of blasphemy. Through the subornation of witnesses, and the corruption of the municipal court of judicature, he procured his condemnation: Naboth was stoned to death. The crime was no sooner committed than the king was startled by the sudden re-appearance of Elijah—with more than his wonted terrific energy, dauntless courage, and pregnant force of sententious yet picturesque language. *Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?* uttered the shuddering king. *I have found thee*, answered the prophet. He denounced divine vengeance, and proclaimed aloud that the dogs should lick the blood of Ahab as they had licked the blood of Naboth; that a fate as terrible awaited his queen, Jezebel, near the walls of Jezreel; and that the whole royal family should perish by a violent death. Ahab himself stood aghast at this terrible sentence: he bowed down before the prophet, arrayed himself in sackcloth, showed every outward and inward sign of bitter penitence; "*he went softly*," his proud demeanour was subdued; the haughty king became meek and gentle. The doom was mitigated: it was to fall, not on him, but on his house. The kingdom, before it departed, was to descend to his son.

All this time the kingdom of Judah had enjoyed an interval of peace and prosperity. After a reign of forty-one years, Asa was succeeded (B.C. 918) by his son Jehoshaphat. The new king pursued the prudent and religious course of his father, fortified his kingdom, maintained a powerful army, established public teachers of the law, and organised the courts of judicature in all the cities of Judah. This revolution, it may be

called, in the administration both of civil and religious law by Jehoshaphat, demands, as it seems to me, grave attention. Jehoshaphat established throughout the kingdom a complete judicial system. Judges were to hold their sittings in every city of the realm. Levites, priests, and elders were designated for this office. There was the strongest charge against partiality and the acceptance of bribes; they were to judge between man and man according to recognised, it should seem, written law; to judge in the name of God, to warn the people of their religious as well as of their civil duties. At the head of this whole judicial establishment was Amariah, the Chief Priest: the Levites and others were his officers; they were to be superior to all awe of man—to acknowledge and enforce only the awe of God.[1] The kingdom was in a high state of prosperity; the Philistines and the Arab tribes paid tribute to the king of Jerusalem. By this time the bitter animosities, which arose out of the separation of the kingdoms, had subsided. Jehoshaphat entered into an alliance with the king of Israel; and, in an evil hour, he married his son Jehoram to the cruel and ambitious daughter of Ahab, Athaliah, who introduced the crimes and calamities of the Israelitish dynasty into the royal house of Judah. Ahab had determined to wrest the important town of Ramoth, in Gilead, from the power of the Syrians, and summoned his ally, Jehoshaphat, to his assistance. But before the expedition set forth, the prophets were to be consulted. Ahab had, however, taken a sure way of ridding himself of their importunate admonitions,

[1] 2 Chron. xix. 4-12. Here again, where the Book of Kings is silent, the Book of Chronicles is full of this solemn and important duty and of these unwonted honours conferred on the Levitical order, and on the High Priest Amariah, of the line of Zadok. From Zadok Amariah was fifth in descent, as was Jehoshaphat, in the line from David (1 Chron. vi. 11). But there is another important consideration which bears on modern controversy. The law thus appointed to be administered between man and man, between man and God, must have been a code universally accepted, enshrined in general reverence, supposed to command general obedience; and this can hardly have been anything but a written code; it was not the Common Law, but the Statute Law of Israel. Singularly enough Ewald, while he denies that this Law was the Pentateuch, admits that the Chronicler may have believed that it was the Pentateuch (wie der Chroniker meinen könnte, p. 158, note). I confess that whether the Chronicler wrote or compiled under Ezra or after Ezra, I must think, considering the means of knowledge at his command, that his authority is more trustworthy than that of the most profound German scholar of the 19th century. That the Pentateuch was then in every respect in the same form, entire and uninterpolated, as at present (what modification it underwent under Ezra we know not), I presume not to determine; but that it was in all main points the same, especially as regards the *Law*, I can have no doubt.

by raising a prophetic fraternity in his own interests. The honest Micaiah, who alone foretold calamity and ruin, was insulted and thrown into prison; and Ahab, persuaded by his own prophets, who were *filled with lying spirits*, went boldly out to the war. In the onset the troops of Syria avoided the armies and king of Judah, and centred their whole attack against the person of the king of Israel. Ahab, shot through by a random arrow, was brought to Samaria; his armour and chariot were washed in the pool of Samaria, where, according to the prediction of Elijah, the dogs licked his blood.

Jehoshaphat, on his return to his own kingdom, was threatened by a formidable confederacy of Ammonites, Moabites, and other predatory tribes, who appeared among the rich gardens of Engedi, west of the Dead Sea. Up to this time those neighbouring tribes, who had been subjects during the reigns of David and Solomon, seem to have maintained at least a doubtful allegiance under their successors. They now appear in arms, in open assertion of their independence, and in a powerful league. But while the army of Judah remained motionless, engaged in their religious rites, and joining in their hymns of battle, some misunderstanding or dissension broke out among the troops of the enemy; the different tribes fell upon each other, and Judah had only to share the rich booty of the abandoned camp.

The alliance between the two Hebrew kingdoms lasted during the short and uneventful reign of Ahaziah (B.C. 891), the son and successor of Ahab. This prince, having met with an accident which endangered his life, sent to consult Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, whom perhaps the Philistines endowed with some of the powers of healing attributed by the Greeks to Apollo. Elijah was commanded to rebuke this idolatrous disparagement of the God of Israel; twice, a troop of fifty men sent to seize him were struck with lightning; the third time he came boldly down from the hill on which he stood, and foretold the king's death. That death almost immediately took place. Jehoram, Ahaziah's brother, ascended the throne. Jehoram's first measure was the organisation of a confederacy between the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom, to chastise the revolted king of Moab, who had refused his accustomed tribute of 100,000 sheep and 100,000 lambs. Their united forces marched round the foot of the Dead Sea, but found themselves bewildered in an arid desert without water. By the advice of Elisha, who had now assumed the

prophetic office, they dug deep trenches along the plain, down which the waters from the mountainous district of Edom flowed rapidly and abundantly. The Moabites, in the morning, mistaking the waters reddened by the rising sun, for pools of blood, supposed that the common fate of confederate armies had taken place, that they had quarrelled, and mutually slaughtered each other. They sallied down to plunder the camp, but meeting with unexpected resistance, were defeated on all sides. The king of Moab in his despair, after having in vain attempted to break through the hostile forces, and having seen his whole country cruelly devastated, offered his eldest son as a sacrifice to his gods. Yet he seems to have been saved from total ruin by some dissension among the allies, which led to the withdrawing of their forces.

On the death of Jehoshaphat, his son Jehoram succeeded, and thus we have a prince of the same name on each of the two thrones, increasing the difficulty of relating the parallel history of the two kingdoms with perspicuity. In the first measure of Jehoram, king of Judah, the fatal consequences of the connection with the sanguinary house of Ahab began to appear; all his brethren were put to death without remorse, according to the common usage of the Harem, especially later among the Ottoman Turks. The reign which began in blood, proceeded in idolatry and defeat, till the fearful doom, denounced in a letter sent by the prophet Elisha, was entirely fulfilled. The kingdom suffered a fatal blow in the revolt of Edom, and the loss of their remaining seaport on the Red Sea. Jehoshaphat had continued this commerce in conjunction with Ahaziah, king of Israel; he had fitted out a large fleet at Ezion-geber, which was wrecked on a ledge of rocks near that incommodious harbour. He then transferred his marine to Elath, and fitted out another expedition on his own account with better success. But Elath now also fell into the hands of the rebellious Edomites, and all commerce was entirely cut off. Nor was this the end of Jehoram's calamities; the Philistines and Arabians invaded the country, surprised his palace, captured his seraglio, and slew all his sons but one. Jehoram himself died of a painful and loathsome disease, so little honoured, that he was not buried in the sepulchre of the kings; Ahaziah his son succeeded.

We now return to the kingdom of Israel, where we find the king, Jehoram, engaged in a new war with his inveterate enemy, the Syrian king of Damascus. The hopes of the

country rested on the prophet Elisha. The departure of Elijah had been as marvellous as his life. A dim foreknowledge of his approaching end had not only been communicated to his faithful follower, Elisha, who, for once disobedient to his master, refuses to stay behind at Gilgal, but the prophets of Beth-el as the two passed on, the prophets of Jericho as the two passed on, intimated that the master was about to enter into his rest. "I know it," said the follower; "hold your peace." From Jericho fifty prophets followed the two, but they were to witness only at a distance, and across the stream of Jordan, the scene of the departure. The waters clave before them, and the prophets passed on; a whirlwind enveloped them in its wild circle; a vision of a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, rose between them; the whirlwind continued, and the greatest of the prophets was seen no more on earth.[1] But the memory of Elijah, as the great type and representative of the prophetic order, sank deep into the hearts of the Jewish people. It was remarkable that a prophet who lived entirely in the revolted kingdom, among the ancestors of the Samaritans,—who, as far as we know, never set his foot in Jerusalem—who is never known to have written a word, to whom were ascribed none of their wonderful prophetic poems—should be received by later Jewish tradition as the prophet, as the forerunner, and harbinger of the Messiah.

Elisha appeared with the mantle of his master before whom the waters of the Jordan had again divided; but whether he was endowed with a double share of his master's spirit, as he had prayed, appears doubtful, for it is not quite easy to ascertain the sense of the record. The early period of Elisha's prophetic office is described as a succession of miracles; he purified the waters of Jericho, to which was attributed the singular property of causing women to miscarry: he laid his curse on forty-two children in Beth-el, who had mocked his bald head, they were devoured by bears: he multiplied a

[1] The text will hardly bear out the notion of Elijah seated in a car of fire, and visibly ascending into heaven, as poetry and painting have delighted to represent the wonderful scene.

The total silence of the Book of Chronicles about the prophet Elijah is remarkable; it mentions only a letter sent to Jehoram by Elijah (Elijah had died before the accession of Jehoram), and this is the only writing attributed to the prophet (2 Chron. xxi. 12). The supplementary character of the Book of Chronicles may partly account for this; but considering how many events it repeats after the Book of Kings, it is still a curious fact.

widow's vessel of oil, and restored to life the child of an opulent woman in the town of Shunam: he destroyed the poisonous qualities of a mess of herbs, and fed 100 men with twenty loaves. He had contributed to gain the victory over the Moabites. His fame spread into Syria. Naaman, one of the great military leaders of that kingdom, was a leper. Elisha cured him by commanding him to wash in the Jordan; but to avoid the least suspicion of venality, he not merely refused all remuneration, but his servant, Gehazi, was punished by the same disease for fraudulently obtaining gifts, in his name, from the grateful stranger. As the Syrians pressed the war with greater vigour, their king, Benhadad, found all his measures anticipated; and attributed his want of success to the presence of Elisha. He sent an army to surprise him in the city of Dothan, at no great distance from Samaria. The troops were all smitten with blindness, conducted to Samaria, but released by the merciful intervention of the prophet.

The city of Samaria was now environed on all sides, and endured the first of those dreadful sieges, by which the two capitals of the Jewish kingdoms appear, through some awful fatality, to have been distinguished beyond all the other cities of the world. The most loathsome food, an ass's head and the dung of pigeons, were sold at enormous prices. Two women had made an agreement to kill their children for food, and one of them called upon the king to enforce her reluctant co-partner to fulfil her share in this horrible compact. The king rent his clothes, and was discovered to have sackcloth next his skin. Jehoram, for some reason which does not appear, determined to wreak his vengeance on Elisha: when on a sudden the prophet announces the speedy discomfiture of the Syrian army, and unexampled abundance and cheapness of provisions. First, some lepers, desperate from their wretched condition, sally forth: they find the camp totally deserted. Wild noises of arms and chariots had been heard on all sides. The Syrians, supposing that the Egyptians, or some other powerful allies, had marched to the relief of Samaria, had been seized with a sudden panic, and dispersed. The greatest plenty, and an immense booty, rewarded the Samaritans for their dreadful sufferings. One of their officers, who had presumed to doubt the truth of Elisha's prophecies, according to his prediction, saw, but did not partake of the abundance; he was trampled to death in the press at the gate.

The prophetic fame of Elisha was now at its height. The

life of Elisha was in singular contrast with that of his master. Elijah had been, as it were, the prophet of the desert; he had dwelt alone in mysterious seclusion, now in the wild valleys about Carmel, now in the remote wilderness of Sinai. He had stood in the king's way, in the king's palace, with the suddenness of an apparition: having achieved his mission—except in the famous strife with the priests of Baal that mission usually no more than a few brief, terrible words—he had disappeared with the same instantaneous rapidity. Elisha dwelt among men; he was in the cities, with the armies of Israel. His dress, his manners, his speech, had nothing of the wildness and romantic grandeur of Elijah. He is now not content with the kingdom of Israel as the sphere of his mission, he passes the frontier, he enters the metropolis of the Syrians, where the king lay dangerously ill (as Josephus says) of a deep melancholy occasioned by his defeat. He was met by Hazael, an eminent officer of the court, with a sumptuous present, borne on forty camels. *Will the king recover?* demands the Syrian. The prophet returns an enigmatical yet significant answer, that the disease is not mortal, but that the monarch's end is approaching. With these words Elisha burst into tears, for he knew that Hazael entertained designs against his master's life; and that the bold and unprincipled usurper would be a more formidable enemy to his native country than had yet sat upon the throne of Syria. The fatal prediction is accomplished in every point. Hazael smothers his master with a wet cloth; seizes the throne; and his first measure is a bloody battle at Ramoth, against the combined forces of both the Jewish kingdoms, under Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, who had just succeeded his father, Jehoram of Judah. In this calamitous field Jehoram was wounded, and retreated to Jezreel, where Ahaziah came to meet him.

But the dynasty of the sanguinary Ahab was drawing to a close. Elisha commanded a young prophet to anoint Jehu, a valiant officer, as king of Israel. The army at Ramoth revolted, and espoused the cause of Jehu: he advanced rapidly in his chariot on Jezreel, for he was noted for his furious driving. Jehoram and Ahaziah went forth from the city against Jehu: they met in the fatal vineyard of Naboth. It is supposed that Jehu had been, as a young man, in the bodyguard of Ahab; that he had heard the terrible doom pronounced by the prophet Elijah against Jezebel. Jehoram attempted to parley; but he was reproached with his own

crimes and with the idolatries of his mother Jezebel. The king shrieked aloud, *There is treachery, O Ahaziah!* and fled. The bow of Jehu was strung; and the arrow pierced the unfortunate monarch through the heart. His body was taken up, and cast into the vineyard of Naboth. Ahaziah fled with no better fortune. He received a mortal wound, and died at Megiddo; his body was carried to Jerusalem. Jehu entered Jezreel in triumph. As he passed through the gate, the haughty Jezebel, *who had painted her face and tired her head*, looked forth from a window. Seeing him blind to the fascinating graces of her person so richly adorned, she began to reproach him with the murder of the kings: *Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?* Jehu lifted up his head, and exclaimed, *Who is on my side, who?* Some of the perfidious eunuchs of the queen immediately appeared. *Throw her down*, was the stern command of Jehu. They obeyed: her blood fell upon the wall, and the horses trampled over her body; and when at length the unrelenting conqueror consented to permit her body to be buried, because *though a cursed woman, she was a king's daughter*, nothing but the miserable remains of her corpse were found, the skull, the feet, and the palms of the hands; for *the dogs* (according to the words of Elijah) *had eaten the flesh of Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel.*

Thus, by the death of Jehoram and that of Ahaziah, both the thrones of Judah and Israel were vacant. Jehu hastened to secure the kingdom of Israel. There were seventy sons of Ahab in Samaria. Jehu sent to command the elders of the city, which was strongly fortified and well provided with arms, to set the best of Ahab's sons upon the throne. The elders apprehended that they might perform a more acceptable service: they made known their ready subservience to the views of the usurper. An indiscriminate slaughter of the seventy sons, and of the friends and kindred of Ahab, took place: the heads were sent, in the modern Turkish fashion, to Jehu, at Jezreel. The subtle usurper ordered them to be placed by the gate; and addressed the assembled people, obliquely exculpating himself from the guilt of the massacre: *Behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him; but who slew all these?* He proceeded to attribute their death to the inscrutable decrees of the Almighty, who had determined on the extirpation of the whole guilty house of Ahab. The crafty Jehu continued his successful, though bloody career. The house of Ahaziah met with no better fate than that of Ahab: Jehu

put to death forty-two of them, whom he encountered on his way to Samaria. Obviously with a view to popularity, he entered Samaria with Jonadab, the son of Rechab, the founder of an austere ascetic sect, who abstained from the use of wine, seated by his side in his chariot. He concluded his dreadful work of vengeance by the total extermination of the priests of Baal, which he conducted with his usual subtlety. He avowed himself an ardent worshipper of that idolatry, and summoned a general assembly of the priesthood. The temple was crowded: he commanded all the worshippers to put on splendid and distinguished apparel; and ordered strict search to be made whether any of the worshippers of Jehovah were present. He then, having encircled the building with his guard, gave the signal for an unsparing massacre. Not one escaped; the idols were destroyed, the temples razed. Jonadab, the ascetic, countenanced and assisted this dreadful extirpation of idolatry. Yet even Jehu adhered to the symbolic worship established by Jeroboam.

These were terrible times. While Athaliah, of that bloody race of Ahab, usurped the royal power in Jerusalem, both kings, the kings in Jerusalem and Samaria, had fallen by a violent and untimely death. But by a strange reverse, the worship of Jehovah attained the ascendency in Israel (though the symbolic worship of Jeroboam was still tolerated) while idolatry was on the throne and threatened the Temple in Jerusalem. The revolutions in both cities had been brought about by merciless carnage. The politic and daring Jehu had waded to the throne through the massacre of the whole royal race of Omri; the true religion had been established by the indiscriminate massacre of the priests of Baal. In Jerusalem Athaliah had cut off, save only one child furtively concealed from her murderous hand, the whole royal lineage of David. It was not the mercy of Athaliah, but the strength of the priesthood, which had saved them too from her fears and her hatred. The prophets had been infected by the ferocity of the times: the enemies of Elijah are struck by fifties with lightning, Elisha's wrath spares not little children.

Israel was finally delivered from the fatal house of Ahab; but Athaliah, the queen-mother of Judah, showed herself a worthy descendant of that wicked stock; and scenes as bloody, and even more guilty, defiled the royal palace of Jerusalem. She had seized the vacant throne, she had put to death all the seed royal. One child, Joash, had been secreted in the Temple

by his father's sister, Jehosheba, the wife of the High Priest. Athaliah maintained her cruel and oppressive government for six years, during which the Temple was plundered, and the worship of Baal, exterminated in Samaria, was established in Jerusalem. In the seventh a formidable conspiracy broke out, headed by the High Priest. The conspiracy was organised with consummate skill: the Levites from all quarters were brought into Jerusalem, and now for the first time the Priesthood, with the High Priest at their head, take the lead as guardians of the monarchy, as well as representatives of the religion—that religion now threatened with absolute extirpation, with a rival High Priest of Baal confronting them with equal pomp and power in the holy city itself. The Temple of God had been plundered, its sacred treasures given to the priests of Baalim.[1]

As Athaliah entered the courts of the Temple, she beheld the young and rightful heir of the kingdom, crowned and encircled by a great military force, who, with the assembled priesthood (none but the priesthood were permitted to enter the Temple), and the whole people, joined in the acclamation, "God save the King." She shrieked aloud, "*Treason, Treason!*" but her voice was drowned by the trumpets, and the cries of the multitude.[2] Incapable of resistance, she was seized, dragged beyond the precincts of the Temple, and put to death (B.C. 878). Jehoiada, the High Priest, who assumed the control of public affairs, the king being only seven years old, commanded Mattan, the priest of Baal, to be slain in his temple, and totally suppressed the idolatrous religion.

The reign of Joash began under favourable auspices: the influence of the High Priest, and the education of the king himself in the Temple, promised the restoration of the worship of Jehovah. Large contributions were made for the repair of the sacred edifice, which at first, it appears, were diverted by the priests to their own purposes. But a check having been devised to their fraudulent and irreligious proceedings, the fabric was restored in all its splendour, its services reorganised, and the sacred vessels, which had been profaned by Athaliah, replaced. But the peace of Judah, as well as of Israel, was

[1] 2 Chron. xxiv. 17.

[2] In the parallel accounts in Kings and Chronicles, this event, so important in the history of the High-priesthood, is related in nearly the same words. Some names omitted in Kings are supplied in Chronicles.

threatened by the increasing power and ambition of Hazael, the formidable usurper of the Syrian throne. During the latter part of the reign of Jehu, Hazael had severed from the kingdom of Israel all the trans-Jordanic provinces; and during that of Jehoahaz, the successor of Jehu, reduced Samaria almost to a tributary province. Ten chariots, fifty horsemen, and 10,000 infantry were all the remaining force of that once powerful kingdom.

Hazael having taken Gath, far in the south, now advanced against Jerusalem. The unwarlike Joash purchased his retreat at the price of all the sacred treasures of the Temple. The treasures accumulated by the pious munificence of his fathers and by his own were surrendered to the irresistible conqueror; and in every respect the latter part of the reign of Joash belied the promise of the former. After the death of the High Priest Jehoiada, idolatry, which before, excepting the worship on high places, had been entirely suppressed, began to spread again among the higher ranks. Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, both as priest and prophet, resisted with the strongest denunciations the prevailing apostasy. The king, forgetful of his father's services, and the people, weary of his remonstrances, conspired together to stone him.

Defeat and death followed hard on the ingratitude and apostasy of Joash. The Syrians again appeared with a small force, but totally discomfited the Jewish army; and his own officers revenged the disgrace of the nation on the person of the king, by murdering him in his bed. Nor was he thought worthy of a place in the sepulchres of the great kings of Judah.

The first act of Amaziah, the son and successor of Joash, was to do justice on the murderers of his father; but with merciful conformity to the law, unusual in such times, he did not involve the children in the treason of their fathers.

Amaziah (B.C. 838) raised 300,000 men in Judah, and hired 100,000 from Israel; the latter, by command of a prophet, he dismissed. With his own great army he invaded the revolted kingdom of Edom, gained a signal victory in the Valley of Salt, and took Selah (the rock), probably the important city of Petra. The Israelites whom he had sent back, surprised on their return some of the cities of Judah; and Amaziah, flushed with his conquests over Edom, sent a defiance to the king of Israel. Jehoash, who now filled that throne, was a politic and successful prince. After the death of the

formidable Hazael, and the accession of his son Benhadad (it should seem a feebler sovereign) to the throne of Damascus, Jehoash had reinstated his kingdom in its independence, and reconquered great part of his territory by three victories over the Syrians, which took place according to the prediction of the dying Elisha. Three times, according to the prophet's injunction, he had smote on the ground with certain arrows. Had he not paused, he had gained more than three victories. The king of Israel treated the defiance of Amaziah with contempt: in the picturesque but somewhat enigmatic language of the day, he replied, "*The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon: Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast from Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.*"[1] He warned Amaziah not to be too proud of his victories over Edom; commended him to abide in peace. "*Why shouldest thou meddle to thine hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou, and Judah with thee?*" The two armies met at Bethshemesh. Judah was totally routed. Jerusalem pillaged, and the treasures of the Temple carried away to Samaria. Amaziah, it is said, had been guilty of worshipping the gods of Edom. Amaziah himself was led captive to the walls of the city; a large part of the walls of the city was thrown down.

Fifteen years after the death of his rival, Jehoash of Israel, Amaziah, like his father, fell a victim to a conspiracy within the walls of his palace: he fled to Lachish, but was slain there.

In neither case was the succession altered; Amaziah's son Azariah, or Uzziah, assumed the royal power (B.C. 809), and commenced a long, religious, and therefore prosperous, reign of fifty-two years. The great warlike enterprise of Uzziah was the subjugation of the Philistines, and others of the adjacent tribes: but his more important conquest was the recovery of Elath, the port on the Red Sea. Uzziah provided with equal success for the internal prosperity of the country by the encouragement and protection of husbandry. He kept on foot a powerful army, strongly fortified Jerusalem, and endeavoured to make himself master of all the improvements in armour, and in the means of defending walled towns, then in use.

But this good and prudent king was guilty of one great violation of the law; he began to usurp the office of the priests, and to offer incense. While he was offering, he was

[1] 2 Chron. xxv. 18.

suddenly struck with leprosy;[1] and in rigid conformity to the law of Moses, he was set aside, and the administration of public affairs entrusted to his son Jotham. The kingdom of Israel, or Ephraim as it is now often called, regained a high degree of prosperity during the early period of Uzziah's reign in Judah. Jeroboam the Second, an able prince, had succeeded Jehoash (B.C. 825), and pursuing his father's successes, re-established the whole frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea. The kingdom of David and Solomon might seem to rise again under this powerful sovereign. The trans-Jordanic provinces, which had been rent from the Israelitish kingdom, returned to his dominion. Even Damascus, the Syrian capital, surrendered to his forces. Ammon and Moab became again tributary princedoms. Of this great king, and his prosperous reign of forty-one years, the extant Scriptures are almost silent, except in remote prophetic allusions: the book of *Chronicles* of his reign has long perished; and the few pregnant verses in the Book of Kings are all, except dim yet significant threatenings of Hosea and Amos. The mighty Deliverer of Israel is said to have been foreshown, as well as the decline of Jeroboam's reign, the moral degradation of the people under his sway, and the dark doom of his house. The symbolic worship of the elder Jeroboam was maintained in great state at Gilgal.[2] But the kingdom, which was to remain in the line of Jehu to the fourth generation, at the death of the powerful Jeroboam fell into a frightful state of anarchy. At length, after eleven years of tumult and confusion (B.C. 770), Jeroboam's son Zachariah obtained the sceptre, but was speedily put to death by Shallum; Shallum in his turn by Menahem of Tirzah. Menahem (B.C. 769), a sanguinary prince, reigned ten years; during which the fatal power of the great Assyrian empire was advancing with gigantic strides to universal conquest.

[1] The cause of this leprosy is told only in 2 Chron. xxvi. The Book of Kings (2 Kings xv. 5) only says that God smote him with the leprosy. The invasion on the office of the priesthood is read only in the later account, which indeed in other respects is more full as to the acts of Uzziah.

[2] Ewald assigns fifty-three years to Jeroboam II. He adds, I presume, what is usually considered as an interregnum to his reign. I am inclined to a somewhat different supposition. As the accession of Zachariah, the lineal heir of the throne, after a vacancy of eleven years, seems highly improbable, it should seem that at the close of Jeroboam's reign, from age, or decrepitude, or infirmity, he ceased to govern himself, and the authority during those years fell into the hands of successful favourites or factions, in constant strife with each other.

The late discoveries of the vast buried cities near the Tigris —Nineveh, and Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik, with their splendid palaces, their alabaster sculptures, the marvellous vestiges of their wealth, their magnificence, their skill in the arts, and the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions (to whatever extent we may accept their authority), have thrown a strong and unexpected light, if not on the rise, on the culminating power of this mighty monarchy about this time. I shall note, as they rise in succession, the Assyrian kings recorded in the Hebrew annals, whose names the cuneiform interpreters profess to read on the monuments of Nineveh and Babylonia. It is said that the names of the Jewish kings Jehu, Menahem, Hezekiah, and Manasseh are read on the monuments. On the famous black obelisk Jehu (Yahua), the son of Khomri (Omri), "the *successor*" of the house of Omri? has been deciphered. Beth-Khumri is also said to appear—manifestly Samaria. There is no very close approximation on the monuments to the name of Pul; and when I read that a name has been variously deciphered as Phal-lukha, Vullukha, and Ivalush, and identified with Pul,[1] my confidence in the decipherers, and of their superiority to the temptation of finding Scripture names on the monuments, is not strengthened. Pul, the monarch who now ruled at Nineveh, was rapidly extending his conquests over Syria, and began to threaten the independence of Israel. Menahem only delayed the final servitude by submission and tribute, which he wrung from his people by heavy exactions. Menahem was succeeded by his son Pekahiah (B.C. 758), who, ten years after, was put to death by a new usurper, Pekah, the son of Remaliah. In the second year of Pekah began the reign of Jotham in Judah (B.C. 757), who took the reins of government during the lifetime of his father.

At this time Jotham strengthened the kingdom of Judah. In Jerusalem he built the northern gate of the Temple, the south-eastern walls of the city. In many parts of Judæa he raised strong fortified cities and defensible towers to watch and to prevent the march of aggressive enemies.[2] He made the Ammonites tributary, and, after an able, but not very eventful reign, left the throne to his son Ahaz, the worst and most unfortunate monarch who had ruled in Judah.

As the storm darkened over the Hebrew kingdoms, the voices

[1] Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures, p. 105.
[2] 2 Kings xv. 35; more fully in 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 *et seqq.*

of the Prophets became louder and more wild. Those whose writings have been preserved in our sacred volume now come upon the scene. In their magnificent lyric odes, we have a poetical history of these momentous times, not merely describing the fall of the two Hebrew nations, but that of the adjacent kingdoms likewise. As each independent tribe or monarchy was swallowed up in the great universal empire of Assyria, the seers of Judah watched the progress of the invader, and uttered their sublime funeral anthems over the greatness, the prosperity, and independence of Moab and Ammon, Damascus and Tyre. They were like the great tragic chorus to the awful drama which was unfolding itself in the Eastern world. Nor did they confine their views to their own internal affairs, or to their own immediate neighbourhood. Jonah appeared as a man under divine influence in Nineveh; and Nahum described the subsequent fate of that vast city in images which human imagination or human language has never surpassed.

Still, in general, the poets of Judæa were pre-eminently national. It is on the existing state, the impending dangers, and future prospects of Ephraim and Judah, that they usually dwell. As moral, as religious teachers, as Prophets of Jehovah, they struggle with the noblest energy against the corruptions which prevailed in all ranks and classes. Each kingdom had its prophets. In the earlier years of the reign of Jeroboam II., the rustic Amos, of Tekoa, neither originally a prophet nor the son of a prophet, had gained, perhaps the popular ear, assuredly the fame and authority of a prophet, by his denunciatory predictions of the conquests of Jeroboam over the neighbouring nations, Damascus, and the Philistines of Gaza, and Askelon, and Ekron, and Tyre, and Edom, and Ammon, and Moab, and even Judah. But when the consequences of these victories of Jeroboam were, not a holier worship, purer morals, national virtue, but pride and luxury in ivory palaces, and oppression of the poor, and unlawful sacrifices at Gilgal and Beth-el, and foreign idolatries of Moloch and Chemosh, the honest prophet sets his face against ungrateful Israel, and utters their impending doom. The malignant priest of Beth-el, Amaziah, will not endure the rebuke: he drives Amos from the land of Samaria into the neighbouring realm of Judah. In his dark sibylline oracles towards the end of the reign of Jeroboam in Samaria, Hosea might seem to partake of the gloom which, on the close of Jeroboam's glorious reign,

settled upon the kingdom of Israel. Everywhere was strife, confusion, anarchy. Whether there was a king on the throne we know not; how each successive king supplanted his predecessor is equally obscure. The total depravation of all orders, their vices, their crimes, their luxuries, are described under dark parables and more vivid images of adultery and prostitution. Hosea, no doubt an Ephraimite, dwells almost exclusively on the vices, and on the doom, the imminent doom, of Ephraim; with side-glances, as it were, warning and menacing the kingdom of Judah. To the same period belong the locusts, the famine, the earthquake, and more terrible than locusts and earthquake, perhaps that which was prefigured by locusts and famine, devastating foes, the miseries of defeat and shame, described by Hosea with such terrible truth and force. Joel too dwelt on the successive calamities which desolated the country.[1] But, greater than all these, Isaiah not only took a great share in all the affairs of the successive reigns from Azariah to Hezekiah—described or anticipated all the wars, conquests, and convulsions, which attended the rise and fall of the Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties — but penetrated still farther into futurity. To Isaiah may be traced the first clear and distinct intimations of the important influence to be exercised by the Jews on the destiny of mankind—the promise of the Messiah, and the remote prospects of future grandeur, which tended so strongly to form their national character, and are still the indissoluble bond which has held together this extraordinary people through centuries of dispersion, persecution, and contempt. Still blind to the fulfilment of all these predictions in the person and spiritual kingdom of Christ, the Jew, in every age and every quarter of the world, dwells on the pages of his great national prophet, and with undying hope looks forward to the long-delayed coming of the Deliverer, and to his own restoration to the promised land in splendour and prosperity, far surpassing that of his most favoured ancestors.

The dissensions between the two kingdoms led to their more immediate ruin. Ahaz succeeded to the throne of

[1] In my judgment the silence about the Assyrian power is conclusive as to this early period assigned to the prophecies of Joel. Setting aside the inexplicable Book of Jonah, which almost belongs more to Assyria than the Holy Land (this, if Jonah be the son of Amittai named 2 Kings xiv. 25, must take precedence as to time), there can be no doubt that these three, Amos, Hosea, and Joel, were the first in date of the written prophets.

Judah in the seventeenth year of Pekah (B.C. 741),[1] the last able or powerful monarch of Israel. Pekah entered into a confederacy with Rezin, king of Damascus (for Damascus had again risen to formidable power), to invade Judæa. Their first expedition did not meet with much success; a second descent was more fatal. On the retreat of the Syrians, Ahaz ventured on a battle. In this bloody field Judah lost 120,000 men; Zichri, a valiant chieftain of the Israelites, slew with his own hand Maaseiah, the king's son, and some of his household. Two hundred thousand men, women, and children, were led away into captivity. The sight of their brethren in this miserable condition aroused the better feelings of the Israelites: they refused to retain them in servitude; forced the army into milder measures; treated the prisoners with great kindness; gave them food, raiment, and the means of returning home. *And the men which were expressed by name rose up and took the captives, and with the spoil clothed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them, and gave them to eat and drink, and anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses, and brought them to Jericho, the City of Palm-trees, to their brethren: then returned they to Samaria*[2]—a beautiful and refreshing incident in this gloomy and savage part of their annals; and, as usual, to be ascribed to Oded, one of the prophets. Rezin, in the meantime, the ally of Pekah, seized Elath The Edomites and Philistines revolted. The Philistines seized many important cities; and Ahaz, attacked on all sides, in his desperation threw himself under the protection of Tiglath Pileser,[3] the Assyrian king, who had already subdued all the trans-Jordanic tribes, and advanced his frontier to the banks of the river. This treaty led to the usual results, where a weaker state enters into an alliance with a stronger. The Assyrian lent his aid as far as suited his own views of conquest; invaded Syria, took Damascus, led the people away captive, and slew the king. But against the more

[1] Ahaz ascended the throne in his 25th, not, according to the common reading of 2 Kings xvi. 2, his 20th year. This is the reading of the Vat. LXX. and of the Peshito. If 20 be retained, Ahaz must have begot his son Hezekiah at the age of eleven. 2 Kings xviii. 2.

[2] 2 Chron. xxviii. 15.

[3] A fragment of a cuneiform inscription is said to commemorate the victories of Tiglath Pileser, his defeat of Rezin, his capture of Damascus, and the tribute exacted from the king of Samaria, called, not Pekah, but Menahem. Letter of Sir H. Rawlinson, quoted in Rawlinson's Herodotus, and in his Bampton Lectures, p. 134.

immediate enemies of Ahaz, the Edomites, he sent no succours, and exhausted the kingdom of Judah by the exaction of a heavy tribute. It was not from want of base subservience to his protector that Ahaz suffered this ungenerous treatment. Though, throughout the whole reign, the mighty prophet Isaiah (and with him, in gentler and less commanding language, the prophet Micah) warned, threatened, poured forth his noble and terrible strains of rebuke and menace and predicted vengeance, Ahaz revolted entirely from the national faith. He offered public worship to the gods of Syria, in desperate hopes of their aid against his enemies; he constructed a new altar on the model of the one he saw at Damascus, where he went to pay homage to the Assyrian; and robbed the treasury to pay his tribute. He defaced many of the vessels and buildings of the Temple. No superstition was too cruel for Ahaz; he offered incense in the valley of Hinnom, and made his children pass through the fire. The bloody sacrifice of Moloch, the human sacrifice of their own children by idolatrous parents, might cast its lurid fires on the front of the Temple of Jehovah. In every street of Jerusalem, in every city of Judah, incense was smoking to idols, amid the wildest and most licentious rites. Every hill-top, every high place, every grove, was defiled. It might seem that superstitions from the remoter East had found their way into Judæa. Not only appears the consulting wizards and necromancers,[1] but the worship of the heavenly bodies; horses dedicated to the Sun, altars raised on the house-tops to observe and to worship the stars.[2] The dial of Ahaz might seem to intimate that some of the Babylonian science had found its way, with Babylonian superstition, into Jerusalem. In short, had not the death of Ahaz relieved his people, Jerusalem seemed rapidly following the example, and hastening towards the fate, of Samaria. For now the

[1] Isaiah viii. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

[2] Josephus accuses Ahaz of worshipping the gods of Assyria as well as those of Syria: ἡττηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν, τοὺς Ἀσσυρίων ἤρξατο τιμᾶν Θεούς, καὶ πάντας ἐώκει μάλλον τιμήσων ἢ τὸν πατρῷον καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεόν (lib. ix. c. 12); and asserts that he actually prohibited sacrifices to Jehovah. The question has been raised and debated with much solemnity why Ahaz chose for his imitation the altar of the conquered gods of Damascus, rather than one of the conquering gods of Assyria. It may be questioned whether the Assyrians had yet set up their altars in Damascus, a recent conquest. But from all that appears it should seem a caprice of what we should call taste in Ahaz: he fancied the Damascene pattern to be nobler and grander than that of Jerusalem.

end of that kingdom drew on. The unprincipled, though able Pekah, was assassinated; another period of anarchy lasted for several years, till at length the sceptre fell into the feeble hands of Hosea, who had instigated the murder of Pekah. A new and still more ambitious monarch, Shalmaneser,[1] now wielded the power of Assyria; Hosea attempted to avert the final subjugation of his kingdom by the payment of tribute, but being detected in a secret correspondence with the king of Egypt, called So, the Sevechus of Manetho, the Assyrian advanced into the kingdom, besieged Samaria, which, after an obstinate resistance of three years, surrendered, and thus terminated for ever the independent kingdom of Israel or Ephraim.[2]

It was the policy of the Assyrian monarchs to transplant the inhabitants of the conquered provinces on their borders, to the inland districts of their empire. Thus they occupied their outposts with those on whose fidelity they might rely; and with far wiser and more generous views, by introducing agricultural colonies among the ruder and nomadic hordes, as the Russians have done in their vast dominions, carried culture and civilisation into wild and savage districts. Pul and Tiglath Pileser had already swept away a great part of the population from Syria, and the trans-Jordanic tribes; and Shalmaneser, after the capture of Samaria, carried off vast numbers of the remaining tribes to a mountainous region between Assyria and Media, who were afterwards replaced there by colonies of a race called Cuthæans.[3] From this period, history loses sight of the ten tribes as a distinct people. Prideaux supposes that they were totally lost and absorbed in the nations among whom they settled; but imagination has loved to follow them into remote and inaccessible regions, where it is supposed that they still await the final restoration of the twelve tribes to their native land;[4] or it has traced the

[1] The cuneiform interpreters make Shalmaneser, whose monuments have been mutilated by his successors, only commence the siege, which was brought to an end in the first year of his successor, Sargon. See note, p. 303.

[2] As a curious illustration of the uncertainty of Hebrew chronology, Josephus dates the taking of Samaria 947 years after the Exodus, 800 after Joshua, making the interval between the Exodus and Joshua 147 years.

[3] A city called Cutha, in which the worship of Nargal prevailed, is said to have been discovered 15 miles from Babylon. The ruins are now called Ibrahim. Rawlinson's Herodotus, i. 632, ii. 587.

[4] The origin of this fable, as I presume to call it, is the late and *very* apocryphal book of Esdras (ii. or iv., c. xiii. 46. &c.). "These are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea

Jewish features, language, and religion, in different tribes, particularly the Afghans of India,[1] and in a still wilder spirit of romance, in the Americans.[2] How far the descendants of

the king, whom Salmanesar the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so they came into another land. But they took counsel among themselves that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, *where never mankind dwelt*, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land." The name of the land is called Arsareth: it was a year and a half distant from the Euphrates, the flood of which was miraculously held back till they had passed over. Brucker observes:—"Notamus non posse evinci, vel levi etiam verisimilitudine ostendi tribus decem ab Assyriæ rege in captivitatem deportatas, quibus sedes datæ sunt Chalach, Chabor, fluvius Gozan et urbes Mediæ, incerta hodie loca, peculiarem rempublicam constituisse et servavisse patrios mores, instituta et sapientiam." T. ii. p. 654. Not only indeed is this book of 4th Esdras the least entitled to historical authority (the passage is a vision) of all the Apocryphal books, but there is ample evidence in the later prophets that they considered the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land as common to both races, Israel (Ephraim) and Judah. So Ezekiel xxxvii. 19: "I will take the stick of Joseph which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand. . . . And one king shall be king to them all; and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all." This is no remote or, as may be said, Messianic prophecy of the final restoration: it refers to the Babylonian captivity. See also Zechariah viii. Ezra names people of *Israel* as among those who returned from exile (ii. 2).

There is a sensible essay on this supposed seclusion of the ten tribes in Kennedy's Essays, Ethnological and Linguistic, London, 1861.

[1] The Afghans (according to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone) deduce their descent from an apocryphal son of Saul. Mr. Elphinstone—and no man was wiser in his day—though he observes the Jewish line of countenance more than once—evidently discredits the whole story. Their tribal government indeed is singularly analogous to that of the early Hebrews. (But was that peculiar to the Hebrews?) They have an occasional dictator like the Hebrew judge. The heads of the tribes exercise the ordinary sovereignty (book ii. c. 2). They have also the Levirate law, by which a brother marries the widow of his deceased brother (ii. 2). This too is not uncommon in the East. Bernard Dhorn, in his Preface to the History of the Afghans, denies all connection between the Pushtoo and Hebrew dialects. Professor Lee, in a note to Ibn Batuta, concurs in this. The whole legend of the Hebrew descent of the Afghans is given in Dhorn's History, where it appears that they claim a son of Saul as their forefather, who migrated to Arabia, and whose descendants were there in the time of Mohammed. They conquered Afghanistan as Mohammedans.

[2] The American-Indian theory was a favourite with some Spanish writers, and has been revived by some wild American authors. The book called the Hope of Israel, by Manasseh ben Israel, is preceded by a narrative of one Aaron Lee, who had passed as a Spaniard under the name of Montesinos. This man, in the prison of the Inquisition at Carthagena in New Spain, blessing God that he was neither idolater, barbarian, negro, nor Indian, felt himself inwardly moved to retract the last, and to say the Indians are Hebrews.

The common-sense conclusion of the whole would seem to be that many of these exiles, not intermarrying with the neighbouring tribes, would retain

the Israelites constituted the mingled people of the Samaritans, whose history has come down to us only as it is coloured by implacable Jewish hostility, is a question hereafter to be discussed.

The kingdom of Israel was rarely blessed by a permanent, vigorous, and prudent administration, and frequently endured all the evils of a contested and irregular succession, which placed adventurer after adventurer, or short and precarious dynasties, upon the throne. The best of their kings only so far returned to the national faith, the faith in Jehovah, as to extirpate foreign idolatry, but remained true to the separate, symbolic, and forbidden worship of Jeroboam. On the other hand the hereditary succession of Judah remained unbroken in the line of David, and a period of misrule and irreligion was almost invariably succeeded by a return to the national faith. Accordingly, six years before the final destruction of Samaria, one of the best and wisest of her kings, Hezekiah, replaced his father Ahaz on the throne of Judah (B.C. 726). Hezekiah carried the reformation much farther than his most religious predecessors. The Temple was cleansed; the rites restored with more than usual solemnity; the priesthood and Levites reinstated in their privileges; every vestige of idolatrous superstition eradicated; the shrines of false gods demolished; the groves levelled; the high places desecrated; even the brazen serpent made by Moses in the wilderness, having been abused to superstitious purposes, was destroyed. Having thus prepared the way, Hezekiah began still further to develop his plans, which tended to the consolidation of the whole Hebrew race under their old religious constitution. He determined to celebrate the Passover (that which was called the Second Passover) with all its original splendour and concourse of people. He sent messengers into the neighbouring kingdom of Israel, to summon the ten tribes, then under the feeble rule of Hoshea. The proud Ephraimites treated his message with contempt; they laughed the messengers to scorn; but from the smaller tribes multitudes flocked to Jerusalem, where the sacrifices were offered with

their features, character, manners, and institutions. So Basnage may be right to a certain extent in speaking of the Babylonian Jew as their descendants. These Jews, who remained in the East, were likewise the ancestors of the Christian converts addressed by St. Peter in his 1st Epistle dated from Babylon; and Dr. Grant may have found many of their race among the modern Nestorians. Dr. Grant's is in my judgment the most plausible theory, if adopted with some reserve, and not exclusively.

something like the ancient state and magnificence.[1] Jehovah was once more acknowledged and worshipped as the Great God of Israel; the Passover was again celebrated as a great national rite; the unclean strangers from the Israelitish districts, from Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun, were sprinkled by the Levites with the purifying blood. Hezekiah prayed for divine mercy upon those who, not thoroughly cleansed, had yet partaken of the holy rite.[2] On their return, the religious zeal of those who had visited Jerusalem had great effect on their kindred. Throughout Judah idolatry was put down by force, the temples and altars destroyed.

How far, if the Jewish constitution had existed in its original vigour, and the whole of Palestine remained one great consolidated kingdom, it could have offered an effectual resistance to the vast monarchies which now began to spread the shadow of their despotism over the East—how far the kingdom of David and Solomon might have held the balance between the rival empires of Egypt and Assyria, in whose collision it was finally crushed—must be matter of speculation. But from this fatal period, Palestine was too often the debatable ground on which rival kingdoms or empires fought out their quarrels. On this arena, not only the monarchs of Nineveh and Babylon, and the ancient Egyptian sovereigns, but subsequently also the Ptolemaic and Syro-Grecian dynasties, the Romans and Parthians—we may add the Christian and Mohammedan powers during the Crusades—strove either for ascendency over the Eastern world or for universal dominion. The wise policy of Hezekiah, if his views led to the union of the kingdoms, came too late. He himself threw off the yoke of Assyria, and gained important advantages over the Philistines. But Divine Providence had ordained the fall of Israel, and after the capture of Samaria, Jerusalem might tremble at the approach of the victor. Shalmaneser, however, was allured by the more tempting conquest of opulent Tyre. The princely merchants of that city resisted vigorously a siege of five years; though their aqueducts were broken, and the population reduced to great distress. The besieged were at length relieved

[1] The Book of Chronicles enlarges on all the particulars of the restoration of the priesthood and of the Levites, the lavish copiousness of the sacrifices, the music, the splendour of the services (2 Chron. xxix.). So also on the offerings of tithes rigidly exacted and as freely paid to the priesthood, c. xxxi.

[2] 2 Chron. xxx.

by the death of the invader. The hereditary power and ambition of his conquering ancestors descended into the vigorous hand of Sennacherib. An immense army made its appearance in Judæa, and sat down before Lachish.[1] The dismay can scarcely be conceived with which, after the total destruction of the sister kingdom by these irresistible invaders, and the transplantation of the people to distant regions, the inhabitants of Jerusalem expected the approach of the hostile forces to the walls. There is a passage in the book of Isaiah descriptive of their terrors, most probably, on this occasion: *What aileth thee now that thou art wholly gone up to the housetops? thou that art full of stirs, a tumultuous city, a joyous city! . . . for it is a day of trouble and of treading down, and of perplexity by the Lord God of hosts in the valley of vision, breaking down the walls, and of crying to the mountains. And Elam bare the quiver, with chariots of men and horsemen, and Kir uncovered the shield. And it shall come to pass that thy choicest valleys shall be full of chariots, and the horsemen shall set themselves in array at the gate.*[2] The prophet goes on

[1] The interpreters of the cuneiform inscriptions interpose a king Sargon between Shalmaneser (Salmonasar) and Sennacherib, and assign to him a reign of many years. They make Sargon, not Salmanasar, to conquer Samaria. Sargon is once mentioned, and only once, in Isaiah. Dr. Hincks, to find room for his new king, proposes a transposition both in Kings and Isaiah. The difficulty is an old one; and many writers make Sargon another name for Shalmaneser, others for Sennacherib. The moderns insist that he was a distinct king: but there is much difficulty about the chronology. He was, it is agreed, builder of the splendid palace at Khorsabad, and a great conqueror: his conquests extended to Cyprus. Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, pp 618, 620.

Josephus, however, agrees with the Scripture, and is totally silent about Sargon (to whom Ewald assigns a reign of a few months); and Josephus had Tyrian as well as Hebrew chronicles. He gives the name (from the Tyrian historian Menander) of the King of Tyre, Elulæus, and the circumstances of the five years' siege of Tyre, in themselves highly probable. Sidon, Acco, and old Tyre fell away to the Assyrian, who tried to cut off the supplies of water from insular Tyre, which withstood him for five years and finally repelled him. Compare Mr. Grote's note, vol. iii. p. 354. To me I must say that much of the history of Sargon is very doubtful: it may have been another name or a title of Shalmaneser or Sennacherib.

That Sennacherib (Sanherib) was a most powerful king, and mighty conqueror, all are agreed. There is a good summary of his works, especially the gorgeous palace at Kouyunjik, the wars and conquests of Sennacherib, in Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 139 *et seq*., and in other parts of his volume. Mr. Layard has combined much that is scattered in the writings of Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and others.

The taking of Lachish, somewhat later, is said to be distinctly commemorated in an inscription over a sculpture representing the siege at Mosul. Layard (p. 148).

[2] Isaiah xxii. 1.

to describe the preparations for defence made by Hezekiah, who strengthened the walls, added to the fortifications, laid in great store of arrows and other ammunition, deepened the trenches, and cut off all the waters which might have supplied the besieging army. The wilder and voluptuous desperation of others is, if possible, more striking. It reminds us of the frantic revelry among the Athenians, during the time of the plague, as described by Thucydides. *And in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth: but behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine: let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.* The submission of Hezekiah, and the payment of an enormous tribute, for which he was obliged to strip the gold from the walls and pillars of the Temple, for the present averted the storm;[1] and Sennacherib marched onward to a much more important conquest, that of the great and flourishing kingdom of Egypt. His general, Tartan, had already taken Azotus, and Sennacherib, in person, formed the siege of Libnah, or Pelusium, the key of that country. But he left behind him a considerable force under Tartan, the Rabsaris, and the Rabshakeh (these were titles, not names,—the great Saris or Eunuch? the great Shakeh or cupbearer?), who advanced to the walls of Jerusalem, and made a demand of unconditional surrender. Hezekiah sent three of the chief officers of his palace to negotiate. The Rabshakeh, as Prideaux conjectures, an apostate Jew, or one of the Captivity, delivered his insulting summons in the Hebrew language, with the view of terrifying the people with the menace of total destruction. He contemptuously taunted them with their confidence in their God. *Hath any of the Gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the Gods of Hamath and of Arpad? where are the Gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand?* The people listened in silence. The king clothed himself in sackcloth, and with his whole court and the priesthood, made a

[1] According to Josephus, 300 talents of silver, and 30 of gold. See in Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures, p. 141, Sir H. Rawlinson's translation of an inscription said to commemorate this invasion of Judæa, and in Layard's Nineveh and Babylon that of Dr. Hincks of the same inscription, p. 145. The amount of the tribute is singularly similar: in Kings and the inscription 30 talents of gold; in Kings 300, in the inscription 800 talents of silver. The inscription says that he took 46 fenced cities belonging to Judah, and "shut up Hezekiah in Jerusalem," or "left him Jerusalem."

procession to the Temple, in that sad and humiliating attire. But Isaiah encouraged them in their defiance of the enemy, and the Rabshakeh marched away to the army before Pelusium. This city made a most vigorous resistance; and Sennacherib received intelligence of the march of Tirhakah, king of Æthiopia (no doubt Taraco,[1] a king of Egypt, who appears in the Æthiopian dynasty of Manetho), to relieve this important post. The conquest of Judæa, and the surrender of Jerusalem, became almost necessary to his success. Perhaps he knew of or suspected secret correspondence between the kings of Judah and Egypt. He sent a second summons by letter, more threatening and peremptory than the former, describing the nations who, notwithstanding the vaunted assistance of their gods, had fallen before the power of Assyria. Throughout, the language of both, coloured perhaps by deep religious feeling, represents the contest as one between the gods as well as the military forces of the two kingdoms. The Assyrian god had subdued the gods of all the other nations, Hena, Ivah, Sepharvaim, towns probably on the borders or within the Phœnician territory. Hezekiah as it were accepts the challenge: he again had recourse to the Temple, and in a prayer, unequalled for simple sublimity, cast himself on the protection of Jehovah, the God of his fathers. Isaiah, at the same time, in his most splendid language,[2] proclaimed that the Virgin of Sion might laugh to scorn the menaces of the invader. The agony of suspense and terror, which prevailed in Jerusalem, was speedily relieved by the surprising intelligence that the army of Sennacherib had experienced a fatal reverse, that all which survived had dispersed, and that the monarch himself had fled to his capital, where he was slain by his own sons, while offering public sacrifice. The destruction of Sennacherib's army is by some supposed to have been caused by the Simoom, or hot and pestilential wind of the desert, which is said not unfrequently to have been fatal to whole caravans.[3] The Arabs, who are well experienced in the signs which portend its approach, fall on their faces, and escape its mortal influence. But the foreign forces of Sennacherib were little acquainted with the means of avoiding this unusual enemy,

[1] Taraco, the king of Æthiopia and of Upper Egypt: in Lower Egypt still ruled Sethosis, of the Saitic dynasty.

[2] Read the whole chapter, xxxvii.

[3] After all that has been written in prose and verse about the Simoom, Burckhardt has called into question its fatal effects: he could never hear of an instance of its having caused death.

and the catastrophe taking place by night (the miraculous part of the transaction, as the hot wind is in general attributed to the heat of the meridian sun), suffered immense loss. Herodotus relates a strange story of this ruin of Sennacherib's army: A number of field mice gnawed asunder their quivers, their bowstrings, and shield-straps: upon which the army took flight. Did Herodotus derive this from the misinterpretation of an hieroglyphic, in which the shield, the quiver, and the bow, the usual symbols by which, as in Hebrew poetry, the might of a great army is represented, were destroyed by some secret and unseen or insignificant instrument of the divine power, typified by the field mouse?[1]

At the latter end of the same year, the fourteenth of his reign, Hezekiah fell dangerously ill. His earnest prayer for the prolongation of his life was accepted at the throne of mercy. Isaiah foretold his recovery, and the grant of fifteen years of life, and likewise of children; for the good king was leaving the kingdom without a legitimate heir. The prophet directed the means of his cure, by laying a plaster of figs on the boil from which he suffered; and proved his divine mission by the sign of the shadow retrograding ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz. On this sign, and on the dial, volumes have been written. It is not necessary to suppose that the sun actually receded, but that the shadow on the dial did; a phenomenon which might be caused by a cloud refracting the light. Whether the Jews possessed sufficient astronomical science to frame an accurate dial, can neither be proved nor disproved; still less the more rude or artificial construction of the instrument itself; for as the dial was probably set up by Ahaz, who was tributary to the Assyrians, it might have come originally from Chaldea.

[1] According to Horapollo, total destruction was represented, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, by the symbol of a mouse:

ἀφανισμὸν δὲ δηλοῦντες μῦν ζωογραφόυσιν, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐσθίσν μιαίνει καὶ ἀχρηστοῖ, τῶ ἀντῷ σημείῳ χρῶνται· καὶ κρίσιν θέλοντες γράψαι, πολλὼν γὰρ καὶ διαφόρων ἄρτων κείμενων, ὁ μυς τον καθαρωτατον ἀυτῳ ἐκλεξαμένος ἐσθίει . . . διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀρτοποίων κρίσις ἐν τοῖς μῦσὶ γίνεται. Horapollo, xlvii. I found after I had written this that Eichhorn had anticipated the notion.

Josephus seems to imply that it was an epidemic pestilence, arising from the marshes about Pelusium, which destroyed Sennacherib's army. Larcher, on Herodotus, adopted this opinion, but afterwards retracted it.

The 48th, 75th, and 76th Psalms not improbably celebrate the famous discomfiture and ruin of Sennacherib and his army.

Sennacherib on his return to Nineveh, how soon after his return the Hebrew records do not declare, was assassinated during a sacrifice to the god Nisroch by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer.

Immediately, indeed, after this event, Hezekiah received an embassy from Merodach Baladan, the independent king of Babylon, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating him on his recovery; some suppose, for that of inquiring into the extraordinary astronomical phenomenon, the intelligence of which had reached that seat of Oriental science; but more probably with the view of concerting measures for an extensive revolt from the Assyrian yoke. Hezekiah made a pompous display of his treasures, very likely much enriched by the plunder of Sennacherib's broken army. For this indiscreet ostentation, so calculated to excite the cupidity of a foreign invader, the king was reproved by the more prudent Isaiah. Internal convulsions in the kingdom of Assyria permitted Hezekiah to pass the rest of his reign in peace and opulence. His public treasury was full; the husbandry and pasturage of the country returned to their former productiveness. He strengthened the cities, ornamented Jerusalem with a new aqueduct, and at length went down to the grave, honoured and regretted by the whole people. With Hezekiah closed the glory, the independence of the kingdom; and with Hezekiah the worship of Jehovah sank into a dark period of neglect and disuse. He was succeeded by Manasseh, a king to whose crimes and irreligion the Jews mainly attribute the dreadful evils which shortly after consigned them to ruin and slavery.

Manasseh ascended the throne at the age of twelve: the administration fell into the hands of unworthy ministers, of whom Shebna is represented by Isaiah as the most haughty and violent. But with his years, the evil dispositions of the king came to maturity. Idolatry was restored; every kind of superstition, witchcraft, and divination practised. It might seem that Manasseh took pride in assembling a kind of Pantheon of the gods of all the neighbouring lands, to set up in bold defiance and scorn of the God of his fathers. For the Phœnician Astaroth (Astarte) there were altars in the fore court of the Temple, huts or tents for her unchaste priestesses; on the Temple roof were the watch-towers or terraces for the Babylonian Star-worship; in the valley of Hinnom, in the face of the Temple, were the bloody altars of the Canaanitish Moloch, the Tophet, with its howling human victims passing through the fire. The Temple itself, it should seem the sanctuary, the Holy of Holies, was profaned by a graven image. The irreligion of Manasseh was only equalled by his tyranny. The city ran with innocent blood; the sacred per-

sons of the prophets were violated. As was the king so were the people—the leaders tyrants and oppressors, the surviving prophets mute, *dumb dogs* in Isaiah's words; the judges administered unjust law.[1] Tradition ascribes the horrid martyrdom of Isaiah, who was sawn asunder, to this relentless tyrant.[2] Manasseh's vices brought their own punishment in the contemptible weakness to which the state was reduced. When the army of Esarhaddon,[3] the new sovereign of Assyria, made its appearance under the walls, Jerusalem offered no resistance, and the unworthy heir of David and Solomon was led away to learn wisdom and piety in the dungeons of Babylon. Esarhaddon completed the plan of colonisation commenced by his predecessors, and established bodies of his own subjects in the desolated provinces of Israel. So frightful had been the ravages inflicted on these beautiful and luxuriant plains, that the new colonists found themselves in danger from beasts of prey. The strangers had brought their own religious rites with them. The Babylonians had set up the pavilions of Benoth: the Cuthites, the settlers from Hamath, the Avites, and the Sepharvites, had each their separate divinity. They trembled before the lions which infested their territory; and looked on them not only with terror, but with religious awe, as manifest instruments of divine wrath. The remaining Israelites, no doubt, proclaimed that they were sent by their God; and the strangers, in the true spirit of polytheism, recognised the anger of the local deity, whom they supposed offended by the intrusion of their national gods into his territory. They appealed in haste to Esarhaddon, by whose command an Israelitish priest was sent to propitiate the God of the land, whom they readily admitted to a participation in divine honours with their native deities;

[1] Isaiah *passim* in the chapters relating to this period.

[2] See the curious work the Ascensio Isaiæ, recovered and translated from the Ethiopic by Dr. Lawrence (afterwards Archbishop). The sawing asunder of Isaiah (alluded to in Hebrews xi. 37) was a very old Jewish tradition, recorded by the author of this work, no doubt a Jewish convert to Christianity, and a very early one. Dr. Lawrence's General Remarks trace the tradition.

[3] The Axerdis of Abydenus (*apud* Euseb. Chron. 4–9).

Esarhaddon, according to the monuments, was the son of Sennacherib. The sons who slew Sennacherib are reported to have fled into Armenia. Manasseh's name is said to be found among tributary princes who supplied the resources for the splendid buildings of Esarhaddon. This king was the founder of the vast palace at Nimroud (Layard's Nineveh and Babylon). It is said that Esarhaddon sometimes resided in the subject-city of Babylon. Thus the imprisonment of the Jewish monarch at Babylon, not at Nineveh, is explained.

and thus, a mingled worship of idolatry and true religion grew up in these provinces.

The lessons of adversity were not lost on Manasseh: he was restored to his throne, and the end of his long reign of fifty-five years, passed in the observance of law and religion, in some degree compensated for the vices of his youth.[1] His son Amon, who succeeded, following the early career of his father, fell a victim to a conspiracy among his own officers.

At the age of eight years (B.C. 640) Josiah came to the throne. The memory of this prince is as deservedly dear to the Jews, as that of Manasseh is hateful. Josiah surpassed even his most religious predecessors, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, and Hezekiah, in zeal for the reformation of the national religion. His first care was to repair the Temple. While the work was proceeding, the king and the whole nation heard with the highest exultation that Hilkiah, the High Priest, had discovered the original copy of the Law.[2]

[1] This restoration and penitence and reform of Manasseh rests solely on the authority of the Book of Chronicles. There is not a word of it in the parallel record in the Book of Kings. This is a remarkable discrepancy. Some have supposed that they see the hand of the priesthood in this rehabilitation as it were of the memory of Manasseh. It might almost seem on the other hand, from the brief, compressed, and rapid narrative of Kings, that the author was glad to dismiss in the utmost haste a subject so odious and ignominious. These obscure times leave a convenient place for the reconstructors of the Jewish history and records to indulge their imagination. Ewald places the Book of Job under the reign of Manasseh; I confess that it seems to me with no argument in favour of, with every internal probability against, this arbitrary theory. The Book of Proverbs was also, according to Ewald, enlarged, and received the addition of its preface. But the most extraordinary of all Ewald's theories is the placing the author of the Book of Deuteronomy (the Deuteronomiker) at this period. The Deuteronomist was, according to Ewald, a Jew sold into Egypt by Manasseh; the Book of Deuteronomy was written in Egypt. This Ewald, with unusual modesty, admits is only *highly probable*. He assumes the composition of the book at this time with the same peremptory, I had almost written arrogant confidence, as if he were writing of the composition of the Æneid in the time of Augustus, or of the Code and Pandects in the reign of Justinian. Having carefully examined all his alleged reasons, I confess that I cannot discern the shadow of a sound or trustworthy reason even for conjecture. To historical authority there is no pretence.

[2] What was this book found by Hilkiah in the Temple and read before the people—the Pentateuch or the Book of Deuteronomy? Some, misled by our translation *by the hand of Moses* (for *by Moses*), and by the pious passion for enhancing all the marvels of the sacred history, have insisted that it was the autograph of Moses, and contained the whole Pentateuch. But, besides other improbabilities as to the Pentateuch, the whole Pentateuch, the five books of Moses, considering their length, minute particulars, and the irrelevancy of great part to this solemn occasion, can hardly have been meant. On the other hand the Book of Deuteronomy, in its comparative brevity, its solemn and awful tone, its threatenings of Divine wrath for disobedience, answers in every respect as to its discovery and its effect on the king and on the people,

But so little were its real contents known, that on its first reading, the king was struck with terror at its awful denunciations. The book was read in public; Josiah and all the nation renewed the solemn covenant with their God Jehovah. The king proceeded to carry into execution the divine precepts of the Law. He began by the total extirpation of idolatry, not merely in Judæa, but throughout all the Holy Land. The vessels of the Temple, which had been abused to unhallowed uses, were burned to ashes; all the high places levelled—the worship of the host of heaven suppressed—the filthy and sanguinary rites of the Sodomites and worshippers of Moloch forbidden—the sacred places defiled. The horses dedicated to the Sun—the altars which Ahaz had built on the top of the royal palace—the high places which Solomon had consecrated to the deities of his foreign wives—the altar raised by Jeroboam at Beth-el—were not merely destroyed, but defiled with that from which Jewish feelings revolted with horror as the foulest contamination, the ashes and the bones of dead men. The authority of Josiah was acknowledged, and his orders fulfilled to the most remote part of Palestine; an apparent proof that, notwithstanding the numbers that had been carried away into the foreign colonies, the ten tribes were not so entirely exterminated but that their descendants, at least of the lower orders, were still the predominant population of the country. Josiah completed his reform by the celebration of the great national festival, the Passover, on a scale of grandeur and magnificence unknown to the later ages of the Jewish kingdom; a second time the kingdom of Judah might seem to revive to vigorous and enduring life.

Yet the virtues of Josiah delayed only for a time the fate of Jerusalem. The hopes of reuniting the dominions of David and Solomon into one powerful kingdom, animated with lofty

to the narrative in the Book of Kings. The ignorance of the king, brought up by the priesthood, may be well accounted for (not but that the disorders, the persecution, almost abolition of the true religion, especially during the reign of Manasseh and of Amon, would be sufficient reasons) by supposing him to have been vaguely taught the general and common precepts of the Law, but to have seen or heard for the first time this special book. Ewald is inclined to believe that it was the Pentateuch—I cannot help suspecting from an inevitable perception that the other view is utterly fatal to his doctrine about the Egyptian origin and very recent date assigned by him to Deuteronomy. It would have been inconceivable audacity in the priesthood to have attempted to impose, and equally inconceivable blindness and stupidity in the king and people to have been imposed upon by, a book written but a few years before, and now presented and received by them as the ancient and authoritative Law.

religious zeal, and flourishing under the wise and beneficent constitution of Moses, were cut short, so Divine Providence ordained, by the unfavourable circumstances of the times, and the death of the wise and virtuous king. A monarch of great power and abilities, recalling the old warlike monarchs of Memphis and Thebes, Necho was now the Pharaoh of Egypt. It is highly probable that this sudden resurrection, as it were, of the kingdom of Judah to power and independence, its assertion of authority over Samaria and the adjacent districts, may have been caused by the temporary weakness into which the Assyrian empire had fallen, partly from dissensions with the Medes, who were attempting to seize the dominion over the East; but still more by the great Scythian invasion described by Herodotus, which overswept, and awed to a transitory peace, these conflicting powers, and even spread with part of their irresistible hordes into Palestine. The remoter vassal kings of the Assyrian, like the kings of Judah, without renouncing their allegiance, remaining still nominally, or perhaps really, tributary, may have resumed something approaching to independence, and even subjugated their weaker and disunited neighbours. Though the Scythians seem to have penetrated as far as Ashdod (Azotus), besieged by the king of Egypt,[1] their terrible, irresistible inroad on the Assyrian monarchy (described in the bold and unrivalled lyrics of the prophet Nahum) may have also been a chief cause of the rise of the rival kingdom of Egypt, under the reigns of Psammetichus and his successor Necho, to their old power and ambition, and tempted and enabled them to make aggressions on enfeebled and distracted Assyria. For now Egypt was the invader, the Mesopotamian Empire the invaded territory. The design of Necho was to gain possession of Carchemish, a city which commanded the passage of the Euphrates, and so to make that river his frontier. Not only had Necho the ambition to extend his maritime conquests—he had seized part of Edom, and commanded the head of the Red Sea—but he aspired to be master of all the territories west of the Euphrates, if he had not further and even more ambitious schemes. Josiah was bound to the Assyrian interest by the terms of his vassalage, by treaty, by gratitude for the permission to extend his sovereignty over Samaria. From one or all of these motives, or from a desire of maintaining his own

[1] Bethshan is said to have obtained a name, afterwards Grecised into Scythopolis, from the tradition of this Scythian raid.

independence, instead of allowing free passage to the army of Necho, he determined on resistance. A battle took place, in which Josiah was unfortunately shot by an arrow. On the scene of the battle it is not difficult to decide: it was no doubt on the great plain of Esdraelon, the scene of the famous victory over Sisera. It has been conjectured that Necho may have made use of his naval force, and landed his army at Acco. It is more likely that his route lay along the coast to the plain of Esdraelon, masking as it were Jerusalem; perhaps undervaluing the power and daring of the Jewish king, or his fidelity to his Assyrian ally—at all events supposing that he would not presume to interrupt the march of the vast Egyptian army.[1] According to the Book of Chronicles the hostility of Josiah was not expected by Necho, who endeavoured to dissuade the king of Judah from his rash enterprise, and as it were appealed to the God of the Jews, as unfavourable to the cause of the king and his people. Josiah entered into the battle in disguise, and was slain by chance medley. Wild and piteous were the lamentations, profound the sorrow in Jerusalem, at the unexpected and untimely fate of almost the last, and since David, the best and holiest of her kings.

At this period of the approaching dissolution of the Jewish state, appeared the prophet Jeremiah,[2] a poet, from his exquisitely pathetic powers, admirably calculated to perform the funeral obsequies over the last of her kings, over the captive people, the desolate city, the ruined Temple. The prophet himself, in the eventful course of his melancholy and persecuted life, learned that personal familiarity with affliction, which added new energy to his lamentations over his country and his religion. To our great loss his elegy on the death of Josiah, in which the nation joined with heartfelt anguish, is not now extant among his prophecies. Necho, after his victory over the Assyrians, and the capture of Carchemish, took possession of Jerusalem, where, by a hasty choice, Jehoahaz (or

[1] Compare Stanley, p. 339. Herodotus, tempted perhaps by apparent local probability, places the battle at Magdolum, which he supposed, I conceive, was on the Egyptian frontier, not the Magdolum on the shores of the Sea of Galilee; Josephus fixes it at Mendes. This passage has been entirely altered.

[2] Jeremiah was the son of Hilkiah, by some supposed to be the High Priest of the time of Josiah; but there are strong, I think insuperable objections to this view. See Rosenmüller, Introd. to Jeremiah. He was of a priestly family, but of Anathoth.

Shallum), a younger son of Josiah, had been raised to the throne. The capture of a city under the name of Kadutis[1] (the holy city) is related by Herodotus, but probably this was not Jerusalem. In the celebrated royal tomb, discovered by Belzoni, in the valley of Biban el Malook, near Thebes, the name of Necho was thought to be distinctly deciphered.[2] A painting on the same walls exhibited a procession of captives, some of whom, from their physiognomy and complexion, were clearly distinguished as Jews. The conqueror deposed and imprisoned Jehoahaz, after a reign of three months;[3] exacted a heavy fine from the kingdom, and placed Eliakim (Jehoiakim) on the throne.

From this period the kingdom of Judæa fell into a state of alternate vassalage to the two conflicting powers of Egypt and Assyria. The shadows of kings, who were raised to the throne, were dismissed at the breath of their liege lord. It is a deplorable period of misrule and imbecility. Without ability to defend them, these unhappy kings had only the power of entailing all the miseries of siege and capture on their people, by rebellions which had none of the dignity, while they had all the melancholy consequences, of a desperate struggle for independence. The kings recede indeed into obscurity; the central figure around which gathers all the interest of the falling state, the counsellor whose warning voice rises above the tumult, but which is seldom heard, is the Prophet Jeremiah. Throughout this long agony, about twenty-three years, of the dying kingdom, he almost alone is endeavouring to avert, or delay, or mitigate the blow; he is afflicted in all the afflictions of the king and people: when he cannot give hope, or consolation, or peace, he gives his tender sympathy, is himself the sad example of exile, persecution, misery, death.

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 604) the mightiest monarch who had wielded the Assyrian power, Nebuchadnezzar, was associated in the empire with his father, and

[1] It seems now generally agreed among learned men that the Kadutis of Herodotus is not Jerusalem, but some strong town on the coast, probably Gaza. However this may be, there can be no doubt of the humble submission of Jerusalem, after Necho's triumphant capture of Carchemish.

[2] A strong objection has been raised to this supposition. Necho was of the Saitic dynasty of kings; and Herodotus clearly asserts that the burial place of the whole race was in Lower Egypt. The tomb was certainly not that of Necho.

[3] He put him in bonds at Riblah, in the land of Hamath. This shows the great extent of the northern conquests of Necho. He was sent afterwards into Egypt, where he died. Jer. xxii.

assumed the command of the armies of Assyria. Babylon now takes the place of Nineveh as the capital of the Assyrian empire. The arms of Assyria resume their preponderance over those of Egypt; but vassalage to the dominion of Egypt or of Babylon is now the ignominious doom of the king of Judah. As the armies of Nebuchadnezzar advanced, the prophetic eye of Jeremiah saw the approaching tempest: he saw the tide of Egyptian conquest rolled back from the Euphrates to the frontier, perhaps beyond the frontier, of Egypt; he saw in succession all the western kingdoms, some before, some after the fall of Jerusalem, swallowed up in the all-absorbing gulf of the Babylonian conquests. He saw Damascus, the city of Benhadad, a blaze of fire; Rabbah of Ammon, a desolation; the cities of Moab, Moab herself, utterly destroyed; Edom, and her splendid capital, Bosrah, and the city in the clefts of the rocks (Petra), brought down; the Arabian Kedar, and her flocks and camels, plundered; Hazor a dwelling-place for dragons; the cities of Philistia overrun; Tyre herself beleaguered, and, after a resistance of thirteen years, compelled to an ignominious capitulation.[1] That inevitable, irresistible tempest the prophet endeavoured to avert from Jerusalem by the only means which remained in the impoverished and enfeebled state of the kingdom, timely submission. Long had he struggled, but in vain, to restore the strength of the state by the reformation and religious union of the king and the people. In the royal palace and in the temple he had uttered his solemn warnings. His honest zeal had offended the priesthood. He had been arraigned as a false prophet before the royal council, where, by the intervention of powerful friends, he had been acquitted. Uriah, another prophet, who had boldly exercised that unwelcome office, after having fled in vain to Egypt, had been seized and put to death. At this juncture Jeremiah again came forward. In opposition to a strong Egyptian faction, he urged the impracticability of resistance to the Babylonian forces, already on their march. But he spoke to deaf and heedless ears. He then denounced an impending servitude of the whole people, which was to last for seventy years; and to give further publicity to his awful remonstrances, he commanded Baruch, a scribe, to write on a roll the whole of his predictions. The roll was read, during a general fast, in the

[1] Read for all this the magnificent chapters of Jeremiah (xlvi.–xlix.). The chronology is difficult.

most public place, before the gate of the Temple. The chief nobility of the city were strongly affected, but the headstrong king cut the roll to pieces, cast it into the fire, and Jeremiah and Baruch were obliged to conceal themselves from his vengeance. The event soon justified the wisdom of the prophet. Nebuchadnezzar, having retaken Carchemish (B.C. 601), passed the Euphrates, and rapidly overran the whole of Syria and Palestine. Jerusalem made little resistance.[1] The king was put in chains to be carried as a prisoner to Babylon. On his submission, he was reinstated on the throne; but the Temple was plundered of many of its treasures, and a number of well-born youths, among whom were Daniel, and three others, best known by their Persian names, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego. From this date commence the seventy years of the Captivity. Jehoiakim had learned neither wisdom nor moderation from his misfortunes.[2] Three years after, he attempted to throw off the yoke of Chaldæa.[3] Nebuchadnezzar, occupied with more important affairs, left the subjugation of Palestine to the neighbouring tribes, who, for three years longer, ravaged the whole country, shut up Jehoiakim

[1] The most striking illustration of the irresistible might of Nebuchadnezzar and his Chaldæan army is read in Jeremiah xxxvii. 10, though the passage may belong to a somewhat later period. "*For though ye had smitten the whole army of Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but wounded among them, yet should they rise every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire.*" The invincible prowess and overwhelming power of Nebuchadnezzar were known to the Greeks, perhaps from Berosus (Joseph. Ant. x.). Megasthenes compared him to Hercules. Strabo, xv. 1, 6. It must be borne in mind, that throughout the time of Jeremiah it was not the question of the independence and liberty of the kingdom of Judah, but of which sovereign, the Babylonian or the Egyptian, she should be the vassal.

[2] Ewald supposes, not I think without ground, that there were two factions in the city: one the strong religious party, who would have adhered to the stern religious policy of Josiah, the absolute and inexorable suppression of all foreign rites; the other, which, without abandoning the worship of Jehovah, or perhaps its supremacy, would tolerate, not only the mitigated idolatry of Jeroboam, but even the rites and ceremonies of the Gentile nations. Besides these there were manifestly an Assyrian and an Egyptian party. The kings, almost all youths, feeble in character, vassals rather than independent sovereigns, fluctuated between these contending factions, and, without courage to embrace either, inflamed the mutual jealousies. No one certainly trod in the bold and firm steps of Josiah.

[3] Much obscurity still hangs on the rise of the Chaldæo-Babylonian on the ruins of the Ninevite empire. It seems probable that it had some connection with the great Scythian invasion. The mysterious Chaldæans now appear as a rude warlike race, whether foreign or native to the realm of Babylonia—now as a class of priests, philosophers, astronomers, diviners, magicians. So also with the Medes, to whom the destruction of the city seems to be attributed, and perhaps the successful inroads of the Egyptians under Necho. I cannot think that this obscurity is yet dispersed by the recent discoveries.

in Jerusalem; and at length this weak and cruel king was slain (B.C. 598), perhaps in some sally. His unhonoured remains were buried, "with the burial of an ass."[1]

Jehoiachin (Jeconias or Coniah), his son, had scarcely mounted the throne, when Nebuchadnezzar himself appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. The city surrendered at discretion. The king and all the royal family, the remaining treasures of the Temple, the strength of the army and the nobility, and all the more useful artisans, were carried away to Babylon. Over this wreck of a kingdom, Zedekiah (Mattaniah), the younger son of Josiah, was permitted to enjoy an inglorious and precarious sovereignty of eleven years, during which he abused his powers, even worse than his imbecile predecessors. In his ninth year, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the wise Jeremiah, he endeavoured to assert his independence; and Jerusalem, though besieged by Nebuchadnezzar in person, now made some resistance. The Egyptian faction in the city were encouraged by the advance of Hophra (Apries), the reigning Pharaoh, into Palestine. This march suspended for a time the operations of the Babylonians. The Jews, released from the pressing danger, recanted all the vows of reformation which they had begun to make. But Hophra and the Egyptian army were defeated or retired; and the toils closed again around the devoted city. Jeremiah, undaunted by his ill-success, still boldly remonstrated against the madness of resistance. He was thrown into a foul and noisome dungeon, on an accusation of treasonable correspondence with the enemy.[2] Yet, even after this, with a confidence in the faithfulness of God, and in the eventual restoration of the undying theocracy, more remarkable in one, the habit and predilection of whose

[1] There is much difficulty about the death of Jehoiakim. In 2 Kings xxiv. 6, he is said simply to have slept with his fathers; in 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 6, to have been put in chains to be carried to Babylon. The "burial of an ass" rests on Jeremiah xxii. 18, 19, and xxxvi. 30.

Among the most valuable parts of Ewald's History is the manner in which he has discerned with the rarest acuteness, and worked out with the greatest, sometimes, doubtless, with too great ingenuity, from the writings of the prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and one or two of the minor prophets, incidents and occurrences during these late, obscure, and inglorious reigns, which are either passed over or but dimly suggested in the close and rapid narrative of the Book of Kings, or the even more hasty and confused account in the Chronicles. I should have been glad to avail myself of some of these suggestions, but it would have required ampler space than I could command, and would have made necessary critical discussions which I hold ought to be followed out extraneously, and not to be embodied in a history.

[2] Jer. xx. 2–6.

soul seemed to be towards the gloomy and disastrous, Jeremiah, with the stern heroism of the Roman who bought at its full value the land on which Hannibal had encamped his army, purchased the field of Hananiah, his uncle's son, near his native Anathoth. At length in the city, famine reduced the fatal obstinacy of despair. Jerusalem opened its gates to the irresistible conqueror. The king, in an attempt to break through the besieging forces, or meditating flight towards his ally the king of Ammon, was seized on the plain of Jericho. His children were slain before his face, his eyes put out, and thus the last king of the royal house of David, blind and childless, was led away into a foreign prison.[1]

The capture of Jerusalem took place on the ninth day of the fourth month: on the seventh day of the fifth month (two days on which Hebrew devotion still commemorates the desolation of the city by solemn fast and humiliation) the relentless Nabuzaradan executed the orders of his master by levelling the city, the palaces, and the Temple, in one common ruin. The few remaining treasures, particularly the two brazen pillars which stood before the Temple, were sent to Babylon; the chief priests were put to death, the rest carried into captivity.

Jeremiah survived to behold the sad accomplishment of all his darkest predictions. He witnessed all the horrors of the famine, and, when that had done its work, the triumph of the enemy. He saw the strongholds of the city cast down; the palace of Solomon, the Temple of God, with all its courts, its roofs of cedar and of gold, levelled to the earth, or committed to the flames; the sacred vessels, the ark of the covenant itself, with the cherubim, pillaged by profane hands. What were the feelings of a patriotic and religious Jew at this tremendous crisis, he has left on record in his unrivalled elegies. Never did city suffer a more miserable fate, never was ruined city lamented in language so exquisitely pathetic. Jerusalem is, as it were, personified, and bewailed with the passionate sorrow of private and domestic attachment: while the more general pictures of the famine, the common misery of every rank, and age, and sex, all the desolation, the

[1] There was a later tradition that Zedekiah was set to work, when blind, in a mill. Ezekiel evidently alludes to his loss of sight: "My net also will I spread upon him, and he shall be taken into my snare; and I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldeans, yet shall he not *see* it, though he shall die there."—Ezekiel xii. 13.

carnage, the violation, the dragging away into captivity, the remembrance of former glories, of the gorgeous ceremonies, and of the glad festivals, the awful sense of the Divine wrath heightening the present calamities, are successively drawn with all the life and reality of an eye-witness. They combine the truth of history with the deepest pathos of poetry.

How solitary doth she sit, the many-peopled city!
She is become a widow, the great among the Nations;
The Queen among the provinces, how is she tributary!

Weeping—weeps she all the night; the tears are on her cheeks;
From among all her lovers, she hath no comforter;
Her friends have all dealt treacherously; they are become her foes.
—i. 1, 2.

The ways of Sion mourn: none come up to her feasts,
All her gates are desolate; and her Priests do sigh;
Her virgins wail! herself, she is in bitterness.—i. 4.

He hath plucked up his garden-hedge, He hath destroyed his Temple;
Jehovah hath forgotten made the solemn feast and Sabbath;
And in the heat of ire He hath rejected King and Priest.

The Lord his altar hath disdained, abhorred his Holy place,
And to the adversary's hand given up his palace walls;
Our foes shout in Jehovah's house as on a festal day.—ii. 7, 8.

Her gates are sunk into the earth, He hath broke through her bars;
Her Monarch and her Princes all are now among the Heathen;
The Law hath ceased; the Prophets find no vision from Jehovah.
—ii. 10.

My eyes do fail with tears, and troubled are my bowels,
My heart's blood gushes on the earth, for the daughter of my people;
Children and suckling babes lie swooning in the squares—

They say unto their mothers, Where is the corn and wine?
They swoon as they were wounded, in the city squares;
While glides the soul away into their Mother's bosom.—ii. 11, 12.

Even dragons, with their breasts drawn out, give suck unto their young;
But cruel is my people's daughter, as the Ostrich in the desert;
The tongues of sucking infants to their palates cleave with thirst.

Young children ask for bread, and no man breaks it for them ;
Those that fed on dainties are desolate in the streets ;
Those brought up in scarlet, even those embrace the dunghill.
—iv. 3, 4, 5.

Behold, Jehovah ! think with whom thou e'er hast dealed thus !
Have women ever eat their young, babes fondled in their hands ?
Have Priest and Prophet e'er been slain in the Lord's Holy place ?

In the streets, upon the ground, lie slain the young and old :
My virgins and my youth have fallen by the sword ;
In thy wrath thou'st slain them, thou hast had no mercy.

Thou hast summoned all thy terrors, as to a solemn feast ;
None 'scaped, and none was left in Jehovah's day of wrath ;
All that mine arms have borne and nursed, the enemy hath slain.
—ii. 20, 1, 2.

Remember, Lord, what hath befallen,
Look down on our reproach.
Our heritage is given to strangers,
Our home to foreigners.
Our water have we drank for money,
Our fuel hath its price.—v. 1, 2, 3.

We stretch our hands to Egypt,
To Assyria for our bread.
At our life's risk we gain our food,
From the sword of desert robbers.
Our skins are like an oven, parched,
By the fierce heat of famine.
Matrons in Sion have they ravished,
Virgins in Judah's cities.

Princes were hung up by the hand,
And age had no respect.
Young men are grinding at the mill,
Boys faint 'neath loads of wood.
The elders from the gate have ceased,
The young men from their music.

The crown is fallen from our head,
Woe ! woe ! that we have sinned.
'Tis therefore that our hearts are faint,
Therefore our eyes are dim,
For Sion's mountain desolate,
The foxes walk on it.

The miserable remnant of the people were placed under the command of Gedaliah,[1] as a pasha of the great Assyrian monarch; the seat of government was fixed at Mizpeh. Yet ambition could look with envy even on this eminence. Gedaliah was assassinated by Ishmael, a man of royal blood. Johanan attempted to revenge his death. Ishmael, discomfited, took refuge with the Ammonites; but Johanan and the rest of the Jews, apprehensive lest they should be called in question for the murder of Gedaliah, fled to Egypt, and carried Jeremiah with them. For Jeremiah had refused to accompany the Chaldæan conqueror to a safe and honourable retreat in Babylon; he had clung to the fallen fortunes of his race under Gedaliah. At Mizpeh the Prophet had continued to lift up his intrepid voice against the wild trust in Egypt, against the sins and idolatries of the people. Even in Egypt, a prisoner at Tahpannes, his courage was unbroken, his holy denunciations did not cease. There at length the Prophet died; either, according to conflicting traditions, put to death by the Jews,[2] or by king Hophra.

Thus closes the First Period of the Jewish History; and, in the ordinary course of human events, we might expect, the national existence of the Israelitish race. The common occupancy of their native soil seems, in general, the only tie that permanently unites the various families and tribes which constitute a nation. As long as that bond endures, a people may be sunk to the lowest state of degradation; they may be reduced to a slave-caste under the oppression of foreign invaders; yet favourable circumstances may again develop the latent germ of a free and united nation: they may rise again to power and greatness, as well as to independence. But, when that bond is severed, nationality usually becomes extinct. A people transported from their native country, if scattered in small numbers, gradually melt away, and are absorbed in the surrounding tribes: if settled in large masses, remote from each other, they grow up into distinct commonwealths; but in a generation or two the principle of separation, which is perpetually at work, effectually obliterates all com-

[1] Nebuzaradan (the general of Nebuchadnezzar) only left, according to the strong language of the second Book of Kings, xxv. 12, "of the poor of the land, to be vinedressers and husbandmen."

[2] Epiphanius records the former tradition: ἐν Τάφναις Αἰγύπτου λιθοβοληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐτελεύτησε.

munity of interest or feeling. If a traditionary remembrance of their common origin survives, it is accompanied by none of the attachment of kindred; there is no family pride or affection; there is no *blood* between the scattered descendants of common ancestors.[1] For time gradually loosens all other ties; habits of life change; laws are modified by the circumstances of the state and people; religion, at least in all polytheistic nations, is not exempt from the influence of the great innovator. The separate communities have outgrown the common objects of national pride; the memorable events of their history during the time that they dwelt together, their common traditions, the fame of their heroes, the songs of their poets, are superseded by more recent names and occurrences; each has his new stock of reminiscences, in which their former kindred cannot participate. Even their languages have diverged from each other; they are not of one speech, they have either entirely or partially ceased to be mutually intelligible. If, in short, they meet again, there is a remote family likeness, but they are strangers in all that connects man with man, or tribe with tribe.

One nation alone seems entirely exempt from this universal law. During the Babylonian captivity, as in the longer dispersion under which they have been for ages afflicted, the Jews still remained a separate people. However widely divided

[1] A Jewish writer, to whose former book, "Geschichte der Israeliten," I was greatly indebted in my succeeding volumes, in a recent work ("Geschichte des Judenthums," von Dr. J. M. Jost, Leipsic, 1857), has a passage so resembling this, that it might almost appear, though of course this is not possible, transcribed from the page above:—"Mit erstaunen erblicken wir hier eine Wirkung des furchtbarsten Schicksals, das je ein Volk getroffen, wie die Geschichte nirgend eine ähnliche darbietet. Unendlich viele Völkerschaften erlagen der Gewalt stärkerer Nationen, und erlitten das Unheil des Krieges und der Knechtschaft; vielen gelang es nachmals wieder, das joch abzuwerfen, und ihre Freiheit und Selbstandigkeit zu erringen: das ist der Gang der Geschichte. Aber hier sehen wir ein ganz eigenthümliches Schauspiel. Ein Volk ist gänzlich zertrümmert und für immer vernichtet, seine Heimath theils verödet, theils von andern Bewohnern besetzt, die wenigen zurückgebliebenen verarmt, und nur der niedern Arbeit lebend; keine Aussicht, je wieder irgend welche macht zu erreichen, jeder nur darauf angewiesen, sich unter fremden Völkern Brot zu suchen, dabei offenbar weder geachtet noch gefürchtet, vielmehr seinem eigenem Schicksal überlassen; im ganzem zu gering an Zahl, um sich zu sammeln und gemeinsame Kraft zu entfalten; allen menschlichen Berechnungen zufolge dazu bestimmt, trotz der zähen Anhanglichkeit an väterlichen Sitten, nach und nach gänzlich unterzugehen und zu verschwinden: dieses Volk erwacht mitten in der Unheil, um ein neues geistiges Leben zu beginnen, und erfährt in einem sehr kurzem Zeitraum einem Umschwung, wie er selbst von der bis dahin letzten Propheten nur dunkel geahnet worden, welchen immer noch eine Hoffnung auf Wiederherstellung des Reiches vorschwebte." i. pp. 17, 18.

from their native country, they were still Jews; however remote from each other, they were still brethren. What then were the bonds by which Divine Providence held together this single people? What were the principles of their unextinguishable nationality? Their Law and their Religion: their Law, of the irreversible perpetuity of which they were steadfastly convinced, and to which at length they adhered too long and too pertinaciously; their Religion, which, however it might admit of modifications, in its main principles remained unalterable.

Under the influence of these principles, we shall hereafter see the Jewish people resuming their place among the nations of the earth, and opening a new and extraordinary career, to end even in a more awful dissolution.

BOOK IX

THE HIGH PRIESTS

The Captivity — The Return to the Holy Land — Rebuilding of the Temple — The Samaritans — Esther — Ezra — Nehemiah — Simon the Just — Alexandrian Jews — Persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes.

B.C. 584.

NOTHING could present a more striking contrast to their native country than the region into which the Hebrews were transplanted. Instead of their irregular and picturesque mountain city, crowning its unequal heights, and looking down into its deep and precipitous ravines, through one of which a scanty stream wound along, they entered the vast, square, and level city of Babylon, occupying both sides of the broad Euphrates; while all around spread immense plains, which were intersected by long stright canals, bordered by rows of willows. How unlike their national temple—a small but highly finished and richly adorned fabric, standing in the midst of its courts on the brow of a lofty precipice—the colossal temple of the Chaldean Bel, rising from the plain, with its eight stupendous stories or towers, one above the other, to the perpendicular height of a furlong! The palace of the Babylonian kings was more than twice the size of their whole city: it covered eight miles, with its hanging gardens built on arched terraces, each rising above the other, and rich in all the luxuriance of artificial cultivation. How different from the sunny cliffs of their own land, where the olive and the vine grew spontaneously, and the cool, shady, and secluded valleys, where they could always find shelter from the heat of the burning noon![1] No wonder then that, in the pathetic words of their own hymn, *by the waters of Babylon they sate down and wept, when they remembered thee, O Zion.* Of their general treatment as

[1] The prophets of the Captivity dwell fondly on their restoration to their mountain land. Compare Ezekiel xiii. "(I will) feed them upon the *mountains* of Israel by the rivers . . . upon the high *mountains* of Israel shall their fold be . . . in a fat pasture shall they feed upon the *mountains* of Israel."

captives, we know little. The psalm above quoted seems to intimate that the Babylonians had taste enough to appreciate the poetical and musical talent of the exiles, and that they were summoned occasionally to amuse the banquets of their masters, though it was much against their will that they sang the songs of Zion in a strange land. In general it seems that the Jewish exiles were allowed to dwell together in considerable bodies, not sold as household or personal or prædial slaves, at least not those of the better order of whom the Captivity chiefly consisted. They were colonists rather than captives, and became by degrees possessed of considerable property. They had taken the advice of the prophet Jeremiah [1] (who gave them no hopes of speedy return to their homes): they had built houses, planted gardens, married and brought up children, submitted themselves as peaceful subjects to the local authorities: all which implies a certain freedom, a certain degree of prosperity and comfort. They had free enjoyment of their religion, such at least as adhered faithfully to their belief in Jehovah. We hear of no special and general religious persecution.[2] The first deportation of chosen beautiful youths, after the earlier defeat of Jehoiakim, for hostages, or as a kind of court-pages, was not numerous. The second transportation swept away the king, his wife, all the officers and attendants of his court, 7000 of the best of the army, 1000 picked artisans, armourers, and others, amounting to 10,023 men. The last was more general; it comprehended the mass of the people, according to some calculations towards 300,000 or 400,000 souls. These must have had lands assigned to them for cultivation, agricultural or pastoral—lands which the wars and conquests of Nebuchadnezzar and the consequent desolations would place at his command.

[1] Jer. xxix. 5, 6.

[2] Jost well observes that the tyrannical order, issued according to the book of Esther, was to kill them, not to compel them to give up their religion. "Es ist so gar wahrscheinlich das die Juden nach ihre Herkunft von fünf Orten, und zugleich nach Familien-Verwandschaft in Massen zusamm wohnten, unter gewissen Gemeinde-Einrichtungen, ähnlich deren der Heimat In der that klagen die Juden mit bitterm Schmerz über den Untergar Jerusalems, über den Spott und die Smach, welche sie als Besiegte von ihre.. Besiegern zu erdulden hatten, nirgend über einem Zwang ihre Religion und ihre Sitten auszugeben." i. p. 22.

"Man darf nicht daher an einer Gefangenhaltung, oder Gefangenschaft jeglicher solchen Deportatirten denken; sondern es war bloss eine Versetzung (*μετοικέσια . . . μετοίκισμος*). Wo sie auch ihren Sitz erhielten, bekamen sie Eigenthum und traten in die Rechte activer Bürger ein." Bertholdt, Daniel, i. 176.

There was one large settlement on the river Chebar, probably at no great distance from Babylon.[1] It was there that the prophet Ezekiel related his splendid visions, which seem impressed with the immense and gigantic character of the region and empire of Babylon.[2] To the bold and rapid creations of the earlier Hebrew poets, Ezekiel adds not merely a vehement and tragical force, peculiar to his own mind, but a vastness and magnificence of imagery drawn from the scenery and circumstances by which he was surrounded.[3] The world of Ezekiel, and that of his contemporary, Daniel, seems enlarged: the future teems with imperial dynasties and wide and universal monarchies. It is curious that the earliest monuments of Persian antiquity, in Persepolis and its neighbourhood, abound with sculptures representing those symbolic and composite animals which occur so frequently in the visions of these two prophets, especially of Daniel. Daniel had been among those noble youths transported to Babylon at the first invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, most likely as hostages for the good conduct and submission of the vassal king. These young men were treated with great kindness, educated with the utmost care,

[1] It is called Tel-Abib (Ezek. iii. 15). On which see much not very profitable learning in Rosenmüller's note.

I think the common notion which I followed, identifying the Chebar of Ezekiel with the Chaboras or Chabour, which falls into the Euphrates at Circesium, Carchemish, erroneous, chiefly from a reason which I have not seen suggested. Carchemish commanded the passage of the Euphrates, and was the great battle-point between the Egyptian and Babylonian monarchies. It was not likely that the Babylonians would place a large colony of exiles of doubtful fidelity near so important a post. It is conjectured (it can but be a conjecture) that the Chebar of Ezekiel is the Nahar Malcha, the great canal between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Another reason occurs to me of some weight. It is not till five months after (from Ab to Thebet) that a fugitive brings the news of the capture of Jerusalem to the Chebar settlement of Ezekiel (Ezek. xxxiii. 21). The river Chaboras, near Carchemish, was much nearer, and on the high road.

[2] When it is said of Ezekiel he speaks in parables, it seems to imply that symbolic teaching so characteristic of his manner, and akin to the symbolic language of the Eastern monuments. It may be pressing this too far, but the allineation of Jerusalem and the siege on a tile (a Babylonian brick) seems instance in point. Ezekiel iv. 1.

[3] I find that I have anticipated almost the expressions of a later *Jewish* writer. "Diese Letzere (die Originalität Ezekiels) zeigt sich besonders in seinem unerschöpflichen Reichthum an Bildern, die allerdings häufig überladen, verworren und selbst abstossend erscheinen, aber wieder durch ihre Riesenhaftigkeit, durch ein wahrhaft Kyclopisches in ihnen unwiderstehlich fesseln." Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, i. p. 206.

I have been more surprised by an extract from the Talmud quoted by Herzfeld. Raba Chagiga says: "Ich nannte aber die Symbolik des Jecheskel Mittel-Asish, weil unverkennbar ist, dass sie ihre Eigenthümlichkeit seinem Aufenthalt in Babylonien verdankt," ibid., p. 208, note.

both in the manners and duties of the great officers of the Assyrian court, and in all the half-scientific, half-superstitious knowledge, the astronomy, the divination, and skill in the interpretation of dreams, for which the priesthood of the Chaldeans long maintained unrivalled celebrity. Daniel received the name of Belteshazzar; his chief companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, those of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego.

If the eminence to which Daniel attained in the favour of successive monarchs inspired the captive Jews with confidence that Divine Providence still watched over the chosen people, his example contributed no less to confirm them in their adherence to the law and the religion of their ancestors. These youthful hostages were to be sumptuously maintained at the public charge. But Daniel and his companions, apprehensive of legal defilement, insisted on being supported on the meanest and simplest food, common pulse. On this coarse and ascetic diet, perhaps that of the Hebrew prophets, they throve, and became so well favoured as to do no discredit to the royal entertainment. When Nebuchadnezzar raised his golden image on the plain of Dura, which all men were to worship,[1] the companions of Daniel, resisting the act of idolatry, were thrown into the fiery furnace, from whence they were miraculously delivered. Under a later monarch, who forbade any prayer to be offered, for thirty days, but to himself, Daniel, with the same boldness, refusing to suspend his petitions to the Almighty, was cast into the den of lions, whose mouths were closed against the man of God. But it was chiefly like his predecessor Joseph, as interpreter of dreams, that Daniel acquired his high distinction. Twice he was summoned to this important office by Nebuchadnezzar; once when the unconscionable demand was made of the national interpreters, that they should expound a vision of which they did not know the substance; once when the haughty monarch was warned of a dreadful malady (some kind of madness), by which his pride was to be humbled, when he should be expelled from human society, and eat grass like a beast of the field.[2] On

[1] There is a curious similitude between this idolatrous act demanded of the Jews and the trials of the early Christians, who were ordered, on pain of death, to worship the statues of the Roman emperors.

[2] The decipherers of the cuneiform inscriptions translate one, which illustrates in a singular manner this mysterious malady, this insanity, which fell on Nebuchadnezzar. For a time all his wars and conquests ceased; his magnificent buildings were suspended; the gods were no longer worshipped; his

both occasions the Hebrew interpreter was equally successful. In the same manner he was called upon to expound the fatal handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar, on that memorable night when the human hand, during the sumptuous banquet, wrote upon the wall the mysterious words MENE. MENE. TEKEL. UPHARSIN, interpreted by Daniel that the kingdom was *numbered* and finished—Belshazzar *weighed* in the balance and found wanting—his kingdom taken away, and given to the Medes and *Persians*.

Like Joseph in Egypt, Daniel became one of the viziers or satraps of the mighty empire, when it passed into the hands of

reign, as he himself declares, became a blank. "Four years? . . . the seat of my kingdom . . . in the city . . . which . . . did not rejoice my heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power: the precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon, buildings for my kingdom and for myself I did not lay out. In the worship of Merodach, my Lord, the joy of my heart? In Babylon, the city of his sovereignty, and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises? and I did not furnish his altars (with victims), nor did I clear out the canals."—Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. pp. 585, 587.

I may spare myself in this work a laborious investigation into the age and authenticity of the Book of Daniel, doubted in this country by some of the most learned and best of men, from Bentley to Arnold; in Germany, as Lucke declares, considered to be quite determined; and which requires a more powerful vindicator than Hengstenberg and his English followers. In the text, which professes to give the result, not the process of inquiry, it would be utterly out of place: to exhaust it in a note would require many pages. That it appears in the Jewish canon, not among the historic or prophetic writings, but among the Ketubim, is itself a significant fact. I do not lay so much stress on the language—the Greek words, chiefly of musical instruments, though one or two are suspicious. Such words might appear where there were Greek slaves, as in the Persian, and even Babylonian court, like Myrrha in Byron's Sardanapalus, who brought their musical instruments, and with them instruments their names. One, for the harp, seems of Syrian origin. The Persian words, which I am told are numerous, would rather favour its Eastern composition. I am more impressed with the general tone and character of the book. It seems to consist of two parts, quite distinct in object and design —the historical, and what may be called the prophetic or apocalyptic part. But the part couched in an historical form has much of the poetical manner of prophetic writing, while the prophecy down to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes reads like history. The first part is the Book of Daniel as concerning Daniel; it speaks of him in the third person; there is not the slightest indication of Daniel as the author. In the second, Daniel is introduced speaking as a prophet. That the early part contains the traditions of the captivity and the life and times of Daniel, seems probable. The compiler of prophecies attributed to Daniel would naturally introduce such as the preface to the prophecies. But the prophecies down to Antiochus read so singularly like a transcript of the history, and are in this respect so altogether unlike any other in either Testament, that they might almost be used, so plain are they and distinct and unvisionary, as historical documents. On the other hand there is something so vast, Oriental, imaginative, in the manner in which the earlier events are related, that, in full confidence that the main facts are historically true—I use them as mainly historical. They may have been handed down by tradition to a later compiler.

the Medes and Persians. Nor was this rapid advancement of their countryman—though the manner in which Daniel is named by his contemporary Ezekiel[1] shows the pride and reverence with which the whole nation looked up to their distinguished compatriot—the only ground of hope and consolation to the scattered exiles. Beyond the gloomy waste of the Captivity, their prophets had always opened a vista of long ages of more than their former happiness and glory; to which their restoration to their own rich and pleasant land was the first and preparatory promise. Jeremiah had limited the duration of the Captivity to seventy years:[2] he had evinced his confidence in the certainty of his own predictions by one of the most remarkable examples of teaching by significant action, so common among the Hebrew prophets. In the time of the utmost peril he had purchased an estate at Anathoth, and concealed the title-deeds with the greatest care, in order that they might come to light, for the benefit of his posterity, after the restoration of the Hebrew polity; in which event he thus showed his own implicit reliance. When therefore they saw the storm bursting upon the haughty and oppressive Babylon —when the vast plains of Shinaar glittered with the hosts of the Medes and Persians; and Cyrus, the designated deliverer, appeared at their head; amid the wild tumults of the war, and the shrieks and lamentations of the captured city, the Jews, no doubt, were chanting, at least murmuring in secret, the prophetic strains of Isaiah or Jeremiah, which described the fall of the son of the morning—the virgin daughter of Babylon

[1] The remarkable fact that Ezekiel (xiv. 14) names as the three great examples of righteousness, Noah, Daniel, and Job—neither Abraham, nor Moses, nor David—one not specially of the house of Israel, but the father of the human race, one living at the time, though in the highest honour, and subject to the severest trial, one altogether a stranger to the race of Israel, is best accounted for by St. Jerome: "Quæritur quum et Abram et Isaac et Jacob, Moyses quoque et cæteri Patriarchæ justi fuerint, cur horum tantummodo fiat mentio? Quod facile solvitur. Hic enim imminens orbi terrarum diluvium, quia omnis terra polluerat vias domini, prohibere non potuit; sed filios, qui forsitan eiusdem virtutis erant, ob seminarium humani generis habuit reservatos. Daniel quoque imminentem captivitatem populi Judæorum nullis fletibus mitigavit. Sed et Job, non ob peccata sed ob probationem, nec domum nec filios liberavit. Alii autem dicunt, quia hi tantum tres viri et prospera et adversa et rursum prospera conspexerunt; idcirco pariter nominatos, et hoc latenter significari, ut quomodo illi et bona et mala et rursum læta viderunt, sic et populum Israel, qui prius bonis fruitus fuerat, et postea captivitatis sustinuit jugum, si egerit pœnitentiam, redire ad pristinam felicitatem."

[2] "Die verbannung Israels werde 70 Jahre . . . ein volles Menschenleben dauern."—Ewald. To approach this number (68) it is usual to calculate from the captivity of Jehoiachim.

sitting in the dust—the ceasing of the oppressor—the ruin of the golden city.

It is not necessary, in relating this part of the Jewish history, to plunge into the intricate and inextricable labyrinth of Assyrian history and chronology. It is unimportant whether we suppose, with Prideaux and most of the earlier writers, that the fatal night, which terminated the life of Belshazzar,[1] witnessed the fall of Babylon, and that Darius the Mede[2] was Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus: or with Larcher and others, that Belshazzar was overthrown, and put to death, by a conspiracy within the city, headed by Darius, a man of Median extraction; and that from this Darius opens a new dynasty of Babylonian kings, which ended in the Persian conquest by Cyrus.[3]

At all events, the close of the seventy years' captivity found Cyrus the undisputed monarch of all the territories, or rather of a more extensive and powerful empire than that of Assyria; and Daniel appears as high in the confidence of this wise and powerful monarch, as he had been in that of his predecessor Darius the Mede. For Darius knew too well the value of this sage and useful minister not to rejoice at his providential delivery from the den of lions; to which, through the intrigues of his enemies, and the unalterable nature of the Median law, he had with reluctance condemned him. This providential deliverance had invested Daniel in new dignity, and he reassumed his station among the pashas, or rather as the supreme head of the pashas, to whom the provinces of the vast Persian empire were committed.[4] Josephus attributes to Daniel, besides his religious and political wisdom, great skill in architecture, and ascribes to him the building of the splendid Mausoleum

[1] The cuneiform decipherers conceive that they have decided the question of who Belshazzar was. The inscriptions show, they say, that Nabonachus, the last king, associated with himself his son Bel-sharuzer, who was the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel. This notion must make large allowance for poetry in the pomp, the titles, the autocratic power attributed to Belshazzar in the chapter of Daniel. The "son" may perhaps be interpreted as the descendant and heir of Nebuchadnezzar.

[2] There is a new theory, that of Marcus Niebuhr, perhaps as probable or more probable than either, that Darius the Mede was Astyages; but sober history, I think, must be content still to suspend its judgment. My own doubtful conjecture would make Cyaxares Darius the Mede.

[3] The whole Babylonian empire after the fall of Babylon, including Syria and Palestine, seems quietly to have submitted to the Persian supremacy.

[4] This halo of legend, with the so-called apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel, Bel and the Dragon, &c., which exaggerate still further what may be called the Oriental tone, and that which is preserved by Josephus, seem to increase the dimness which surrounds him as an historical personage.

at Ecbatana, or according to Jerome, at Susa, where the kings of Persia, and even the later Parthian kings, were interred. The conquests, the successes, the accession of Cyrus, the enemy of their enemies, the mighty deliverer who was breaking the yoke of their oppressors, would be beheld by the Jews with natural joy and triumph, even if that deliverer had not been designated, or named, by their prophets. When that power was in its turn overthrown and enslaved which had broken up their kingdom, razed their temples, transported them from their pleasant land to dwell in exile in a remote and uncongenial soil and climate; when that great, gorgeous city was taken and made desolate; when the gods of their oppressors were rebuked and prostrate before the believers in a religion at least more closely approximating to their own sublime Monotheism; when Bel was bowing down, and Nebo stooping; when the temple of Bel, perhaps the most splendid and spacious edifice ever erected for divine worship (if in massiveness, in grandeur, in its colossal accompaniments not equal to the structures in Egyptian Thebes, yet dwarfing all other temples ever raised by the hand of man), was tottering to its fall, or crumbling into ruin, what must have been the emotions of those especially in whose sight that temple arose (and how far must it have been seen in the clear air of Babylonia!) or over whom it actually projected its immense shadow; and all this ruin taking place before a conquering people of simple worship, a worship, though fantastic, bearing some resemblance to their own, as it appeared by their later adoption of some of its tenets!

The national spirit was not extinguished in the heart of Daniel by all his honours. No doubt, through his influence, Cyrus issued out the welcome edict commanding the restoration of the exiled Hebrews to their native land. Perhaps the framing of the edict, in which the unity of the Godhead was recognised, may be referred to the Jewish minister, though it is by no means improbable that, at this period, the Persians were pure Theists.[1]

[1] This probability has been much heightened by the cuneiform inscriptions, those especially of which the interpretation appears to me the most trustworthy —the translations from the first or Zend column of Behistun.

It is well known that the later chapters of Isaiah are attributed by the common consent of most of the profoundly learned writers of Germany (a few excepted, who in Germany, at least, bear no very high name) to a different writer, whom they call the great nameless Prophet, or the second Isaiah, who wrote during the exile. I must acknowledge that these chapters, in my judg-

The numbers which assembled under Zerubbabel (as Schesh-bazzar),[1] the descendant of their kings, the grandson of Jeconiah, and Jeshua, the hereditary High Priest, were 42,360 men: four out of the twenty-four courses of priests joined the returning exiles.[2] The joyful caravan set forth, bearing the remaining sacred vessels of the Temple which Cyrus had restored.[3] The rest of this equipage is characteristically described as comprising *servants and maids, singing men and singing women, horses, mules, camels, and asses.* On their arrival in their native land, they were probably joined by great numbers of the common people.[4] These, in some degree, made up for the loss of those recreants who did not choose to abandon their dwellings and possessions in Babylonia. They arrived in Judæa with the early spring. In the spring of the following year preparations had been made, and a grant of cedars from Lebanon obtained from Cyrus. The first object was to restore the worship of God; the altar was set up, the feasts re-established, and, in the second week of the second year, the first stone of the new Temple was laid among the joyful acclamations of the multitude, but the tears of the *ancient men that had seen the first house, who, when the foundation of this*

ment, read with infinitely greater force, sublimity, and reality under this view. If they lose, and I hardly feel that they do lose, in what is commonly called prophetic, they rise far more in historical, interest. How does that expression (xlv. 7) "I form the light, and create darkness," soar into stronger significance if written in the presence, the welcome presence, of a creed as hostile as their own to the idolatries of the Assyrian kingdoms, a Monotheism which separated early into a Dualism, over which it maintained, so to speak, its supremacy! Such seems to have been the original doctrine of Zoroaster, whether sage or myth; and that of the purer and original Zendish creed. As to what are usually called the Messianic predictions, those which seem to look further, if I may so say, Gospel-wards, they have the same force and meaning, whether uttered by one or two prophets, at one or two different periods.

[1] Jost thinks Schesh-bazzar a title answering to Pasha. The order was issued to another Schesh-bazzar. Zerubbabel was afterwards appointed Schesh-bazzar or Pasha. Jost, Geschichte des Judenthums, i. 26.

The royal descent of Zerubbabel, that is from the later kings, is doubtful. No doubt he was of the lineage of David.

[2] It is remarkable that only 360 or 341 Levites accompanied this return. There were also 360 Nethinim, persons of foreign extraction, employed by David and Solomon on lower and menial offices in the Temple.

[3] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22.

It is curious to remark the minute and reverent accuracy with which these precious vessels are numbered and described. Ezra i. 7–11. They were in all 5400.

[4] This class seems recognised in Ezra vi. 21; "and the children of Israel, which were come out of captivity, and all such as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land." Compare also Nehem. x. 28.

house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice.[1] For how different was the condition of the Hebrew people, from that splendid period when their kings ruled without rival from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean! The ports of the Red Sea did not now pour the treasures of India and Africa into their dominions; the great caravans passed far beyond their borders. The mercantile Tyrians were, as before, glad to exchange their timber and stone and artisans for the corn, wine, and oil of Palestine; but still the change from the magnificent intercourse between Hiram and Solomon was abasing to the pride of Judæa. The 61,000 drachms of gold, contributed by the heads of the Captivity, are supposed to be Darics, which Prideaux calculates at something more than an English guinea; these with 5000 pounds of silver, though a liberal sum in their present state, might raise a melancholy remembrance of the incalculable treasures which sheeted the former Temple with gold. Nor would the royal order for assistance, contained in the edict of Cyrus, in any degree replace the unbounded treasures accumulated by David and his son. The religious Jews deplored the still more important deficiencies of the new Temple, the Ark, the prophetic Urim and Thummim, the Shechinah or divine presence, the celestial fire on the altar, and the spirit of prophecy, though the last gift still lingered on the lips of Haggai and Zechariah, till it expired, at a later period, on those of Malachi. The Temple was built, probably on the old foundations, but unexpected difficulties impeded its progress. The people called the Samaritans made overtures to assist in the great national work; their proposal was peremptorily and contemptuously rejected.

While the Hebrew writers unanimously represent the Samaritans as the descendants of the Cuthæan colonists introduced by Esarhaddon, a foreign and idolatrous race,[2] their own traditions derive their regular lineage from Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph. The remarkable fact, that this people have preserved the book of the Mosaic law

[1] Haggai ii. 3; Ezra iii. 8, 13. Compare Jost, Judenthum, i. 27, note, who refers to the Talmudic passages.

[2] "Der Rest im Lande, mit fremden Ansiedlern gemengt, bot auch bald ein Gemische religiöser Vorstellungen und bildete eine religiöse Mischpartei die bald nach dem Hauptorte, dem die neuen Ansiedler entstammten Khuftra, den namen Khuthem, bald nach der Hauptstadt des Reiches in dem sie ihren Sitz halten, Samaria, den namen *Samaritaner* hielten." Geiger, Urschrift der Bibel, p. 20.

Basnage gives a strange account from the Samaritan Chronicle of the return of the Samaritans from exile. Vol. ii. p. 43.

in the ruder and more ancient character, while the Jews, after the return from Babylonia, universally adopted the more elegant Chaldean form of letters, strongly confirms the opinion, that, although by no means pure and unmingled, the Hebrew blood still predominated in their race. In many other respects, regard for the sabbath and even for the sabbatic year, and the payment of tithes to their priests, the Samaritans did not fall below their Jewish rivals in attachment to the Mosaic polity. The later events in the history of the kings of Jerusalem show that the expatriation of the ten tribes was by no means complete and permanent; is it then an unreasonable supposition, that the foreign colonists were lost in the remnant of the Israelitish people, and though perhaps slowly and imperfectly weaned from their native superstitions, fell by degrees into the habits and belief of their adopted country? Their proposition of uniting in common worship with the Jews, which there seems no reason to suspect of insincerity (as at the same time, according to the account of Ezra, they seem to have acknowledged their impure descent), clearly evinces the prevalence of Israelitish feelings and opinions over those of strangers and aliens from the blood of Abraham and the Mosaic constitution.[1] It is remarkable that when the Samaritans are first named, they are called *the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin;* an expression which seems to intimate some remains of the hostility towards the rival kingdom of Israel and the hated race of Ephraim; against whom they were glad to have the additional charge of the contamination of their blood by foreign admixture.[2] But whether or not it

[1] Ewald has since expressed the same opinion in words curiously similar: "Wir haben keine Ursache anzunehmen dass das Vorhaben der Samariér nicht ganz ernstlich gemeint war" (iv. p. 116). Ewald justifies the Jewish suspicion as to the purity of the faith of the Samaritans.

Compare on the question of the Samaritans, Herzfeld, iii. 580, and the passages there referred to. Jost, i. 44. The Samaritan Chronicle now published by Juynboll (Hist. Gent. Sam.) is altogether disappointing: if there are any old traditions, they are mingled and utterly confused with later fable.

[2] Among the singular parts of this transaction is the total silence about the old idolatries to which the Israelites, the northern tribes, had been so prone from the first secession. The golden calves of Jeroboam have altogether disappeared; the worship of the neighbouring Syrian tribes, of Moloch, and Chemosh, and Ashtaroth, have lost their once irresistible attractions; nor do we hear of the Babylonian Tsabaism, the worship of the heavenly bodies, which it might be expected that the Cuthæans and other foreign settlers would have brought from their native land.

Herzfeld, ii. 80, would account for this not very satisfactorily by Josiah's reform, mixed marriages, &c.

was the perpetuation of the ancient feud between the two rival kingdoms, from this period the hostility of the Jews and Samaritans assumed its character of fierce and implacable animosity. No two nations ever hated each other with more unmitigated bitterness. With a Jew, every Samaritan was a Cuthæan; and Cuthæan was a term expressive of the utmost scorn and detestation. Everything a Samaritan ate or drank, or even touched, was as swine's flesh; no Samaritan might be made a proselyte; no Samaritan could possibly attain to everlasting life.[1]

The jealous and exclusive spirit, which induced the Jews to suspect, or at all events to repel the advances of their neighbours, if not their kindred, is scarcely reconcilable with the mild and liberal rules of conduct towards the stranger resident in the land (from which the proscribed race of Canaan were alone exempted), contained in the Mosaic law, as well as in the prayer of Solomon on the dedication of his first Temple. Yet this was but one indication of that singular alteration in the national character of the Jews, which displayed itself after their return from the Captivity. It may have been that the sudden and total deprivation of the pompous external ceremonial in the Temple-worship may have thrown back the more religious, at least those whom calamity and humiliation made religious, on the spiritual essence of the faith. Upon the cessation of the frequent and costly sacrifice, they may have bethought themselves of that better sacrifice, already spoken of by the prophets, the sacrifice of the inner man, of the will, and of the heart. And so the loss of that which had been the life of the religion, the Temple-service, with its offerings, and processions, and music, may have acted more powerfully even than the service itself, on multitudes who felt the dreary vacancy, the insupportable want of their accustomed excitement. However this may be, prone before, on every occasion, to adopt the idolatrous practices of the adjacent nations, the Jews now secluded themselves from the rest of the world in proud assurance of their own religious superiority. The law, which of old was perpetually violated, or almost forgotten, was now enforced,

[1] There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation: they that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and the foolish people that dwell in Sichem." Ecclus. l. 25. It is hardly necessary to trace this undying feeling in the New Testament: "Say we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?"

by general consent, to its extreme point, or even beyond it. Adversity endeared that, of which in prosperity they had not perceived the value. Prone, the mass of them, all but the wiser and more enlightened who worshipped Jehovah, to worship him but as a national God, greater and mightier than the gods of other nations (a conception in itself polytheistic), they threw aside this lower kind of pride, to assume that of the sole people of the one true God. Their city, their native soil, their religion, became the objects of the most passionate attachment. Intermarriages with foreigners, neither forbidden by statute nor by former practice, were strictly inhibited. The observance of the Sabbath, and even of the sabbatical year, was enforced with rigour of which we have no precedent in the earlier annals; even to the neglect of defence in time of war. In short, from this period commences that unsocial spirit, that hatred towards mankind and want of humanity to all but their own kindred, with which, notwithstanding the extent to which they carried proselytism to their religion, the Jews are branded by all the Roman writers. The best of these writers could not but be unconsciously or involuntarily impressed by the majesty of this sublime Monotheism, but their pride resented the assumption of religious superiority by this small people; and the stern self-isolation of the Jews from all religious communion with the rest of mankind was beheld only in its seemingly proud and lonely obstinacy—in its refusal to contaminate itself with what it openly declared to be the unholy and unrighteous and foolish usages of the world. Jewish opinion underwent another change no less important: the hope of a Messiah, which had before prevailed but vaguely and indistinctly, had been enlarged and arrayed in the most splendid images by Isaiah, previous to the fall of the city; it had been propagated, and even the time of his appearance declared, by the prophets of the exiles, Ezekiel and Daniel; it now sunk deep into the popular mind, and contributed, no doubt, to knit the indissoluble tie of brotherhood, by which the Hebrew people was held together, more closely. National pride and patriotism appropriated not merely the lofty privilege of being the ancestors of the great Deliverer, but all the advantages and glory which were to attend his coming. In whatever form or character they expected him to appear, king, conqueror, or even God, in this the Jewish race agreed, that the Messiah was to be the king, the conqueror, the God of Israel.

From this period likewise the immortality of the soul, and the belief in another life, appear more distinctly in the popular creed, from which they were never perhaps entirely effaced, but rested only on vague tradition, and were obscured by the more immediate hopes and apprehensions of temporal rewards and punishments, revealed in the Law. But in the writings of the Babylonian prophets, in the vision of dry bones in Ezekiel, and in the last chapter of Daniel, these doctrines assume a more important place; and from the later books, which are usually called the Apocrypha, these opinions appear to have entered fully into the general belief. They formed, as is well known, the distinction between the Pharisaic sect, the great body of the people; and the Sadducees the higher order of freethinkers. In other respects, especially in their notions of angels, who now appear under particular names, and forming a sort of hierarchy, Jewish opinions acquired a new and peculiar colouring from their intercourse with the Babylonians, or rather with the Persian conquerors of Babylonia.

The Samaritan influence at the court of Persia prevented the advancement of the building in Jerusalem, during the rest of the reign of Cyrus; as well as that of Cambyses, and Smerdis the Magian, up to the second year of Darius Hystaspes. Josephus places with apparent probability, under the reign of Cambyses, the formal representation made by the heads of the Samaritans, of the danger which would arise from permitting "the bad and rebellious city to be rebuilt";[1] that

[1] "Be it known now unto the king, that if this city be builded and the walls set up again, then they will not pay toll, tribute, or custom, and so shalt thou endamage the revenue of the kings." Ezra iv. 13.

There is some difficulty in the whole of this transaction. As yet the Jews had only begun to build the Temple: this appeal to the policy and fears of the Persian government seems to imply a commencement at least of walls and fortifications. The statement about the last two of the tribes which, under the noble Asnappar, had peopled Samaria, is curious and difficult to reconcile.

A question which naturally arises, for which we obtain no satisfactory answer, regards the resumption and redistribution of the land after the return from the exile. Did those who returned from the exile enter into possession of their patrimonial estates? Who had possessed and cultivated them (for though much may have been waste, much must still have been cultivated during the seventy years)? How were these possessors, by whatever title they held, ejected? Many did not return, many families must have died out—some apostatised. Under what authority, that of the Persian Pasha, or authority exercised by the Jewish rulers (the elders), did they re-enter upon their property? Was all considered, as sometimes in the East, confiscated to the crown (the Babylonian or Persian king) and regranted? We read that the Jews entered into their cities, as into Jerusalem. A kind of domestic government, of the Elders, was formed (Ezra v. 9, 10; vi. 7, 8, 14), who ruled and

they would break into sedition, refuse tribute, even throw off allegiance. The views of Cambyses on Egypt would give weight to this remonstrance; as, at this juncture, it was manifestly dangerous for the Persian to permit a strong and mutinous city to be built directly on the road of communication between his line of military operation and his native dominions.

On the accession of Darius Hystaspes, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah[1] strongly urged on Zerubbabel, the chieftain of the people, to renew the work. The Persian pashas of the province, Tatnai and Shetharboznai, sent to the sovereign for instructions. Darius commanded the archives to be searched, in which the original edict of Cyrus was found. Darius, who in all respects pursued the policy of the great founder of the monarchy, re-issued and confirmed the decree. Under the protection of the Persian governors, the Jews pressed forward the work, and in the sixth year of Darius, the second Temple, built on the old foundations, but of far less costly and splendid materials, was finally completed. The dimensions seem to have been the same with that of Solomon, except perhaps the height of the interior, which was greater, and the want of the lofty porch or tower. The feast of Dedication was celebrated with all the joy and magnificence which an impoverished and dependent people could display; but what a falling-off in the national sacrifice of 100 bullocks, 200 rams, 400 lambs, and 12 goats, for a sin offering, from the countless hecatombs of Solomon!

The treasures of the national poetry alone were not exhausted: the hymns composed for the second Dedication—probably the five last psalms in the collection—though they by no means equalled, approached far nearer to the vigour and dignity of the earlier hymns, than either the Temple itself to its prototype, or the number and value of the sacrifices. The Jews enjoyed another kind of satisfaction; their Samari-

represented the people; who communicated with the Persian government in the name of the people, and were held responsible, as it should seem, for the public peace. Vague hints are all that transpires of this re-establishment and re-organisation of the exiles in their native land. Josephus asserts that the chief rule under the Persians was with the High Priests, who governed *πολιτείᾳ χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικῇ μετ' ὀλιγαρχίας*. Ant. xi. iv. 8. He says, later (Ant. xx. 10), that they ruled *δημοκρατικῶς*. But the High Priests' supremacy was of later growth. Zerubbabel was now the head of the community, and he was of the lineage of David. The prophets hoped to see in him the restoration of the throne of David. Haggai ii. 23; Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12, 13.

[1] Haggai i. 1, 2, 9; Zech. i. 1–6.

tan adversaries were not merely frustrated in their opposition to the building of the Temple, but obliged, by an imperial edict, to contribute to its completion.

To the Jews the rest of the long reign of Darius Hystaspes passed away in uneventful prosperity: to that of his successor, Xerxes, we assign, with some of the most learned German writers, the remarkable history of Esther. The Ahasuerus of Scripture cannot be Darius Hystaspes; nor do we trace the character of the mild and humane Artaxerxes Longimanus in the capricious despot who repudiates his wife because she will not expose herself to the public gaze in a drunken festival; raises a favourite vizier to the highest honours one day, and hangs him the next; commands the massacre of a whole people, and then allows them, in self-defence, to commit a horrible carnage among his other subjects. Yet all this weak and headstrong violence agrees exactly with the character of that Xerxes who commanded the sea to be scourged, because it broke down his bridge over the Hellespont; beheaded the engineers, because their work was swept away by a storm; wantonly, and before the eyes of the father, put to death the sons of his oldest friend Pythias, who had contributed most splendidly to his armament; shamefully misused the body of the brave Leonidas; and after his defeat, like another Sardanapalus, gave himself up to such voluptuousness, as to issue an edict, offering a reward to the inventor of a new pleasure. The synchronisms, remarked by Eichhorn, strongly confirm this view. In the third year of his reign, Ahasuerus summons a divan of all the great officers of the kingdom at Susa, whom he entertains and banquets 180 days. In his third year, Xerxes, at a great assembly, deliberates and takes measures for the subjugation of Greece. In his seventh year (B.C. 479), Ahasuerus marries Esther. In his seventh year Xerxes returns, discomfited, to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem. The imbecile facility with which Xerxes, according to Herodotus, first gave up to his seductive mistress, Artaynta, a splendid robe, the present of his queen; and then, having made a rash promise at a banquet, yielded up the wife of his brother Masistes (the mother of his mistress) to the barbarous vengeance of his queen; so precisely resembles the conduct of Ahasuerus, that it is impossible not to suspect we are reading of the same person in the Grecian and the Hebrew annalist. The similarity of the names Amestris, wife of Xerxes, and Esther, is likewise observ-

able: and though Esther, at first, appears in an amiable light, by the account of her own countrymen; yet the barbarous execution of the ten sons of Haman diminishes the improbability, that, through jealousy and the corrupting influence of her station in the court of Xerxes, she might in later life have become as revengeful and sanguinary as the Amestris of Herodotus.

But whoever was the Ahasuerus (the great king), during his reign the Jewish nation was in danger of total extermination. At the great imperial banquet, where all the splendour of the kingdom was displayed, the sovereign commanded the presence of his queen, Vashti. With a better sense of her own dignity, the queen refused to attend. The weak monarch was not merely irritated during his state of intoxication; but after he had returned to his sober reason, instead of honouring her higher sense of decency, retained his anger at the disobedience of his queen, degraded Vashti from her royal station, and sent out an edict, ludicrous enough to modern ears, which enacted the implicit submission of all the females in the monarchy to the will of their husbands. After this a general levy of beautiful damsels was made, to supply the seraglio of the king, out of whom he was to select his queen. Hadassah, or Esther, the cousin-german of Mordecai, a distinguished Jew, who had brought her up from her childhood, had the fortune to please the king; she was put in possession of the royal apartments, and at a great festival proclaimed the Queen of Persia, her birth still remaining a secret. Among the rival candidates for the royal favour were Mordecai and Haman, said to be descended from the ancient Amalekitish kings. Mordecai fortunately detected a conspiracy against the life of the king, but Haman soon outstripped all competitors in the race of advancement. Perhaps the great destruction in the families of the Persian nobility, particularly of the seven great hereditary counsellors of the kingdom, during the Grecian war, may account, if any cause is wanting besides the caprice of a despot, for the elevation of a stranger to the rank of first vizier. Mordecai alone, his rival (for this supposition renders the whole history more probable), refused to pay the accustomed honours to the new favourite. Haman, most likely, secretly informed of his connection with the queen, and fearing, therefore, to attack Mordecai openly, determined to take his revenge on the whole Jewish people. He represented them to the king as a dangerous and turbulent race; and

promised to obtain immense wealth, 10,000 talents of silver, no doubt from the confiscation of their property, to the royal treasury, which was exhausted by the king's pleasures and by the Grecian war. On these representations he obtained an edict for the general masacre of the Hebrew people throughout all the provinces of the empire, of which Judæa was one. The Jews were in the deepest dismay; those in Susa looked to Mordecai as their only hope, and he to Esther. The influence of the queen might prevail, if she could once obtain an opportunity of softening the heart of Ahasuerus. But it was death, even for the queen, to intrude upon the royal presence unsummoned, unless the king should extend his golden sceptre in sign of pardon. Esther trembled to undertake the cause of her kindred; but, as of Jewish blood, she herself was involved in the general condemnation. Having propitiated her God by a fast of three days, she appeared, radiant in her beauty, before the royal presence. The golden sceptre was extended towards her; not merely her life, but whatever gift she should demand, was conceded by the captivated monarch. The cautious Esther merely invited the king, and Haman his minister, to a banquet. Haman fell into the snare; and, delighted with this supposed mark of favour from the queen, imagined all impediments to the gratification of his vengeance entirely removed, and gave orders that a lofty gallows should be erected for the execution of Mordecai. The king, in the meantime, during a sleepless night, had commanded the chronicles of the kingdom to be read before him. The book happened to open at the relation of the valuable, but unrequited service of Mordecai, in saving the king's life from a conspiracy within his own palace. The next morning, Ahasuerus demanded from the obsequious minister, "in what manner he might most exalt the man whom he delighted to honour?" The vizier, appropriating to himself this signal mark of favour, advised that this highly distinguished individual should be arrayed in royal robes, set on the king's horse, with the royal crown on his head, and thus led by one of the greatest men through the whole city, and proclaimed to the people, as the man whom the king delighted to honour. To his astonishment and dismay, Haman is himself commanded to conduct, in this triumphant array, his hated rival Mordecai. In terror he consults his wife and the *wise men* as to his future course; he is interrupted by a summons to the banquet of Esther. Here, as usual, the king, enraptured with his enter-

tainment, offers his queen whatever boon she may desire, even to half of his kingdom. Her request is the deliverance of her people from the fatal sentence. The detection and the condemnation of the minister was the inevitable consequence. Haman, endeavouring to entreat mercy, throws himself upon her couch. The jealous monarch either supposing, or pretending to suppose, that he is making an attempt on the person of the queen, commands his instant execution; and Haman, by this summary sentence, is hanged on the gallows which had been raised for Mordecai, while the Jew is raised to the vacant vizieralty. Still, however, the dreadful edict was abroad: messengers were despatched on all sides throughout the realm, which extended from India to Ethiopia, on horseback, on mules, on camels, and on dromedaries, permitting the Jews to stand on the defensive. In Susa they slew 800 of their adversaries; 75,000 in the provinces. The act of vengeance was completed by the execution of Haman's ten sons, who, at the petition of Esther, suffered the fate of their father. So great was the confusion and the terror, caused by the degree of royal favour which Mordecai enjoyed, that the whole nation became objects of respect, and many of other extraction embraced their religion. The memory of this signal deliverance has been, and still is, celebrated by the Jews. The festival is called that of Purim, because on that day Haman cast (Pur) the lot to destroy them. It is preceded by a strict fast on the 13th of the month Adar (February and March); the 14th and 15th are given up to the most universal and unbounded rejoicing. The Book of Esther is read in the Synagogue, where all ages and sexes are bound to be present; and whenever the name of Haman occurs, the whole congregation clap their hands, and stamp with their feet, and answer, "Let his memory perish."

The reign of Artaxerxes,[1] the successor of Xerxes on the Persian throne, was favourable to the Jews. In the seventh year a new migration took place from Babylonia, headed by Ezra, a man of priestly descent and high in favour at the court of Persia.[2] He set out from Susiana, halted near the river Ahava, and obtained from the neighbouring settlement of Kasifya a reinforcement of thirty-eight Levites (none had joined him before).[3] He was invested with full powers to

[1] μακροχειρ—Longimanus. [2] Ezra vii. 6–11.

[3] I think Herzfeld's conjecture about Ahava and Kasifya the best—that Ahava was the district Ahwas, south-west from Susiana; Kasifya, Kohash. II. p. 125.

make a collection among the Jews of Babylonia for the adornment of the national Temple, and to establish magistrates and judges in every part of Judæa. Many of the priesthood of the higher and of the inferior orders had joined themselves to his party—singers, porters, and Nethinims. They arrived in safety, though without any protection from the royal troops, and laden with treasures of great value, in Jerusalem, and were received with the utmost respect both by the Jews and the Persian governors. The national spirit of Ezra was deeply grieved to find that, by contracting marriages with the adjacent tribes, not merely the commonalty, but the chieftains and the priests themselves had contaminated the pure descent of the Israelitish race. By his influence, by his authority, exercised in the most solemn manner, by seclusion in the Temple, by fasting, by what was no doubt deemed special intercourse with God, by the strongest appeal to the strongest national and religious feelings, Ezra prevailed, so that these marriages were generally cancelled, and the foreign wives repudiated; but with a singular impulse of tenderness in this hard severity, the husbands refused to dismiss them and their children during the inclement winter and pouring rain, and insisted on awaiting a milder season for their departure. But the rending asunder of these ties of conjugal love and of fatherhood, at the command of the Law, is the most striking example of the change wrought in the Israelitish people—of the strong, stern passion that their religion had become, which before the exile had hung so loose upon them, had been ready to yield to all the foreign influences of the rites of neighbouring gods, and to open their recluse nationality, with its unsocial worship, to unnational feeling and unreligious vices and idolatries. This was the great measure which drew the iron line of separation between the Jews and the rest of the world.[1]

Still the city of Jerusalem was open and defenceless; the jealous policy of the Persian kings would not permit the Jews to fortify a military post of such importance as their capital. On a sudden, however, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, a man of Jewish descent, cup-bearer to the king, received a commission to rebuild the city with all possible

[1] Herzfeld has drawn out this transaction with great minuteness and accuracy (ii. pp. 13-16), as likewise the whole organisation of the magisterial and judicial authority, that of the priesthood and the Levites, and the whole Temple service. His Talmudic citations on all these points are of weight and value. He may be compared with our own great Talmudist, Lightfoot.

expedition. The cause of this change in the Persian politics is to be sought, not so much in the personal influence of the Jewish cup-bearer, as in the foreign history of the times. The power of Persia had received a fatal blow in the victory obtained at Cnidus by Conon, the Athenian admiral. The great king was obliged to submit to a humiliating peace, among the articles of which were the abandonment of the maritime towns, and a stipulation that the Persian army should not approach within three days' journey of the sea. Jerusalem being about this distance from the coast, and standing so near the line of communication with Egypt, became a post of the utmost value. The Persian court saw the wisdom of intrusting the command of a city and the government of a people always obstinately national, to an officer of their own race, yet on whose fidelity they might have full reliance. The shock which the Persian authority had suffered is still further shown by the stealth and secrecy with which Nehemiah, though armed with the imperial edict, was obliged to proceed. For the heads of the neighbouring tribes, the Samaritans, Ammonites, and Arabians, openly opposed the work. By night, and with their arms in their hands, the whole people of every rank and order laboured with such assiduity—one half working, while the other watched, and stood on their defence —that in incredibly short time, fifty-two days, the enemy, Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian, who had at first treated the attempt with scorn, saw the strong city of Jerusalem, as if by enchantment, girt with impregnable walls and towers, defying their assault, and threatening to bridle their independence. Nehemiah had to contend not only with foreign opposition, but with domestic treachery. Some of the Jewish nobles were in secret correspondence with the enemy, particularly with Tobiah the Ammonite; and the great measure by which the governor relieved the people from usurious burthens, though popular no doubt among the lower orders, by no means conciliated the more wealthy to his administration. The exaction of the Persian tribute pressed heavily on the mass of the people: to defray this charge the poor were obliged to borrow of the rich, who, in defiance of the Mosaic law, exacted enormous usury. Nehemiah, by the example of his own munificence, and by his authority, extorted in a public assembly a general renunciation of these claims, and a solemn oath of future conformity to the law. In the spirit of the ancient constitution he closed the sitting with this impreca-

tion:—he shook his lap, and said, "So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be ye shaken out and emptied." And all the congregation said "Amen!" and praised the Lord.

Having thus provided for the outward security and inward peace of the people, and having solemnly dedicated the wall, Nehemiah left Hanani his brother, and Hananiah, as governors of Jerusalem, strictly enjoining them to keep the gates closed, except during the day, and returned to Persia for a short time, to report his proceedings and renew his commission. On his return, which speedily followed, he took new measures to secure the purity of descent, now held of such high importance among the Jews. The genealogies of all the congregations were inquired into and accurately made out; so too the number of genuine Israelites taken, which was reckoned at 42,360, besides 7337 slaves and 245 singers of both sexes. All their stock amounted (only) to 736 horses, their mules 245, camels 435, asses 1720. Such was the fallen state of this once mighty and opulent nation. Yet still the contributions to the Temple were on a scale comparatively munificent. Nehemiah himself, the leaders, and the body of the people, voluntarily offered a considerable sum in gold, silver, utensils for the service, and costly garments for the priests. There seems to have been much unwillingness in the body of the people to inhabit the city, where probably the police was more strict, the military duties more onerous, and in general more restraint, with less freedom and less profit, than in the cultivation of the soil. But the general security of the country, and most likely direct orders from the court of Persia, required that the capital should be well manned; and accordingly every tenth man, by lot, was constrained to enrol himself among the citizens of Jerusalem.

In the meantime Ezra, who had been superseded in the civil administration by Nehemiah, had applied himself to his more momentous task—the compilation of the Sacred Books of the Jews. Much of the Hebrew literature was lost at the time of the Captivity; the ancient Book of Jasher, that of the Wars of the Lord, the writings of Gad and Iddo the Prophet, and those of Solomon on Natural History. The rest, particularly the Law, of which, after the discovery of the original by Hilkiah, many copies were taken; the historical books, the poetry, including all the prophetic writings, except those of Malachi, were collected, revised, and either at that time, or

subsequently, arranged in three great divisions: the Law, containing the five Books of Moses;[1] the Prophets, the historical and prophetical books; the Hagiographa, called also the Psalms, containing Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. Job,[2] Daniel too, are now found among

[1] Ewald writes thus:—"That the last editor of the Pentateuch lived during the existence of the kingdom of Judah, I have shown before; and how the written Law of Moses since the days of king Josiah came into common use," p. 149. I am persuaded that the written Law, even Deuteronomy, was of far earlier date—indeed existed, if not in its absolutely perfect form as it now exists, but as the recognised, well-known statute law of the people. The fact stated by Jost, on which I have before insisted, that there were many precepts of the Law which it was impossible to keep in the new state of society, many which needed exposition ("Es ist klar dass viele derselben sich gar nicht ausführen liessen, und viele einer Erlauterung bedürften, um nicht misverstanden zu werden," p. 92), is to me a conclusive argument for the high antiquity of the Law. At a later period such clauses could hardly be invented, could not possibly be interpolated.

Jost observes that though Ezra may in one sense be called a second Moses, as the second founder of the Hebrew constitution, yet that the constitution was entirely different. Moses founded a state, "eine Volke Gottes mit eine Gottes-regierung"—Ezra a religious community, "eine Gottes-Gemeinde." The Law became supreme and alone: the priesthood, the old interpreters and expositors of the Law, gave place to the learned in the Law (pp. 37, 38).

[2] The date and authorship of that most sublime poem, I had almost written the most sublime poem of antiquity, has, it is well known, led to interminable, as yet unexhausted, to me as yet inconclusive controversy. A masterly article by the Rev. J. Cook, in the Dictionary of the Bible, gives a full, and, on the whole, fair statement of all the conflicting theories. But neither Mr. Cook, nor, as far as I know, any other writers, have dwelt sufficiently on what seems to me the most signal and remarkable characteristic of that poem. The moral of the Book of Job is the noblest protest against, and the loftiest refutation of, those abuses or misapprehensions which might naturally flow from, which did flow from, the Mosaic and Jewish system. The relation of God to the Israelites as their special sovereign, of the Israelites to God as his chosen and peculiar people, led almost of necessity to the vulgar notion (and the vulgar notion spread very widely), that Jehovah was the national God; a greater God indeed than the gods of the neighbouring and hostile nations, but still self-limited as it were to the tutelar deity of the sons of Abraham. Again, the temporal rewards and punishments of the Law were sure to lead, and did actually lead, to the conclusion, that happiness and misery in this life were the one certain, undeviable test of the divine favour or disfavour. "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" (John ix. 2). Every visitation was a direct proof of sin, actual or hereditary. *I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread* (Ps. xxxvii. 27). What is the argument of the magnificent colloquies of Job and his comforters, of Elihu, and of the unrivalled close of the poem? the direct contradiction to these narrow conclusions:—That God is the one universal God; that over the mysteries of his being, the mysteries of his Providential Government, there is the same impenetrable veil which shrouds the Godhead from the understanding of man. And all this, as seems almost inevitable, is connected with the history, it may be the poetical and imaginative, or the real history of a man, not a Jew: of a man (we cannot say whether he owes his fame to the poem, or whether the poem was grounded on his fame) sprung from a race kindred to, and though at many periods in deadly hostility with the Jews, yet owning a common ancestor: it may be, rather without doubt,

these Ketubim. At a later period, probably in the time of Simon the Just, the books of Malachi, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther were added, and what is called the Canon of Jewish Scripture finally closed. It is most likely that from this time the Jews began to establish synagogues, or places of public worship and instruction, for the use of which copies of the sacred writings were multiplied. The Law, thus revised and corrected, was publicly read in the Temple by Ezra, the people listening with the most devout attention;[1] the feast of Tabernacles was celebrated with considerable splendour. After this festival a solemn fast was proclaimed: the whole people, having confessed and bewailed their offences, deliberately renewed the covenant with the God of their fathers. An oath was administered, that they would keep the law; avoid intermarriages with strangers; neither buy nor sell on the Sabbath; observe the Sabbatical year,[2] and remit all debts according to the law; pay a tax of a third of a shekel for the service of the Temple; and offer all firstfruits and all tithes to the Levites.

Thus the Jewish constitution was finally re-established. In the twelfth year of his administration Nehemiah returned to the Persian court. But the weak and unsettled polity required a prudent and popular government. During his absence of many years affairs soon fell into disorder. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Malachi, the last of the prophets, the solemn covenant was forgotten: and on his return, after his long residence in Persia (Ezra had probably died during this interval),[3]

speaking a kindred language. Is it impossible that the poem was originally Edomite? May the peculiarities of language, by some supposed archaisms, by others, more probably, denoting a later period, be either provincialisms, or the vestiges of an original, closely allied language? At all events the reception of the Book of Job, as part of the Hebrew Scripture, so wonderful a corrective in these two all-important points, if I may so say, of the more rigidly national Scriptures, is a phenomenon of the highest interest.

[1] Ewald is of opinion that from this time, as well as the regular reading of the Law, a Liturgy, or order of divine service, was established (p. 162). There seems, too, to have been a kind of preaching or interpretation of the Law. "So they read in the book of the Law distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. viii. 8: compare vii. 10, 29).

[2] The Sabbatical year as a year of rest was kept. 1 Macc. vi. 49; Joseph. Ant. xiii. 8. "Deinde *blandiente inertiâ*, septimum quoque annum *ignaviæ* datum." Tac. Hist. v. 4.

[3] According to the probable account of Josephus, Ezra received an honourable burial in Jerusalem. Later legend carried him back to the court of Artaxerxes, and in the middle ages his tomb was shown on the river Semuca, on the western frontier of Khusistan. Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, i. 73.

The time of Nehemiah's absence is difficult to calculate. If his first administration dates from 445, and he returned in 425 (King Artaxerxes, by whose permission he returned, died in 424), his first administration having lasted twelve years, it was seven or eight years. See Herzfeld's note on p. 77.

Nehemiah found the High Priest, Eliashib himself, in close alliance with the deadly enemy of the Jews, Tobiah the Ammonite,[1] and a chamber in the Temple assigned for the use of this stranger. A grandson of the High Priest had taken as his wife a daughter of their other adversary, Sanballat. Others of the people had married into the adjacent tribes, had forgotten their native tongue, and spoke a mixed and barbarous jargon; the Sabbath was violated both by the native Jews and by the Tyrian traders, who sold their fish and merchandise at the gates of Jerusalem. Armed with the authority of a Persian satrap, and that of his own munificent and conciliatory character—for as governor he had lived on a magnificent scale, and continually entertained 150 of the chief leaders at his own table—Nehemiah reformed all these disorders. Among the rest he expelled from Jerusalem Manasseh the son of Joiada (who succeeded Eliashib in the High Priesthood), on account of his unlawful marriage with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. Sanballat meditated signal revenge. He built a rival temple on the mountain of Gerizim, and appointed Manasseh High Priest; and thus the schism between the two nations, the Jews and the Samaritans, was perpetuated for ever.[2] The Jews ascribe all the knowledge of the Law among the Samaritans, even their possession of the sacred books, to the apostasy of Manasseh. The rival temple, they assert, became the place of refuge to all the refractory and licentious Jews, who could not endure the strict administration of the law in Judæa. But these are the statements of bitter and implacable adversaries, fairly to be mistrusted either as untrue, or as exaggerated. Still, from the building of the rival temple, we may date the total separation of the two races.[3] Samaria, however, remained in comparative insignificance, while Jerusalem was destined to a second era of magnificence and ruin.

It is indeed most extraordinary too that Samaria grew up

[1] Tobiah was probably a proselyte to Judaism, and by intrigue had intruded into, if not the priestly office, some priestly privileges. Herzfeld, ii. 78.

[2] Nehem. xiii. 28. The rest of this is from Joseph., Ant. xi. 8. I see no reason to suspect the authority of Josephus on this point, thus incidentally confirmed from Nehemiah. The Book of Nehemiah now breaks off. But there is considerable chronological difficulty. See Herzfeld's note, p. 129.

[3] "Worin ihre eigenthümliche *Lehre*, als verschieden von der Jüdischen, anfange bestanden habe, lässt sich nicht wohl genau angeben. Die Feindschaft zwischen ihnen und den andern Jüden war lediglich durch die Eifersucht der beiden Tempel genährt, deren jeder auf ursprunglichen Echtheit Anspruch machte, und gegenüber den herschenden Gewalten geltend zu machen suchte, bis es den Jüden gelang den Samaritanischen Tempel zu zerstören." Jost, 49.

and remained an insulated community within a narrow district. She rose not to be a rival kingdom. The northern provinces, the most extensive and flourishing inheritance of the ten tribes, became gradually populous—populous, if we are to believe later accounts, to an incredible degree; but in polity, in religion, they no longer kept up the independence or asserted the superiority of Israel or Ephraim. Whether descendants of the original ten tribes, who from insignificance or from poverty escaped the deportation, or of those who slowly migrated back from the East to the lands of their fathers, whether of pure or mingled blood, we should have supposed that their sympathies as kindred would have allied them with Samaria; that the northern confederacy would have accepted the temple on Gerizim as its national centre of worship. On the contrary, not only do they become pure and unidolatrous worshippers of the one true God, but Jerusalem is their capital; they go up to the Temple on Mount Moriah to their feasts.[1] If they had some settlers who from Judah or Benjamin mixed with them, and who retained what may be called their legal domicile with their own tribe (one family will occur, the most famous in the race of men), yet these can have formed but a small part of the vast population of the two Galilees, which were joined not merely in religious but political unity with the south, who not only worshipped in Jerusalem, but rendered allegiance to the ruling power, whether that of the High Priests or that of the royal Asmonean house. It is true that in the time of the Maccabees,[2] the Jews were few in Galilee —so few that they were rescued from the tyranny of heathen tribes who dwelt with them, and brought into Judæa; and that Phœnicians and Arabs, and a race of mingled descent, and later, Greek influences, spread widely in these regions; but still this only makes more remarkable the predominant Jewish, certainly anti-Samaritan, character of these provinces, as far as we can trace them, both in their earlier and later history.

After the death of Nehemiah (about B.C. 415), a curtain falls on the history of the Jews. This curtain remains, permitting only rare and doubtful glimpses behind its thick and

[1] See on the seven Feasts and Fasts of the Samaritans, the two Passovers, that of First Fruits, of Trumpets, of Atonement, two of Tabernacles, on their rite of circumcision, of uncleanness, &c., in which they closely follow the Law. Jost, 57 *et seq.*

[2] 1 Macc. v. 23, &c.

impenetrable folds, till the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175), a period of 210 years, as long, to compare it with modern history, as from the death of Queen Elizabeth to the accession of Queen Victoria, nearly from the death of Henry IV. of France to the accession of Louis Napoleon. The few transactions which transpire rest on tradition and legend: how few they were, may appear from the barren pages of Josephus, whose industry would scarcely have been at fault if any trustworthy records had been extant at his time. For more than two centuries, therefore, the history of the Jews, as far as the record of events, even the development of human character, is hardly more than a blank; and yet during that period what a signal revolution must have been, if not initiated, yet wrought to a wonderful height in the character of the Jewish people! The nation which was somewhat contemptuously permitted by the mercy or the policy of the great Asiatic sovereigns to return to their native valleys—who lived there under the sway of Persian satraps, of the successors of Alexander, suddenly emerge as the magnanimous heroes of the Maccabaic wars, assume so much importance as to be admitted into alliance with Rome, though with the rest of the world they submit to become a province of the all-absorbing empire; yet almost alone dare to revolt against her intolerable tyranny, and wage almost the last war of freedom against the sovereignty of the Cæsars. And all this time, during this silent period of more than 200 years, the religious and intellectual elements of the Jewish character were fermenting, untraced, untraceable. In the darkness of this same long period, Judaism, with its stern and settled aversion to all Polytheism, to Gentile influences, gradually hardened into its rigid exclusiveness. The Canon of the sacred writings, it is not clearly known by whom or on what authority, rose to its perfect fulness; the Scriptures took their present shape; some at least of those remarkable books which we call Apocryphal, as Ecclesiasticus, came to light. Conflicting opinions, which grew up under the Asmonean princes into religious factions, those of the Pharisees and Sadducees, began to stir in the religious mind and heart of the people. The old Nazaritism grew towards the later Essenism.

During the great age of Grecian splendour in arms, enterprise, and letters, the Jews, in this quiet, and perhaps enviable obscurity, lay hid within their native valleys. The tide of war rolled at a distance, wasting Asia Minor, and occasionally

breaking on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. The Grecian writers of this time seem quite unaware of the existence of such a people; they lay entirely out of the line of maritime adventure: Tyre alone, on the Syrian coast, attracted the Grecian merchant. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Jews of Palestine, who were now in their lowest state both as to numbers and opulence, had commenced their mercantile career. The accounts of the intercourse of the earlier and later Grecian philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, with the Hebrews, are manifestly fictions of the Alexandrian Jews, eagerly adopted and exaggerated by the Christian Fathers. The Greeks little apprehended that a few leagues inland from the coast which their fleets perpetually passed, a people, speaking a language which they esteemed barbarous, was quietly pursuing its rural occupations, and cultivating its luxuriant soil, yet possessed treasures of poetry which would rival their own Pindar and Simonides, moral wisdom which might put to shame that of Plato; a people who hereafter were to send forth the great religious instructors of the world.

During this time too another capital, hereafter to rise to a commercial, literary, in its way, religious rival of Jerusalem, was at least founded, in Egypt. While in Jerusalem, the great body of the nation, the proper nation, was wrapping itself round in its hard impenetrable Judaism, the Alexandrian Jews were dallying at least with Grecian influences, with which in later times they entered into treacherous alliance. The Jews of Alexandria probably spoke in Greek, certainly wrote in Greek; they translated the national Scriptures into Greek; they allegorised the Mosaic system, to bring it into harmony with the Greek philosophy. Everywhere that silent preparation (among, alas! but a few!) for the reception of Christianity, among the many for the obstinate rejection of Christianity, had no doubt begun, which was to be continued and consummated during the two more eventful centuries about to elapse between the Maccabaic war and the promulgation of the Gospel.

The provincial administration of the Persian governors exercised only a general superintendence over the subject nations, and the internal government of Jerusalem (this seems clear) fell insensibly into the hands of the High Priests. From the administration of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great, one atrocious crime, committed in the family of the High Priest, appears the only memorable transaction in the

uneventful annals of Judæa. Eliashib was succeeded in the High Priesthood by Judas—Judas by John. The latter, jealous of the influence of his brother Jesus with Bagoses, the Persian governor, and suspecting him of designs on the High Priesthood, murdered him within the precincts of the sanctuary. The Persian came in great indignation to Jerusalem, and when the Jews would have prevented his entrance into the Temple, he exclaimed, "Am not I purer than the dead body of him whom ye have slain in the Temple?" Bagoses laid a heavy mulct on the whole people—fifty drachms for every lamb offered in sacrifice. It seems that from that time Judæa has the happy distinction of being hardly if ever mentioned in the succeeding years, when war raged on all sides around her peaceful valleys. That the country was chastised, perhaps devastated (it is even said that a great number of Jews were swept away into captivity at Babylon), on account of real or suspected participation in the revolt of the Sidonians against Darius Ochus, appears to rest on probable authority,[1] and no doubt Judæa must have occasionally suffered from the marches of the immense conflicting armies of Persia and Egypt.

At length the peace of this favoured district was interrupted by the invasion of Alexander. After the demolition of Tyre, the conqueror marched against Gaza, which he totally destroyed. Either during the siege of Tyre, or during his march against Gaza, the Jews no doubt made their submission. On this simple fact has been built a romantic and picturesque story. While Alexander was at the siege of Tyre, he sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. The High Priest answered that he had sworn fealty to Darius, and was bound to maintain his allegiance to that monarch. After the taking of Gaza, the conqueror advanced against Jerusalem. Jaddua, the High Priest, and the people were in the greatest consternation. But, in a vision, God commanded Jaddua to take comfort—to hang the city with garlands—throw open the gates—and go forth to meet the enemy, himself clad in his pontifical robes, the priests

[1] It is a curious conjecture of Herzfeld that this is the period to which may be assigned whatever is historical in the legend of Judith among the Apocrypha. The son of a king of Cappadocia, named Holophernes, appears as distinguished among the allies or vassals of the army of Ochus which invaded Egypt. Herzfeld suggests that he may have commanded the detachment ordered to inflict vengeance on the rebellious Jews. There is a eunuch Bagoas, too, in the army of Ochus, and a eunuch Bagoas plays a great part in the Book of Judith.

in their ceremonial attire, the people in white garments. Jaddua obeyed. The solemn procession marched forth to Sapha, an eminence, from whence the whole city and Temple might be seen. No sooner had Alexander beheld the High Priest in his hyacinthine robes embroidered with gold, and with the turban and its golden frontal, than he fell prostrate and adored the Holy Name, which was there inscribed in golden characters. His attendants were lost in astonishment. The Phœnicians and Chaldeans had been eagerly watching the signal to disperse the suppliants, and pillage the city. The Syrian kings, who stood around, began to doubt if the king were in his senses. Parmenio at length demanded why he, whom all the world worshipped, should worship the High Priest. "I worship," replied the monarch, "not the High Priest, but his God. In a vision at Dios in Macedonia, that figure in that very dress appeared to me. He exhorted me to pass over into Asia, and achieve the conquest of Persia." Alexander then took the Priest by the hand, and entered the city. He offered sacrifice; and the High Priest communicated to him the prophecies of Daniel, predicting that a Greek was to overthrow the Persian empire. Alexander, delighted with his reception, offered to the Jews whatever gift they should desire. They requested the freedom of their brethren in Media and Babylonia. They likewise obtained an exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year. The difficulties and anachronisms of this whole story[1] have been exposed by Moyle, and Mitford the Grecian historian; and unfortunately the Alexandrian Jews were so much interested in inventing or embellishing any tale which could honourably connect them with the great founder of that city, that an account which has most probably passed through their hands must be received with great mistrust. It is added, that the Samaritans petitioned for the same exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year. Alexander hesitated. But some of the inhabitants of Samaria having, for some unknown reason, risen against Andromachus, the Macedonian commander in Samaria, Alexander ordered the whole people to be expelled, and planted a Macedonian colony in their room. The Samaritans retreated to Shechem,

[1] For instance:—The High Priest refuses his allegiance to Alexander, though aware that he is designated by God, in the prophecy of Daniel, as the Destroyer of the Persian Empire.

The opinions of more ancient authors may be found in Brucker, ii. 662, note.

and hence they are called, in the book of Ecclesiasticus, *the foolish people that dwell at Sichem.* The insurrection and expulsion of the Samaritans are mentioned by Curtius, according to whom Andromachus was burned alive.[1] Of the former history, the chroniclers of Alexander are silent, excepting perhaps Justin, in a passage which it is fair to mention.[2] That author says, that in many of the Syrian cities, the kings came out to meet and submit to Alexander, with sacred fillets on their heads. Alexander is likewise stated to have transplanted 100,000 Jews to his new colony in Egypt, and bestowed on them equal privileges and immunities with the Macedonians.

On the death of Alexander, Judæa came into the possession of Laomedon, one of his generals. After the defeat of Laomedon, B.C. 321, Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, attempted to seize the whole of Syria. He advanced against Jerusalem, assaulted it on the Sabbath, and met with no resistance, the superstitious Jews scrupling to violate the holy day, even in self-defence. The conqueror carried away 100,000 captives, whom he settled chiefly in Alexandria and Cyrene.[3] In a short time, following a more humane policy, he endeavoured to attach the Jewish people to his cause, enrolled an army of 30,000 men, and entrusted the chief garrisons of the country to their care.

Syria and Judæa did not escape the dreadful anarchy which ensued during the destructive warfare waged by the generals and successors of Alexander. Twice these provinces fell into the power of Antigonus, and twice were regained by Ptolemy, to whose share they were finally adjudged after the decisive defeat of Antigonus at Ipsus (B.C. 301). The maritime towns, Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, were the chief objects of contention; Jerusalem itself seems to have escaped the horrors of war. During this dangerous period, Onias, the High Priest, administered the public affairs for twenty-one years. He was succeeded, the year after the battle of Ipsus, by Simon the Just, a pontiff on whom Jewish tradition dwells with peculiar attachment.[4]

[1] "Oneravit hunc dolorem nuncius mortis Andromachi, quem præfecerat Syriæ: vivum Samaritæ cremaverant." Curt. Hist. iv. 8.

[2] "Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvios cum infulis multos Orientis reges habuit." Justin, Hist. xi. 10.

[3] This number rests on the doubtful authority of Aristeas.

[4] "Die Talmüdische Tradition kennt gleichfalls einen Simon ha Zaddick, ohne dass mit Bestimmtheit anzugeben wäre, ob sie den ersten, oder den zweiten darunter meint, weil sie eben den ganzen langen Zeitraum zwischen Ezra und den Makkabäern mit ihm ausfüllt." Geiger, Urschrift, p. 30. The rest of the passage is curious. Simon is said to have held the High-priesthood

Simon's death was the commencement of peril and disaster, announced, say the Rabbins, by the most alarming prodigies. The sacrifices, which were always favourably accepted during his life, at his death became uncertain or unfavourable. The scapegoat, which used to be thrown from a rock, and to be dashed immediately to pieces, escaped (a fearful omen) into the desert. The great west light of the golden chandelier no longer burned with a steady flame—sometimes it was extinguished. The sacrificial fire languished; the sacrificial bread failed, so as not to suffice, as formerly, for the whole priesthood.

The founding of the Syro-Grecian kingdom by Seleucus, and the establishment of Antioch as the capital, brought Judæa into the unfortunate situation of a weak province, placed between two great conflicting monarchies. Syria, instead of a Satrapy or Pachalik of the great but remote Persian empire, became a powerful kingdom, ruled by ambitious princes, and inheriting some of the Macedonian pride of conquest. Antioch became one of the most flourishing cities in the world. The Seleucidan kingdom could not but come into constant collision with the Ptolemaic kingdom in Egypt; and Jerusalem seemed doomed to be among the prizes of this interminable warfare, and in turn vassal to each. Still under the mild government of the three first Ptolemies, Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes,[1] both the native and Alexandrian Jews enjoyed many marks of the royal favour; and while almost all the rest of the world was ravaged by war, their country flourished in profound peace. Towards the end of the reign of Euergetes, the prosperity of the nation was endangered by the indolence and misconduct of Onias II., the High Priest, the son of Simon the Just, who had succeeded his uncles, Eleazar and Manasseh, in the supreme authority. The payment of the customary tribute having been neglected, the Egyptian king threatened to invade

for forty years. It appears to me that Jewish tradition has mingled together two Simons, to both of whom it has assigned the title of the Just. Simon I. the Just was High Priest from B.C. 300 to 292; Simon II. (who repelled Ptolemy Philopator from the Temple: see p. 355) from B.C. 219 to 195. To which does the splendid eulogy in Ecclesiasticus L. belong? "He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full: as the sun shining in the Temple of the Most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds. . . . When he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the perfection of glory; when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable." Read the whole, the ideal of the pomp and majesty of a High Priest. Compare Jost, i. 110.

[1] Euergetes sacrificed in the Temple of Jerusalem the sixth year of his reign, B.C. 239, 240. Champollion Figeac, Annales des Lagides, ii. 51.

the country, and to share it among his soldiers. The High Priest, being unable from age, or unwilling from indolence or morose temper, to go to Egypt to answer for his conduct, his nephew Joseph boldly undertook this delicate mission. Joseph, with difficulty, obtained money for his journey of certain wealthy Samaritans. He travelled to Egypt in a caravan with some rich Cœlesyrians and Phœnicians, who were going to Alexandria to obtain the farming of the royal tribute. He caught from their conversation the sum they proposed to offer, and the vast profit they intended to make of their bargain. On his arrival at court, he made rapid progress in the royal favour. When the farmers of the revenue came to make their offers, they bid 8000 talents[1]—Joseph instantly offered double that sum. His sureties were demanded; he boldly named the king and queen. Struck with the character of the man, the royal sureties testified their assent; and Joseph became farmer of the revenues of Judæa, Samaria, Phœnicia, and Cœlesyria, with a formidable body of tax-gatherers, 2000 soldiers. By making one or two terrible examples, putting to death twenty men at Ascalon, and confiscating 1000 talents of their property —and by the same severity at Scythopolis—Joseph succeeded in raising the royal revenue with great profit to himself. He continued to discharge his office with vigilance, punctuality, and prudence, for twenty-two years. Nor does it appear that his measures were unjust or oppressive. His administration lasted till the invasion of Antiochus the Great. That enterprising monarch, not contented with wresting his own territory of Cœlesyria from the power of Ptolemy, seized Judæa, but was totally defeated in a great battle at Raphia, near Gaza. After his victory, Ptolemy (Philopator) entered Jerusalem. He made sumptuous presents to the Temple, but pressing forward to enter the sanctuary, he was repelled by the High Priest, Simon, son of Onias. As he persisted, there was a tumult and a wild wailing through the whole city, as if the walls and the pavement shrieked with the shrieking people. Ptolemy is reported to have been seized with a supernatural awe and horror; he trembled like a reed before the wind, and fell speechless to the earth. But from that time he entertained implacable animosity against the Jews, whom, it is said, he cruelly persecuted, as will hereafter be related, in Alexandria.[2]

[1] Probably Syrian talents.

[2] Herzfeld accepts as historical the persecution of the Jews, the scene in the Hippodrome, and the elephants, as recorded in what is called the 3rd Book of Maccabees. He drops or explains away the miracle.

During the monarchy of the next Ptolemy (Epiphanes), Antiochus again seized Cœlesyria and Judæa. Scopas, general of the Egyptian forces, recovered, garrisoned, and strengthened Jerusalem, which he ruled with an iron and oppressive hand. But having been defeated near the sources of the Jordan, he was constrained to leave Antiochus undisputed master of the territory. The Syrian king was received as a deliverer in Jerusalem, and, desirous to attach these valuable allies to his cause, he issued a decree highly favourable to the whole nation. Antiochus afterwards bestowed Cœlesyria and Judæa, as the dowry of his daughter Cleopatra, on the young king of Egypt, Ptolemy Epiphanes. Still the revenues were to be shared by the two sovereigns. In what manner the king of Syria regained his superiority does not appear, but probably through the disorder into which the affairs of Egypt fell, at the close of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and during the minority of Ptolemy Philometor.

It was not, however, the tyranny of foreign sovereigns, but the unprincipled ambition of their own native rulers, that led to calamities little less dreadful than the Babylonian captivity, to the plunder and ruin of the holy city, the persecution, and almost the extermination of the people. By the elevation of Joseph, the son of Tobias, to the office of collector, or farmer of the royal revenue, as above related, arose a family powerful enough to compete with that of the High Priest. Joseph had eight sons; the youngest, Hyrcanus, by his own niece, who was substituted by her father in the place of a dancer, of whom Joseph had become violently enamoured in Egypt.[1] This niece he afterwards married. Hyrcanus, being sent on a mission to congratulate Ptolemy Philopator on the birth of his son, overreaching by audacious craft his father's treasurer, Arion, whom he contrived to throw into prison, got possession of all his father's treasures. By the magnificence of his presents, a hundred beautiful girls, and a hundred beautiful and well educated boys,[2] which each cost a talent and bore a talent in his hand, and by the readiness of his wit, Hyrcanus made as favourable an impression on the court as his father had done before him. On his return to Judæa he was attacked

[1] The motive of Solymius in this substitution was that his brother might not contaminate himself by connection with a heathen.

ἐπεὶ καὶ νόμῳ κεκώλυται τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλοφύλῳ πλησιάζειν. Joseph. Ant. xii. 4, 6.

[2] γράμματα ἐπισταμένους καὶ ἀκμαιοτάτους. Joseph. ibid. 9.

by his brothers, jealous of his favour with the king of Egypt, and dreading his undisguised ambition: his father Joseph too, though he dared not betray it for fear of the king of Egypt, shared in this jealousy, and took part with the elder brothers. It came to open strife—two of the brothers were slain in the affray. Hyrcanus then retreated beyond the Jordan, and became collector of the revenue in that district. On his father's death a great contest arose about the partition of his wealth; the High Priest, Onias III., took part with the elder brothers against Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus fled again beyond the Jordan, where he built a strong fortress. There he ruled for seven years, till the death of Seleucus and the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes. The account of the castle which he built beyond the Jordan, not far from Heshbon, is full of marvel. It was of white marble, with animals of vast size sculptured on its walls, and surrounded with a deep fosse. The rocks around it were hewn out into chambers and halls for banquets and sleeping rooms, and plentifully supplied with fresh water. But none of the doors of entrance or communication were wider than one man could pass through, lest the master should be surprised by his enemies, his brothers. There were also stately halls, with spacious gardens. He called it by the singular name of Tyre. He would seem to have lived in perpetual warfare with his neighbours the Arabians, no doubt the Nabathæans of wealthy Petra, whom he plundered from his mountain fastness. On the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, from some strange dread of the king's power and of the enmity of the Syrians, and his vengeance for the injuries inflicted on the Arabians, Hyrcanus slew himself. Such is the barren and unsatisfactory sentence which records the death of a man famous in his own day, more famous as the ancestor of a race of Jewish kings.

A feud in the meantime had arisen between Onias and Simon, according to conjecture the elder son of Joseph, who held the office of governor of the Temple.[1] The immediate cause of dispute, probably, related to the command over the treasury of the Temple, in which Onias had permitted Hyrcanus to deposit part of his riches, and over which Simon,

[1] There is great difficulty in this whole statement of Josephus, which Herzfeld has endeavoured to unravel, I do not think with perfect success.

Compare Herzfeld's note, ii. 218. I should agree with him that there can hardly be a doubt that Simon, captain of the Temple, was of priestly descent. Great care must be taken by the reader not to confound this Simon with the High Priest.

as collector of the royal revenue, might pretend to some authority. Simon fled to Apollonius, who governed Cœlesyria under king Seleucus, and gave an account of incalculable treasures laid up in the Jewish Temple. Heliodorus, the royal treasurer, was immediately despatched to take possession of this unexpected fund, so opportunely discovered; for the finances of Seleucus were exhausted by the exactions of the Romans. The whole city was in an agony of apprehension, the High Priest seemed in the deepest distress, while the royal officer advanced to profane and pillage the Temple of God. Suddenly a horse, with a terrible rider clad in golden armour, rushed into the courts, and smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet. Two young men, of great strength and beauty, and splendidly attired, stood by the rider, and scourged the intruder with great violence. At this awful apparition the treasurer fell half dead upon the pavement, was carried senseless out of the precincts of the sanctuary, and only revived after the promise of the High Priest to intercede with his offended Deity. Although the Jews were too much delighted, and the Syrians too much terrified, to doubt the reality of this miracle, yet Simon, the adversary of the High Priest, was not only incredulous, but openly accused him of imposture.[1] The factions grew more turbulent, and murders having been committed by the party of Simon, Onias went up to Antioch to request the interposition of the sovereign.[2]

Soon after his arrival, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, the Illustrious, or Epimanes, the Madman, succeeded his brother Seleucus on the throne of Syria. Antiochus united the quick and versatile character of a Greek with the splendid voluptuousness of an Asiatic.[3] At one time he debased the royal dignity by mingling with the revels of his meanest subjects, scouring the streets in his riotous frolics, or visiting the lowest places of public entertainment, and the common baths; or, like Peter of Russia, conversing with the artisans in their shops on their various trades. With still less regard to the dignity of his own character, he was fond of mimicking in

[1] "This Simon now, of whom we spoke before, having been a bewrayer of the money and of his country, slandered Onias, as if he had terrified Heliodorus, and been the worker of these evils" (2 Macc. iv. 1).

[2] I have omitted the correspondence with Sparta, which I confess reads to me very apocryphal. Herzfeld supposes a Jewish colony in Sparta!—in inhospitable and uncommercial Sparta!

[3] Epiphanes was one of the celebrated drunkards of antiquity. Ælian, Var. Hist. ii. 41.

public the forms of election to the Roman magistracies; he would put on a white robe, and canvass the passengers in the streets for their votes. Then, supposing himself to have been elected ædile, or tribune, he would cause his curule chair to be set in the open market-place, and administer justice—a poor revenge against a people before whose power he trembled! On the other hand, the pleasures of Antiochus were those of a Sardanapalus;[1] and his munificence, more particularly towards the religious ceremonies and edifices, both of his own dominions and of Greece, was on a scale of truly Oriental grandeur: for among the discrepancies of this singular character must be reckoned a great degree of bigotry and religious intolerance. The admirers of the mild genius of the Grecian religion, and those who suppose religious persecution unknown in the world till the era of Christianity, would do well to consider the wanton and barbarous attempt of Antiochus to exterminate the religion of the Jews and substitute that of the Greeks. Yet the savage and tyrannical violence of Antiochus was, in fact, and surely we may say providentially, the safeguard of the Jewish nation from the greatest danger to which it had ever been exposed,—the slow and secret encroachment of Grecian manners, Grecian arts, Grecian vices, and Grecian idolatry. It roused the dormant energy of the whole people, and united again, in indissoluble bonds, the generous desire of national independence with zealous attachment to the national religion. It again identified the true patriot with the devout worshipper.

Joshua, or Jason, the brother of Onias, the High Priest, by the offer of 360 talents annually as tribute,[2] and 80 more from another source, bribed the luxurious but needy sovereign of Syria, to displace his unoffending relative, and confer upon himself the vacant dignity. Onias was summoned to Antioch, and there detained in honourable confinement. Joshua proceeded to strengthen his own interests by undermining the national character; he assumed a Grecian name, Jason; obtained permission to build a gymnasium, to which he attracted all the youth of the city;[3] weaned them by degrees from the habits and opinions of their fathers, and trained them in a complete system of Grecian education. He

[1] Polybius, xxvi. 10; 1 Macc. i. 21, &c.

[2] Herzfeld, I think, shows satisfactorily that this must have been for the annual tribute.

[3] 2 Macc. iv. 9 *et seqq.*

found many willing proselytes, who affected to condemn the morose and unsocial manners of the zealots for the national faith. Jason allowed the services of the Temple to fall into disuse; and carried his alienation from the Jewish faith so far as to send a contribution to the great games, which were celebrated at Tyre in honour of their tutelar deity, the Hercules of the Greeks.[1] This last act of impiety was frustrated by the religious feelings of his messengers, who, instead of conferring the present on the conductors of the games, gave it to the magistrates to be employed in the service of their fleet. The authority of Jason was short-lived, though in his progress through Cœlesyria, which he was determined to wrest altogether from the rival kingdom of Egypt, king Antiochus visited Jerusalem, and was received with all honour, processions of blazing torches, and the jubilant acclamations of the people.[2] This adulation did not secure the power or dominion of Jason. In evil hour he sent, to pay the tribute at Antioch, another Onias (his own brother, according to Josephus, or the brother of Simon, the son of Joseph, according to the Book of Maccabees), but who, in conformity to the Grecian fashion, had assumed the name of Menelaus. This man seized the opportunity of outbidding his employer for the High-priesthood, and was accordingly substituted in his place. Menelaus came to Jerusalem with the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast.[3] Jason fled to the country of the Ammonites. Menelaus, however, found the treasury exhausted by the profusion of Jason, and, in order to make good his payments at Antioch, secretly purloined the golden vessels of the Temple, which he sold at Tyre. The zeal of the deposed High Priest, Onias, was kindled at this sacrilege; he publicly denounced the plunderer before the tribunal of Antioch. But the gold of Menelaus was all-powerful among the officers of the Syrian court. Onias fled to an asylum in the Daphne near Antioch, but, being persuaded to come forth, was put to death by Andronicus, whom Menelaus had bribed. Yet the life of Onias had been so blameless and dignified, that even the profligate court and thoughtless

[1] "In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us, for since we departed from them we have had much sorrow. So the device pleased them well" (1 Macc. i. 11, 12). In the naked exhibitions of the Palæstra they were ashamed of, and disguised their distinction as descendants of Abraham. Ibid. 15.

[2] 2 Macc. iv. 22.

[3] 2 Macc. iv. 25.

monarch lamented his death. In the meantime a formidable insurrection had taken place in Jerusalem. The people, indignant at the plunder of the Temple, attacked Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus, who had been left in command, and, although he rallied a force of 3000 men, overpowered and slew him.

Antiochus had now opened his second campaign for the subjugation of Egypt. After the death of Cleopatra, the queen-mother, two nobles had taken on themselves the guardianship of the young king, Ptolemy Philometor, who was now about fourteen years old. Antiochus seized the opportunity, when the Romans, of whom he stood in awe, were engaged in their desperate war with Perseus, king of Macedonia. His first campaign, his seizure of Pelusium, the feuds in Alexandria, the strife for the throne between the two brothers, Philometor and Physcon, the haughty interference of the Romans, the famous interview between Popilius Lænas and the proud king of Syria, belong to the general history of the times. Antiochus had now screwed up his ambition to a new invasion of Egypt. While at Tyre, a deputation from Jerusalem came before Antiochus to complain of the tyranny of Menelaus. Menelaus contrived not merely that the embassy should have no effect, but the ambassadors themselves were murdered. Antiochus advanced the next year (B.C. 169) into Egypt: his career was victorious: the whole country submitted. But a false rumour of his death having reached Palestine, Jason, the dispossessed High Priest, seized the opportunity of revolt against his brother, took the city, shut up Menelaus in the castle of Acra, and began to exercise the most horrible revenge against the opposite party. The intelligence of the insurrection, magnified into a deliberate revolt of the whole nation, reached Antiochus. The doom of the city had not been without its portent. Early in the year[1] the heavens had been ablaze with what appeared horsemen in cloth of gold, tilting at each other, with the flash of swords and bucklers.[2] The wild tumult in the sky lasted for forty nights. The ill-fated city, according to the omen, fell without much resistance. The conqueror marched without delay against Jerusalem, put to death in three days' time 40,000 of the inhabitants, and seized as many more to be sold

[1] B.C. 167: Summer.

[2] 2. Macc. v. 1. Compare similar events at Mexico; and for explanation, Humboldt, Kosmos, i. 145. Compare also Plutarch, Marius, c. 17. In my

as slaves. Bad as this was, it was the common fate of rebellious cities: but Antiochus proceeded to more cruel and wanton outrages against the religion of the people. He entered every court of the Temple, pillaged the treasury, seized all the sacred utensils, the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, the altar of incense; and thus collected a booty to the amount of 1800 talents. He then commanded a great sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt offerings, part of the flesh to be boiled, and the liquor from the unclean animal to be sprinkled over every part of the Temple; and thus desecrated with the most odious defilement the sacred place, which the Jews had considered for centuries the one holy spot in all the universe.[1] The dastardly Jason had escaped before the approach of Antiochus: he led a wandering life; and died at length, unpitied and despised, at Lacedæmon. Menelaus, who had remained shut up in Acra, and perhaps with his followers aided the easy conquest of the city by Antiochus, retained the dignity of High Priest; but two foreign officers, Philip, a Phrygian, and Andronicus, were made governors of Jerusalem and Samaria.

Two years afterwards, Antiochus, having been expelled from Egypt by the Romans, determined to suppress every pretension to independence within his own territories. He apprehended, perhaps, the usual policy of the Romans, who never scrupled at any measures to weaken the powerful monarchies which stood in the way of their schemes of conquest, whether by exciting foreign enemies, or fomenting civil disturbances in their states. He determined to exterminate the Hebrew race from the face of the earth. The execution of the sanguinary edict was entrusted to Apollonius, and executed with as cruel despatch as the most sanguinary tyrant could desire. Apollonius waited till the Sabbath, when all

younger days I described an aurora borealis—I had myself seen it—in lines which might seem to be, but were not, taken from the Book of Maccabees:—

> Forth springs an arch,
> O'erspanning with its crystal pathway pure
> The starry sky: as though for Gods to march
> With show of heavenly warfare daunting earth,
> To that wild revel of the northern clouds;
> They now with broad and bannery light distinct
> Stream in their restless waverings to and fro . . .
> Anon like slender lances bright start up,
> And cross and clash, with hurtle and with flash
> Tilting their airy tournament,
>
> Samor, Book iii. p. 42.

[1] Joseph. Ant. xii. 5.

the people were occupied in their peaceful religious duties. He then let loose his soldiers against the unresisting multitude, slew all the men, till the streets ran with blood, and seized all the women as captives. He proceeded to pillage and then to dismantle the city, which he set on fire in many places: he threw down the walls, and built a strong fortress on the highest part of Mount Sion, which commanded the Temple and all the rest of the city. From this garrison he harassed all the people of the country, who stole in with fond attachment to visit the ruins, or to offer a hasty and interrupted worship in the place of the sanctuary; for all the public services had ceased, and no voice of adoration was heard in the holy city, unless of the profane heathen calling on their idols. The persecution did not end here. Antiochus had waged internecine war against the race, he would wage internecine war against the religion of the Jews. He issued out an edict for uniformity of worship throughout his dominions, and despatched officers into all parts to enforce rigid compliance with the decree. This office in the district of Judæa and Samaria was assigned to Athenæus,[1] an aged man, who was well versed in the ceremonies and usages of the Grecian religion. The Samaritans, according to the Jewish account, by which they are represented as always asserting their Jewish lineage when it seemed to their advantage, and their Median descent when they hoped thereby to escape any imminent danger, yielded at once. The temple on Gerizim was formally consecrated to Jupiter Xenius. Athenæus, having been so far successful, proceeded to Jerusalem, where, with the assistance of the garrison, he prohibited and suppressed every observance of the Jewish religion, forced the people to profane the Sabbath, to eat swine's flesh and other unclean food, and expressly forbade the national rite of circumcision. The Temple was dedicated to Jupiter Olympius; the statue of that deity was erected on part of the altar of burnt offerings, and sacrifice duly performed. Two women, who circumcised their children, were hanged in a conspicuous part of the city, with their children round their necks: and many more of those barbarities committed, which escape the reprobation of posterity from their excessive atrocity. Cruelties, too horrible to be related, sometimes, for that very reason, do not meet with the detestation they

[1] I think this a proper name, rather than an Athenian or man of Athens. 2 Macc. vi. 1.

deserve. Among other martyrdoms, Jewish tradition dwells with honest pride on that of Eleazar, a scribe, ninety years old, who determined *to leave a notable example to such as be young, to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws:* and that of the seven brethren, who, encouraged by their mother, rejected the most splendid offers, and confronted the most excruciating torments rather than infringe the law.

From Jerusalem the persecution spread throughout the country; in every city the same barbarities were executed, the same profanations introduced; and, as a last insult, the feasts of the Bacchanalia, the licence of which, as they were celebrated in the later ages of Greece, shocked the severe virtue of the older Romans, were substituted for the national festival of Tabernacles. The reluctant Jews were forced to join in these riotous orgies, and to carry the ivy, the insignia of the god. So near was the Jewish nation, so near the worship of Jehovah, to total extermination.

BOOK X

THE ASMONEANS

Mattathias—Judas the Maccabee—Jonathan—Simon—John Hyrcanus—Aristobulus I.—Alexander Jannæus—Alexandra—Aristobulus II.—Hyrcanus II.

AT this crisis Divine Providence interposed, not as formerly, with miraculous assistance, but by the instrumentality of human virtues: the lofty patriotism, adventurous valour, daring and sagacious soldiership, generous self-devotion, and inextinguishable zeal of heroic men in the cause of their country and their God. In Modin, a town on an eminence, commanding a view of the sea, the exact site of which is unknown,[1] lived Mattathias, a man of the priestly line of Joarib, himself advanced in years, but with five sons in the prime of life, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. When Apelles, the officer of Antiochus, arrived at Modin to enforce the execution of the edict against the Jewish religion, he made splendid offers to Mattathias as a man of great influence, to induce him to submit to the royal will. The old man not only rejected his advances, but publicly proclaimed his resolution to live and die in the faith of his fathers; and when an apostate Jew was about to offer sacrifice to the heathen deity, in a transport of indignant zeal, Mattathias struck him dead upon the altar. Mattathias then fell on the king's commissioner, put him to death, and summoned all the citizens who were zealous for the Law to follow him to the mountains.[2] Their numbers rapidly increased; but the Syrian troops having surprised a thousand in a cave, attacked them on the Sabbath day, and, meeting with no resistance, slew them without mercy. From thenceforth Mattathias and his followers determined to break through this over-scrupulous observance of the Sabbath, and to assert the legality of defensive warfare on that day.[3]

[1] It was on a height on the road from Jerusalem to Joppa: the Talmudists say not far from Lydda.

[2] 1 Macc.; 2 Macc.; Joseph. Ant. xii. 6, 7.

[3] Summer, B.C. 166.

The insurgents conducted their revolt with equal enterprise and discretion. For a time they lay hid in the mountain fastnesses: and, as opportunity occurred, poured down upon the towns; destroyed the heathen altars; enforced circumcision; punished all apostates who fell into their hands; recovered many copies of the Law, which their enemies had wantonly defaced; and re-established the synagogues for public worship; the Temple being defiled, and in the possession of the enemy. Their ranks were swelled with the zealots for the Law, who were then called the Chasidim. For, immediately after the return from Babylonia, two sects had divided the people: the Zadikim, the righteous, who observed the written Law of Moses; and the more austere and abstemious Chasidim, or the holy, who added to the Law the traditions and observances of the fathers, and professed a holiness beyond the letter of the covenant. From the former sprang the Sadducees and Karaites of later times; from the latter, the Pharisees. But the age of Mattathias was ill suited to this laborious and enterprising warfare: having bequeathed the command to Judas, the most valiant of his sons, he sank under the weight of years and toil. So great already was the terror of his name, that he was buried, without disturbance on the part of the enemy, in his native city of Modin.

If the youth of the new general added vigour and enterprise to the cause, it lost nothing in prudence and discretion. Judas unfolded the banner of the Maccabees, a name of which the derivation is uncertain. Some assert that it was formed from the concluding letters of a sentence in the eleventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, "Mi Camo Ka Baalim Jehovah," signifying, *Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah?* Some, that it was the banner of the tribe of Dan, which contained the three last letters of the three names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: others that it was the personal appellation of Judas, from a word signifying a hammer, like that of Charles Martel, the hero of the Franks. Having tried his soldiers by many gallant adventures, surprising many cities, which he garrisoned and fortified, Judas determined to meet the enemy in the field. Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, first advanced against him, and was totally defeated and slain. Judas took the sword of his enemy as a trophy, and ever after used it in battle. Seron, the deputy-governor of Cœlesyria, advanced to revenge the defeat of Apollonius, but encountering the enemy in the strong pass of Beth-horon, met with the

same fate. The circumstances of the times favoured the noble struggle of Judas and his followers for independence. By his prodigal magnificence, both in his pleasures and in his splendid donatives and offerings, Antiochus had exhausted his finances. His eastern provinces, Armenia and Persia, refused their tribute. He therefore was constrained to divide his forces, marching himself into the East, and leaving Lysias, with a great army, to crush the insurrection in Judæa. The rapid progress of Judas had demanded immediate resistance. Philip, the Syrian governor in Jerusalem, sent urgent solicitations for relief. The vanguard of the Syrian army, amounting to 20,000, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, advanced rapidly into the province: it was followed by the general-in-chief, Ptolemy Macron; their united forces forming an army of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse. In their train came a multitude of slave merchants; for Nicanor had suggested the policy of selling as many of the insurgents as they could take, to discharge the arrears of tribute due to the Romans.[1] Judas assembled 6000 men at Mizpeh: there they fasted and prayed; and the religious ceremony, performed in that unusual place, though of old one of the sanctuaries of God, sadly reminded them of the desolate state of the holy city, the profanation of the sanctuary, the discontinuance of the sacrifices.[2] But if sorrow subdued the tamer spirits, it infused loftier indignation and nobler self-devotion into the valiant.[3] Judas knew that his only hope, save in his God, was in the enthusiastic zeal of his followers for the law of Moses. In strict conformity to its injunctions, he issued out through his little army the appointed proclamation, that all who had married wives, built houses, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should return to their homes. His force dwindled to 3000 ill-armed men.[4] Yet with this small band Judas advanced towards Emmaus, where the enemy lay encamped. Intelligence reached him, that Gorgias had been detached with 5000 chosen foot and 1000 horse to surprise him by night. He instantly formed the daring resolution

[1] 2 Macc. viii. 10. They were to have ninety slaves for a talent (ver. 11).

[2] 1 Macc. iii. 46, *et seqq.*

A characteristic circumstance is here noted, "and laid open the book of the Law, *wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images*" (ver. 48).

[3] "For it is better for us to die in battle, than to behold the calamities of our people and our sanctuary. Nevertheless as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do" (1 Macc. iii. 59, 60). Compare 2 Macc. viii.

[4] "Who nevertheless had neither armour nor swords to their minds" (1 Macc. iv. 6).

of eluding the attack by falling on the camp of the enemy. It was morning before he arrived; but, animating his men to the onset, they rushed down, all their trumpets clanging, upon the Syrians, who, after a feeble resistance, fled on all sides, unto Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumea, and Azotus, and Jamnia. Three thousand fell in battle.[1] Judas was as wary as bold; his troops were as well-disciplined as enterprising. He restrained them from the plunder of the camp till the return of Gorgias with the flower of the army, who came back weary with seeking the Jewish insurgents among the mountains, where they had hoped to surprise them. To their astonishment they beheld their own camp a blaze of fire. The contest was short but decisive: the Syrians fled without striking a blow, and in their flight suffered immense loss. The rich booty of the camp fell into the hands of the Jews, "much gold and silver, and blue silk and purple of the sea, and great riches."[2] The Jews, with just retribution, sold for slaves as many of the slave-merchants as they could find. A due share of the spoil was given to the maimed, the widows, and the orphans; the rest divided among the conquerors.[3] The next day was the Sabbath, a day indeed of rest and rejoicing. But success only excited the honourable ambition of the Maccabee. Hearing that a great force was assembling beyond the Jordan under Timotheus and Bacchides, he crossed the river, and gained a great victory and a considerable supply of arms. Here two of the chief oppressors of the Jews, Philarches and Callisthenes, perished; one in battle; the other burnt to death in a house, where he had taken refuge. Nicanor fled in the disguise of a slave to Antioch. So closed the first triumphant campaign of the Maccabees.

The next year Lysias appeared in person, at the head of 60,000 foot and 5000 horse, at Bethsura, a little north of Hebron[4] towards the southern frontier of Judæa; having perhaps levied part of his men among the Idumeans. This tribe now inhabited a district to the west of their ancestors, the Edomites, having been dispossessed of their former territory by the Nabathæan Arabs. Judas met this formidable host with 10,000 men; gained a decisive victory, and slew 5000 of the enemy. Thus on all sides triumphant, Judas entered, with his valiant confederates, the ruined and desolate Jerusalem.[5] They found shrubs grown to some height, like

[1] Macc. iv. 15. [2] Verse 23. [3] 2 Macc. viii. 28.
[4] 1 Macc. iv. 28–35. [5] 1 Macc. iv. 36–60.

the underwood of a forest, in the courts of the Temple; every part of the sacred edifice had been profaned; the chambers of the priests were thrown down. With wild lamentations and the sound of martial trumpets they mingled their prayers and praises to the God of their fathers. Judas took the precaution to keep a body of armed men on the watch against the Syrian garrison in the citadel; and then proceeded to install the most blameless of the priests in their office, to repair the sacred edifice, to purify every part from the profanation of the heathen, to construct a new altar, to replace out of the booty all the sacred vessels, and at length to celebrate the feast of Dedication—a period of eight days—which ever after was held sacred in the Jewish calendar.[1] It was the festival of the regeneration of the people, which, but for the valour of the Maccabees, had almost lost its political existence.

The re-establishment of a powerful state in Judæa was not beheld without jealousy by the neighbouring tribes.[2] But Judas, having strongly fortified the Temple on the side of the citadel, anticipated a powerful confederacy which was forming against him, and carried his victorious arms into the territories of the Idumeans and Ammonites. Thus discomfited on every side, the Syrians and their allies began to revenge themselves on the Jews who were scattered in Galilee and the trans-Jordanic provinces. Judas revenged a cruel stratagem of the inhabitants of Joppa, who decoyed 200 Jews or families on board their ships and threw them into the sea. He made a descent, and burned many houses on the harbour, and many of their ships. In Jamnia the same hostile measures were threatened. He fell on Jamnia, set the town on fire, the blaze of which was seen in Jerusalem.[3] A great force from Tyre and Ptolemais advanced into the neighbouring country. Timotheus, son of a former general of the same name, laid waste Gilead with great slaughter.[4] Judas, by the general consent of the people, divided his army into three parts: 8000 men, under his own command, crossed the Jordan into Gilead; 3000, under his brother Simon, marched into Galilee; the rest, under Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, remained to defend the liberated provinces; but with strict

[1] Herzfeld observes that they would use no profaned fire for the lamps and lights which were henceforth to burn in the Holy Place. According to 2 Macc. x. 3: "Striking stones, they took fire out of them." Herzfeld, ii. p. 271.

[2] 1 Macc. v. 1; compare 2 Macc. x. 1–8. Joseph. Ant. xii. 7, 6.

[3] 1 Macc. xii. 3, 9. [4] 1 Macc. v. 3.

injunctions to make no hostile movement. The Maccabees, as usual, were irresistible: city after city fell before Judas and Jonathan.[1] At length, having subdued the whole country, Judas found it prudent not to extend his kingdom to the bounds of that of David, and with that view removed all the Jews beyond the Jordan to the more defensible province of Judæa. Simon was equally successful in Galilee; he drove the enemy before him to the gates of Ptolemais. But the commanders who were left at home, in direct violation of orders, undertook an ill-concerted enterprise against Jamnia, a seaport. They were opposed by Bacchides, the most skilful of the Syrian generals, and met with a signal defeat.[2] The defeat was before long revenged by the indefatigable Judas, but not without loss. When they proceeded, after observing the Sabbath in Adullam, to bury the dead, small idols were found in the clothes even of some of priestly race. A sin-offering was sent to Jerusalem, not only to atone for the guilt of these men, but for the dead, in whose resurrection the Maccabean Jews, no doubt the Chasidim, had full faith.[3]

In the meantime the great oppressor of the Jews, Antiochus, had died in Persia. That his end was miserable, both the Jewish and Roman historians agree. He had been repulsed in an assault on a rich and sumptuous temple in Persia, called by the Greeks that of Diana; perhaps the female Mithra or the moon. Whether he had been incited by the desire of plunder, or by his bigoted animosity against foreign religions, does not appear; but at the same time he received intelligence of the disastrous state of his affairs in Palestine. Hastening homeward, he was seized with an incurable disorder, in a small town among the mountains of Paretacene. There, consumed in body by a loathsome ulcer, afflicted in mind by horrible apparitions and remorse of conscience, for his outrage on the Persian temple, says Polybius—for his horrible barbarities and sacrilege in Judæa, assert the Hebrew writers—died the most magnificent of the Syro-Macedonian monarchs.[4]

[1] "Bosora (Bosra), and Bosor, and Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Carnaim, all these cities are strong and great." 1 Macc. v. 26.

[2] 1 Macc. v. 55–61.

[3] 2 Macc. xii. "For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead" (v. 44). This is the earliest *distinct* assertion of the Jewish belief in the resurrection.

[4] 1 Macc. vi. 1–16; 2 Macc. ix.; Joseph. Ant. xii. 9. 1; Polybius, xxxi. 11. Josephus is indignant with Polybius for ascribing the death of Antiochus to the violation of the temple of Diana. The comparison of the simpler pathos

Lysias, who commanded in Syria, immediately set a son of the deceased king, Antiochus Eupator, upon the throne; Demetrius, the rightful heir, being a hostage in Rome. The first measure of Lysias was to attempt the subjugation of Judæa, where in Jerusalem itself the garrison of the unsurrendered fortress on Mount Sion joined to a strong party of the apostate Jews anxiously awaited his approach.[1] The royal army formed the siege of Bethsura, on the Idumean frontier, not far from Hebron, which Judas had strongly fortified. Their force consisted of 80,000 or 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 32 elephants. Bethsura made a valiant defence, and Judas marched from Jerusalem to its relief. The elephants seem to have excited great terror and astonishment. According to the Jewish annalist each beast was escorted by 1000 foot, splendidly armed, and 500 horse; each bore a tower containing 32 men: and to provoke them to fight, *they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.* The whole army, in radiant armour, spread over the mountains and valleys, so that the *mountains glistened therewith, and seemed like lamps of fire.* Yet wherever Judas fought, the Israelites were successful; and his heroic brother, Eleazar, excited the admiration of his countrymen by rushing under an elephant, which he stabbed in the belly, and was crushed to death by its fall. Still Judas found himself obliged to retreat upon Jerusalem.[2] Bethsura, pressed by famine (it was the Sabbatic

in the account of his death in the first book of Maccabees with the passionate and relentless exaggeration of the account in the later second book is an instructive illustration of the growth of popular traditional history. The dying speech of Antiochus in his remorse (in the Second Maccabees) is very curious, "and as touching the Jews whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts, he would make them all equals to the citizens of Athens: and the holy Temple, which before he had spoiled, he would garnish with goodly gifts, and restore all the holy vessels, with many more, and out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices: yea and that also he would become a Jew himself, and go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God." The other account is strange enough, but more like the Greek, and utterly irreconcilable with the foregoing. It is simple and pathetic, and therefore seemingly truthful. 1 Macc. vi. 11, 13.

[1] The narrative of the affairs after the accession of Antiochus Eupator in 1 Macc. vi. 18–63 is perfectly clear and distinct. That in 2 Macc., from x. 10, is a mass of inextricable confusion. In that account the same Timotheus is twice defeated and killed, x. 21, 38; xii. 15, 25. The whole is a series of repetitions, some of events before the death of Antiochus, some after. Josephus mainly follows 1 Macc. He however sets the king himself at the head of the army of Lysias.

[2] According to 2 Macc. xi., Lysias was totally defeated, and fled; but afterwards proposed a treaty. Ch. xiii. repeats this invasion.

year, the land lay fallow, and supplies were scarce), capitulated on honourable terms; and the royal army joined the siege of that part of the capital which was in the possession of Judas. Jerusalem resisted all their assaults; the Syrians began to suffer from want of provisions; and intelligence arrived that affairs at Antioch demanded their immediate presence.[1] A treaty was concluded, full liberty of worship was guaranteed to the Jews, they were to be henceforth permitted to live according to their own laws.[2] Antiochus was admitted into the city; but, in direct violation of the terms, he threw down the walls and dismantled the fortifications.

Demetrius in the meantime, the lineal heir to the throne of Antioch, had escaped from Rome. After some struggle, he overpowered Lysias and Antiochus, put them to death, and became undisputed master of the kingdom. The new king adopted a more dangerous policy against the independence of Judæa than the invasion and vast armies of his predecessor. The looser and less patriotic Jews ill brooked the austere government of the Chasidim, who formed the party of Judas: many, perhaps, were weary of the constant warfare in which their valiant champion was engaged. Menelaus, the renegade High Priest, had accompanied the army of Lysias, and endeavoured to form a faction in his favour; but, on some dissatisfaction, Lysias had sent him to Berea, where he was thrown into a tower of ashes, and suffocated—a fit punishment, it was said, for one who had polluted the altar fires and holy ashes of God's shrine.[3] Onias, son of the Onias murdered by means of Menelaus, the heir of the priesthood, fled to Egypt, and Alcimus, or Jacimus, was raised to the High-priesthood.[4] By reviving the title of the High Priest to the supreme authority, Demetrius hoped, if not to secure a dependent vassal in the government of Judæa, at least to sow discord among the insurgents. He sent Alcimus, supported by Bacchides, his most

[1] Philip, who had been appointed guardian of his son by Antiochus Epiphanes, had reached Antioch and seized the government.

[2] 1 Macc. vi. 58–61.

[3] 2 Macc. xiii. 3; Joseph. Ant. xii. 9. 7. The tower ὄργανον εἶχε περιφερὲς πάντοθεν ἀπόκρημνον εἰς τὸν σπόδον. It must therefore have been different from that, according to Val. Maximus, built by King Ochus as a place of punishment. "Ochus . . . septum altis parietibus locum cinere complevit, suppositoque tigno prominente benignè cibo et potione exceptos in eo collocabat, e quo somno sopiti decidebant." These were not burned, but smothered by the vapours. Val. Max. ix. 2–6. Compare Herod. ii. 100.

[4] 2 Macc. xiv. 3. "Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully in the times of their mingling with the Gentiles."

able general, to claim his sacerdotal dignity. The zealots for the Law could not resist the title of the High Priest.[1] Jerusalem submitted. But no sooner had Alcimus got the leaders into his power than he basely murdered sixty of them. Bacchides followed up the blow with great severities in other parts. Still, immediately that Bacchides had withdrawn his troops, Judas again took arms, and Alcimus was compelled to fly to Antioch. Demetrius despatched Nicanor, with a great army, to reinstate Alcimus. Jerusalem was still in the possession of the Syrians; and Nicanor attempted to get Judas into his power by stratagem, but the wary soldier was on his guard. A battle took place at Capharsalma.[2] Nicanor retreated, with the loss of 5000 men, to Jerusalem, where he revenged himself by the greatest barbarities: one of the elders, named Raziz, rather than fall into his hands, stabbed himself with his own sword; but the wound not proving mortal, he ran forth and destroyed himself by other means, too horrible to describe.[3] By these cruelties, and by a threat of burning the Temple and consecrating the spot to Bacchus, Nicanor endeavoured to force the people to surrender their champion. All these treacherous and cruel measures proving ineffectual, he was forced to revert to open war. A second battle took place, in which the superior forces of Nicanor were totally routed, and he himself slain.[4] His head and his right hand were cut off and hung in scorn and triumph—the head over one of the towers, the hand over one of the gates of the Temple, called afterwards the gate of Nicanor.[5] After this final victory Judas took a more decided step to secure the independence of his country; he entered into a formal treaty of alliance with Rome. The Jews had heard great things of Rome: that the Romans had subdued Gaul, were masters of the silver and gold mines of Spain; that kings from all parts of the world had trembled at their mandate; that Philip and Perseus and the great Antiochus had been defeated by, and paid tribute to this mighty people; that to their allies or vassal kings they granted empires—Lydia, Media, even India (such were the reports); yet none of them wore crown or purple, and every year they changed their Captains

[1] 1 Macc. vii. 14.
[2] 1 Macc. vii. 31.
[3] 2 Macc. xiv. 37, 41.
[4] 1 Macc. vii. 43.
[5] 1 Macc. vii. 37; 2 Macc. xv. 32, 33. The eastern gate of the inner court of the Temple retained the name of the gate of Nicanor. "Nicanor was one of the captains of the Greeks, and every day he wagged his hand towards Judæa and Jerusalem, and said, 'Oh, when will be in my power to lay thee waste?'" But when the Asmonean family prevailed, they subdued him and

(their consuls). One, the mightiest, had subdued Greece.[1] The ambitious Roman senate—steadily pursuing their usual policy, of weakening all the great monarchies of the world, by all means, whether honourable or treacherous; and ever, as Justin observes, ready to grant what did not belong to them[2] —eagerly ratified the independence of Judæa, and received under their protection these useful confederates.

Before, however, the treaty was made known, the glorious career of the Maccabee had terminated. Demetrius had sent Alcimus and Bacchides, with the whole force of his kingdom, into Palestine. Judas was abandoned by all his troops, all but 800 men, yet could not be prevailed on to retreat. Having discomfited one wing of the enemy's army, he fell nobly, as he had lived, the Martyr, as the champion of his country (B.C. 161). His body was rescued and buried in Modin. Among those lofty spirits who have asserted the liberty of their native land against wanton and cruel oppression, none have surpassed the most able of the Maccabees in accomplishing a great end with inadequate means; none ever united more generous valour with a better cause.

The faction of Alcimus now triumphed, the partisans of the Maccabees were oppressed, and the unrelenting Bacchides put to death the bravest of their adherents with the most cruel indignities. Jonathan, the brother of Judas, assembled a small force, and lay concealed in the wilderness of Tekoa, defended by the Jordan on one side, and by a morass on the other. A third of this gallant race, John, had fallen in an affray with an Arab tribe, who surprised him while escorting some of their effects to the friendly Nabathæans.[3] To revenge his death was the first object. During a splendid marriage ceremony, the Jews fell on the bride and bridegroom, and put them and all their attendants to the sword. Soon after this they repelled an attack of Bacchides with great loss, but finding their numbers unequal to the contest, they swam the Jordan and escaped; Bacchides, to secure military possession of the country, fortified and garrisoned all the strong towns. In the meantime, the

slew him, and hung up his trunk and great toes upon the gates of Jerusalem. Hence Nicanor's Day in the Jewish calendar. From Baba Taanith, fol. xviii. 2. Lightfoot, vol. x. p. 65.

[1] 1 Macc. viii. The whole account of the prowess and victories of the Romans is very curious. See the offensive and defensive treaty.

[2] "A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitiâ Romanorum petitâ, primo omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus." Justin, Hist., xxxvi. 3.

[3] 1 Macc. ix. 35.

unworthy High Priest, Alcimus, having begun to throw down one of the partition walls in the Temple, was seized with a mortal disorder, and died. On his death, Bacchides retired to Antioch, and Jonathan immediately broke out of his hiding-place. On the reappearance of Bacchides at the head of a considerable army, the Maccabee again took refuge in the wilderness; where he kept up a desultory guerilla warfare, he himself hovering about the camp of Bacchides, while his brother Simon defended the strong post of Bethhasi. At length Bacchides, wearied of this inglorious and harassing campaign, or perhaps by orders from his court, which began to tremble at the danger of oppressing an ally of Rome, entered into honourable terms of peace.[1]

Some years passed away in quiet. Jonathan thus became master of Judæa; though Jerusalem, and many of the stronger towns, occupied by garrisons, either of Syrians or apostate Jews, defied his authority.

A revolution in the kingdom of Syria gave Jonathan new strength and importance. An adventurer, Alexander Balas, announcing himself as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, laid claim to the crown of the Seleucidæ.[2] The Romans admitted his title, and Jonathan found himself courted by two competitors for the kingdom of Antioch. It was a strange reversal in the state of a people which seemed but a few years before to have been doomed to utter extinction; their country overrun by vast irresistible armies; their city walls razed, and the city commanded by a strong garrisoned fortress; their Temple defiled and dedicated to strange gods; their few defenders, freebooters in caverns and in the clefts of their mountains. Now they are the arbiters, it might seem, of conflicting rivals for the magnificent throne of the Seleucidæ; and all this by the valour, the military conduct, the prudence, the patriotism, the religious faith of one family. The offers of king Demetrius were lavish, even to desperation; exemption from all tribute, *customs from salt, and crown taxes, the third part of the seed, and half of the fruit of the trees.* Not only the city of Jerusalem, even the commanding fortress is evacuated. The terms include the surrender of all prisoners and all captives who had been compelled to migrate with their cattle: not only perfect freedom of religion, but the full observance of all their feasts and Sabbaths; the enrolment of 30,000 Jews to be paid by the king, but these troops are to occupy under their own

[1] 1 Macc. ix. 70. [2] 1 Macc. x.

officers the strongholds of the land; certain districts of Samaria and the noble seaport of Ptolemais are to be added to their territory; munificent donatives promised for the repair and sustentation of the Temple, and the rebuilding the walls of the city.[1] Still, from mistrust of the promises of Demetrius, and larger advances from Alexander, or foreseeing his prevailing power, or perhaps knowing him to have the support of Rome, the Jews continued faithful to the alliance with Alexander; and Jonathan, conscious of his own strength, with the common consent, tacit or avowed, of the contending kings, assumed the pontifical robes, and in his person commenced the reign of the Priest-Kings of the Asmonean line.

The impostor, Alexander Balas, met with the greatest success; defeated and slew Demetrius (B.C. 150); mounted the throne of Syria; and received the daughter of the king of Egypt in marriage. All this the Jews had foreseen. Jonathan, who appeared at the wedding, was received with the highest honours the court could bestow. These distinctions were not thrown away on a useless or ungrateful ally. Apollonius, the general of young Demetrius, who laid claim to his father's crown, was defeated by Jonathan; the victorious High Priest stormed Joppa, took Azotus, and there destroyed the famous temple of Dagon. The reign of Alexander Balas was short. He was overthrown by his father-in-law, Ptolemy, against whose life he had conspired. He fled into Arabia; the Arab chief, Zabdiel, with whom he had taken refuge, sent his head to the conqueror. But Ptolemy, who had won two crowns, those of Syria and Egypt, died, having been mortally wounded in the decisive battle which overthrew Balas; and Demetrius, surnamed Nicator, obtained the throne of Syria Jonathan seized the opportunity of laying siege to the citadel of Jerusalem. The opposite faction endeavoured to obtain the interference of Demetrius; but Jonathan, leaving his troops to press the siege, went in person to the court in Antioch. He was received with great honour, and a treaty was concluded, still more advantageous to his power than that with Alexander Balas. In return, a bodyguard of 3000 Jews saved Demetrius from a dangerous conspiracy, and suppressed a turbulent sedition in Antioch.[2] The conspiracy

[1] 1 Macc. x. 35.

[2] This part of the history is very obscure. The conspiracy was organised by Ammonius, the minister and favourite of Alexander. It is doubtful whether Antiochus was privy to it. Joseph. Ant. xiii. 4, 6.

took its rise from the claims of Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas, who was supported by Tryphon, an officer equally crafty and ambitious. But the good understanding between Demetrius and Jonathan did not last long: and no sooner was the support of his powerful vassal withdrawn, than the Syrian king was constrained to fly, and yield up the throne to his rival, young Antiochus. Jonathan was treated with great distinction by this new sovereign, Antiochus Theos; he was confirmed in his dignity as High Priest. Simon, his brother, was appointed captain-general of all the country from the ladder of Tyre to the river of Egypt. The activity of Jonathan mainly contributed to the security of Antiochus. He gained two signal victories over the armies in the service of Demetrius,[1] strengthened many of the fortresses in Judæa: he built a wall to separate the tower or fortress which the Syrians still held on Mount Sion, to insulate it from the city; and he renewed the treaty with Rome, as also with Lacedæmon.[2] His prosperous career was suddenly cut short by treachery. Tryphon, the officer who had raised the young Antiochus to the throne, began to entertain ambitious views of supplanting his king. The great obstacles to his scheme were the power and integrity of Jonathan. With insidious offers of peace, he persuaded Jonathan to dismiss a large army which he had assembled to assist Antiochus, and allured him within the walls of Ptolemais, with a few followers, under pretence of surrendering to him the town. He then suddenly closed the gates, took Jonathan prisoner, and poured his troops over the great plain of Galilee. The Jews were struck, but not paralysed, with consternation. Another of the noble race of Mattathias remained, and Simon was immediately invested with the command.

Simon, the last of the five brethren, was not the least glorious for the vigour and wisdom of his administration.[3] The crafty Tryphon began to negotiate: he offered to yield up Jonathan at the price of 100 talents of silver and two of his

[1] 1 Macc. xi. 67; xii. 27.

[2] The singular connection between Jerusalem and Lacedæmon is related with too much particularity. Yet it may perhaps be supposed to contain some truth. But I have seen no satisfactory explanation of it; and there are great difficulties in the documents as compared with the history of Sparta.

[3] It is remarkable that in the investiture of Simon with the supremacy we read these words, which show the full development of the expectation of a Messiah—a religious Messiah: "the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and High Priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet." 1 Macc. xiv. 41; compare iv. 46; ix. 27.

children, as hostage for his peaceful conduct. The money and the hostages were sent, but the perfidious Tryphon refused to surrender Jonathan. The two armies watched each other for some time. The Syrians being prevented by a heavy fall of snow from relieving their garrison in the fortress of Jerusalem, Tryphon, having first put to death the brave Jonathan,[1] hastened into Syria, where he treated the unhappy Antiochus with the same treachery and atrocity. Simon recovered the body of his brother, which was interred at Modin in great state. A sepulchre, with seven pillars, for the father, mother, and five Maccabean brethren, was raised on an eminence; a sea-mark to all the vessels which sailed along the coast.[2]

Simon openly espoused the party of Demetrius against Tryphon, and received from that monarch a full recognition of the independence of his country. Instead, therefore, of interfering in foreign affairs, he directed his whole attention to the consolidation and internal security of the Jewish kingdom. He sent an embassage, which was honourably received at Rome. He fortified Bethsura on the Idumean frontier, and Joppa, the great port of Judæa; reduced Gazara; and at length having made himself master of the fortress in Jerusalem, not merely dismantled it, but, with incredible labour levelled the hill on which it stood, so that it no longer commanded the hill of the Temple. Simon executed the law with great impartiality and vigour; repaired the Temple, restored the sacred vessels. The wasted country began, under his prudent administration, to enjoy its ancient fertility. In the picturesque language of their older poets, the historian says, *The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of the wealth of the land, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.*[3] To secure the alliance of the Romans, the great safeguard of the new state, he sent a golden shield, weighing 1000 pounds, to Rome. The Romans, in return, sent a proclamation to many of the kings of the East, to all the cities in the empire in which the Jews were settled, announcing their recognition of Simon as the Prince of Judæa; and while on the one hand the Jews at their command were to acknowledge Simon, on the other they haughtily intimated to the kings and cities under their dominion that the Jews were under their protection and in alliance with Rome. These

[1] 1 Macc. xiii. 23. [2] 1 Macc. xiii. 27.
[3] 1 Macc. xiv. 9.

imperious mandates were addressed to the kings of Syria, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, even to Parthia; to Sparta, Sicyon, Delos, Gortyna in Crete, to Samos, Cos, and Rhodes, to Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus; to the cities in Lycia and Pamphylia, in Cyprus, the Island of Aradus, the Phœnician territory, and Cyrene. This is a singular illustration of the widespread dispersion of the Jews even in those times, and of the all-commanding policy of Rome.[1] In the meantime, Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of Syria, had been taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians. Antiochus Sidetes, his brother, levied an army to dispossess the usurper and murderer, Tryphon. In a short time Antiochus gained the superiority in the field, and besieged Tryphon in Dora.[2] Simon openly espoused his party; but Antiochus considered Simon's assistance dearly purchased at the price of the independence of Palestine, and above all, the possession of the important ports of Gazara and Joppa. Athenobius, his ambassador, sent to demand tribute and indemnification, was struck with astonishment at the riches and splendour of Simon's palace;[3] and on the Jewish sovereign refusing all submission, and only offering a price for the possession of Joppa, Antiochus sent his general, Cendebeus, to invade the country. Simon, now grown old, entrusted the command of his forces to his sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus. They, having defeated Cendebeus, and taken Azotus, returned crowned with victory.

But the Maccabean race seemed destined to perish by violence (B.C. 134). Ptolemy, son of Abubus, the son-in-law of Simon, under a secret understanding with Antiochus, king of Syria, formed a conspiracy to usurp the sovereignty of Judæa. At a banquet in Jericho, he contrived basely to assassinate Simon and his elder son; and at the same time endeavoured to surprise the younger, John Hyrcanus, in Gazara.[4] But John inherited the vigour and ability of his family; he eluded the danger, appeared in Jerusalem, and was unanimously proclaimed the High Priest and ruler of the country. His first measure was to march against Jericho to revenge the base murder of his father; but Ptolemy had in his power the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus. He shut

[1] 1 Macc. xv. 22–24.
The edict was issued in the name of the consul Lucius. Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, with Appius Claudius Pulcher, was consul A.U. 612, B.C. 141.
[2] 1 Macc. xv, 10 *et seqq.* [3] 1 Macc. xv. 32.
[4] Rather Gezer, not to be confounded with Gaza.

himself up in a fortress, and exposed his captives on the walls, scourging them, and threatening to put them to death. The noble-minded woman exhorted her son, notwithstanding her own danger, to revenge his father's murder: but Hyrcanus hesitated; the siege was protracted; and, at length, according to the improbable reason assigned by Josephus, the year being a Sabbatic year, entirely raised the siege. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia; of his subsequent fate we know nothing. The rapid movements of Hyrcanus had disconcerted the confederacy between the assassin and Antiochus. Still, however, the Syrian army overran the whole country. Hyrcanus was besieged in Jerusalem, where he was reduced to the last extremity by famine. He had been compelled to the hard measure of expelling from the city all those, the old and young, of both sexes, who were incapable of contributing to the defence. The besiegers refused to let them pass; many perished miserably in the ditches and on the outworks.[1] But Antiochus proved a moderate and generous enemy; on the feast of Tabernacles, he conceded a week's truce, furnished the besieged with victims for sacrifice, bulls with golden horns, and gold and silver vessels for the Temple service. He was gratefully compared with his impious ancestor, Antiochus Epiphanes, and called Antiochus the Pious.[2] Finally he concluded a peace, of which the terms, though hard, were better than Hyrcanus, in the low condition to which he was reduced, could fairly expect. The country was to submit to vassalage under the kings of Syria, tribute was to be paid for Joppa and other towns held by grants from the predecessors of Antiochus, and Jerusalem was dismantled. But Hyrcanus, it is said, opened the sepulchre of king David, where he found three thousand talents of silver.

Four years after, John Hyrcanus was summoned to attend his liege lord on an expedition into Parthia, under the pretence of delivering Demetrius Nicator, brother of the king, formerly possessor of the crown, and long a captive in Parthia. Hyrcanus returned before the defeat which lost Antiochus his throne and life. Demetrius escaped, and recovered the throne of Antioch. Hyrcanus seized the glorious opportunity

[1] In this siege Jerusalem, for the only time it should seem, suffered for want of water. Probably the excellent system of wells, conduits, and tanks for the supply of water in the days of Solomon, restored in later times (and which did not fail in the last fatal siege), had been neglected or wilfully destroyed.

[2] Joseph. Ant. xiii. 8. 2.

of throwing off the yoke of Syria, and the Jewish kingdom reassumed its independence, which it maintained until it was compelled to acknowledge the Roman dominion—first under the Asmonean dynasty, then under the house of Herod.

The Syrian monarchy being distracted by rival competitors for the throne, the prudent and enterprising Hyrcanus lost no opportunity of extending his territory and increasing his power. He took Samega and Medaba, in the trans-Jordanic region. But his greatest triumph, that which raised him the highest in the opinion of his zealous countrymen, was the capture of Sichem, and the total destruction of the rival temple on Gerizim.[1] It was levelled to the earth; not a vestige remained. For two hundred years this hated edifice had shocked the sight of the pious pilgrim to Jerusalem. Now the Temple of Jerusalem resumed its dignity as the only sanctuary where the God of their fathers was worshipped, at least within the region of Palestine. The Samaritan temple had always seemed a usurpation upon the peculiar property of the Jewish people in the universal Deity; now they were again undisputed possessors, as of the Divine Presence, so they conceived of the Divine protection.

Yet, at a more remote distance, another temple had arisen, which excited great jealousy in the more rigid. This was in Egypt, where, in fact, another nation of Jews had gradually grown up. On the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, a great number of Jews, under Gedaliah, fled to Egypt. Alexander is reported to have encouraged their settlement in his new city of Alexandria by privileges which put them on the same footing with the Macedonians. Ptolemy, founder of the Egypto-Grecian kingdom, transported from Judæa 30,000 families; some he settled in Cyrene, most in Alexandria. During the oppressions of the Syrian kings, many, envying the peaceful and prosperous state of their brethren in Egypt, abandoned Judæa, and took refuge under the protection of the Ptolemies, who, either as useful subjects, or never entirely abandoning their ambitious views on Palestine, generally endeavoured to secure the attachment of the Jews.[2] They lived under their Ethnarch, and occupied a separate portion

[1] Joseph. Ant. ix.

[2] Herzfeld has a full and valuable chapter on the rise and history of the Alexandrian-Jewish community (iii. p. 436 *et seqq.*).

On the persecutions attributed to Ptolemy Philopator and Ptolemy Physcon, see below.

of the vast city; not as in a Ghetto in later days in the cities of Europe, but in a quarter vying in extent, splendour, and wealth with the other quarters of prosperous Alexandria. Under the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, as has been stated, Onias (son of that Onias who was murdered by Menelaus), the rightful heir of the High-priesthood, fled into Egypt. He rose high in favour with the king and his queen, Cleopatra; and, being deprived of his rightful inheritance, Onias conceived the design of building a temple for the use of the Egyptian Jews. The king entered into his views, whether to advance his popularity with his Jewish subjects, or to preserve the wealth, which, as tribute or offering to the Temple, flowed out of his dominions to Jerusalem. He granted to Onias a ruined temple in Leontopolis, in the Heliopolitan nome, and a tract of land for the maintenance of the worship. Both temple and domain remained unviolated till the reign of Vespasian. Onias reconciled his countrymen to this bold innovation by a text in Isaiah (xix. 18, 19). In this passage it is predicted that *there should be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt.* According to the interpretation of Onias, the very place was designated. That which in our translation appears as "the city of destruction," was interpreted, perhaps not inaccurately, the City of the Sun (Heliopolis). Thus then the Jews of Alexandria claimed divine authority for their temple, and had unquestionably the legitimate High Priest as their officiating minister. The Aramean Jews looked on their Egyptian brethren with assumed contempt, but inward jealousy: perhaps the distance only prevented a feud, almost as deadly as that with the Samaritans.[1]

Alexandria being the retreat of Grecian learning, the Jews turned their attention to literature, and even to philosophy. But in some respects they were in an unfortunate situation, with great temptations and great facilities to substitute fiction for truth. They were pressed on all sides, by Egyptians, by Greeks, and by the Aramean Jews. The former denied their antiquity as a nation, and reproached them with the servitude

[1] The older Mischna says: "Priests who have officiated in the Temple of Onias cannot officiate in Jerusalem: they are to be looked on as priests who have infirmities (gebreche); they may participate and eat of the offerings, but cannot offer." It appears from this that the service in the Onias Temple was not considered idolatry, but as sacrifice in an unhallowed place. A man who has vowed an offering, if he offers in the Onias Temple has not fulfilled his vow. See the rest of the passage. Jost, i. 118.

and base condition of their ancestors in Egypt, which they grossly exaggerated; the Greeks treated their national literature with contempt; the rigid Jews could not forgive their adoption of the Greek language and study of Greek letters. The strange legend about the origin of their version of the Scriptures, commonly called the Septuagint, evidently originated in their desire to gain a miraculous sanction for their sacred books, and thus to put them in some degree on the same footing with the original Hebrew Scriptures. This work, which probably was executed at different periods, by writers of various abilities and different styles, was reported by a certain Aristeas to have been the work of seventy-two translators, deputed by the grand Sanhedrin, at the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who were shut up in separate cells, yet each rendered the whole work, word for word, in the same language.[1] The romantic history of the persecution of the Alexandrian Jews, sometimes called the third book of the Maccabees, was apparently compiled with a similar design, to show that they had been exposed, on account of their religion, to equal barbarities with their brethren, endured them with equal courage, and were delivered in a manner equally miraculous. Ptolemy Philopator (or Ptolemy Physcon, for it is not easy to fix a period for the legend) had determined on the extermination of the Jews, unless they would apostatise from their religion. Only 300 consented to this base compliance; the rest were shut up in the Hippodrome to be destroyed by elephants. The king being engaged in a drunken revel, the Jews remained a whole day expecting, yet boldly determined to endure, their miserable fate. When the elephants were let loose, they refused to assail the Jews, but turned all their fury on the spectators, on whom they committed frightful ravages.[2] We have mentioned these facts

[1] Philo distinctly asserts (and he is a trustworthy authority) that the translation *of the Law* was executed in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. His account, though manifestly that of a Jew, giving the transaction the highest state and importance, has nothing incredible; and his assertion that an annual festival was kept in the island of Pharos to commemorate the event can hardly be called in question. De Mose, pp. 138 *et seqq.*

[2] Herzfeld accepts this as history, stripping off, as is his wont, the marvellous or miraculous part. He assigns it to the reign of Philopator. He may be right. But the parallel story, the same in almost all its incidents, especially as to the elephants, is related by Josephus (contra Apion, ii. 5), and placed under Ptolemy Physcon.

Herzfeld dismisses the angels, said to have appeared, and supposes the elephants to have been frightened by the wild cry arising from thousands of Jews crowded together, and in terror of a most dreadful death.

as illustrating the character of the Alexandrian Jews: we pass unwillingly over their controversies with the Egyptians and the Greeks, and the curious union of Grecian philosophy with the Jewish religion, which prevailed in their schools, as these subjects belong rather to the history of Jewish literature than to that of the Jewish people.[1] The Alexandrian Jews mingled in all the transactions and attained the highest honours of the state. Onias, who built the temple during the pontificate of Jonathan, filled the most eminent offices in the state and in the army; and at a later period we shall find Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, commanding the armies of Cleopatra.

While Egypt and Syria were desolated by the crimes and the contentions of successive pretenders to their thrones, the state of Judæa enjoyed profound peace under the vigorous administration of Hyrcanus. Having destroyed Sichem, he next turned his forces against Idumea, subjugated the country, compelled the ancient rivals of his subjects to submit to circumcision, and to adopt the Jewish religion; and so completely incorporated the two nations, that the name of Idumea appears no more in history as a separate kingdom. Hyrcanus maintained a strict alliance with the Romans, and renewed a treaty, offensive and defensive, against their common enemies.[2] In the twenty-sixth year of his reign he determined to reduce the province and city of Samaria to his authority. He entrusted the command of his army to his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus. The Samaritans implored the protection of Antiochus Cyzicenus, then king of Damascus, who marched to their relief, but suffered a total defeat by the brothers. In conjunction with 6000 Egyptian allies, Antiochus made a second attempt to rescue this province from the power of the

[1] This subject would still require more ample space and wider investigation than this work can afford. Among the authors who have examined it with industry and success I would name Gfrorer, and especially Dahne, Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions Philosophie. Halle, 1834.

[2] For the reign of Hyrcanus, Joseph. Ant. xiii. 10. Justin writes: "Quorum (Judæorum) vires tantæ fuere, ut post hunc (Antiochum) nullum Macedonium regem tulerunt, domesticisque imperiis usi Syriam magnis bellis infestaverunt." —Justin, xxxvi. 1.

Justin proceeds to give the view of the Jews and of their history popular among the Greeks: a singular confusion of the true and the erroneous. The expression of wonder at the union of the temporal with the religious law under the Priest-Kings (whom he carries up to Moses and Aaron) is striking. "Semperque exinde hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eosdem reges et sacerdotes haberent; quorum justitia religione permixta, incredibile quantum coaluere."

Jews, but with no better success. Samaria fell after an obstinate resistance of a whole year; one of the Syrian generals betrayed Scythopolis and other towns to the Jews. Thus Hyrcanus became master of all Samaria and Galilee. The city of Samaria was razed, trenches dug (the hill on which it stood being full of springs), and the whole site of the detested city flooded and made a pool of water.

But though thus triumphant abroad, Hyrcanus, at the end of his reign, was troubled by serious dissensions at home. Two great religious and political factions divided the state—those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. No question in Jewish history is more obscure than the origin and growth of these two parties. The Maccabees had greatly owed their success to the Chasidim, or righteous. The zeal, and even the fanaticism of this party, had been admirable qualities in the hour of trial and exertion. Austerity is a good discipline for the privations and hardships of war. Undaunted courage, daring enterprise, contempt of death, fortitude in suffering, arose directly out of the leading religious principles of this party —the assurance of Divine protection, and the certainty of another life. Their faith, if it led them to believe too much, and induced them to receive the traditions of their fathers as of equal authority with the written law and authentic history, made them believe only with the stronger fervour and sincerity all the wonders and glories of their early annals; wonders and glories which they trusted the same Power, in whose cause, and under whose sanction, they fought, would renew in their persons. Even their belief in angels, celestial, unseen beings, who ever environed them, to assist their arms, and discomfit their enemies, contributed to their confidence and resolution. In this great conflict the hero and the religious enthusiast were one and the same. But those qualities and principles which made them such valiant and active soldiers in war, when the pride of success and conscious possession of power were added, tended to make them turbulent, intractable, and domineering subjects in peace. Those who are most forward in asserting their liberty do not always know how to enjoy it, still less how to concede it to others. Their zeal turned into another channel—the maintenance and propagation of their religious opinions—and flowed as fiercely and violently as before. Themselves austere, they despised all who did not practise the same austerities; earnest in their belief, not only in the law, but in every traditional observance, they branded as free-

thinkers all whose creed was of greater latitude than their own; and considered it their duty to enforce the same rigid attention, not merely to every letter of the law, but likewise to all their own peculiar observances, which they themselves regarded as necessary, and most scrupulously performed. In everything, as they were the only faithful servants, so they were the delegates and interpreters of God. As God had conquered by them, so he ruled by them; and all their opponents were the enemies of the national constitution, the national religion, and the national Deity. Thus the generous and self-devoted Assideans, or Chasidim, degenerated into the haughty, tyrannical, and censorious Pharisees, the Separatists of the Jewish religion, from *Pharez*, the Hebrew word for "to separate," or stand aloof. The better order among the opponents of the Pharisees were the Karaites, strict adherents to the letter of the law, but decidedly rejecting all traditions. The great strength of the party consisted, however, of the Sadducees.[1] The religious doctrines of the Sadducees, it is well known, were directly opposite to those of the Pharisees. The Pharisees were moderate Predestinarians: the Sadducees asserted Free Will. The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, and the existence of angels, though their creed on both these subjects was strongly tinged with Orientalism: the Sadducees denied both. The Pharisees received

[1] "Daraus ergab sich für alle diejenigen welche nach dieser Richtung hin ihre Ansicht von Judenthum darlegten, indem sie jene Berührung des Unreinen sorgfaltig mieden, und schon dadurch vom Volke und von geselligen Verkehr sich sonderten, die Benennung *Parusch*, Abgesonderten, sie mogen solche selbst angenommen oder von Andern erhalten haben." Jost, Jud. i. 200.

There is a very remarkable chapter on the origin of the Sadducees and Pharisees in Geiger, Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel, p. 101 *et seqq.* He derives the name Sadducee from Zadok. The hierarchical families, the descendants of the High Priest Zadok, were obliged to cede the High Priesthood first to the Asmoneans, the Maccabees, then to the High Priests appointed by Herod and his successors and by the Romans. But they remained as a priestly aristocracy, proud of their descent, and administering many priestly functions; but gradually shrunk into a sect. "Die Zadokiter hatten so mit aufgehört die Regenten zu sein, sie waren nicht mehr die Melkhisedek 'die Könige der Gerechligkeit' nicht meher die Zaddikim, 'die Gerechter,' sie standen nicht mehr über dem Volke; die Sadducäer, in welchen die Zadokiten den kern bildeten, waren nun eine Partei im Volke, eine abgeschlossene aristokratische, welche in ihre Exclusivetät den Zudrang der Masse von sich abwehrte, aber durch als adlige, durch alter des Geschlechts, durch Priesterheiligkeit oder durch neu erworbene Ansehn den bedeutendensten Einfluss hatte, eine kleine aber machtige Partei." The Pharisees, though separatists, were the popular, the democratic faction. Geiger adds with characteristic Germanism:—"Sie sind um eine Analogie aus neuerer Zeit anzwenden, die Independenten gegenuber den Episcopalen." Geiger refers, as an illustration of his views, to the remarkable passage, Acts iv. 1–4.

not merely the Prophets, but the traditional Law likewise, as of equal authority with the book of Moses. The Sadducees, if they did not reject, considered the Prophets greatly inferior to the Law. The Sadducees are commonly said to have derived their doctrine from Sadoc, the successor of Antigonus Socho in the presidency of the great Sanhedrin.[1] Antigonus taught the lofty doctrine of pure and disinterested love and obedience to God, without regard to punishment or reward. Sadoc is said to have denied the latter, without maintaining the higher doctrine on which it was founded. Still the Sadducees were far from what they are sometimes represented, the teachers of a loose and indulgent Epicureanism; they inculcated the belief in Divine Providence, and the just and certain administration of temporal rewards and punishments. The Pharisees had the multitude, ever led away by extravagant religious pretensions, entirely at their disposal: Sadduceeism spread chiefly among the higher orders.[2] It would be unjust to the Sadducees to confound them with that unpatriotic and Hellenised party, which, during the whole of the noble struggles of the Maccabees, sided with the Syrian oppressors, for these are denounced as avowed apostates from Judaism; yet probably, after the establishment of the independent government, the latter might make common cause, and become gradually mingled up with the Sadducean party, as

[1] They were by most accounts two kindred, but to a certain degree conflicting sects, the Sadducees and Boethusians, derived from Sadoc and Boethus. The latter, however, are but dimly traced, and either died away or melted into the cognate Sadducees. Jost asserts that the earliest distinct account of the origin of the Sadducees is in a late Rabbinical work, the Aboth of R. Nathan: but both names are found in the older Mischna; and Josephus is full concerning them.

[2] I have no doubt that in one of the noblest books among those called the Apocryphal we have the work of a Sadducee, or rather, for it is a manifest fusion of several books, a full declaration of the views of the higher Sadducaic anti-traditional party. In the book of Ecclesiasticus there are magnificent descriptions of God's creative power, of his all-comprehending providence, of his chastisement of unrighteousness, of his rewards of godliness; the most beautiful precepts of moral and social virtue, of worldly wisdom and sagacity, of chastity, temperance, justice, beneficence—*but of a life after death not one word.* Not only this (and silence on such a subject is conclusive), but there is what amounts to a direct abnegation of such doctrine. "For all things cannot be in men, because the son of man is not immortal" (xvii. 30). In sorrow for the dead, too, there is no word of consolation from the hope of another life, xxii. 11; xxxviii. 17; xl. (and xli.). So as to angels: in the whole book there is no word recognising any intermediate beings between God and man. I can find no passage which might not have been written by a highly religious Sadducee; and that such Sadducees there were, there can be no doubt.

exposed alike to the severities of the Pharisaic administration.[1] During the rest of the Jewish history we shall find these parties as violently opposed to each other, and sometimes causing as fierce and dangerous dissensions, as those which rent the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, or the republican states of modern Italy.

It was at the close of his reign that Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisaic party, and openly joined the opposite faction—a measure of which the disastrous consequences were not entirely felt till the reign of his son Alexander. The cause of this rupture is singularly characteristic of Jewish manners. During a banquet, at which the chiefs of the ruling sect were present, Hyrcanus demanded their judgment on his general conduct and administration of affairs, which he professed to have regulated by the great principles of justice, and by strict adherence to the tenets of their sect. The Pharisees, with general acclamation, testified their approval of all his proceedings;—one voice alone, that of Eleazar, interrupted the general harmony. "If you are a just man, abandon the High-priesthood, for which you are disqualified by the illegitimacy of your birth." The mother of Hyrcanus had formerly, it was said, though, according to Josephus, falsely, been taken captive, and thus exposed to the polluting embraces of a heathen master. The indignant Hyrcanus demanded the trial of Eleazar for defamation. By the influence of the Pharisees he was shielded, and escaped with scourging and imprisonment. Hyrcanus, enraged at this unexpected hostility, listened to the representations of Jonathan, a Sadducee, who accused the rival faction of a conspiracy to overawe the sovereign power; and from that time he entirely alienated himself from the Pharisaic councils. This able prince reigned for twenty-nine years; he built the castle of Baris on a rock within the fortifications which surrounded the hill of the Temple, on the north-west corner of which it stood. It afterwards became the Antonia of Herod.

Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, succeeded: his reign, though brief, was long enough for much crime and much misery. His mother, by the will of Hyrcanus, claimed the sovereignty; he threw her into a dungeon, and starved her

[1] Jost has a curious chapter on the differences between the Pharisees and Sadducees in their interpretation of the Law, as to some points of the daily or other sacrifices, and as to some of the ordinary usages of life, even of inheritance. c. ix. p. 216.

to death. The fate of his brother Antigonus (the one of his brothers whom he loved) will immediately appear: the other three of his brethren were kept in close imprisonment. Soon after he had assumed the diadem, the new king made a successful expedition and subdued Iturea, a district at the foot of Anti-Libanus, afterwards called Auranitis. He returned, suffering under a dangerous malady. His brother Antigonus, a short time after, having completed the conquest, as he entered Jerusalem, hastened, all armed as he was, with his soldiers, to pay his devotions in the Temple; to utter his thanksgiving prayers, it is added, for his brother's recovery.[1] This innocent act was misrepresented by the queen and the harem of Aristobulus as covering a treacherous design. Aristobulus sent to summon his brother to attend him unarmed. The treacherous enemies of Antigonus, instead of this message, delivered one commanding him to come with some very splendid armour, which his brother wished to see. The guards were posted; and Antigonus, appearing in arms, was assassinated in the subterranean gallery which led from the Temple to the palace of Baris. Aristobulus, seized with agonising compunction for his crime, vomited blood. The slave who bore the vessel away, happened to stumble on the very spot where Antigonus had been slain, and the blood of the two brothers mingled on the pavement. A cry of horror ran through the palace. The king, having extorted from the reluctant attendants the dreadful cause, was seized with such an agony of remorse and horror, that he expired.[2]

Alexander Jannæus, the next in succession, assumed the throne; a feeble attempt was made by his younger brother to usurp his place, but the rebel was seized and put to death.[3] Alexander was an enterprising rather than a successful prince; and it was perhaps fortunate for the kingdom of Judæa that the adjacent states were weakened by dissension and mutual hostility. Egypt was governed by Cleopatra, widow of Ptolemy Physcon; Cyprus by Ptolemy Lathyrus, her eldest son, and most deadly enemy. The Syrian monarchy was shared by Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus: one held his court at Antioch, the other at Damascus. The Jews possessed the whole region of Palestine, except the noble port

[1] Joseph. Ant. xiii. 11.

[2] All this was said to have been foreshown by an Essenian prophet. Perhaps the life of Aristobulus was darkened by religious animosity; he was called by the unpopular name φιλελλην.

[3] Joseph. Ant. xiii. 12.

of Ptolemais; Dora and the Tower of Straton were in the hands of Zoilus, who owned a sort of allegiance to Syria. Gaza was likewise independent of the Jewish government. The first object of Alexander was to reduce all these cities. He formed the siege of Ptolemais. The inhabitants sent to demand relief from Ptolemy Lathyrus, but after the Cyprian king had levied an army of 30,000 men, dreading the loss of their independence, the Ptolemaites refused to admit him into their gates. Ptolemy turned on the dominions of Zoilus, and on Gaza. Alexander entered into negotiations with Ptolemy for the friendly surrender of those places, and at the same time with Cleopatra for a large force to expel the king of Cyprus from Palestine. Ptolemy, detecting the double intrigue, marched into Judæa, took Asochis near the Jordan on the Sabbath, ravaged the country, and (by the assistance of an expert tactician, Philostephanus) totally defeated Alexander, with the loss of 30,000 men, pursued his ravages, and, to spread the terror of his name, is said to have practised most abominable cruelties.[1] Having surprised a village full of women and children, he ordered them to be hewn in pieces, and cast into caldrons, as if to be boiled; so that the horror of this invasion of cannibals spread throughout the whole country. The kingdom of Judæa was lost but for a great army of Egyptians under the command of Chelcias and Ananias, two Alexandrian Jews.[2] Lathyrus retreated into Cœlesyria: part of Cleopatra's army pursued him, part formed the siege of Ptolemais. Lathyrus determined on the bold measure of marching into Egypt: he was repelled, and retreated to Gaza. Ptolemais fell; and Alexander came to congratulate the queen of Egypt on her victory. Cleopatra was strongly urged to seize the prince, and thus make herself mistress of Judæa: the remonstrances of Ananias, the Jew, dissuaded her from this breach of faith.

The Cypriot and Egyptian armies being withdrawn, Alexander resumed his sovereignty; but his restless disposition involved him in new wars, with no better success. He invaded the country east of the Jordan, took Gadara, but was totally defeated before Amathus, which he had plundered of the treasures of Theodorus, prince of Philadelphia. The indefatigable Prince Priest next fell upon the territory of Gaza, took Raphia and Anthedon, and, although constrained to raise

[1] Joseph. Ant. xiii. 12, 5, 6.

[2] Josepb. Ant. xiii. 13, 1.

the siege of Gaza by a descent of Lathyrus, he formed it again the next year. Gaza made an obstinate resistance. At one time the besieger had nearly lost his whole army by a desperate sally of the besieged; at length, however, the commander of the garrison, Apollodotus, having been slain by treachery, Gaza surrendered. Alexander at first seemed inclined to mercy, but, before long, let loose his troops to revenge themselves on the town. The inhabitants took up arms; yet, after a considerable loss, the conqueror succeeded in totally dismantling and destroying this ancient city, and left it a heap of ruins.

But the most dangerous enemies of Alexander were at home. The Pharisaic faction had the populace at their command; and at the feast of Tabernacles, while he was officiating as king and High Priest, a mutiny broke out. The mob pelted him with citrons, reproached him with the baseness of his descent, and denied his right to the priesthood. Alexander commanded his troops to fall on the unarmed multitude, and slew 6000. To prevent these insults in future, Alexander raised a wooden partition between the court of the priests and that of the people; and, to awe the insurgents, enrolled a bodyguard of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Pisidians and Cilicians. He then, a second time, invaded the country east of Jordan, reduced it to pay tribute, took Amathus, but again suffered a total defeat by Orodes, king of Arabia. The Jews seized the opportunity to rise in rebellion, and for six years the country suffered all the horrors of civil war. Alexander at first met with great success; but when he endeavoured to bring the mutineers to terms, they cried out with one voice, that they would yield only on one condition, that he would put himself to death. At length, pressed on all sides, the insurgents demanded the assistance of Demetrius Euchærus, one of the kings of Syria. Alexander, always unfortunate in battle, was routed, with the loss of all his 6000 mercenaries and many other of his troops. He fled to the mountains; but a sudden revulsion of popular feeling took place in his favour, and he found himself at the head of 60,000 men. Demetrius retreated, and Alexander, master of the whole country, besieged his enemies in Bethome, took the city, and marched to Jerusalem in triumph. His vengeance was signal and terrible. During a banquet, in the midst of his concubines, he publicly crucified 800 men, and slew their wives and children before their faces. From this atrocity he was named

the Thracian. Of the disaffected, 8000 abandoned the city; but, under his iron sway, the whole country remained in awed submission, though not unharassed with wars against the Syrians and Arabians, during the rest of his reign. His foreign policy at this period was equally vigorous. The kingdom of the Jews at his death comprehended the coast from the Tower of Straton to Rhinocorura, Idumea, Samaria, and considerable provinces to the east of the Jordan. In the fourth year after his triumph over the insurgents, Alexander Jannæus was seized with a mortal malady. A disturbed and rebellious kingdom, and newly conquered provinces, were not likely to submit to the feeble authority of women and children.[1] The dying king summoned his wife Alexandra, and strongly urged, as the only means of preserving the kingdom, that on his death she should throw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, powerful on account of their numbers and turbulence, and still more from having the people entirely under their direction. Thus, after an unquiet and eventful reign of twenty-seven years, Alexander Jannæus died.[2] His widow Alexandra immediately adopted the policy which he had suggested, and threw the administration into the hands of the Pharisees. The change was instant; the greatest honours were paid to the remains of the unpopular Jannæus, and the High-priesthood was conferred on his eldest son, Hyrcanus II.

During the whole reign of Alexandra, the wisdom, or rather the imperious necessity, of her husband's dying admonition became more manifest; the throne stood secure, the whole land, says Josephus, was at rest, except the Pharisees, who began to execute dreadful reprisals upon their

[1] Ptolemy Lathyrus had established Demetrius on the throne of Damascus. His brother Philip reigned in Antioch. Joseph. Ant. xiii. 14.

It is to all this period of Jewish history that Tacitus appears vaguely to allude:—"Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit despectissima pars servientium; postquam Macedones præpotuêre rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est; nam eâ tempestate Arsaces desciverat. Tum Judæi, Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul erant), sibi ipsi reges imposuere; qui mobilitate vulgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione, fugas civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum, conjugum, parentum, neces, aliaque solita regibus ausi, superstitionem fovebant: quia honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ adsumebatur." Hist. v. 8. Strabo, after a strange, loose account of Moses and the earlier history of the Jews, jumps to this period—"Ἤδη δὲ δυν φανερῶς τυραννουμένης τὴς Ιουδαιας, πρῶτος ἀνθ' ἱερέως ἀνεδειξεν ἑαυτὸν Βασίλεα Ἀλέξανδρος. Lib. xvi. p. 762.

[1] Joseph. Ant. xii. 16.

former adversaries. Having strengthened their party by a general release of prisoners and recall of exiles, they began their attack on Diogenes, a favourite of the late king. They next demanded public justice on all who had been accessory to the execution of the 800 who were crucified.[1] Alexandra, unable to resist, was compelled to submit; but her second son, Aristobulus, a man of daring ambition and intrigue, seized the opportunity of placing himself at the head of the party, which, though now oppressed, was still powerful. They appealed to the justice as well as to the mercy of the queen, and remonstrated on the ingratitude of abandoning the faithful adherents of her husband to the vengeance of their enemies. She adopted a measure intended to secure them, without offending the Pharisees; they were allowed to leave Jerusalem, and were enrolled as the garrisons of the frontier cities. To employ the restless mind of her son Aristobulus, she sent him, with a considerable army, under the pretence of checking the depredations of Ptolemy, who ruled a small independent kingdom at Chalcis, but with the secret design of seizing Damascus. Aristobulus succeeded both in the object contemplated by his mother and in his own; he got possession of Damascus, and strongly attached the army to his person. After a prosperous reign of nine years, Alexandra

[1] According to Rabbinical authorities (Jost, i. 241), the administration of justice rested during the reign of Alexandra with Simon b. Schetach and Judah b. Tabbai, both Pharisees. One of the great points in dispute between the two sects was as to the punishment to be inflicted on false witnesses in capital cases. The Sadducees maintained that the false witnesses were not to be executed unless the accused had suffered death through their perjury. Ben Tabbai put to death certain false witnesses where the accused had not lost his life. "As I hope for comfort," he said, "to confute the lying doctrine of the Sadducees." "As I hope for comfort," said B. Schetach, "you have done wrong: false witnesses incur neither death nor stripes, unless they are all convicted of false witness." Ben Tabbai declared that he would never again deliver a judgment without consulting Ben Schetach. Every day he prostrated himself on the grave of them whom he had executed, and implored pardon. But Ben Schetach hung up eighty women, near Ascalon, for witches, having himself been the only witness of their dark proceedings in a cave. In revenge for this, his son was accused of a capital crime. The son was condemned to death. As he was carried to execution the witnesses declared that they had sworn falsely. Ben Schetach ordered his son to be released. "Father, if thou wishest for the welfare of Israel, let me die." Some suppose that the cool-blooded youth wished to ensure the death of his perjured enemies. But whether he was actually put to death does not appear. Jost, Jud. 244. This is a curious illustration of the hatred of the two parties, both zealous for the written law, but sacrificing their own lives and those of others for their own interpretation of it.

Simon ben Schetach, says Jost, was the soul of the new Pharisaic legislation.

fell sick and died; a woman of masculine understanding and energy of character. Before her decease, Aristobulus secretly fled from Jerusalem, put himself at the head of the army, summoned all the frontier garrisons, which were composed of his own party, to his assistance, and immediately, upon the death of his mother, advanced rapidly towards Jerusalem. The Pharisaic party, with Hyrcanus at their head, seized as hostages the wife and children of Aristobulus, and, hastily raising their forces, met the invader at Jericho. But the affections of the army were centred in the bold and enterprising Aristobulus; a great part deserted, the rest were discomfited, the younger brother entered Jerusalem, the elder was besieged in the palace of Baris; till at length the mild and indolent Hyrcanus consented to yield up the sovereignty, and retire perhaps to the happier station of a private man. The blow was fatal to the Pharisaic party.

But an enemy remained, whose descendants were to be more dangerous opponents to the Asmonean house even than the Pharisees. Antipater, the father of Herod, an Idumean of noble birth, was the son of Antipas, who had been governor of that province under Alexander Jannæus. Antipater had acquired great influence over the feeble mind of Hyrcanus as his chief minister. He had every prospect of enjoying all but the name of a sovereign. He ill brooked the annihilation of his ambitious hopes by the conquest of Aristobulus. At length, after long working on the fears of Hyrcanus, as if his life were in danger, Antipater persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia. This kingdom had silently grown up to considerable power. Petra, its capital, had become the great emporium of the commerce through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Aretas marched an host of 50,000 men against Aristobulus. The capricious army of the Jews wavered. Aristobulus suffered a defeat, and fled to Jerusalem. There, abandoned likewise by the people, he shut himself up in the Temple, where the priests prepared for defence. He was vigorously pressed by Aretas, Antipater, and Hyrcanus. During this siege two characteristic circumstances took place. An old man, named Onias, had the fame of having prayed for rain during a drought, and rain had immediately fallen. The party of Hyrcanus brought him out to employ his powerful prayers against Aristobulus. The patriotic old man knelt down, and uttered these words:—"O God, King of the Universe, since on one side are thy people, on the other

thy priests, I beseech thee hear not the prayers of either to the detriment of the other." The cruel and infatuated populace stoned him to death. The second occurrence was as follows:—The Passover drew near, and there were no victims in the Temple for sacrifice. The besieged entered into an agreement that, on payment of a certain price, lambs should be furnished for the great national offering. They let baskets down the walls, but the perfidious besiegers took the money and sent up the baskets empty, or, as the Rabbins relate with the deepest horror, loaded with swine.

An unexpected deliverer at length appeared; a military officer of that haughty republic which had been steadily pursuing its way to universal dominion; and now, having trampled under foot the pride and strength of the great Asiatic monarchies, assumed a right of interfering in the affairs of every independent kingdom. Rome, who had up to this time been content to awe Asia and the East with the remote thunders of menace and admonition, to establish alliances, and to hold herself up as the protector of those weak states who implored her aid, and whom it was politic (of justice she thought not) to support against powerful oppressors, now appeared in the persons of her consuls and their subordinate officers. Scaurus, the lieutenant of Pompey, had seized Damascus; the competitors for the Jewish throne endeavoured to outbid each other for his protection.[1] Aristobulus offered 400 talents—Hyrcanus the same. The rapacious Roman hesitated; but Aristobulus was in possession of the public treasures of the Temple, and therefore most likely to make good his terms. Scaurus sent an order to Aretas to break up the siege; the Arabian complied. The enterprising Aristobulus, hastily collecting troops, fell unexpectedly on his rear, and gave him a signal defeat.

In a short time, Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Kings crowded from all sides to pay homage and to conciliate, with splendid presents, the greatest subject of the republic. The present of the king of Egypt was a gold crown, worth 4000 pieces of gold; that of Aristobulus a golden vine, worth 500 talents.[2] After a short absence in Pontus and

[1] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 2. In the account, B. J. i. 6, the bribes were offere only by Aristobulus.

[2] Strabo, according to Josephus, had seen this precious and beautiful p of workmanship: it was called the Delight (τερπώλη). Joseph. Ant. xiv Tacitus suggests a strange conclusion from this vine, found, as he s

Armenia, Pompey returned to Syria, and the ambassadors of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before the tribunal of their master; the wily Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus—on that of Aristobulus a certain Nicodemus, who had so little address as to complain of the extortions of the Roman commanders, Scaurus and Gabinius. Pompey appointed a solemn hearing of the cause for the next spring at Damascus, and accordingly, at that time the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, of Aristobulus, and of the Jewish people, stood before the tribunal of the Roman. The people began the charge against both the brothers: they had usurped (it was urged) an authority which belonged solely to the High Priests, introduced a kingly despotism, and reduced a free people to servitude. The ambassador of Hyrcanus pleaded his superior title as the elder born; accused Aristobulus not merely of usurping the throne of his brother, and degrading him to a private station, but of committing wanton depredations by land and piracies by sea, on all the neighbouring states. The cause of Hyrcanus was supported by more than a thousand of the most illustrious of the Jews, suborned by Antipater. On the part of Aristobulus, the total incapacity of Hyrcanus was strongly pressed; his own pretensions to power were limited to that enjoyed by his father Alexander. On his behalf appeared a troop of insolent youths, splendidly arrayed in purple, with flowing hair, and rich armour, who carried themselves as if they were the true nobles of the land. But Pompey had a greater object in view than the settlement of Judæa—the subjugation of Arabia, with the seizure of Petra and its trade. He dismissed both parties with great civility, particularly Aristobulus, who had the power of impeding his designs. Aristobulus, suspecting the goodness of his own cause, endeavoured to put the country in a state of defence; but Pompey, on his return from Arabia, began to assume a higher tone. He collected his forces, and marched directly into Judæa. He found Aristobulus shut up in a strong citadel on a rock, called Alexandrion. Aristobulus attempted to negotiate; twice he descended from his place of security to hold a conference with Pompey; the third time Pompey forced him to sign written orders for the surrender of all his fortresses. The bold and enterprising spirit of Aristobulus

the Temple—that the Jews were worshippers of Bacchus. "It was not true," says he; "for the worship of Bacchus is glad and gay, that of the Jews absurd and sordid." Was this vine of Greek workmanship? Tac. Hist. v. 5.

could not brook the disgrace of submission; too high-minded to yield, too weak to resist, his conduct shows a degree of irresolution and vacillation which it is more just to attribute to the difficulty of his situation than to want of vigour in his character. He fled to Jerusalem, and prepared for resistance.

Pompey advanced to Jericho, where the Romans were struck with admiration at the beautiful palm-groves and gardens of balsam-shrubs, which, originally the growth of Arabia, flourished in that district with great luxuriance: their produce had become an important article of trade.[1] As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided to make effectual resistance, met him, and offered a large sum of money, and the surrender of the capital. Gabinius was sent forward to take possession of the city, but the bolder party, meantime, had gained the ascendancy, and he found the gates closed and the walls manned. Indignant at this apparent treachery, Pompey threw the king into chains, and advanced in person on Jerusalem.[2] The party of Hyrcanus were superior in the city, and immediately received the invader with open arms. The soldiery of Aristobulus took possession of the Temple, and, with the priesthood, cut off all the bridges and causeways which communicated with the town, and prepared for an obstinate defence. The hill of the Temple, precipitous on three sides, was impregnable, except from the north. On that side Pompey made his approaches, where, nevertheless, there was a rapid descent, flanked by lofty towers. Notwithstanding the arrival of military engines from Tyre, this holy citadel held out for three months, and was only lost through the superstitious observance of the Sabbath. The Maccabean relaxation of this law only provided for actual self-defence; the Romans soon perceived that they might carry on their works without disturbance on that day. They regularly, therefore, suspended their assault, but employed the time in drawing the engines near

[1] "Opes genti ex vectigalibus opobalsami crevere, quod in his tantum regionibus gignitur." Justin, xxxv. 3. Florus uses these remarkable expressions: "Damascumque transgressus per nemora alta odorata, per thuris et balsami sylvas, Romana circumtulit signa." Hist. vi. 2.

[2] This view of the proceedings reconciles the somewhat conflicting accounts in Josephus and in Dion Cassius, lib. xxxvii. 15. According to the latter Aristobulus was a prisoner in chains in the camp of Pompey on his advance. Dion Cassius writes of the Jews: *καὶ ἔστι παρὰ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις τὸ γένος τοῦ κολουσθὲν μὲν πολλάκις, ἀυξηθὲν δὲ ἐπί πλεῖστον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν νομίσεως ἐκνικῆσαι.*

the walls, filling up the trenches, and in other labours, which they carried on without the least impediment. At the end of the three months, one of the battering engines threw down the largest of the towers. Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sylla, mounted the breach, and, after an obstinate resistance and great loss of life, the Romans remained masters of the Temple.[1] During the assault, the priests had been employed in the daily sacrifice: unmoved by the terror, and confusion, and carnage around, they calmly continued their office. Many of them were slain, many of the more zealous defenders of the Temple threw themselves headlong down the precipices. The conduct of the Roman general excited at once the horror and the admiration of the Jews. He entered the Temple, surveyed every part, and even penetrated and profaned with his heathen presence the Holy of Holies, into which the High Priest entered only once a year. Great was his astonishment to find this mysterious sanctuary entirely empty, with no statue, or form or symbol of the Deity, to whom it was consecrated. In the other parts he found immense riches—the golden table and candlesticks, a great store of precious frankincense, and two thousand talents in the treasury. All these with generosity not less noble because it was politic, he left untouched—commanded the Temple to be purified from the carnage of his soldiers—nominated Hyrcanus to the priesthood, though without the royal diadem. Then, having appointed the stipulated tribute which the country was to pay—demolished the walls of the city—and limited the dominions of Hyrcanus to Judæa—he departed, carrying with him Aristobulus, his two

[1] Josephus quotes as his Roman authorities for the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Titus Livius. Cicero pro Flacco writes thus: "At Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quod in tam *suspiciosa ac maledica civitate* locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit, non enim, credo, religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse" (c. 28). Compare Tac. Hist. v. 5. The account in Dior. Cassius is so singularly coincident with that of Josephus, that it may have been taken from it. Compare Strabo, xvi.; Appian, Syriac. l.; Mithridat. cvi., cxvii. In the inscription relating the names of the captive kings subdued by Pompey appears the King of the Nabathæans, not the King of the Jews. See the quotation above from Dion Cassius; he proceeds: *καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων θεῶν οὐδένα τιμῶσιν, ἕνα δὲ τινα ἰσχυρῶς σεβουσι. Οὐδ' ἀγαλμα οὐδὲν ἐν αυτοῖς ποτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον· ἄῤῥητον δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀειδῆ ἀυτὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι, περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων θρησκέυουσι.* Dion goes on to admire the splendour of the Temple.

Cicero in one place writes of Pompey as "noster Hierosolymarius"—thus seeming to attach great importance to the occupation of Jerusalem even among the splendid services of Pompey. The passage is in the oration pro Flacco.

sons and two daughters, as prisoners to Rome. Alexander, the elder son, on the journey, made his escape; but the Jewish king and his second son adorned the splendid triumph of the conqueror. The magnanimity of Pompey, in respecting the treasures of the Temple, could not obliterate the deeper impression of hatred excited by his profanation of the sacred precincts. The Jews beheld with satisfaction the decline of Pompey's fortune, which commenced from this period, and attributed it entirely to his sacrilegious impiety. Throughout the world they embraced the party of Cæsar, fortunate, inasmuch as the course they followed from blind passion conduced eventually to their real interests, and obtained for them important privileges and protection from the imperial house.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, inherited the daring and active courage of his father; he soon gathered a considerable force, and garrisoned Machaerus, Hyrcania, and the strong fort of Alexandrion. Hyrcanus hastily summoned the Romans to his assistance. Gabinius entered Judæa, and, having defeated Alexander, for the Jews could make no great stand in the open field, besieged him in Alexandrion. While the siege lasted, to secure the affections of the provinces, Gabinius commanded many of the cities which the Asmoneans had destroyed, to be rebuilt—Samaria, Dora, Scythopolis, Gaza, and other towns. In the meantime, the mother of Alexander, who had always espoused the Roman party, by her interest with Gabinius brought about a treaty, in which Alexander received an amnesty for his insurrection, on condition of surrendering his fortresses. No sooner was he subdued, than Aristobulus himself and his younger son, having escaped from Rome, raised again the standard of revolt, but with worse fortune; for, though many of the Jews deserted to his banner, and he had time to refortify Alexandrion, he was taken, after being severely wounded, and sent back in chains to Rome. The interest of the mother procured the intercession of Gabinius for the release of her son Antigonus, which was granted by the senate. Aristobulus remained a prisoner. Gabinius, in the interval between these insurrections, reorganised the whole government of the country; he deprived the High Priest of the royal authority, and established five independent senates or sanhedrins, according to the form of the great Sanhedrin of seventy-one, which perhaps had existed from the Captivity. The places where the sanhedrins sat, were Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amathus,

and Sepphoris. This form of government lasted till Julius Cæsar re-invested Hyrcanus with the supreme dignity. Gabinius, with Mark Antony, who had signalised his valour during three campaigns, as his master of the horse,[1] now determined on the conquest of Egypt; but scarcely had he drawn off his troops from Syria, when the restless Alexander appeared again in arms, and drove the few remaining Romans into a strong position on Mount Gerizim, where he besieged them. On the return of Gabinius, Alexander had the courage to meet him, at the head of 80,000 men, in the open field, near Mount Tabor; but the irresistible Roman discipline bore all before it, and the Jewish prince was obliged to take flight.

It was singular, and the fact strongly tended to confirm the Jews in their conviction that they were under the especial protection of the Almighty, that the worst enemies of their nation seemed marked for disaster and disgrace. Gabinius no sooner returned to Rome, than he was ignominiously banished for his rapacity and malversations. The fate of Crassus in Parthia followed almost immediately on his sacrilegious plunder of the Jewish Temple. When the rapacious triumvir entered Jerusalem on his way to that fatal expedition, the High Priest, Eleazar, attempted to appease his avarice by the surrender of a bar of gold of immense value, concealed within a hollow beam of wood, known to none but himself. This offering only whetted the appetite of Crassus; he pillaged without remorse all that Pompey had spared, even the sacred treasures, and all that had since accumulated;—for the Jews, now spread throughout almost all the world, made it a part of religion to send an annual contribution for the service of the Temple. This sum was so large, even in Italy, that Cicero, in his oration in defence of Flaccus, seems to urge the wisdom of a similar measure to that adopted by his client in Asia Minor, a prohibition of the practice, as draining the Roman provinces of their wealth.[2] Hence the plunder of Crassus

[1] Plutarch, Vit. Antonii.

[2] "Cum aurum, Judæorum nomine, quotannis ex Italiâ, et ex omnibus provinciis, Hierosolyma exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asiâ exportari liceret. Quis est Judices, qui hoc non verè laudare possit? Exportari aurum non oportere, cum sæpe antea senatus, tum, me consule, gravissimè judicavit. Huic autem barbaræ superstitioni resistere, severitatis; multitudinem Judæorum, flagrantem nonnunquam in concionibus, pro republicâ contemnere, gravitatis summæ fuit." This very remarkable passage (see the conclusion above) shows, curiously enough, the Jews as already exporters of gold, though but religious offerings, yet affecting the markets of the world; their great numbers, and clamour in the public assemblies in the cities of Asia

from the Temple of Jerusalem, estimated at ten thousand talents, according to Prideaux, near two millions of money, though perhaps exaggerated, may not be so remote from truth.

During the great civil war, the fate of Judæa, like that of the world, hung in trembling suspense. Cæsar, master of Rome, sent Aristobulus an order to create a diversion in the province of Palestine. The partisans of Pompey contrived to poison the ill-fated monarch; and Scipio publicly executed his gallant son Alexander at Antioch. Thus Hyrcanus, or rather Antipater under his name, retained the sovereignty.[1] After the death of Pompey, in that romantic war which Cæsar, delaying to assume the empire of the universe, waged in Egypt in favour of Cleopatra, the prudent Antipater rendered him essential service. He facilitated the march of Mithridates, king of Pergamus, Cæsar's ally, to his relief, and contributed to the reduction of Pelusium; conciliated the Egyptian Jews, who had espoused the opposite party, and greatly distinguished himself in an important battle. His reward was the full re-establishment of Hyrcanus in the High-priesthood; for himself, the rights of Roman citizenship, and the appointment of Procurator over the whole of Judæa.[2] The first care of the new government was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, prostrate since the siege by Pompey; but before long, Antipater, still further presuming on the incapacity of Hyrcanus and the protection of the Romans, appointed his elder son Phasael to the government of Jerusalem, and the younger, Herod, to that of Galilee. Herod, though but fifteen years old, according to Josephus,[3] began immediately to develop his natural decision and severity of character. He seized a notorious captain of

Minor; the astonishment that Pompey had the moderation, for which Cicero is perplexed to account, not to plunder the Temple, and was unwilling to expose himself to the reproaches of a people so likely to be heard as the Jews.

According to Appian there were Jewish as well as Syrian and Phœnician troops in the army of Pompey at Pharsalia (B. C. ii. 71). They were probably forced levies.

[1] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 8, 1. Josephus had quoted a passage in Strabo in which the geographer asserts that a large part of Alexandria was assigned to the Jews, and that they formed a fourth part, or class, of the inhabitants of the Cyrenaica (xiv. 7, 3).

[2] Josephus inserts the treaty of peace decreed by the Senate with a decree of the Athenians highly favourable to the Jews. Ant. xiv. 8.

[3] Josephus says that Herod at this time was only 15, but in the year 47 B.C. he must have been at least from 20 to 25. He lived 70 years according to Josephus, reigned 34, reckoning from the siege by Agrippa and Gallus, B.C 37 to A.C. 4.

banditti, Hezekiah, who had been the terror of all the country, and put him to death, with almost the whole of his band. The leading Jews, jealous of the Idumean influence, persuaded the feeble Hyrcanus that the execution of these robbers without trial was an infringement of the law. Herod was summoned to Jerusalem to answer for his offence. He appeared in arms before the affrighted Sanhedrin; not a voice was raised against him, till at last Sameas,[1] a man of high integrity, rose and rebuked him for appearing, not in the humble garb of a criminal, but thus clad in purple and armour. To the honour of Herod, when subsequently he slew the whole Sanhedrin, he spared the life of Sameas. The timid Hyrcanus adjourned the trial, and sent secret intimation to Herod to escape. He took refuge at Damascus with Sextus Cæsar,[2] in whose favour he rose with great rapidity, and obtained, by means of a bribe, the military command of Cœlesyria. He then advanced against Jerusalem, but on the intervention of his father Antipater, withdrew his forces.

After the death of Cæsar, the great protector of Hyrcanus and of the Jews,[3] Cassius assumed the administration of Syria. Judæa was heavily oppressed by his rapacity. Though Antipater and his sons undertook, with Malichus, a powerful Jew, the collection of the tribute, so severe were the exactions (the Roman exacted the enormous sum of 700 talents), that the whole population of some towns were sold as slaves, and Malichus himself would not have escaped the resentment of Cassius, had not Hyrcanus defrayed the deficiency in his accounts. The dexterous Herod had contrived to insinuate himself into the favour of Cassius by prompt and profuse payments; but Malichus, head of the Jewish faction, seized the opportunity to undermine the Idumean influence in Jerusalem. He contrived to poison Antipater, who is said to have saved his life by his intercession with Cæsar, and at the same time to exculpate

[1] This is the Shammai of the Rabbins, who, with Pollion (Abtaleon), were the great Rabbins of this period. See below, p. 408.

According to Salvador, this Sameas and Pollio, also mentioned about this time, were Schammai and Hillel. Salvador, Domination Romaine en Judée, i. 281.

[2] It seems that he was in correspondence with Sextus Cæsar, and had ensured his powerful protection: Σέξτος μέντοι, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμών, γράφει παρακαλῶν Τρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην. Joseph. Ant. xiv. 9, 4.

[3] Josephus inserts a number of edicts of Cæsar and the Senate in favour of the Jews, granting to Hyrcanus and to them, among various immunities, the city of Joppa, and the privilege of observing the Sabbath and the Sabbatical year (xiv. 10).

himself from all participation in the crime.[1] By the advice of his cautious brother, Phasael, Herod dissembled his vengeance; till, at length, after much subtle intrigue on both sides, he got Malichus into his power, and caused him to be murdered. The feeble Hyrcanus witnessed the bloody deed, and fainted away: but when Herod asserted that the assassination was by the order of Cassius, he humbly acquiesced, and declared Malichus a wicked enemy of his country. Cassius had protected Herod; but no sooner had he left Syria, than the adverse faction rallied, Felix, the Roman commander in Jerusalem, taking their side. They were suppressed by the vigour of Phasael. A new enemy arose in the person of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, who, with his brother-in-law the king of Chalcis, advanced into Galilee. They were repulsed and defeated by Herod.

In the meantime, the fate of the world was decided at Philippi.[2] Herod, ever a dexterous worshipper of the rising sun, hastened to render his allegiance to the conqueror, and, knowing the character of the man, made acceptable offerings, in the shape of large sums of money, to the victorious Mark Antony. Henceforth the Roman was deaf to the complaints of Herod's enemies. He issued several edicts favourable to Hyrcanus and the nation in general, particularly commanding the liberation of those Jews whom Cassius had sold for slaves, but appointed Phasael and Herod tetrarchs of the province.

An unexpected power advanced upon the scene. Judæa was again to be the prize and the victim of the strife for empire between the East and the West; as of old between Babylon and Egypt, between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, so now between Rome and Parthia. Two years after, the Parthians under Pacorus, the king's son, entered Syria and Asia Minor, and overran the whole region. A part of their army, under Barzapharnes, took possession of Cœlesyria. Antigonus, the last remaining branch of the Asmonean race, determined to risk his fortune on the desperate hazard of Parthian protection; he offered 1000 talents and 500 Jewish women of the noblest families—a strange Oriental compact—as the price of his re-

[1] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 11, 4.

[2] See in Josephus the proclamation which alludes to the battle of Philippi, the defeat of the enemies of gods and men. The sun refused to behold the murder of Cæsar. δι ἃ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπεστράφθαι δοκοῦμεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀηδῶς ἐπεῖδε τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι μῦσος (xiv. 12, 3).

storation to the Jewish kingdom. Antigonus, himself, raised a considerable native force, and entered Judæa, followed by Pacorus, the cup-bearer of the king, who had the same name with the king's son. Antigonus fought his way to Jerusalem, and by means of his party entered the city. Of the ambassadors of the adverse party, some he allowed Herod, some his own soldiers, to massacre. Herod being received with mutiny in Jerusalem, he put to death those whom he had imprisoned. Jerusalem was torn asunder by the contending factions; and the multitudes who came up at the feast of Pentecost, adopting different parties, added to the fierce hostility and mutual slaughter. The Antigonians held the Temple, the Hyrcanians the palace; and, daily contests taking place, the streets ran with blood. Antigonus at length invidiously proposed to submit their mutual differences to the arbitration of Pacorus, the Parthian general. Phasael weakly consented, and Pacorus, admitted within the town, prevailed on the infatuated Phasael to undertake a journey with Hyrcanus, and to submit the cause to Barzapharnes, the commander-in-chief. He set forth on this ill-fated expedition, and was at first received with courtesy: the plan of the Parthians being to abstain from violence till they had seized Herod, who, having vainly remonstrated with his brother on his imprudence, remained in the city. But the crafty Herod, receiving warning from his brother, whose suspicions had been too late awakened, fled towards Masada. He took with him the female part of the family, his mother, his sister, and his betrothed wife Mariamne, of the Asmonean house, and her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus. The journey was extremely dangerous, and at one time Herod in despair had almost attempted his own life. At Masada, a strong fortress on the western shore of the Dead Sea, he received succours brought by his brother Joseph from Idumea. Him he left in command at Masada, and retired himself into Arabia; from thence to Egypt, and at length to Rome. In the meantime Hyrcanus and Phasael had been made prisoners: the former, Antigonus not wishing to put him to death, was incapacitated for ever from the office of High Priest, by the mutilation of his ears. Phasael anticipated the executioner by beating his brains out against the wall of his prison.[1]

[1] It was reported, no doubt to make the Parthians more odious, and the report was naturally adopted by the historians in the party of Herod, that the wound inflicted on himself by Phasael was not mortal, but that physicians were sent who poisoned the wound. Joseph. Ant. xiv. 13, 10.

Notwithstanding their alliance with Antigonus, who assumed the sovereignty, the Parthians plundered the city, and ravaged the country. Herod, however, prospered in Rome beyond his most ambitious hopes; his design had been to set up the claim of Aristobulus, the brother of the beautiful Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed. This youth united the titles both of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, being the son of Alexander, the elder son of Aristobulus by the daughter of Hyrcanus.[1] But Augustus and Antony united in conferring the crown of Judæa on Herod himself. Herod was not a man to decline, or not to make the most of the favours of fortune; he wasted no time in the courtly circle, or in the luxuries of Rome. In seven days he despatched all his business, returned to his ships at Brundusium, and after an absence of scarcely three months, landed at Ptolemais. The fortress of Masada,[2] in which his brother and his beautiful bride were shut up, was his first object; the Parthians had broken up on the advance of the Roman general Ventidius, and left Antigonus to defend himself as well as he could. Antigonus had almost reduced Masada, which, but for a timely rain which filled the water-tanks, was reduced to the greatest extremity from drought. Herod speedily raised a force, united with some Roman auxiliaries under Silo, took Joppa, overran Galilee, relieved Masada, and sat down before Jerusalem. Silo was a man equally perfidious and rapacious; by assisting both parties, he enriched himself. Hitherto he had befriended Herod: now, under pretext of a mutiny among his soldiers for want of provisions, he broke up the siege of Jerusalem, pillaged Jericho, where Herod had laid up ample stores for both armies, and retired into winter quarters.[3] Herod, unable with his own forces to undertake the invasion of Judæa, fixed his head-quarters at Samaria, and employed his time in reducing Galilee, then infested by bands of daring robbers, who dwelt in caves among the wild and craggy mountainous districts of Upper Galilee. A great number he drove beyond Jordan, the rest he surprised in their dens. Chests full of armed men were let down by windlasses from the precipices above the caves; when they were thus landed at the mouths of the caves, the soldiers

[1] Ewald, not without ground, doubts Josephus's account of this. "Dann hätte er eben kein Herodes gewesen sein müssen." That Herod was in earnest in this proposal, or did it from any motives of loyalty, or from any other motive but policy, may assuredly be doubted. Ewald, p. 466, note.

[2] Masada will assume still further importance as the history proceeds.

[3] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 15, 3.

transfixed those they could reach with harpoons, and finally set fire to the caves. One desperate old man slew his wife and children, threw them down the precipice, and dashed himself after them.

The next year the campaign against Antigonus was renewed. The Roman auxiliaries, two legions and 1000 horse, were under the command of Machæras. Silo had been called away by Ventidius to aid him in putting an end to the Parthian war, and Machæras, on the defeat and death of Pacorus, sent to support the cause of Herod.[1] Machæras being repulsed from the walls of Jerusalem, revenged the affront on the Jewish followers of Herod, who retreated to Samaria, and from thence departed to Samosata, to pay his homage and lodge his complaints before Antony, who was engaged in the siege of that city. Antony commanded Sosius to march to the aid of Herod; two legions were sent forward, Sosius followed with a much larger army. Joseph, his brother, was left in command in Judæa, with strict injunctions not to risk a battle; he disobeyed, was routed and slain. Herod, on his return, revenged his death by the total discomfiture of Pappus, the general of Antigonus. Antigonus had ordered the head of Joseph to be cut off; Herod sent the head of Pappus to his brother Pheroras.[2] In the spring of the next year Herod formed the regular siege of Jerusalem; during the siege he returned to Samaria to consummate his marriage with Mariamne, and having thus formed an intimate connection with the line of the Asmonean princes, he hastened to secure his throne by the conquest of the capital. Jerusalem held out for above half-a-year; it was a Sabbatical year, and they were hard pressed by famine. The Romans under Sosius, furious at the obstinate resistance, after the capture gave loose to all their revengeful cruelty and rapaciousness. It was only through the interference of Herod, who bitterly expostulated on the indignity of leaving him king not of a noble city, but of a desert, that the whole town escaped destruction.[3] Herod exerted himself with no less energy and success in preventing the heathen soldiers from penetrating into the Holy places; with his characteristic sagacity, never

1 Joseph. Ant. xiv. 15.

2 Joseph. Ant. xiv. 16.

3 Dion Cassius (xlviii. 22) writes of this siege: πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἔδρασαν (τὸ γάρ γένος αὐτῶν θυμωθὲν, πικρότατόν ἐστι) πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πλείω αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. He adds that Jerusalem was taken on the Sabbath: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὠνομασμένῃ; and that the prisoners taken by Sosius entreated permission to go up to the Temple to be present at the accustomed rites.

overlooking an opportunity of working either on the popular feeling, or on that of his Roman confederates, for his own advantage. Antigonus craved his life in a mean and abject manner from Sosius, to whom he had surrendered. The stern Roman treated his unmanly weakness with contempt, called him by the feminine name Antigone, not Antigonus, and sent him in chains to Antony. There, at the solicitation of Herod, he was put to death by the barbarous and insulting stroke of the common lictor.[1]

[1] Let us hear another, a modern Jewish view of this: "Mais en admettant ces larmes pour vraies, toute la conduite précédente d'Antigone et ces combats attestent qu'à cette heure solennelle il n'était pas ému du seul danger de sa propre vie. Il pleurait la nationalité si chère à ses aïeux, qui venait d'être frappée dans sa racine; il pleurait l'héroïque race des Maccabées, qui tombait définitivement devant l'audace et l'intrigue d'un homme que l'indignation du prince qualifiait depuis longtemps de misérable Iduméen." Salvador, i. p. 300.

Plutarch (Vit. Antonii) and Dion Cassius observe that this was the first king thus put to death by the Roman lictor. Dion adds that he was first scourged —the usual preliminary of Roman decapitation. I agree with Salvador in indignation at the want of indignation in Josephus, who represents the death of Antigonus as the just reward of his pusillanimity.

BOOK XI

HEROD

Accession—Battle of Actium—Death of Mariamne—Magnificence of Herod—Sebaste built—Rebuilding of the Temple—Cæsarea—Sons of Mariamne—Death of Antipater—Death of Herod.

THUS Herod the Great, the last independent sovereign of Palestine, became master of his dominions. So far his career had been marked with uncommon ability; nor had it been disgraced by unusual atrocity. With signal penetration he had eluded the arts, by the rapidity and decision of his measures triumphed over the open hostilities, of his antagonists: by his knowledge of the Roman character, and that of the successive extraordinary men who had held the destiny of the world at their command, he had secured not merely their protection, but their friendship.[1] Still his situation was difficult and precarious; it demanded his utmost dexterity and vigour, and unhappily gave him the tyrant's plea of necessity for the most relentless cruelties. The mass of the people were still ardently attached to the great Asmonean family; the faction of Antigonus was strong in Jerusalem. Against the latter he proceeded without scruple, put to death forty-five of the chiefs, and confiscated all their property. The whole Sanhedrin fell victims to his vengeance, excepting Sameas (Schemajah) and Pollio (Abtaleon).[2] The two latter, during the siege, had endeavoured to persuade the city to capitulate. The rest had raised the popular cry—"The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord!" and excited a strong enthusiasm against the alien from the blood of Israel.[3] The appointment to the office of High Priest caused the greatest embarrassment. The nation would never have endured the usurpation of that dignity by an Idumean stranger. Hyrcanus,

[1] Joseph. Ant. xv. 1, 2.

[2] These two great Rabbins were sons of proselytes.

[3] Compare Jost, Jud. i. 253.

Jost distinguishes between Shemajah (so he renders Sameas) and Schammai, the colleague and rival of the famous Hillel. These two schools began five or six years after the accession of Herod.

the old patron of the Herodian family, returned from his honourable captivity in Parthia; he was received with every mark of outward respect by Herod, but the mutilation of his ears by Antigonus disqualified him for reinstatement in his function. Herod invited Ananel, an obscure man, of the lineage of the High Priest, from Babylon.[1] Alexandra, the widow of that gallant Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who was executed by Scipio, beheld this choice with secret indignation. She was a high-minded and ambitious woman: the marriage of her daughter, Mariamne, to Herod, aggravated, rather than palliated, the indignity of excluding her son, the rightful heir of both the Asmonean families, from the priesthood. Unscrupulous as to her means of vengeance, she sent the pictures of her two children, a son and her daughter the wife of Herod, both of exquisite beauty, to Antony, in order, by this unnatural and odious scheme, to work on the passions of the voluptuous triumvir.[2] Herod was seized with apprehension, changed at once his policy, displaced Ananel, and instead of sending him, as desired, to Antony, installed the young Aristobulus in the pontificate. But mistrust and hatred had taken too deep root. Alexandra was detected in a secret correspondence with Cleopatra; and a plan which she had formed to fly with her son to the court of Egypt was only disconcerted by the excessive vigilance of Herod.[3] Worse than all this, when the lovely boy of seventeen, the heir of their rightful princes, appeared before the assembled nation at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the splendid costume of the High Priest, and performing his solemn office with the most perfect grace, the popular feeling was too evident to be mistaken.

[1] It is well to observe that Josephus takes the opportunity of saying that many myriads of Jews were settled in Babylonia. Ant. xv. 3. 1.

[2] I must leave in Greek as much as I may of the repulsive part of this transaction, too characteristic of the Romans, and especially of Antony, and too striking an illustration of the insolence of the Romans, and of the fanaticism of Jewish faction, and, alas! of their profound corruption by Greek manners. ἐπέστελλε δὲ πέμπειν τὸν παῖδα σὺν ἐυπρεπείᾳ, προστιθεὶς, εἰ μὴ βαρὺ δοκοίη· τουτῶν ἀπενεχθέντων πρὸς Ἡρώδην, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκρινεν, ὥρᾳ τε καλλιστον ὄντα, ἐκκαιδεκαέτης γὰρ ὢν ἐτυγχανε . . . Ant. xv. 6. Herod's only fear was the influence which the youth might obtain over the triumvir, and that the throne of Judæa might be the reward of his shame. Dellius, the agent of Antony in this foul intrigue, is the "moriture Delli" in the beautiful ode of Horace (lib. ii. 3). Antony would not send for Mariamne, because she was the *wife of Herod*, and because he was afraid of exciting the *jealousy of Cleopatra*.

[3] The plot was betrayed by one Sabbia, who was eager to obtain forgiveness from Herod for his suspected complicity in the poisoning of Herod's father, Antipater.

Herod saw that his own suspicions were sadly verified; he had raised up a dangerous rival to his power in the young Asmonean. He dissembled his jealousy, and joined in the general admiration; but, contriving shortly after to remove the youth to Jericho, he caused him to be drowned by his companions while bathing in a tank.[1] He assumed great grief on the melancholy event, and attempted to divert the popular indignation by a splendid funeral. But the people were not deceived, still less the heart of the bereaved and wretched parent. Alexandra sent intelligence of the murder to Cleopatra, who espoused her cause with the warmest interest of a woman and a mother; not without some secret suggestion from her ambition, which already began to look towards Judæa as a valuable province of Egypt. Antony was at the height of his devotion to the luxurious queen: the ruin of Herod seemed inevitable. With his characteristic boldness he determined to try the effect of his personal presence, which might awaken early friendship and give weight to those more powerful arguments, the immense bribes, with which he hoped to secure his cause. He obeyed the summons of Antony to appear before him at Laodicea. He left Jerusalem under the government of his uncle Joseph; he entrusted to his care not merely his interests, but his incomparable Mariamne. He went, certainly, to danger, perhaps to death; and, with a strange jealousy, he could not endure that any one should possess his wife, even after his death, least of all the licentious Antony. He left a secret charge with Joseph, that if he should fail in his mission, Mariamne was to be immediately put to death. During his absence, the incautious Joseph betrayed this secret order to Mariamne. Her mother excited her to revenge. A sudden rumour spread abroad that Herod had been slain by Antony. Alexandra and Mariamne began to take immediate measures for securing the royal authority,[2] but intelligence of an opposite nature frustrated their plans. Not merely had Antony contemptuously, notwithstanding the adverse influence of Cleopatra, dismissed the charges against Herod; he had seated the Jewish king beside his throne, invited him to his luxurious banquets, added the province of Cœlesyria to his dominions. On the return of Herod, his sister, Salome, wounded at the haughtiness with which she

[1] Ant. xv. 3 3.

[2] Alexandra had hopes that if Antony saw Mariamne, their cause was safe. No one, least of all the triumvir, could resist her irresistible beauty.

had ever been treated by the proud Asmonean princess, endeavoured to poison his mind with suspicions of his wife. She accused her of too intimate correspondence with Joseph, the governor, her own husband. Yet the beauty of Mariamne, once seen, overpowered every emotion but that of unbounded love. Unhappily, in the transport of tender reconciliation, Mariamne asked, whether, if he had really loved her, he would have given that fatal order for her death. Herod sprang from her arms in fury. The betrayal of this secret warranted his worst suspicions; it could not have been yielded up but at the price of her honour. He would have slain her on the spot, but her loveliness, even then, disarmed him; his whole vengeance fell on Joseph and Alexandra. The first he executed, the second he imprisoned with every mark of insult. Cleopatra, in the meantime, having been unable to extort the gift of Judæa from her paramour, was obliged to content herself with the balsam gardens near Jericho. On her return from accompanying Antony in his campaign to the Euphrates, she entered Jerusalem, and Herod was in as great danger from her love as from her hate. Whether from prudence or dislike, he repelled the advances of Cleopatra, and even entertained some thoughts of delivering himself from a dangerous neighbour, and Antony from a fatal and imperious mistress, by her assassination. His friends dissuaded him from the hazardous measure. A short time after, he found himself engaged in a war, which he entered into with the ostensible design of enforcing Cleopatra's right of tribute over Malchus, king of Arabia. By complying with the wishes of Antony on this point, the dexterous politician escaped taking any prominent part in the great war between the Eastern and Western world, which was to award the empire to Antony or to Octavius. In his first invasion of Arabia Herod was successful; but afterwards, through the treachery of Athenion, who commanded the troops of Cleopatra, met with so signal a defeat, that he was constrained to change the war into one of sudden irruptions into the border of the enemy, without risking a battle. A more tremendous blow fell on Judæa—an earthquake, which threw down many cities, and destroyed 30,000 lives. Though the army of Herod, encamped in the open air, escaped the frightful effects of the earthquake, the Arabs seized the opportunity of this disaster, and put the Jewish ambassadors to death. But this conduct enabled Herod to rouse the national spirit, and the Arabians, defeated with the

loss of 5000 men, were besieged in their camp. Many surrendered from want of water; the rest made a desperate but fatal sally, in which 7000 more perished.

Still, though not personally engaged in the battle of Actium, Herod had reason to apprehend the triumph of Octavius Cæsar. Having secured everything at home, he determined to meet the youthful conqueror at Rhodes.[1] While one remnant of the Asmonean race survived, his throne was less secure; and the old Hyrcanus, now eighty years of age, at length paid the last penalty for having unhappily been born to a lofty station for which he was unfit. The documents in the royal archives of Herod accused the poor old man of having been persuaded, by his intriguing daughter, Alexandra, into a treasonable correspondence with the Arabian king; other accounts ascribe the invention of the plot to Herod. At all events, it was fatal to Hyrcanus, who thus closed a life of extraordinary vicissitude, borne with constitutional indolence, by a violent death. This done, Herod committed the government to his brother, Pheroras; sent his mother, sister, and children to Masada; and committed Mariamne and her mother to the charge of his own faithful partisans, Soëmus (the Iturean) and Joseph (his steward), in the fortress of Alexandrion. They had the same extraordinary injunctions which he had before left, that, in case of his death, Mariamne should be despatched. He then set sail for Rhodes. He appeared before the conqueror, without the diadem, but with all the dignity of an independent sovereign. He addressed Octavius in a speech, which, disdaining apology, enlarged on his obligations, and avowed his attachment to Antony. He declared that, as a friend, he had given him the best advice; such advice as might have made him again formidable to Cæsar; he had begged him to put Cleopatra to death, and vigorously resume the war. "Antony," he pursued, "adopted a counsel more fatal to himself, more advantageous to you. If, then, attachment to Antony be a crime, I plead guilty; but if, having thus seen how steady and faithful I am in my friendships, you determine to bind me to your fortunes by gratitude, depend on the same firmness and fidelity." This lofty tone and generous sentiment won the kindred heart of the arbiter of the world's destinies. Cæsar commanded the dignified suppliant to resume the diadem, treated him with great distinction, and

[1] Josephus is here seized with an unhappy ambition of rivalling Thucydides and the great Greek historians, and inserts a long oration of Herod (xv. 5, 4).

Herod returned to Judæa, to the admiration of his partisans, and the terror of his enemies, thus constantly breaking forth with greater splendour from every transient cloud of danger. Cæsar passed from Rhodes to Asia Minor; thence through Syria to Egypt. Herod met him at Ptolemais, made him a present of eight hundred talents, and, by the splendour of his entertainment, and the provisions with which he furnished his army, still further conciliated his favour. After the conquest of Egypt, Octavius restored to him the part of his own territory formerly bestowed on Cleopatra, with Gadara, Hippo, Samaria, and the maritime towns of Joppa, Anthedon, Gaza, and the Tower of Straton.

Thus, abroad, success seemed to wait on all the designs of Herod: the neighbouring kings might admire and envy the good fortune, or rather the consummate ability, with which he extricated himself from all his difficulties, and continued advancing in the career of prosperity and power; but at home, the most miserable peasant might compassionate the wretchedness which filled his palace with dissension, crime, and bloodshed. The magnificence of Herod's public life is strangely contrasted with the dark tragedy of his domestic history. Mariamne had again extorted the fatal charge entrusted to Soëmus; and indignant at the jealous determination of her husband that she should not survive him, she met him on his return with repulsive indifference, and even with undissembled dislike; she listened without joy to the recital of his perilous escape and his wonderful success; she hardly disguised her grief. Herod struggled between his love and his indignation; till one day, instead of submitting to his caresses, in the height of her passion she reproached him, in terms of the utmost bitterness, with his barbarous conduct to her relations. The envious Salome watched every opportunity of inflaming the resentment of her brother; and suborned his cup-bearer to accuse Mariamne of having bribed him to administer a poisonous philtre, or love-potion, to his master. Herod commanded her favourite eunuch, to whom all her secrets were entrusted, to be put to the rack. The tortured man denied all knowledge of the poison, but exclaimed that the conduct of his mistress was entirely owing to the information she had received from Soëmus. Furious at this new proof of her infidelity, he ordered Soëmus to be despatched at once, and summoned Mariamne before a tribunal of judges who were too much in dread of his power not to pass the sentence of death. Still Herod

hesitated; he had no immediate intention of proceeding further than imprisonment; but his mother and sister so worked on his moody and violent temper, that he at length issued the fatal orders for her execution. To the horror of the spectators, her mother Alexandra assailed the wretched Mariamne, as she went to death, with a violent invective against her ingratitude to so gentle and affectionate a husband, loudly declaring that she deserved the fate she was about to suffer. The queen passed on in silence with the dignity of conscious virtue. Though deeply wounded at this disgraceful and hypocritical conduct of her mother, who thus sought to avert the suspicions of Herod from herself, and to save her own life at the sacrifice of her daughter's honour, she would not condescend to betray her emotion. She met her death with the calm intrepidity of innocence, and died worthy of the noble house of which the last blood flowed in her veins.[1] She was a woman of unrivalled beauty and a haughty spirit: unhappy in being the object of passionate attachment, which bordered on frenzy, to a man who had more or less concern in the murder of her grandfather, father, brother, and uncle, and who had twice commanded her death in case of his own. Strange conflict of duties! who shall decide what ought to have been her feelings and her conduct?

All the passions which filled the stormy mind of Herod were alike without bound; from violent love, and violent resentment, he sank into as violent remorse and despair. Everywhere, by day and night, he was haunted by the image of the murdered Mariamne; he called upon her name; he perpetually burst into passionate tears; he ordered his servants to bring Mariamne to him as though she were yet alive. In vain he tried every diversion,—banquets, revels, the excitement of society. A sudden pestilence broke out, to which many of the noblest of his court and of his own personal friends fell a sacrifice; he recognised and trembled beneath the hand of the avenging Deity. On pretence of hunting, he sought out the most melancholy solitude, till the disorder of his mind brought on disorder of body, and he was seized with violent inflammation and pains in the back of his head, which led to temporary derangement. In this state he lay at Samaria. The restless Alexandra immediately began to renew her intrigues; but Herod's partisans sent intelligence to him, and she was at length consigned to execution.

[1] Joseph. Ant. xv. 7. 5.

Herod slowly recovered from his malady, but it left an indelible gloom upon his mind; and his stern temper, instead of being softened by calamity, seemed to have acquired a fierce and insatiable propensity to cruelty and bloodshed. His next victim was Costobaras, an Idumean, the husband of his sister Salome, whom she, in defiance of the law, had divorced;[1] and, through her machinations, the unfortunate man was involved in the guilt of a pretended conspiracy, and convicted of the concealment of some of the Asmonean partisans. He was put to death with many other men of rank and distinction.

From these horrible scenes we may turn with satisfaction to the peace and happiness of the country, and the liberality and magnificence of Herod's public administration. Yet Herod either did not understand, or more probably suspected as adverse to his interests, the strong and distinctive principles of the national character. Outwardly professing the utmost respect for the religion of his subjects, he introduced public exhibitions and spectacles of every kind, as if to reconcile the people by degrees to foreign usages, and so break down the wall of partition which separated them from other nations. He built a theatre within the walls of Jerusalem, an amphitheatre of immense size without. He celebrated quinquennial games on a scale of unrivalled splendour; invited the most distinguished proficients in every kind of gymnastic exercise, in chariot-racing, boxing, and every kind of musical and poetic art; offered the most costly prizes; and even introduced the barbarous spectacles of the Romans, fights of wild beasts, and combats of wild beasts with gladiators. The zealous Jews looked on in amazement and with praiseworthy though silent abhorrence at these sanguinary exhibitions, so contrary to the mild genius of their great lawgiver's institutions. But when Herod proceeded to adorn his theatre with representations of the victories of Cæsar, and set up, as trophies around it, complete suits of armour which had been taken in his wars, the people broke out into a violent tumult, supposing that images were concealed within these panoplies. To appease the general dissatisfaction, Herod commanded one of them to be taken to pieces in the sight of all the people; and when a bare peg of wood appeared within, their discontent and anger turned to laughter and ridicule.

But still a stern and dangerous enthusiasm prevailed among

[1] A man could serve a bill of divorce on his wife, not the wife on her husband.

all who were zealously attached to the institutions of their ancestors. Ten men bound themselves by a solemn vow to assassinate the innovator in the scene of his delinquency: one of them was blind, yet, though he could not assist in the execution, he was determined to share in the peril of the enterprise. They entered the theatre with daggers under their cloaks; but the vigilant police of Herod were on their guard: he received intimation, and returned into the palace. The men were apprehended, and instead of denying, boldly avowed and justified their design. They endured the most ignominious torture, but died firm and undaunted to the last. The informer, being discovered, was torn to pieces by the populace; and though Herod with incredible pains detected and punished the ringleaders in this affray, he felt the insecurity of his government, and even of his life, particularly in Jerusalem. Actuated by his fears as well as the magnificence of his disposition, he built a strong and splendid palace on the hill of Sion, rebuilt as a fortress the palace of Baris, which commanded the Temple, and called it Antonia. Still further to secure himself against the turbulent disposition of the capital, he determined to found other cities which might be more at his devotion. They would serve the double purpose of controlling the country as strong military posts, and affording him a retreat, on an emergency, from the disaffected metropolis. With this view he built citadels, at Gaba in Galilee, and Heshbon in Peræa. The strongest measure was the rebuilding of Samaria, which he did on a scale of great magnificence and strength, and peopled it partly with his soldiers, partly with the descendants of the old Samaritans, who hoped to see their temple likewise restored. But Herod did not neglect more noble and kingly means of regaining the lost affections of his subjects. A long drought, followed by unproductive seasons, involved not merely Judæa but the neighbouring countries likewise in all the horrors of famine, and its usual consequence—a dreadful epidemic pestilence. The little corn that remained, rotted, so that there was not enough seed to crop the ground. Herod instantly opened his treasures, secured a vast importation of grain from Egypt, and made constant distributions, both of food and of clothing: 50,000 persons are said to have been maintained at his sole expense, and he even furnished corn for seed to the neighbouring inhabitants of Syria; so that the fame of his munificence not merely caused a strong reaction in his favour among his

own subjects, but secured him a high degree of popularity with all the bordering states. This great expenditure seems by no means to have exhausted the revenues of Herod. He still indulged in his sumptuous passion for building. Having married a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, an obscure person of priestly lineage, whom he appointed High Priest, he chose the spot on which he had defeated Antigonus, about seven miles from Jerusalem, as the site of a new fortified palace in his usual style of architecture. It stood on the gentle slope of a mound raised by human industry. The ascent was by a hundred steps to an enclosure of circular towers, within which were courts, ascending to the palace, which stood like a citadel above the rest. A town rapidly grew around the base of the hill. Water was brought by costly aqueducts from a great distance.

Thus, terrible to his adversaries, generally courteous, affable, and bounteous to his countrymen and to strangers, securing his interests with Rome and its rulers by the most costly adulation, Herod steadily pursued his policy of counterbalancing, by a strong Grecian party, the turbulent and exclusive spirit of his Jewish subjects. More completely to secure this object, he determined to found a powerful city, chiefly colonised with Grecians, and dedicated to the name of his great Roman protector. Samaria he had already called Sebaste (the August); the new city was to take the name of Cæsarea. He chose a maritime situation, for the advantage of commerce, and may have thought of uniting in his new city the wealth of ancient Tyre with the greatness of Jerusalem. There was a small town called the Tower of Straton, mid-way between Joppa and Dora. It possessed a haven, like all the rest on that coast, dangerous on account of the violent south-western winds, against which they had no protection. He first formed a strong mole or breakwater, by sinking stones fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine deep. On this arose a pier two hundred feet wide, defended by a wall and towers. The entrance to this great artificial haven was from the north, and a vast fleet could thus ride in perfect safety in a sort of double harbour. All round ran a noble quay or esplanade, and, probably under this, were arched buildings for the entertainment and residence of mariners. Above, the city rose like an amphitheatre in a uniform line of sumptuous palaces. The subterranean arches, for drainage and other purposes, were on so great a scale, that

Josephus says there was as much building below ground as above. In the centre stood a great temple dedicated to Cæsar, with two colossal statues, one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. A theatre and amphitheatre, the customary ornaments of a Grecian city, were not forgotten. Cæsarea was twelve years before it was completed.

Thus Judæa was fast sinking into a province of the Roman empire; and Herod, instead of head of the Hebrew religious republic, became more and more on a level with the other vassal kings of Rome. His elder sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, were not brought up in Jewish tenets or customs, but sent to Rome for their education, where they were received into the palace of Augustus, and treated with great care and distinction. Nothing could exceed the estimation in which Herod stood, both with the Emperor and with his favourite, Agrippa. Cæsar was said to assign to Herod the next place in his favour to Agrippa; Agrippa to esteem Herod higher than any of his friends, except Augustus. Whenever either visited the eastern provinces, Herod was the first to pay his homage. To see Agrippa he sailed to Mitylene, and afterwards entertained Augustus himself in Syria. On one occasion, when Agrippa was engaged in war near the Bosphorus, Herod suddenly appeared with a large fleet, and through all the campaign assisted him with his personal support and advice. Herod took advantage of this alliance to enlarge his dominions. A district to the east of the sea of Gennesaret was farmed by a certain Zenodorus. This man maintained a suspicious connection with the freebooters who dwelt in the mountain caves of Trachonitis. The whole province was made over to Herod, who, with his customary rigour and severity, suppressed and hunted down the robbers. Zenodorus, and some of the Gadarenes, who complained of oppression, laid their grievances first before Agrippa, afterwards before Augustus himself; but found their ears closed against all representations to the disadvantage of Herod. Part of this district was created into a Tetrarchate for his brother Pheroras. At Paneas, near the fountains of the Jordan, where Cæsarea Philippi afterwards stood, was built a temple of white marble to the honour of Cæsar.

But the higher Herod advanced in the good graces of the Romans by these costly and enduring marks of his adulation, the lower he sank in the good-will of his jealous Jewish subjects. They suspected him, not without reason, of a fixed

design to heathenise their nation and country.[1] Neither his munificence in diminishing their annual tax one-third, nor his severities, could suppress their deep though secret murmurs. He exercised a stern and vigilant police, interdicted all fraternities and assemblies, occasionally surprised the most disaffected and hurried them to the Hyrcania (his Bastile), whence they never returned. He was even said to walk the streets in disguise, so to detect secret conspiracies, and form a judgment of the popular feeling. At one time he had determined to exact a general oath of allegiance, but the stricter and more powerful of the Pharisees and the Essenes, an ascetic fraternity, openly refusing compliance, he thought it better to urge the matter no further.

At length he determined on a measure which he hoped would at the same time employ the people and ingratiate himself with all classes—the rebuilding the Temple in its former pride and magnificence. The lapse of five hundred years, and the sieges which it had undergone, as it was the great military post of the nation, had much dilapidated the structure of Zorobabel. But the suspicious Jews beheld the work of demolition commence with the utmost jealousy and apprehension, lest, under pretence of repairing, the king should destroy entirely the sanctuary of their God. The prudence of Herod calmed their fears; he made immense preparations before he threw down the old building: the work proceeded with the greater regularity, and the nation saw, with the utmost pride, a new fabric of more regular and stately architecture crowning the brow of Moriah with its glittering masses of white marble and pinnacles of gold.[2] Yet even while the Temple was proceeding, Herod maintained his double character; he presided at the Olympic games, made

[1] There is a curious instance of the jealous religious feeling of the people. Herod issued an edict that burglars (τειχώρυχοι) might be sold as slaves beyond the borders of the Holy Land to strangers. It was objected that the religion of these ruffians might be endangered by their being compelled to follow heathen usages. The Law, it was said, permitted their sale, but not to Gentiles. Ant. xvi. 1. 1.

[2] According to Josephus (Ant. xv. 11. 3) he destroyed the ancient foundations and enlarged the building to the length of a hundred cubits: *ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους, ἐπ' ἄντῶν τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρε, μῆκει μὲν ἑκατὸν ὄντα πηχῶν.* These foundations I take to be those of Zorobabel's Temple; and that the vast substructions of Solomon still remained, and subsist to the present day. The height, Josephus says, was 120 cubits, but from a subsidence or settlement in the time of Nero they were reduced to 100. This reads very strangely: *τὸ δ' ὕψος ἑικοσι περιττοῖς, οὐς τῷ χρόνῳ συνιζησάντων τῶν θεμελίων ὑπέβη.*

magnificent donations for their support, and the Jewish monarch was nominated perpetual president of this solemn festival of Greece. On the other hand, Agrippa, on an excursion into Judæa, during which Herod showed him all his great works, offered one hundred oxen in the Temple and feasted the whole people.

But the declining days of Herod were to be darkened with a domestic tragedy as melancholy and awful as those of his earlier life. His sumptuous palaces were again to resound with strife, mourning, and murder. Never was an instance in which the heathen might recognise so distinctly their avenging Nemesis; or those of purer faith the providence of a just and holy God, making cruelty its own avenger, and leaving crime to work its late, though natural consequences, horror, ruin, and desolation. It might have seemed that the spirit of the injured Mariamne hovered over the devoted house, and, involving the innocent as well as the guilty in the common ruin, designated the dwelling of her murderous husband as the perpetual scene of misery and bloodshed. On the return of Alexander and Aristobulus, the two sons of Mariamne, to Jerusalem, whom, after a visit to Rome, Herod brought back from the court of Cæsar, they were received, notwithstanding their Roman education, with general enthusiasm. The grace and beauty of their persons, their affable manners, above all, the blood of the ancient Asmonean princes, which flowed in their veins, rendered them objects of the deepest interest to the whole Hebrew nation. Herod married them, Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; Aristobulus to Mariamne, the daughter of Salome. Notwithstanding this, the envious mind of Salome, the sister of Herod, sickened at their praises. Her own conscience, and that of her brother Pheroras, reproached them with their share in the murder of Mariamne; they apprehended condign vengeance on the accession of the young princes. The youths themselves, perhaps, spoke without much discretion or reserve about their mother's fate; and rumours, aggravated by Salome and her party, began to spread abroad, that they announced themselves as her future avengers. For three years these insinuations made no deep impression on the mind of Herod, who was justly proud of the popularity of his sons; but while he was absent with Agrippa, in his war near the Bosphorus, during which period he obtained for the Jews of Asia Minor a ratification of all their privileges, which the Greeks had

endeavoured to wrest from them,[1] these sinister reports began to obtain much strength and consistency, and consequently more credit with the suspicious father. Herod resorted to a most dangerous measure in order to subdue the pride of his sons, and make them more entirely subservient to his will. He sent for his elder son, Antipater, borne to him by Doris, the wife whom he divorced to marry Mariamne, and set him up as a sort of counterpoise to the popularity and hopes of Alexander and Aristobulus. The dark, designing, and unscrupulously ambitious Antipater entered into all the plots of Salome and Pheroras; and, as Herod had permission from Rome to bequeath his crown to whichever of his sons he chose, Antipater lost no opportunity of alienating his father's affections from the sons of Mariamne. Herod, to place him more on a level with his rivals, introduced him to Agrippa, and sent him in the suite of his powerful friend to Rome. From Rome the artful youth steadfastly pursued, by means of letters, his insidious designs, till the mind of Herod was so inflamed, that he determined to accuse his sons before the tribunal of Augustus. The King of Judæa and the two royal youths appeared before the Emperor at Aquileia. Herod opened the charge by accusing them of unnatural obstinacy and disobedience, and of entering into criminal practices against his life. Shocked at this dreadful charge, the youths stood silent, unable to exculpate themselves without criminating their jealous and cruel father. Their situation, and still more their silence, and the modest defence upon which they at length entered,[2] excited the deepest interest in their favour; and Augustus, with that temperance and moderation which distinguished all his actions after he became Emperor, succeeded in reconciling the father to his children. Herod returned with them to Jerusalem. Still, however, infatuated in favour of Antipater, he declared him

[1] The long oration of Nicolaus, appointed by Herod to plead the cause of the Jews of Asia Minor before the tribunal of Agrippa, furnishes curious evidence of the numbers, wealth, and importance of the Jewish communities in those regions. Ant. xvi. 4. This was the celebrated historian Nicolaus of Damascus. Compare also the edicts, xvi. 6.

[2] Josephus has taxed his eloquence, or rather his rhetoric, in the composition of a speech which he attributes to Alexander, the eldest of the sons. Ant. xvi. 4. 3.

It is perhaps right to state that Nicolaus of Damascus took the part of Herod, asserted the guilt of Mariamne, and the wicked intrigues of her sons against their father. But Nicolaus, according to Josephus, and there is no reason to doubt his judgment, was an unscrupulous partisan of Herod. Ant. xvi. 7. 1.

heir to the throne; in default of Antipater's issue, the succession was to pass to the sons of Mariamne. A short and deceitful peace ensued, during which Herod, having finished his splendid city of Cæsarea, solemnly dedicated it, at a great festival, to the Emperor, and instituted quinquennial games to his honour. He founded at the same time the towns of Antipatris, Cypron, and Phasaelis; and built a lofty tower in Jerusalem, called likewise after the name of his elder brother Phasael. Before long, the domestic dissensions broke out anew with greater violence. Antipater, sometimes insidiously exculpating, sometimes artfully accusing his brothers, kept the mind of Herod in a continued fever of suspicious excitement. The king's own favourite brother, Pheroras, increased his wretchedness. Pheroras had become so infatuated with the love of a female slave, as to refuse the hand of one of Herod's daughters. Not long after, on the offer of another daughter, Pheroras consented to break off his connection with the slave. But before the espousals, he again changed his mind, and refused to conclude the marriage. Pheroras was a still worse enemy to the peace of Herod. He instilled into the mind of Alexander, that his father secretly cherished a guilty passion for his wife Glaphyra.[1] Alexander boldly questioned Herod about this scandalous imputation. Pheroras, to avoid the fury of his justly offended brother, laid the plot to the instigation of Salome, who vindicated herself with great energy. Yet these two dangerous inmates for some time lost their influence in the court. But the wily Antipater still remained; the sons of Mariamne were every day accused of new plots; sometimes with perverting the eunuchs who held the chief offices about the royal person, from whom they were said to have discovered the secret and feminine artifices which Herod used, to disguise the advance of old age; sometimes with designing the death of their father; or with a design of flying to Rome, or as accusing their father at Rome of entering into treasonable correspondence with the Parthians. Night and day these charges were repeated; the whole court became a scene of gloom, suspicion, and distrust. Friend shrank from friend; every society swarmed with spies; men accused each other, from personal and private grounds of animosity. Sometimes their evil practices recoiled on their

[1] There was jealousy, as it were, wheel within wheel. Glaphyra hated Berenice, the daughter of Salome, married to her husband's brother Aristobulus, and who therefore affected equality if not superiority over her, a king's daughter (xvi. 7. 2).

own heads; when the evidence was insufficient, Herod, disappointed of his victims, wreaked his vengeance on the accusers. Those who frequented the presence of the sovereign were suspected of sinister designs; those who stood aloof were self-convicted of disloyalty. Whoever had at any time shown marks of favour or attachment to the suspected sons of Mariamne, though his own most firm and steadfast friends, fell into disgrace. At length, all the confidential slaves of Alexander having been put to the rack, some kind of evidence was wrung from their extorted confessions, and the unhappy youth committed to prison and loaded with chains. Here he adopted a strange and desperate measure; he sent four papers to his father, filled with the most extravagant and improbable treasons, in all of which he avowed his participation, but implicated Salome, Pheroras, and all the most influential and faithful ministers of the king. Herod was worked up to a pitch of frenzy, persons of all ranks were daily seized, and either put to the torture, or executed at once.[1]

At length Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, arrived at the court of Jerusalem. By first dexterously humouring the frenzy of Herod, and pretending to enter into his suspicions; afterwards by arguing dispassionately the improbability of the accusations, he succeeded in reconciling the father and son, and Alexander was reinstated in freedom and favour.

At this period Herod was not without anxiety arising from foreign disturbances. With all his vigour and severity he had never entirely suppressed the banditti of the Trachonitis. Encouraged by the secret protection of the Arabs, this lawless race commenced new depredations. Obodes was at that time king of Arabia Petrea, but all the authority was in the hands of Syllæus. This Syllæus had formerly proposed to marry Salome, the sister of Herod; but the abjuration of his religion being demanded as the price of the connection, he broke off the match, declaring that he should be stoned by the Arabians for such a compliance. The troops of Herod pursued the banditti into the dominions of Obodes, destroyed Repta, their stronghold, and discomfited an Arabian force which espoused their party. This was represented by Syllæus, at Rome, as a wanton and unprovoked aggression upon the kingdom of Arabia. The credit of Herod began to waver;

[1] Joseph. Ant. xvi. 8. 5.

but he immediately despatched the eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus (the historian whose contemporary biography of Herod is unfortunately lost) to the Roman court, and through his address the cause assumed a better aspect, and was finally settled not only to the exculpation of Herod, but to his honour. Augustus had even determined to confer on Herod the kingdom of the Nabathæan Arabians: but the dreadful dissensions in his family, which had again broken out with greater fury than ever, induced the cautious Emperor at least to delay his munificent intention. It is difficult to trace, it were interminable to relate, the dark intrigues, the briberies, the extortions, the calumnies, which filled the miserable court in which figure eunuchs (for to this Oriental pomp and luxury had Herod attained), now in high favour, now on the rack; and strangers, especially one Eurycles, a Spartan by birth, with nothing of the Spartan in character. Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras, had again obtained the ear of Herod; hating each other with the bitterest cordiality, as seemed to be the doom of the family of Herod, they hated Alexander and Aristobulus with a more deadly hatred.

Herod wrote to Rome the most dreadful charges against the sons of Mariamne; and Augustus, after endeavouring to soothe the maddened spirit of the father, consented that the sons should be brought to trial at Berytus. Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria, presided in the court. The only fact which was clearly proved against them was a design of flying beyond the power of their suspicious father; but so heavy were the charges, and so vehement the exertions of Herod, who acted as his own advocate, examining witnesses, and reading documents with the strongest and most violent emphasis, that a verdict of condemnation was at length extorted from a majority of the council. The unhappy youths, who had not been permitted to make their defence, nor produced before the court, in which 150 persons sate as assessors, but were kept in custody in the neighbourhood, awaited their doom in silence. Still Herod wanted courage to execute his own barbarous design. He had dared to appeal to the law of Moses, according to which the son who should curse his father or mother was to be put to death by stoning; but he shrank from carrying this terrible statute into effect. The whole people, particularly the army, looked on in deep but suppressed interest, till one Teron, a gallant soldier, openly expressed the general feeling in the presence of the monarch.

His interference turned out, eventually, fatal to himself and to the sons of Mariamne. Teron was accused of having tampered with the barber of Herod against his life; and Alexander was implicated as privy to the crime. The son of Teron, a youth, an intimate associate of Alexander, to save his father's life, confirmed the accusation. Teron was put to death on the spot, and the final order issued that Alexander and his brother should be strangled at Sebaste. Either on this or on some similar occasion, his imperial protector, Augustus, uttered this bitter sarcasm—that he had rather be one of Herod's swine than one of his sons.

The crime did not remain long unavenged; it recoiled with dreadful force against almost all who were implicated. The low-born wife of Pheroras had connected herself with the Pharisaic party; and when, on the refusal of 7000 of that faction to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus and to Herod, they were heavily fined, she discharged the whole of the mulct. Rumours began to spread abroad of prophecies, which declared that God intended to transfer the government of his people from the line of Herod to that of Pheroras. Pheroras was commanded to separate himself from his wife, to whom all these intrigues were attributed. He refused, and lost all the favour with which he had been once regarded by his brother and benefactor. Yet, when a short time after Pheroras fell ill, and lay on his death-bed, the kindly feelings of Herod revived, and he visited his brother with fraternal tenderness. On the death of Pheroras suspicions began to arise that his malady was not in the course of nature: two of his freedmen openly charged his wife with having poisoned him. Herod ordered a strict investigation of the transaction: in the process a darker and more horrible secret came to light. Antipater, the beloved son, for whom he had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children—Antipater, the heir of his kingdom, was clearly proved to have conspired with Pheroras to poison his old and doting father, and thus to secure and accelerate his own succession. The wife of Pheroras acknowledged the whole plot, and declared that the affectionate conduct of Herod to Pheroras on his death-bed, had melted the heart of the fratricide, who had commanded her to throw into the fire the subtle poison which had already been prepared. Herod's wife, Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest, was implicated in the conspiracy: Herod repudiated her immediately, deposed her father, and appointed

Mattathias to the High-priesthood. Antipater was at Rome; and the horror-stricken Herod dissembled his detection of the conspiracy: yet still obscure intimations spread abroad, which, however, did not reach the ears of Antipater. Josephus accounts for the extraordinary fact, that of these events which spread over seven months not a rumour transpired in Rome, by the care and vigilance with which all the roads were watched, and the universal hatred of Antipater. Triumphing in the success of his intrigues, and the unbounded promises of support which he had purchased at Rome—confident in his speedy, if not immediate, inheritance of the throne—in all the pride of successful guilt, and the malignant assurance that his rivals were entirely removed by death, Antipater landed at Cæsarea.[1] The once-crowded port seemed a solitude; no acclamations rose around him, no deputations waited upon him at his landing: the few people who met turned aloof, or looked on as if they now dared to hate him undisguisedly; every one seemed in possession of some fearful secret, of which he alone was ignorant. It was too late to fly: he was constrained to dissemble his terrors, and proceed to Jerusalem. There he was immediately summoned before the tribunal of Herod, who sat with Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, for his assessor. The proofs of his guilt were full and conclusive: an artful defence which told with some effect on the judges, was refuted by the eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus. The poison was produced; a criminal condemned to death made to swallow it; he fell dead before the judges. Antipater was then condemned without the least hesitation. Herod, already afflicted by his last mortal malady, delayed the execution, but in the meantime made his final alterations in his will. He bequeathed the kingdom to Antipas, passing over Archelaus and Philip, who were supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy of Antipater. He left splendid bequests to Cæsar, to Cæsar's wife Julia, to her sons, to his friends, and even to his freedmen. Thus the great and magnificent Herod lay afflicted in body by the most painful and loathsome malady, tormented in mind by the ingratitude of his favourite son—perhaps with remorse for the murder of those of Mariamne. His last hours were still further embittered by the turbulence and disaffection of his subjects.[2]

[1] At Celenderis in Cilicia he heard of his mother's repudiation, and began to have some misgivings, which were overruled. Ant. xvii. 5. 1.

[2] Antipater had accomplices and influence at Rome; and in the palace of Cæsar, a certain Acme, a Jewish slave, in high favour with the Empress Julia,

Among the innovations of Herod nothing offended the eyes of the zealous Jews more than a large golden eagle, which he had placed over the great gate of the Temple. Some daring and enthusiastic youths, instigated by two celebrated teachers, named Judas and Matthias, conspired to tear down the offensive emblem. On a rumour of Herod's death, they put their design in execution. Being apprehended, they boldly justified their conduct. Herod at first assumed something like moderation: he assembled the chiefs of the people, reproached them with the ungrateful return which they made for his munificence in rebuilding the Temple, which the Asmonean princes had left in decay; and only displaced Mattathias, the High Priest, who was suspected of having encouraged the enterprise. The most criminal of the actual assailants and their teachers were burnt alive.

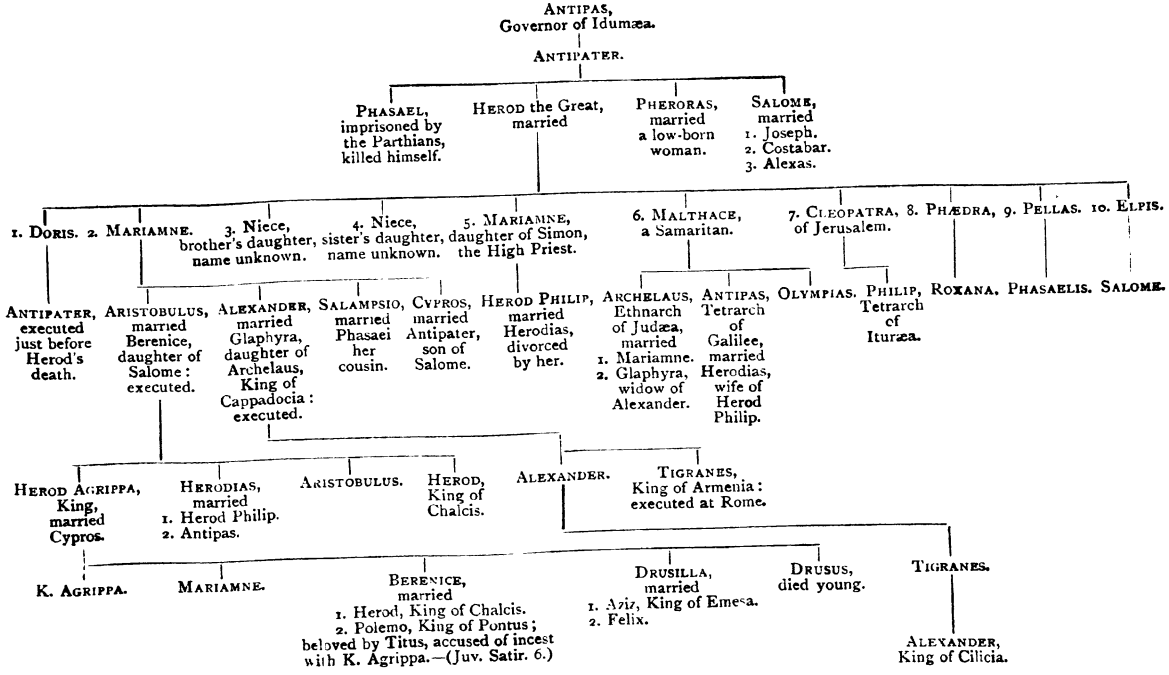
But now the disorder of the king made sensible progress; a slow fire seemed creeping through all his vital parts: he had a rabid appetite, which he dared not gratify on account of internal ulcers and dreadful pains, particularly in the colon. Dropsical symptoms appeared in his feet, which were swollen, and exuded. Ulcers, which bred worms, preyed on the lower region of his belly and the adjacent parts. His breathing was difficult; and violent spasms, which seemed to give him unnatural strength, convulsed his frame. He sought relief from the warm bituminous baths of Callirhoe, but returned to Jericho without improvement. There the frenzy of his malady working on the natural sternness of his disposition, he is said to have imagined a kind of testamentary cruelty, almost too horrible to be believed: he determined to extort a universal mourning for his death from the reluctant people. He commanded some of all the chief families in Judæa to be seized, shut up in the Hippodrome, and strictly enjoined his sister Salome that, immediately he expired, the guards should be let loose, and an unsparing massacre commence. Thus a wide, and general, and heartfelt wailing would spread throughout all the land with the news of his death. But the dying requests of kings proverbially fail of their accomplishment, and, happily for human nature, this sanguinary injunction was disregarded.

Among these atrocities of the latter days of Herod, what

was concerned in the plot against Herod. On the conviction of Antipater, and the ratification of that conviction at Rome, Acme was put to death. Ant. xvii. 7. 1.

is called the Massacre of the Innocents (which took place late in the year before, or early in the same year with, the death of Herod, four years before the vulgar æra of Christ) passed away unnoticed. The murder of a few children, in a small village near Jerusalem, would excite little sensation among such a succession of dreadful events, except among the immediate sufferers. The jealousy of Herod against any one who should be born as *a King in Judæa*—the dread that the high religious spirit of the people might be re-excited by the hope of a real Messiah—as well as the summary manner in which he endeavoured to rid himself of the object of his fears, are strictly in accordance with the relentlessness and decision of his character.

At length, just before his death, the ratification of the sentence against Antipater arrived from Rome. It found Herod in a paroxysm of torment so great that he had attempted to lay violent hands on himself. The rumour of his death induced Antipater to make a desperate attempt to bribe the keeper of his prison. This last offence was fatal. Herod just raised himself up in his bed to give the mandate for his execution, and then fell back—had only time once more to remodel his will; and thus, dispensing death on one hand, and kingdoms on the other, expired!


ANTIPAS, Governor of Idumæa.
ANTIPATER.
PHASAEL, imprisoned by the Parthians, killed himself.
HEROD the Great, married
PHERORAS, married a low-born woman.
SALOME, married 1. Joseph. 2. Costabar. 3. Alexas.
1. DORIS.
2. MARIAMNE.
3. Niece, brother's daughter, name unknown.
4. Niece, sister's daughter, name unknown.
5. MARIAMNE, daughter of Simon, the High Priest.
6. MALTHACE, a Samaritan.
7. CLEOPATRA, of Jerusalem.
8. PHÆDRA.
9. PELLAS.
10. ELPIS.
ANTIPATER, executed just before Herod's death.
ARISTOBULUS, married Berenice, daughter of Salome: executed.
ALEXANDER, married Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia: executed.
SALAMPSIO, married Phasaei her cousin.
CYPROS, married Antipater, son of Salome.
HEROD PHILIP, married Herodias, divorced by her.
ARCHELAUS, Ethnarch of Judæa, married 1. Mariamne. 2. Glaphyra, widow of Alexander.
ANTIPAS, Tetrarch of Galilee, married Herodias, wife of Herod Philip.
OLYMPIAS.
PHILIP, Tetrarch of Ituræa.
ROXANA.
PHASAELIS.
SALOME.
HEROD AGRIPPA, King, married Cypros.
HERODIAS, married 1. Herod Philip. 2. Antipas.
ARISTOBULUS.
HEROD, King of Chalcis.
ALEXANDER.
TIGRANES, King of Armenia: executed at Rome.
K. AGRIPPA.
MARIAMNE.
BERENICE, married 1. Herod, King of Chalcis. 2. Polemo, King of Pontus; beloved by Titus, accused of incest with K. Agrippa.—(Juv. Satir. 6.)
DRUSILLA, married 1. Aziz, King of Emesa. 2. Felix.
DRUSUS, died young.
TIGRANES.
ALEXANDER, King of Cilicia.

BOOK XII

THE HERODIAN FAMILY

Archelaus—Roman Governors—Pontius Pilate—Herod Antipas—Philip—Accession of Caligula—Agrippa—Persecutions in Alexandria—Philo—Babylonian Jews—Agrippa King.

THE history of the Jews after the death of Herod, not rightly named the Great,[1] and the birth of Jesus, separates itself into two streams: one narrow at first, and hardly to be traced in its secret windings into the world, but with the light of heaven upon it, and gradually widening till it embraces a large part of Asia, part of Africa, the whole of Europe, and becomes a mighty, irresistible river,—a river with many branches—gladdening and fertilising mankind, and bearing civilisation, as well as holiness and happiness, in its course; the other at first as expansive, but gradually shrinking into obscurity, lost in deep, almost impenetrable, ravines: sullen apparently and lonely, yet not without its peculiar majesty in its continuous, inexhaustible, irrepressible flow, and not without its own peculiar influence as an under-current on the general life and progress of mankind. The broader and brighter stream I have attempted to trace in its earlier course, and in one of its branches,[2] so strong, so broad, as to appear the one all-permeating tide. I return to the humbler and more obscure and less noble stream, too often attempted to be cruelly dried up by violent means, or turned into blood, yet still emerging when seeming almost lost, and flowing on as it still flows, and seems destined to flow. Though the Jewish and Christian histori have much in common, they may be kept (as it is my design for obvious reasons to keep them) almost entirely distinct. As in Jewish history I shall touch but rarely and occasionally on

[1] Ewald observes that Herod is not called the Great in any contemporary document. There are inscriptions which call him the Great King, as the ὁ μεγὰς βασιλεῦς, and the Maha-Rajah in India; but this is an epithet of the office or a title, not an appellation of the man.

[2] The History of Latin Christianity.

that of Christianity, so in Christianity the history of the Jews sometimes forces itself upon the attention.

The executioner had made frightful ravages in the family of Herod; but still a powerful, if united, race survived. Ten wives of Herod are mentioned in history.[1] The *first*, Doris, the mother of Antipater, the last and the only unpitied victim of his vengeance.[2] The *second*, Mariamne, the Asmonean princess, the mother of the unfortunate Aristobulus and Alexander, and of two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros. Aristobulus, by Berenice, his cousin, left four children—1, Herod Agrippa, who became distinguished at a later period; 2, Herodias, infamous for her divorce of her first husband her uncle Philip, and her incestuous marriage with Herod Antipas; 3, Aristobulus; 4, Herod. The *third* wife of Herod the Great was Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest, the mother of Herod Philip. The name of Herod Philip was effaced from the will of his father, on account of his mother's supposed connection with the conspiracy against his life. The *fourth*, a niece by the brother's side; the *fifth*, a niece by the sister's side, whose names do not appear, and who had no issue. The *sixth*, Malthace, a Samaritan, the mother of—1, Archelaus; 2, Herod Antipas; 3, Olympias. It was among this family that his dominions were chiefly divided. The *seventh*, Cleopatra of Jerusalem, mother of—1, Herod; 2, Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis. The *eighth*, Pellas, the mother of Phasaelis. The *ninth*, Phædra, mother of Roxana. The *tenth*, Elpis, the mother of Salome.

The will of Herod had designated the sons of Malthace as his successors. To Herod Antipas was assigned Galilee and Peræa; to Archelaus, Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. Though the will of Herod could not be held valid until ratified at Rome, yet Archelaus, amid the acclamations of the army, at once assumed the direction of affairs in Jerusalem. The funeral of his father was the first object of his care. The lifeless remains of Herod seemed to retain his characteristic magnificence. The body was borne aloft on a bier, which was adorned with costly precious stones. The linen was of the richest dye; the winding-sheet of purple. It still wore the

1 Josephus observes on the polygamy of Herod: πάτριον γὰρ ἐν ταυτῷ πλείοσιν ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν. Ant. xvii. 1. 2. I suspect that it was rather an Oriental than a modern Jewish privilege in which Herod indulged.

2 Doris was alive at the time of the detection of Antipater's conspiracy, and as a suspected accomplice despoiled of her wealth, which amounted to many talents. Ant. xvii. 4. 2.

diadem, and, above that, the golden crown of royalty: the sceptre was in its hand. The sons and relatives of Herod attended the bier. All the military force followed, distributed according to their nations. First, his bodyguard—then his foreign mercenaries, Thracians, Germans, Gauls—then the rest of the army, in war array. Last, came five hundred of his court-officers, bearing sweet spices, with which the Jews embalmed the dead. In this pomp the procession passed on, by slow stages, to the Herodium, a fortified palace, about twenty-five miles from Jericho.[1]

Archelaus, according to Jewish usage, mourned for seven days; but rumours were industriously propagated by his enemies, that, while he wore the decent garb of sorrow during the day-time, his nights were abandoned to revelry, and to the most undisguised rejoicing among his own private friends. At the end of this time, he gave a splendid funeral banquet to the whole people, and then entered the Temple in great pomp, amid general acclamations; and, taking his seat on a golden throne, delivered an address to the multitude. His speech was conciliatory and temperate. He alluded to his father's oppressions—thanked the people for their loyal reception—promised to reward their good conduct, but declined to assume the royal diadem till his father's testament should be ratified at Rome.[2] The people vied with each other in the vehemence of their applause; but their acclamations were mingled with demands by no means so acceptable to the royal ear. Some called for a diminution of the public burthen; others for the release of the prisoners, with whom Herod had crowded the dungeons; some more specifically for the entire abandonment of the taxes on the sale of commodities in the markets, which had been levied with the utmost rigour. Archelaus listened with great affability, promised largely, and, having performed sacrifice, retired.

While he was preparing for his voyage, the zealous party which had been concerned in the demolition of the Eagle, collected their strength. They bewailed, with frantic outcries, the death of Matthias, the teacher, and his seditious pupils, who had even been deprived of the rites of burial by the

[1] The Antiquities state, ἦσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρωδιόν στάδια ὀκτώ. This must have been the first stage, as according to the B. J. the Herodium (near Masada) was 200 stadia distant from Jericho. Compare Aldrich's note on the B. J. i., last page in Cardwell's Josephus.

[2] B. J. ii. i. 1.

unrelenting rigour of Herod: and no unintelligible execrations against the deceased monarch were mingled with their lamentations. They demanded the summary punishment of all who had been employed in the recent executions, the expulsion of the High Priest, and the substitution of one more legally appointed. Archelaus attempted to allay the tumult by conciliatory measures. He sent officer after officer to soothe, to expostulate, to admonish, to threaten. Argument and menace were alike unavailing. The clamorous multitude would listen to nothing, and the sedition grew every day more alarming. The danger was more urgent on account of the approaching Passover, which assembled the Jews from all quarters of the country, and even strangers from the most remote parts of the world. If it was difficult at any time to keep the fanatical multitude of Jerusalem in check, it was still more so when this formidable addition was made to their numbers. The leaders of the faction held their meetings in the Temple itself, where they were abundantly supplied with provisions by their friends, who did not scruple to beg in their behalf. It was high time to interfere, and Archelaus sent a centurion with a band of soldiers to disperse the multitude, to apprehend the ringleaders, and bring them before his tribunal. They arrived while the sacrifice was offering. The zealots inflamed the multitude, who attacked the soldiers, many of whom were stoned; the rest, with the centurion, made their escape, but with great difficulty, and dreadfully maimed. This done, the sacrifice quietly proceeded. Archelaus found it necessary, if he would not at once throw up all his authority, to act with greater vigour. He gave orders for a large body of troops to advance. The cavalry cut off the strangers from the provinces who were encamped without the city, from the zealots who occupied the Temple. The multitude fled on all sides; those of Jerusalem dispersed; the strangers retreated to the mountains; 3000 were slain. Archelaus issued a proclamation, commanding all the strangers to return to their homes; they obeyed with reluctance, and, to the universal horror, the great national festival, thus interrupted, was not concluded.

Archelaus set out for Rome, accompanied by Nicolaus of Damascus, and many of his relatives, all with the ostensible purpose of supporting his claim to the throne, some with the secret design of thwarting his advancement. Among the latter was Salome, the false and intriguing sister of Herod. At Cæsarea he met Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, who was

hastening to Judæa, in order to make himself master of the treasures left by Herod, and to obtain military possession of the country by seizing the fortresses which the king had built. Through the interference of Varus, the prefect of Syria, Sabinus agreed to suspend his march, to leave Archelaus in possession of the treasures, and to undertake no measure till the arrival of an edict from Rome. But no sooner had Archelaus set sail and Varus returned to Antioch, than Sabinus marched to Jerusalem, seized the palace, summoned the keepers of the treasures to render up their accounts, and the military officers to cede the fortresses. All, however, remained faithful to their charge, and refused to comply without direct orders from Rome.

Archelaus had to encounter a formidable opposition to his attainment of the royal dignity, not merely from the caprice or pride of the Emperor, but from intrigues set on foot in his own family. His younger brother, Herod Antipas, arrived in Rome to maintain his own pretensions to the crown, grounded on a former will of Herod, made, as his party asserted, when his father was in a saner state of mind than at his decease, and in which Antipas was named first. His mother Malthace, Salome his aunt, Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus of Damascus, who had been a great favourite with his father, and Irenæus, a man of remarkable eloquence and ability, espoused the party of Antipas. Augustus appointed a solemn hearing of the cause, and in that haughty spirit which delighted in displaying kings publicly pleading for their thrones before the footstool of Roman subjects, appointed Caius the son of Agrippa and his own daughter Julia, afterwards noted for her profligacy, to preside on the occasion. Antipater, the son of Salome, conducted the cause of Herod Antipas. He insisted on the former will of Herod—accused Archelaus of assuming the crown without the sanction of the Emperor—of unseemly rejoicings at the death of his father—and of wanton acts of tyranny against the people—urging and aggravating the dreadful slaughter during the tumult of the Passover. The eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus maintained the cause of Archelaus with his accustomed ability. The Emperor took time to deliberate on his judgment.

While these affairs were pending at Rome, intelligence arrived that Judæa was in a state of insurrection. The rapacity and insolence of Sabinus had exasperated the people, already in a state of tumultuary excitement. Varus advanced to Jerusalem, seized the ringleaders, and re-established order—but

unfortunately left Sabinus behind him to maintain the peace. The sole object of this unscrupulous commander was to find an opportunity and excuse for seizing the tempting treasures of this opulent city, as well those left by Herod, as the more inestimable riches contained in the Temple. All his acts tended to goad the people to insurrection.

The Pentecost drew on, and the Jews gathered together from all quarters with the deliberate intention of wreaking their vengeance on Sabinus. From both the Galilees, from Idumæa, from Jericho, and from the provinces beyond Jordan, vast multitudes came crowding into the city. One party encamped in the circus to the south, one occupied a position to the north, another to the west of the Temple; and thus shut up the single legion of Varus in the palace. Sabinus sent pressing messages to Varus for relief. In the meantime he himself,—for with more than Roman rapacity he does not seem to have possessed Roman valour,—ascending the lofty tower of Phasaelis, gave orders to his troops to make a desperate sally, and force their way to the Temple. The Jews, though repelled by the disciplined valour of the legionaries, fought with courage, and, mounting on the roofs of the cloisters or porticoes which surrounded the outer court of the Temple, annoyed the assailants with stones, javelins, and other missiles. The Romans at length set fire to the cloisters, the roofs of which were made of wood, cemented with pitch and wax; and the whole magnificent range became one immense conflagration: the gilding melted, the columns fell, and all the Jews upon the roof were either crushed to death among the blazing ruins, or lay victims to the unrelenting fury of the enemy: some of the more desperate fell on their own swords: not one escaped. But the flames could not repress the daring rapacity of the Roman soldiery: they broke into the Temple, plundered on all sides, and even seized the sacred treasures, from which Sabinus secured the greater part of 400 talents; the rest was secreted by the pillagers. Maddened with this outrage, the bravest of the Jews assembled from all quarters, besieged the palace, but offered Sabinus his life if he and his legion would evacuate the city. Many of Herod's soldiers deserted to the Jews; but, on the other hand, two distinguished officers, Rufus, the commander of Herod's cavalry, and Gratus, the captain of his infantry, with 3000 Samaritan troops, joined Sabinus. The Jews pressed the siege with vigour, and began to mine the palace; at the same time

urging Sabinus to quit the city, and leave them to their own government; but Sabinus would not trust their faith.

The whole country was in the same dreadful state of anarchy. The severe military police of Herod was now withdrawn or suspended, on account of the uncertainty of the succession. The Romans exercised all the oppression without affording the protection of despotic sovereignty: and at the period when the nation was in the highest state of excitement—some looking forward, with sober patriotism, to the restoration of their national independence—others, of more ardent zeal, to the fulfilment of their national prophecies in the person of some mighty conqueror, the fame of whose destined birth at this period prevailed, according to the expression of the Roman historian, throughout all the East,—the whole country was without any regular government. Adventurer after adventurer sprang up in every quarter, not one of whom was too base or too desperate not to assemble a number, either of daring robbers or deluded fanatics, around his standard. Two thousand of Herod's troops having been dismissed, spread over Judæa, subsisted on plunder, and besieged Achiab, a cousin of Herod, who took refuge in the mountains.[1] One Judas, son of Hezekias, a noted captain of banditti, surprised Sepphoris, seized the treasures, and plundered the armoury, from which he supplied his followers, who became the terror of the district. Simon, a slave of Herod, a man of great personal strength and beauty, had the audacity to assume the diadem. He plundered the palace in Jericho, and several other of the royal residences; his followers burnt that of Betharamptha, near the Jordan. He was at length attacked by Gratus, taken in a ravine, and beheaded. Another adventurer, Athronges, a common shepherd, with his four brothers, men of extraordinary personal strength and courage, collected a predatory band, and waged open war both against the Romans and the royal party. Athronges also assumed the diadem. He had the boldness to attack a Roman cohort, which was escorting a convoy of provisions and arms, near Emmaus. One centurion and 400 men were killed; the rest escaped with difficulty, leaving the dead on the field of battle. Nothing could exceed the rapacity and cruelty of this band. They were not subdued till long after, when one brother having been slain in battle by Gratus, the other in a conflict against Ptolemy, and the eldest taken, the youngest, who survived,

[1] Ant. xvii. 10.

broken in spirit, and finding his troops dispersed, surrendered to Archelaus.

In consequence of urgent entreaties from Sabinus, and dreading the peril in which his legion was placed, Varus, the prefect of Syria, assembled at Ptolemais the two legions remaining in Syria, and four troops of horse, with some allies from Berytus, and some Arabian bands. Part he sent forward into Galilee; they recovered and burnt Sepphoris, and subdued the whole district. With the rest he advanced in person to Samaria, which he spared as having taken no part in the late insurrections. His Arabian allies committed dreadful depredations, burning and ravaging on all sides: he himself gave orders for the burning of Emmaus, in revenge for the loss of the cohort defeated by Athronges. On his approach to Jerusalem, the forces from the country broke up their siege of Sabinus and dispersed: the inhabitants submitted, and laid the whole blame of the insurrection on the strangers. Sabinus, ashamed of meeting Varus, stole away to the coast, and took ship for Rome. Varus spread his troops over the country, and seized the notorious ringleaders in the recent tumults; 2000 were crucified, the rest pardoned. Finding, however, that the rapacity of his soldiers, particularly his Arabian allies, from their hatred of Herod, increased the mischief, he dismissed the latter, and advanced only with his own force on a body of 10,000 men, which appeared in arms on the borders of Idumæa. These insurgents were persuaded by Achiab to surrender: the leaders were sent to Rome for trial; a general amnesty was granted to the rest. Augustus treated the criminals with lenity, excepting those who were related to the house of Herod, whom he ordered to be put to death for their unnatural hostility to the head of their own family.

In the meantime the great decision which was to award the dominions of Herod remained in suspense. A deputation of 50 Jews arrived at Rome, to petition for the re-establishment of their ancient constitution, and the total suppression of the kingly government. They were joined by 8000 of their countrymen resident in Rome. An audience was granted, in which they enlarged on the oppressions, cruelties, debaucheries, summary executions, and enormous taxations of the elder Herod.[1] The whole Herodian family now found it expedient

[1] Παρθένων μέντοι φθορὰς, καὶ γυναικῶν ἁισχύνας, ὁπόσας ἐπὶ παροινίᾳ καὶ ἀπανθρωπίᾳ δρωμένας σιγᾷν διὰ τὸ ἡδονὴν εἶναι τοῖς πεπονθόσι τοῦ μὴ γεγόνεναι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνέκπυστα ἀυτὰ εἶναι. Ant. xvii. 11. 2.

to give up their dissensions, and to unite their common interest. Herod Philip arrived at the same time to support his own claims.

At length the imperial edict appeared: it confirmed for the most part the will of Herod. Archelaus was appointed to the sovereignty of Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria, under the title of Ethnarch; that of King was reserved as a reward for future good conduct. Herod Antipas obtained Galilee and Peræa; Philip—Auranitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanea. The Samaritans were rewarded for their peaceable behaviour by the reduction of one quarter of their tribute. The chief cities of Archelaus were Jerusalem, Sebaste (Samaria), Cæsarea, and Joppa. Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo, as Greek towns, were added to the prefecture of Syria. The annual revenue of Archelaus was 600 talents. The bequests of Herod to Salome were confirmed; and in addition she obtained the towns of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, and a palace in Ascalon: her yearly revenue was sixty talents. The wealth left to Augustus, he distributed, chiefly as a dower to two unmarried daughters of Herod, whom he united to two sons of Pheroras. He retained nothing except some magnificent plate, as a memorial of his friend.

At this juncture an impostor made his appearance, who assumed the name of Alexander, the murdered son of Mariamne.[1] So like was he in person to that ill-fated youth, and so well had he been tutored by an unprincipled adventurer, who was intimately acquainted with the court of Herod, that wherever he went, in Crete and Melos, where a number of Jews resided, he was received with all the attachment which the nation felt to the race of their Asmonean princes: he was liberally furnished with money, and boldly set out for Rome to demand his inheritance. The Jews crowded forth to meet him, and escorted him into the city with loud acclamations. Celadus, one of the Emperor's freedmen, who had been familiarly acquainted with the sons of Mariamne, was sent to investigate the case; he was imposed upon like the rest. Not so Augustus, who, on sending for the false Alexander, observed that his hands were hard and horny, and that his whole person wanted the delicacy and softness of the royal youth. Still both he and his tutor supported a strict cross-examination, till at length Augustus himself led the youth aside, and promised to him a free pardon if he would confess the imposture.

[1] Ant. xvii. 12.

The youth, either supposing himself detected, or awed by the imperial presence, acknowledged the deception; and Cæsar, seeing that he was of a strong and muscular make, ordered him as a rower to his galleys. His instructor was put to death.

Archelaus (B.C. 3[1]) assumed the dominion of Judæa, and governed with great injustice and cruelty. Such is the unanimous report of all historians, confirmed by his condemnation, after a solemn hearing before Augustus. Yet few facts have transpired by which posterity may judge of the equity of the sentence. He displaced Joazar from the pontificate, and substituted his brother Eleazar. Eleazar in his turn was supplanted by Jesus, son of Siva. The unlawful marriage of the Ethnarch with Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the widow of his brother Alexander, and his divorce of his own wife, Mariamne, gave great offence to his zealous subjects.[2] He repaired the palace of Jericho with great magnificence, and paid much attention to the cultivation of the palm-trees in the neighbourhood. Such are the barren incidents of a reign of nine years; at the end of which Archelaus, while sitting at a banquet, was hastily summoned to Rome. His cause was formally heard, his brothers as well as his subjects being his accusers. He was banished to Vienne, in Gaul; his estates were confiscated, and Judæa reduced to a Roman province. Thus the sceptre finally departed from Judah; the kingdom of David and Solomon, of the Asmonean princes and of Herod, sank into a district, dependent on the prefecture of Syria, though administered by its own governor, a man usually of the equestrian order.

At this period of the Jewish history, when the last semblance of independence passed away, and Judæa became part of a Roman province, it may be well to cast a rapid view over the state of the people, and their more important existing institutions.

The supreme judicial authority was exercised by the Sanhedrin, the great ecclesiastical and civil council. The origin of this famous court is involved in much obscurity. The Jews, it has been observed, took pride in deducing its lineal descent

[1] Before the Vulgar Æra, now generally acknowledged to be erroneous by about four years.

[2] The history of Glaphyra is curious. Between her two marriages with the two Jewish princes, she was married to an African prince of Libya, as Josephus calls him—Juba. On the death of Juba, she had returned to her father's court in Cappadocia. Ant. xvii. 13. 4.

from that established by Moses in the wilderness. The silence of the whole intervening history to the Captivity has been considered fatal to these lofty pretensions. Others date its origin from the Captivity: others again from the reorganisation of the Jewish polity by the Maccabees.[1] The Sanhedrin consisted of seventy-one persons, partly priests, partly Levites, partly elders. The High Priest, whether of right or not is much disputed, usually sate as president: he was entitled Nasi, or prince. At his right hand sate the Ab-beth-Din, the father of the council, or vice-president: on his left, the Wise Man, perhaps the most learned among the doctors of the law. The constitution of the rest of the council, and their mode of election, remain in the same obscurity. The qualifications for members of this court, as stated by the Jewish writers, are curious. They must be religious, and learned in arts and languages. Some added, in their fanciful attachment to the number seventy, that they must understand seventy languages! They must have some skill in physic, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, and be acquainted with what belonged to magic, sorcery, and idolatry, that they may know how to judge of them. They must be without maim or blemish of body; men of years, but not extremely old, because such are commonly of too great severity; and *they must be fathers of children, that they might be acquainted with tenderness and compassion.*

The council sate in the form of a semicircle round the president, whose place was between the Ab-beth-Din and the Wise Man. At each end was a secretary; one registered the votes of acquittal—the other of condemnation.

At first the Sanhedrin sate in a room in the cloister of the court of the Israelites, called Gazith. They afterwards removed successively to other places. The proper period of sitting was the whole time between the morning and evening service. The Sanhedrin was the great court of judicature: it judged of all capital offences against the law: it had the power of inflicting punishment by scourging and by death. Criminals capitally condemned were executed in four different ways, by strangling, burning, slaying with the sword, and by stoning.

[1] Ewald inclines to the opinion that it was founded by Ezra (p. 193), but for once Ewald is not positive. Jost would date it from the time of Simon the Maccabee. I think this the most probable date. The number was very likely taken from the assembly of Moses. Jost adds, "Von deren Wahl und Geschaftskreiss ist nichts bekannt geworden, weil *beides* sich jedenfalls nur nach dem Herkommen verhielt" (i. p. 124).

The Great Sanhedrin was a court of appeal from the inferior Sanhedrins of twenty-three judges, established in the other towns.

The Sanhedrin was probably confined to its judicial duties —it was a plenary court of justice, and no more—during the reigns of the later Asmonean princes, and during those of Herod the Great and his son Archelaus.[1] To the despotism of the two latter there was no check, except an appeal to Rome. When Judæa became a Roman province, the Sanhedrin either, as is more likely, assumed for the first time, or recovered its station as a kind of senate or representative body of the nation; possessed itself of such of the subordinate functions of the government as were not actually administered by the Roman procurator; and probably, on account of the frequent changes in the person of the High Priest, usurped, in some degree, upon his authority. At all events, they seem to have been the channel of intercourse between the Roman rulers and the body of the people. It is the Sanhedrin, under the name of the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the people, who take the lead in all the transactions recorded in the Gospels. Jesus Christ was led before the Sanhedrin, and by them denounced before the tribunal of Pilate.[2] Whether they had lost or retained the power of inflicting capital punishment, has been debated with the utmost erudition; and, like similar questions, is still in a high degree uncertain.[3]

[1] This is confirmed by Jost, p. 273, note. "Alles was Mischnah und Thalmud von Synedrion sagen, bezieht sich nur auf *Gerichtsbarkeit*, nicht aus Lehramt wie Maim. will. Nirgends wird gesagt, dass das Synedrion sich mit der Lehre beschaftigt. Es entscheidet nur über Anfragen oder richtet selbst wo ihm Klagen vorgebracht werden."

According to Jost the full Sanhedrin determined on great affairs, such as false prophets, charges against the High Priest, the extension of the hallowed limits of Jerusalem, some say the election of a king or a chief priest. Minor courts or committees of thirty-one had the power of passing capital sentences for certain offences. For smaller crimes, theft, robbery, injury, unchastity, which were punished with stripes, a court of three gave judgment.

[2] This is denied distinctly by Jost, who asserts this assembly to have been a tumultuary and irregular meeting of the enemies of Jesus. I fear that the historian must pronounce against Jost, though the Christian would allow him and his modern brethren the full benefit of the disclaimer. I fear that this too has influenced Jost's notion as to the discontinuance of the regular Sanhedrin for the century from the time of Simon ben Schetach till the establishment of Christianity (p. 279).

[3] This question mainly depends on the true meaning of the sentence in St. John's Gospel, xviii. 31: *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* The Jewish Tract Sanhedrin, 7, 1, lays down the law: "Quatuor supplicia capitalia senatui tradita sunt, lapidatio, ustio, interemtio quæ fit gladio, strangulatio." Ibid. 7, 4: "lapidantur autem, profanator Sabbati, qui ad

The body of the people, at least all above the lowest order, seem to have addicted themselves to one or other of the two great prevailing sects—the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The multitude, though not actually enrolled among the former, were entirely under their sway, and zealously adhered to their faction. In all places of public resort the Pharisees were always seen with their phylacteries or broad slips of parchment, inscribed with sentences of the Law, displayed on their foreheads and the hems of their garments: even in the corners of the public streets they would kneel to pray; and in the Temple or synagogues they chose the most conspicuous stations, that their long devotions might excite the admiration of their followers. They fasted rigorously, observed the Sabbath with the most scrupulous punctuality, and paid tithes even upon the cheapest herbs.[1] In private societies they assumed the superiority to which their religious distinction seemed to entitle them; they always took the highest places. But their morals,[2] according to the unerring authority of Jesus Christ, were far below their pretensions: they violated the main principles of the Law, the justice and humanity of the Mosaic institutions, while they rigidly adhered to the most minute particulars, not merely of the Law itself, but of tradition likewise. Still they were the idols of the people, who reverenced them as the great teachers and models of virtue and holiness. The Saddu-

apostasiam impellit magus," &c. The stoning of St. Stephen, in the Acts, seems to have been a judicial, not a tumultuary proceeding. The older Christian writers were perplexed with this difficulty. Theophylact thinks its meaning to be that they had no power to put to death by crucifixion; others that they had no power to put to death for treason; and the crime of which Jesus was accused was treason against the Roman authority. Augustine and Chrysostom, that it was not lawful to put a man to death on a holy day, as the Preparation for the Passover. I am inclined to adhere to the opinion adopted in the History of Christianity, vol. i. p. 342, that at this time, during the transition from the national government under the Herodian family to the direct government of the Romans, the authority of the Sanhedrin was altogether undefined; that they did not know whether the Romans would permit them to execute capital punishment, especially on a criminal accused of rebellion. There were terrible and recent reminiscences how Herod, and even Archelaus, had possessed and executed the power of life and death. Had the Romans appropriated to themselves that power, or would they permit the Law to be put in force by its ancient and ordinary administrators?

[1] Read the curious passage about the subtle distinctions as to the payment of tithes in Jost, Jud. i. 201—a remarkable comment on the sentence in the Gospel about tithing mint, anise, and cummin.

[2] Josephus, himself a Pharisee, displays the brighter side of the Pharisaic character. He denies that they were absolute fatalists: *πράσσεσθάι τε ἐμαρμένῃ τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' ἀυτοῖς ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται.* Ant. xviii. 1. 2.

cees were less numerous and less influential:[1] for, besides the want of this popular display of religion, they were notoriously severe in the execution of the national statutes. Denying all punishment for crime in a future life, their only way to discourage delinquency was by the immediate terrors of the law; and this they put in force, perhaps with the greater rigour, because their disbelief of future rewards and punishments was represented by their enemies as leading necessarily to the utmost laxity of morals. This effect it would probably have on many of the weak or licentious; but the doctrine of the Sadducees, which fully recognised the certain punishment of guilt in this world by Divine Providence, is not justly chargeable with these consequences. It is singular that this notorious severity in the administration of the law is strongly exemplified in the Christian history. The first persecution of the Apostles took place when the Sadducees were in possession of the High-priesthood, and probably formed a majority of the Sanhedrin;[2] and the High Priest who put Saint James to death was, in all probability, of that sect.

Besides these two great sects, there was a considerable party attached to the persons of the Herodian family; who probably thought it the best interest of the country to remain quietly under the government of native princes and the protection of the Roman emperors. This faction most likely comprehended what may be called the Grecian party; rather inclined to Grecian habits and customs, than strongly attached to the national institutes and usages.

At a considerable distance from the metropolis, in some highly cultivated oases amid the wilderness on the shores of the Dead Sea, were situated the chief of the large agricultural villages of the Essenes.[3] According to Josephus, their number

[1] *εἰς ὀλίγους τε ἄνδρας οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, τοὺς μέντοι πρώτους τοῖς ἀξιώμασι.* This accounts for the comparative silence about them in the Gospels. There were probably few or none of them in the villages of Galilee; in Jerusalem they would hardly fall in the way of a popular teacher. They dwelt aloof in their palaces, and were less frequently in places of common resort. [2] Acts v. 17.

[3] There is no certain derivation for the word Essene. It is used by Philo and Josephus, but occurs neither in the Apocryphal books nor in the New Testament, nor, according to Jost, in the Rabbinical writings. This is to me a convincing proof that they were not found, as some, even Ewald, suppose them to have been, in the cities, but were strictly confined to their own monastic settlements. Why, Jost pertinently asks, did Josephus retire for three years into the Desert, to acquaint himself with their tenets, if he could study them in Jerusalem or other towns? The Essenes were the monks of Judaism, and monachism seems to be the natural and necessary offspring of all,

was about 4000.[1] Almost in every respect, both in their rules and in the patient industry with which they introduced the richest cultivation into the barren waste, the Essenes were the monastic order of the Jews. Among groves of palm-trees of which, according to the picturesque expression of Pliny, they were the companions, and amid fertile fields won from the barren wilderness, they passed their rigid and ascetic lives. They avoided populous cities, not from hatred of mankind, but from dread of their vices. In general, no woman was admitted within their domains. Some of the inferior communities allowed marriage, but only associated with their wives for the procreation of children; the higher and more esteemed societies practised the most rigid celibacy, and entirely forswore all communication with the other sex.[2] Wonderful nation, says the Roman naturalist, which endures for centuries, but in which no child is ever born![3] They were recruited by voluntary proselytes, or by children whom they adopted when very young, and educated in their discipline. Among the Essenes all pleasure was forbidden as sin: the entire extinction of the passions of the body was the only real virtue. An absolute community of goods was established in their settlements: even a man's house was not his own; another person might enter and remain in it as long as he pleased. The desire of riches was proscribed; every lucrative employment, commerce, traffic, and navigation were forbidden. They neither bought nor sold: all they had was thrown into a common fund, from which each received the necessaries of life; but for charity, or for the assistance of the poor or the stranger, they might draw as largely as they would on this general revenue. They were all clothed alike in white garments, which they did not change till they were worn out: they abhorred the use of oil; if any one were anointed against his will, he scrupulously cleansed himself. Their lives were regulated by the strictest forms; they rose before the sun, but were forbidden to speak of any worldly business, and devoted all the time till break of day to offering up certain ancient prayers that the sun might shine upon them. After this they received their orders from the

especially Eastern religions; and even of philosophies, as with the Pythagoreans, so long as philosophy has not set itself apart from religion. Herzfeld's notion that they arose in Egypt, and were really Pythagorean in their origin, appears to me in itself utterly improbable; and the few Pythagorean maxims which they held are common to all Asiatics.

[1] Ant. xviii. 1. 5. [2] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 1. 5. [3] Pliny, Hist. Nat.

superior, and went to work, according to his commands, at the labour or craft in which they were skilled; but their artisans might only work on articles used in peace, by no means on swords, arrows, or military weapons; though they carried arms, when they travelled, to defend themselves against robbers. Having worked till the fifth hour, eleven o'clock, they assembled for refreshment. First, however, they washed and put on a linen garment; they then went into a room which no one might enter into who was not of their sect. After that they entered the common refectory as if it were a sacred place; there in silence waited till grace was said; then each received his portion from the baker and the cook, of bread, salt, and hyssop. They abstained from animal food, by which they were distinguished from all their Jewish brethren. To them the law of clean and unclean meat was superfluous. Another grace closed the meal: then, putting off their sacred garment, they returned to their toil till evening, when they again assembled to supper. No noise or tumult was heard; they spoke only by permission and in turn: on other occasions, if ten were met, one could not speak without the consent of the nine. In company they were to avoid spitting either before them or to the right hand. They observed the Sabbath with the strictest precision, not even lighting a fire, or performing the necessities of nature. At all other times they concealed their excrements with scrupulous care, digging a pit a foot deep, lest the holy light should be defiled. They then washed themselves with the utmost nicety. On the Sabbath they all met in their synagogues, where the elders interpreted the sacred writings, explaining them chiefly by parables.

In their religious opinions they differed from their countrymen; though they sent their gifts to the Temple, they offered no sacrifices there.[1] They were strict predestinarians. They believed that the body was mortal, the soul immortal: that the soul, emanating out of the noblest and purest air, is imprisoned in the body, where it is subjected to severe trials: when released from its corporeal bonds, it escapes as it were a long servitude, and soars back rejoicing to its

[1] It does not seem, as some have asserted, that they offered their own sacrifices, or any sacrifices at all. I suspect that they had a Buddhist aversion to take away life. Philo says distinctly—*ὀυ ζῶα καταθύοντες, αλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς, τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες.* By this the passage in Josephus must be interpreted. No doubt they quoted the Prophets, that "the best sacrifice is a broken and a contrite heart."

native element. They believed, with the Greeks, in a delightful region beyond the ocean, in which the souls of the good dwelt for ever. There rain, and snow, and parching heat were unknown, but the air was continually refreshed with balmy and gentle breezes from the sea. The souls of the wicked were doomed to a cold and gloomy place of everlasting punishment. They were great students of their sacred books, and especially of the prophetic writings. Many were endowed, according to Josephus, with that gift. They studied likewise the nature and cure of diseases, and the medicinal properties of herbs and minerals. Their morals were rigid in every respect. They were bound, by solemn vows, to worship God and to be just to men; to keep inviolable faith; if entrusted with authority, to abstain from all wrong and from splendid apparel; to love truth and hate liars; to communicate only to the members of the society the tenets of the sect; to preserve their sacred doctrinal books, and the names of the angels. They paid the highest veneration to age: many of them, from their temperate habits, lived to more than 100 years. They abstained from all oaths, considering an oath as bad as perjury. They abhorred slavery, as an infringement of the natural liberty of men. In their civil constitution they were all equal as regards their rights, but were divided into four classes; of which the superior class looked down so much on those beneath them, that if touched by one of a lower order, they were defiled, and washed themselves.

There were stewards who managed the common stock, and officers who took care of all strangers who might enter their towns. No one was admitted into the society without the strictest probation; the proselyte received a small pick-axe, linen garments, and a white dress, and so commenced his year of noviciate. After having given satisfactory proof of continence and temperance for that period, he was admitted to closer intimacy, and to wash in the holy water: yet for two years longer he remained on trial, and only at the end of that time was admitted to the common refectory. Whoever was guilty of any great crime was expelled from the society—a fearful doom! for having sworn that he would receive no food but from his own sect, the outcast fed, like a beast, on the grass of the field, till at length he perished with hunger. Sometimes, if at the last extremity the criminal showed sincere repentance, he was readmitted, from com-

passion, within the society. But this awful fate was inflicted with great reluctance; for justice was administered with the utmost care; and no verdict could be given unless a hundred were present; it was then usually irrevocable.

The Essenes were cruelly persecuted by the Romans, who probably entered their country after the capture of Jericho. They were tortured, racked, had their bones broken on the wheel, in order to compel them to blaspheme their lawgiver, or eat forbidden meats. They did not attempt to appease their tormentors; they uttered no cry, they shed no tear; and even smiled in the worst agony of torment; and in steadfast reliance on the immortality of their souls, departed, rejoicing, from life. These were usually called practical Essenes; there was another class in Egypt, called the Therapeutæ or Contemplative. These were mystics; they have been claimed by some Roman Catholic writers as primitive Christian monks, but, though doubtless the prototypes of the monastic or eremitical life, they were as certainly Jews.

The origin of this singular people, the Essenes, is involved in obscurity. Some have deduced them from very high antiquity, but without the slightest ground for their opinion: others derive them from the Rechabites, mentioned in the latter period of the monarchy. In certain respects they may seem to have been formed in imitation of the schools of the Prophets, some of which, if not all, bound themselves to a severe and abstemious life; and not only does Josephus inform us that many of the Essenes pretended to the gift of prophecy, but we meet with Essene prophets in several parts of the later Jewish history. The main principles of their tenets seem evidently grounded on that widespread Oriental philosophy, which, supposing matter either the creation of the Evil Being, or itself the Evil Being, considered all the appetites and propensities of the *material* body in themselves evil, and therefore esteemed the most severe mortification the perfection of virtue. The reverence for the names of the angels points to the same source, and there is one ambiguous expression in the account of Josephus, which, taken literally, would imply that they worshipped the sun.

On the complete alteration in the civil state of Judæa, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who had passed through all the offices of the Roman magistracy, and attained the consulate, was appointed to the prefecture of Syria. The subordinate administration of Judæa was entrusted to Coponius, a man of

equestrian rank. Quirinius is by some supposed to have acted formerly as coadjutor to the Syrian prefect, Saturninus, having been appointed for the special purpose of conducting the general census of the population in this region. This is what is incorrectly called the general taxation, in our common translation of St. Luke's Gospel, which, in fact, was only a registry. Quirinius had now the more invidious office of taking a second census, of property as well as of persons, in order to regulate the taxation exacted by the Roman government from the subject provinces.[1] The proud spirit of the Jews submitted in sullen reluctance to this last mark of subjection. The prudence of Joazar, who, in what manner it is unknown, had resumed the office of High Priest, repressed all dangerous indications of discontent; but the fiercer spirits found a leader in Judas, called the Galilean, though born in Gamala, a city of Gaulonitis. He was a man of eloquence, which he employed on the popular subjects—the sovereignty of God over his chosen people—the degradation of subjection to a foreign yoke—the unlawfulness of paying tribute. Multitudes crowded around him: the high-spirited—the adventurous—those who were full of burning zeal for their country and their law—unhappily also the fierce and licentious. With his confederate, Sadoc, a Pharisee, Judas formed a fourth sect, in addition to those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The watchword of his party was—We have no lord and master but God. But the days were passed when a similar war-cry had rallied the whole nation under the banner of the Maccabees, and won the independence of Judæa at the point of the sword. The circumstances of the times were widely different; the national character was altered for the worse; the power of the oppressor, who wielded all the forces of the Western world with Roman vigour and ability, irresistible; and the God, in whose name and under whose protection they had been accustomed to triumph, was now about to withdraw his presence. A kingdom, *not of this world*, was to rise out of the ruins of

[1] This census, which first enregistered the Jews as subjects of Rome, not subjects to a king vassal to Rome, was one of the great revolutions in their history. It was this against which Judas the Gaulonite proclaimed his rebellious protest—it was the act of the enslavement of the people. *τὴν δὲ ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀντικρυς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν.* It is singularly in accordance with the whole spirit of the Gospel, that the first (if it may be so said) unconscious act of the unborn Jesus was the quiet recognition of the Roman sovereignty, an anticipation of the giving *to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's*, and a preannouncement that his kingdom was not of this world.

the temporal sovereignty, which had so long remained among the heirs and successors of David. Judas himself perished —his followers were dispersed; but to the influence of their tenets, in support of which numbers endured the most horrible tortures and death with the martyr's fortitude, Josephus attributes all the subsequent insurrections, and the final ruin of the city and the Temple. The Gaulonites were the doctrinal ancestors of the Zealots and Assassins (Sicarii) of later days. The sons of Judas were true to their father's precepts, and, as we shall see hereafter, shared his fate.

Quirinius, having completed the sale of the confiscated goods which belonged to Archelaus—deposed Joazar, who had become unpopular, from the pontificate, and substituted Ananus, the son of Seth—retired to Syria. Coponius remained as governor of the province. No other incident of his administration is related, but a singular story of a wanton profanation of the Temple by some Samaritans, who stole in on one of the nights during the Passover, and strewed the sacred pavement with dead men's bones.[1]

Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, during whose government died Salome, the sister of Herod, leaving Jamnia and her other territorial possessions to Livia, the wife of Augustus. M. Ambivius was followed by Annius Rufus. This rapid succession of provincial governors took place at the close of the reign of Augustus; his successor, Tiberius, pursued a different policy. During his reign of twenty-three years, Judæa had only two rulers, Valerius Gratus (A.C. 16), and Pontius Pilate (A.C. 27). This was avowedly done by Tiberius on principles of humanity, and implied a bitter sarcasm on the rapacity of Roman prefects. "A rapid succession of rulers," observed the shrewd tyrant, "only increases the oppressions and exactions of the provinces. The governor who anticipates but a short harvest, makes the most of his time, and extorts as much as he is able in the shortest possible period. A governor who expects to remain longer in office, pillages on a more gradual, and therefore less oppressive system—it is even possible that his avarice may be satiated."[2] He compared a Roman province to the poor wounded man in the fable, who lay by the wayside covered with flies; and when a kind-hearted traveller offered to drive them away, declined his service, as those were already glutted, and would only be

[1] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 2. 2.

[2] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 6. 5.

replaced by a more hungry swarm. As if the governors of Judæa had exemplified the justice of the imperial pleasantry, the Jews petitioned Tiberius for a diminution of the burthens by which they were overwhelmed. The decision was left to Germanicus, who was then in the East; but whether any inquiry took place is uncertain. The government of Gratus is remarkable only for the perpetual changes which he made in the appointment to the High-priesthood. He deposed Ananus, and substituted Ismael, son of Fabi—then Eleazar, son of Ananus—then Simon, son of Camith—and lastly, Joseph Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Ananus.

During this period Judæa enjoyed tranquillity, but the Jews of Rome were exposed to a dreadful calamity. The rapid progress of foreign superstitions, as they were called, particularly among the women of high rank, alarmed the vigilance of the government. A young libertine, Decius Mundus, had bribed the priests of the Egyptian Isis, and by their means, in the character and habit of the god Anubis, had debauched the wife of Saturninus, Paullina, a woman of rank and virtue, but strangely infatuated by her attachment to the Egyptian religion.[1] Mundus boasting of the success of his profligacy, the affair was detected. Mundus was banished, the priests crucified, the temple razed, and the statue of Isis thrown into the Tiber. Just at this juncture, some Jews were discovered to have obtained so great an ascendency over the mind of Fulvia, a noble matron, as not only to have made her a proselyte, but to have extorted from her large sums of money, as offerings to the Temple, which they had converted to their own use. The Jews were involved in the same sentence with the Egyptians; they were expelled from Rome, perhaps from Italy; 4000 were drafted into the army, and sent to Sardinia, where the greater part fell victims to the unwholesome climate. Philo attributes this persecution to the intrigues of Sejanus, who apprehended that the attachment of the Jews to the person of the Emperor might stand in the way of his daring designs; and adds that Tiberius having discovered this after the death of Sejanus, issued an edict more favourable to that people.[2]

[1] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3.

[2] Tac. Ann. ii. 85; Suet. in Tib. xxxvi. The Jews even then inhabited the Vatican in great numbers; they were chiefly freedmen. Augustus had treated them with extraordinary favour; indulged them in perfect freedom of worship; gave them their full share in the largesses of corn; and when the distribution took place on their Sabbath, permitted it to be reserved for the next day. Compare on this Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3, with the letter of Agrippa in Philo de Legatione, p. 590.

Up to this period the Roman prætor seems to have resided in Cæsarea, and avoided all collision between his troops and the turbulent zealots of the capital. Pontius Pilate determined to transfer the winter quarters of his army from Samaria to Jerusalem. The Romans had hitherto so far respected the prejudices of their subjects, as not to introduce their standards, on which appeared not only the offensive *image* of the eagle, but likewise that of Cæsar, within the walls of the city. The troops entered the gates by night, and in the morning the people were shocked and surprised at beholding the effigy of the Emperor publicly displayed in their streets. They abstained from all violence, but a numerous deputation set out to Cæsarea, and for many days entreated Pilate to remove the standards. Pilate treated the affair as an insult on the Emperor, and, weary of their importunity, concealed some troops, with which he surrounded and hoped to disperse them. When the soldiers appeared, the Jews with one accord fell on the ground, declaring that they were ready to die rather than sanction the infringement of their law. Pilate had the prudence to withdraw the obnoxious emblems.[1]

The refractory spirit of Jerusalem broke out on other occasions.[2] Pilate seized some of the revenue of the Temple, and applied it to the useful and magnificent design of building an aqueduct, which was to bring a supply of water to the city from the distance of 200 stadia—about 25 miles. The populace rose, and interrupted the workmen. Pilate, having dressed some of his soldiers in the common garb of the country, with their swords concealed, commanded them to mingle with the people, and when they began their usual obstruction to his works, to fall upon and disperse them. The soldiers executed their commission with greater cruelty than Pilate had intended, and committed dreadful havoc among the unarmed multitude.[3]

Such was the man, not naturally disposed to unnecessary bloodshed, but, when the peace of his province appeared in danger, stern, decided, and reckless of human life—on all other occasions by no means regardless of ingratiating him-

[1] It is difficult to decide whether the account given by Philo, of the hanging up certain bucklers in Herod's palace, is a version of the same story or a different one. The question is discussed by Lardner, i. p. 184; by Mangey in his note on the passage in Philo, ii. p. 591; and by Valesius ad Euseb., H. E. ii. 6. Compare on the subject of images, as permitted by the Jews, a sensib e note of Aldrich in Cardwell's Josephus, ii. p. 498.

[2] B. J. ii. 9. 3.

[3] B. J. ii. 9. 4.

self in the popular favour, before whose tribunal Jesus Christ was led. Pilate was awed perhaps by the tranquil dignity of Jesus, or at least saw no reason to apprehend any danger to the Roman sovereignty from a person of such peaceful demeanour. He probably detected the malice, though he might not clearly comprehend the motive, of the accusation brought forward by the priests and populace. Still, however, he shrank from the imputation of not being "Cæsar's friend," and could not think the life of one man, however innocent, of much importance in comparison with the peace of the country, and his own favour at Rome. In this dilemma he naturally endeavours to avoid the responsibility of decision, by transferring the criminal to the tribunal of Herod, to whose jurisdiction Christ, as a Galilean, belonged, and who happened to be at Jerusalem for the celebration of the Passover. At length, however, finding the uproar increasing, he yields without much further scruple, and the Roman soldiery are permitted to become the willing instruments of the Jewish priesthood, in the crucifixion of that man in whom Pilate himself could find no fault. We leave to the Christian historian the description of this event, and all its consequences—inestimable in their importance to mankind, but which produced hardly any *immediate* effect on the affairs of the Jewish nation. Yet, our history will have shown that the state of the public mind in Judæa, as well as the character of Pilate, the chief agent in the transaction, harmonise in the most remarkable manner with the narrative of the Evangelists. The general expectation of the Messiah—the impatience of the Roman sovereignty, fostered by the bold and turbulent doctrines of Judas the Galilean—the extraordinary excitement of the more fanatical part of the people, which led them to crowd round the banner of each successive adventurer, who either assumed or might assume that character—the rigid prudence of the chief priests, lest the slightest indication of revolt should compromise the safety of the city and the Temple, and expose the whole nation to the jealous resentment of the Roman governor—these circumstances of the times sufficiently account for the reception which such a teacher as Jesus of Nazareth met with in Jerusalem. Appearing, as he did, with doctrines so alarming to the authority of the priesthood—so full of disappointment to the fanatic populace—so repugnant to the national pride, as implying the dissolution of the Mosaic constitution, and the establish-

ment of a new and more comprehensive faith—and, above all, openly assuming the mysterious title, the Son of God—it excites less astonishment than sorrow and commiseration, that the passions of such a people should at once take arms, and proceed to the most awful violence against a Teacher, whose tenets were so much too pure and spiritual for their comprehension, whose character was so remote from their preconceived notions of the expected Messiah.

St. Luke relates another characteristic act of violence committed during the administration of Pilate, of which the Jewish records take no notice,—the massacre of certain Galileans while they were offering sacrifice. Some have supposed that these might be followers of Judas the Gaulonite.

An act which displayed the same vigilant jealousy of popular commotion, and the same reckless disregard of human life, led to the recall and the disgrace of Pilate. The Samaritans had, hitherto, remained in peaceful submission to the Roman government; they are stated occasionally to have shown their old enmity against the Jews, by waylaying those of the northern provinces who were travelling on their way to the Passover at Jerusalem. Now, however, the whole province was thrown into a state of excitement by an impostor, who promised to discover certain vessels, according to his statement (grounded, doubtless, upon some old tradition), buried by Moses on Mount Gerizim. Multitudes appeared in arms at a village named Tirabatha, at the foot of the mountain. Pilate, with his usual vigilance and decision, ordered some troops to station themselves on the road, attacked the village, slew the leaders, and dispersed the rest.

The Samaritan senate carried their complaints before Vitellius, the president of Syria, the father of that Vitellius who afterwards obtained the empire. Vitellius sent immediate orders to Pilate to withdraw to Rome, and there answer to the charges which were made against him.[1]

Vitellius then, in person, visited Jerusalem; he was received with great magnificence, and was present during the celebration of the Passover. He remitted the tax on the sale of the fruits of the earth. He likewise conferred a benefit on the nation, which was considered of signal importance. By a

[1] Tacitus gives this character of Vitellius:—"Regendis provinciis priscâ virtute egit: unde regressus . . . turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur: cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona juventæ senectus flagitiosa obliteravit." Ann. vi. 32.

remarkable accident, the custody of the High Priest's robes of office had passed into the hands of the Romans. Hyrcanus had been accustomed to lay them up in the Baris, the castle near the Temple. This usage was continued by his successors. Herod having converted the Baris into the strong fortress called Antonia, it afterwards became the chief place of arms to the Roman garrison. The Jews, tenacious of ancient customs, did not think of removing these important vestments. They thus fell into the power of the foreign rulers, who, as the High Priest could not officiate without them, might impede or prevent the performance of the Temple ceremonies. They were kept in a stone building, and sealed by the seal of the High Priest, from whence they were taken with great ceremony, seven days before the feast, and purified; after they had been used, they were replaced with the same care. Vitellius gave up the robes to the High Priest, and they were transferred to a treasury within the Temple. Vitellius degraded Caiaphas from the High-priesthood, and substituted Jonathan, son of Ananus, or Annas. He then returned to Antioch.

During this period, the two other sons of Herod had reigned in peace over their respective provinces: Herod Antipas, as Tetrarch of Galilee, in Sepphoris, his capital; Philip in the district beyond the Jordan. Both had endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with the reigning Emperor by the costly flattery of founding or ornamenting cities to be called after his name. Philip called Paneas, Cæsarea; and Bethsaida, Julias. Antipas called Betharamptha, Julias, after the wife of the Emperor, and founded Tiberius on the lake of Gennesaret. The city having been built over an ancient cemetery, Herod was obliged to use force and bribes to induce the people to settle there. Philip was a prince of great justice and humanity; wherever he went, the divan of justice followed him; and directly any appeal was made to his tribunal, a court was formed, and the cause decided. He died about this time, without issue; his territory was annexed to the province of Syria.[1]

Herod had seduced and married Herodias his niece, the wife of Herod Philip (not Philip the Tetrarch, but a son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest). It was on her account that he put to death John the

[1] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 4. 6.

Baptist. This marriage led him into danger, as well as into crime. His repudiated wife was a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia. This prince took arms, to avenge the wrong and insult offered to his daughter, and in a great battle, the whole army of Herod was cut off. Herod sent to entreat the interference of Tiberius, who gave orders to Vitellius to chastise the insolence of Aretas. Vitellius set his troops in motion to advance on Petra, the Arabian capital. His march lay through Judæa, but the heads of the people sent an earnest request that he would not display his standards, which were adorned with images, within their territory. Vitellius complied; he sent his army across the Jordan, and himself, with Herod and his friends, went up a second time, to witness the Passover at Jerusalem. He deposed the High Priest, Jonathan, and substituted his brother Theophilus. On the fourth day of the festival, intelligence arrived of the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula. Vitellius dismissed his troops to their quarters, and returned to Antioch.[1]

The accession of Caligula was an event of the greatest importance to another branch of the Herodian family — Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, one of the two unfortunate princes, the sons of Herod the Great by Mariamne the Asmonean. The early life of Agrippa had been a strange course of adventure and vicissitude. On his father's execution, he was sent to Rome, where he enjoyed the favour of Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. Antonia entertained a sincere friendship for Berenice, the mother of Agrippa, and under her protection the young Idumæan prince attached himself to the person of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. Agrippa inherited the profusion, but not the wealth, of the Herodian race. On his mother's death, he speedily dissipated his whole property, and found himself overwhelmed with debts. His associate and friend, Drusus, died; and Tiberius issued orders that none of the youth's intimate companions should be admitted into his presence, lest they should awaken the melancholy recollection of his beloved son. Agrippa, in the utmost distress, retreated to his native land, and took up his residence at Malatha, an insignificant village in Idumæa. There he was in such a state of destitution that he began to entertain designs of ridding himself of his miserable life by suicide. His affectionate wife

[1] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 5. 3.

Cypros consoled him in his despair, and gave him excellent counsel. According to this at length he had recourse to his sister Herodias, the incestuous wife of Herod Antipas. Through her interest, he obtained a welcome reception at Sepphoris, where the Ethnarch of Galilee held his court. From Antipas he obtained a yearly allowance, and the government of Tiberias. But Herod, during the conviviality of a banquet, having cast some reflection on his pensioner, the indignant Agrippa withdrew from Galilee, and retired to the protection of Pomponius Flaccus, the Prefect of Syria, into whose good graces he insinuated himself with hereditary address. At Antioch he met his step-brother, Aristobulus, but there was not much fraternal amity between them, and Aristobulus seized the opportunity of supplanting his rival in the favour of the Roman Prefect. Agrippa received a bribe, to secure his interest with Flaccus, from the inhabitants of Damascus, who were engaged in a dispute about their borders with the Sidonians. Detected in this discreditable transaction through the jealous vigilance of his brother, he was forced to leave Antioch in disgrace, and retired to Ptolemais in a state of the lowest indigence. There, through his freedman, Marsyas, he tried in vain all the money-lenders, for he had neither bondsman nor security to offer, till at last, a freed slave of his mother lent him 17,500 drachms on a promissory bond for 20,000. With this sum he got to Anthedon, intending to sail for Rome. But he was suddenly arrested by Herennius Capito, Prefect of Jamnia, for a debt of 300,000 drachms, which he had borrowed at Rome of the Imperial exchequer. Agrippa promised to settle the debt, but his vessel slipping her cables by night, he escaped to Alexandria. There his wife, Cypros, prevailed on the Jewish Alabarch to lend him 200,000 drachms. The prudent Alabarch, however, advanced only five talents, promising that the rest should be forthcoming on his arrival in Italy. With this money, having sent his wife back to Palestine, Agrippa set sail for Rome. On his landing at Puteoli, he despatched a letter to Tiberius, then at Capreæ. The Emperor sent to congratulate him on his arrival, invited him to Capreæ, and entertained him with great courtesy, till a despatch arrived from Herennius Capito, relating to his dishonourable evasion from Anthedon. He was forbidden the Imperial presence, and retired in disgrace to Rome. But his mother's friend, Antonia, still protected him. She lent him a sum sufficient to discharge his debt to the Imperial treasury,

and Agrippa was reinstated in the favour of Tiberius. The Emperor recommended him to attach himself to the person of his grandson, the younger Tiberius; but the Jewish prince, with better fortune or judgment, preferred that of Caius Caligula. In this state of advancement, he borrowed a million drachms of Thallus, a Samaritan freedman of Cæsar, and repaid his debt to Antonia. Unfortunately, one day when he was riding with Caligula in a chariot, he expressed aloud his earnest petition to Providence, that Tiberius might speedily be removed, in order to make room for a more worthy successor. The speech was overheard by Eutychus, a freedman, the driver of the chariot. Eutychus, punished for a theft, hastened to revenge himself by laying a charge against his master. The dilatory Tiberius, according to his custom, postponed the examination of the accuser, who remained in prison; till Agrippa, imprudently, or having forgotten the whole affair, urged on the inquiry, and the fact was clearly proved. Tiberius was already offended at the court paid by Agrippa to the young Caius; and suddenly, in the public circus, commanded Macron, the captain of his guard, "to put that man in chains." Macron, surprised at the sudden change, delayed the execution of the command; till, Tiberius returning to the same spot, he inquired against whom the order was directed. The Emperor sternly pointed to Agrippa, and, notwithstanding his humble supplications, the heir of the Asmonean princes, clad as he was in the royal purple, was put in fetters like a common malefactor. The day was excessively sultry, and a slave of Caligula passing by with a vessel of water, Agrippa entreated for a draught. The slave complied, and Agrippa promised that when he should be released from his chains, he would repay the kindness through his interest with Caligula—a promise which, to his honour, he faithfully kept. Even in this fallen condition, Antonia did not desert the son of her friend Berenice; she obtained for him some mitigation of the discomforts and privations of his prison. At length after six months' imprisonment, during which the historian relates a wild tale of the augury of a German fellow-captive, from an owl on a tree above them, of the liberation and future greatness of Agrippa, his release arrived. The tyrant of Capreæ expired. Immediately on the death of Tiberius, Marsyas, his faithful freed slave, hastened to his master's dungeon, and communicated the joyful intelligence, saying in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead."

The centurion on guard inquired the cause of their rejoicing; and when he had extorted the information from Agrippa, anxious to propitiate the favour of a prisoner whose advancement he foresaw, he ordered his chains to be struck off, and invited him to supper. While they were at table, a rumour reached the prison that Tiberius was still living. The affrighted centurion bitterly reproached Agrippa with betraying him into so serious a breach of discipline, and ordered the prisoner immediately to be reloaded with his chains. That night Agrippa passed in the most anxious state of suspense and apprehension. With the morning the news was confirmed, and shortly after Caligula entered Rome in imperial state. On the very day of his entry, but for the prudence of Antonia, he would have commanded the release of his friend. A short time after he sent the order for his liberation, received him at his court, and conferred on him the vacant Tetrarchate of Philip, with the title of king. He presented him likewise with a chain of gold, of the same weight with that of iron with which he had been fettered.[1]

Agrippa remained that year in Rome; during the next, the second of Caligula's reign, he arrived in Palestine with royal pomp, to take possession of his dignity. But if the good fortune of Agrippa excited the general wonder, it aroused the bitterest jealousy in the mind of Herodias, the wife of Herod, the Tetrarch of Galilee. She saw the splendour of her husband eclipsed by the beggarly spendthrift, who, although her own brother, had been dependent on their charity. The evil passions of this woman were as fatal to the prosperity as to the virtue of Herod. Her insatiable and envious ambition would not allow him to rest till he had obtained a royal title which should set him on a level with the upstart Agrippa. Herod, whose character is described as cool and crafty (he is designated in the Gospel "as that fox Herod"), was carried away by her perpetual urgency, and, in an inauspicious hour, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order to solicit the title of king. Agrippa instantly despatched a messenger to counterwork the intrigues and outbid the bribery of Herod. The messenger made such good speed as to arrive at Baiæ before

[1] This story is related more at length, as illustrating the relation of the Jews, even of the royal race, to the Romans; the contemptuous superiority with which they were at one time treated with high honour, the next with the utmost ignominy; now as princes, now as miserable debtors; now in purple, now in a dungeon—at the caprice of the Emperor or his favourites.

the Tetrarch. Agrippa's letter to Caligula accused Herod of former intrigues with Sejanus, and secret intelligence with the Parthians. It charged him particularly with having laid up a great store of arms, in case of a revolt. Directly Herod appeared, the Emperor closely questioned him upon the plain fact, whether he had furnished his palace with large quantities of warlike stores. The Tetrarch could not deny the charge, and Caligula immediately deprived him of the Ethnarchate, which he added to the dominions of Agrippa, and ordered him into banishment.[1] Lyons, in Gaul, was the place of his exile; and thus, in the same remote province, two sons of the magnificent Herod were condemned to waste their inglorious lives by the summary sentence of the Roman Emperor.

On account of her relationship to Agrippa, Caligula was inclined to exempt Herodias from the disgrace of her husband; he offered to restore her to all the possessions which she could claim as her own. In a nobler spirit than could have been expected from such a woman, Herodias rejected his mercy, and determined to share the fortunes of her banished husband.

Up to the reign of Caligula, the Jews had enjoyed, without any serious interruption, the universal toleration which Roman policy permitted to the religion of the subject states. If the religion had suffered a temporary proscription at Rome under Tiberius, it was as a foreign superstition, supposed, from the misconduct of individuals, to be dangerous to the public morals in the metropolis. Judaism remained undisturbed in the rest of the empire; and, although the occasional insolence of the Roman governors in Judæa might display itself in acts offensive to the religious feelings of the natives, yet the wiser and more liberal, like Vitellius, studiously avoided all interference with that superstition which they respected or despised. But the insane vanity of Caligula made him attempt to enforce from the whole empire those divine honours which his predecessors condescended to receive from the willing adulation of their subjects. Everywhere statues were raised and temples built in honour of the deified Emperor. The Jews could not submit to the mandate without violating the first principle of their religion, nor resist it without exposing their whole nation to the resentment of their masters.[2]

[1] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 7.

[2] Compare throughout the two very curious tracts by Philo, adversus Flaccum, et de Legatione, the chief or rather the only valuable authorities for these events.

The storm began to lower around them: its first violence broke upon the Jews in Alexandria, where, however, the collision with the ruling authorities first originated in the animosities of the Greek and Jewish factions, which divided the city. This great and populous capital, besides strangers from all quarters, was inhabited by three distinct races, the native Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks. The native Egyptians were generally avoided as of an inferior class; but the Jews boasted of edicts from the founder of the city, and from other monarchs of Egypt, which entitled them to equal rank and estimation with the descendants of the Macedonian settlers. They were numerous: Philo calculates that in Egypt they amounted to a million of souls.[1] They were opulent, and among the most active traders of that great commercial metropolis. It is probable that they were turbulent, and not the peaceful and unoffending people described by their advocate Philo—at all events they were odious to the Greek population. The Roman Prefect at this period was Flaccus Aquilius. For the five last years Flaccus had administered the affairs of this important province, and the municipal government of this unruly city, with equal vigour and discretion. His attention to business; his perfect acquaintance with the usages, interests, and factions of the whole country; his dignity on the tribunal of justice; his prudence in suppressing all clubs and assemblies of the lower orders, which were held under the pretence of religion, but were acknowledged to be dangerous to the public peace, excited universal admiration. He had introduced a system of good and equal

[1] This included the Jews in Alexandria, and scattered settlers up to the borders of Ethiopia (p. 523).

Tradition thus speaks of the Synagogue in Alexandria:—"He who has never seen the Double Hall of Alexandria has never beheld the majesty of Israel. It rose like a great Palace (Basilica); there was colonnade within colonnade; at times a throng of people filled the building twice as great as that which went out of Egypt with Moses. There were seventy golden thrones within, inlaid with precious stones and pearls, according to the number of the seventy elders of the Sanhedrin. Each of these cost 25 millions of gold denarii. In the midst arose an *Alhamra* of wood, on which stood the choir leader of the Synagogue. When any one rose to read in the Law, the President waved a linen banner, and the people answered 'Amen.' At every benediction which the President spoke, he waved the banner, and the people answered 'Amen.' They did not sit promiscuously, but each separate with his guild, so that strangers who entered might join their guild, and every man find his own trade."

This remarkable illustration of the traditions of the Egyptian settlement of the Jews, which we are surprised to find in the Talmud, is quoted from the Suka, in Delitsch, Geschichte der Judischen Poesie, p. 26.

laws into the city, while by constant reviews of the military forces he had both improved the discipline of the army, and overawed the turbulent and disaffected by the display of his power. The death of Tiberius, according to Philo, wrought a total change in this wise and upright character. Flaccus had attached himself to the party of the younger Tiberius, and apprehended the resentment of the new Emperor. He became careless of business, remiss in all the great duties of his station, his vigorous mind seemed paralysed. The death of his friend Macro, who alone repressed the violence of Caligula, deprived him of his last hope of maintaining himself in the Imperial favour. He determined, therefore, to ingratiate himself with the people of Alexandria, in order that their good report might plead his cause, and commend the wisdom of his government with the Emperor. With this view he relaxed the sternness of his police, and allowed the Grecian party to proceed to every outrage and insult on the hated Jewish population.[1] The accidental arrival of King Agrippa was the signal for this collision of the two factions. On his way to Palestine, where he was going to take possession of his kingdom, Agrippa, to avail himself of the Etesian winds, sailed direct to Alexandria. He arrived unexpectedly in the evening, and landed in the night, that he might avoid all unnecessary display. According to Philo, the sight of a Jew honoured with a royal title, and surrounded by guards, whose armour glittered with gold and silver, exasperated the envious Alexandrians. They insulted him; wrote pasquinades against him, probably alluding to the beggarly condition in which he had before appeared in Alexandria; brought him on the stage, and even proceeded to a more offensive practical jest.

There was a poor idiot named Carabas, who used to wander naked about the streets, the butt of idle and mischievous boys. Him they seized, and placed on a lofty seat near the Gymnasium, dressed him in an old mat for a robe, put a paper crown on his head, and a cane in his hand for a sceptre. Boys, with sticks for halberds, went before him to represent his bodyguard; and, to complete the parody on the royal state

[1] Philo describes the Greeks who got the ear of Flaccus and exasperated him against the Jews, as *διονύσιοι, δημοκόποι, Λάμπωνες, γραμματοκύφωνες, Ἰσίδωροι, στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονες, κακῶν ἐυρεταί, ταραξιπόλιδες.* Lampon and Isidore were famous libellers, perhaps also Dionysius. Philo, edit. Mang., ii. p. 520.

He speaks afterwards about the *παλαιὰν, καὶ τρόπον τινα γεγεννημένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀπέχθειαν* (p. 521)—the almost innate hatred.

of Agrippa, some did him homage, some presented petitions, some addressed him on affairs of state, and called him by a word which signified "Lord" in the Syrian language. Flaccus, though outwardly he showed all possible respect to Agrippa, secretly connived at their insulting proceedings, and even fomented them. This, however, is the most improbable part of Philo's story; for if it was the main object of Flaccus to secure the favour of Caligula, no man of his prudence would unnecessarily have offended his acknowledged friend and favourite. Agrippa, probably, soon withdrew from the inhospitable city, bearing with him a decree of the Jews, in which they offered to Caligula all the honours compatible with their law. This decree Flaccus had promised to forward, but had treacherously withholden from the knowledge of the Emperor. Encouraged by the apparent connivance of the Prefect, the Greek faction assembled in the theatre, and demanded, with loud cries, that the statue of the Emperor should be placed in all the Jewish Proseuchæ, their oratories or places of prayer. They then proceeded to carry their own demands into execution; they cut down the trees which surrounded those picturesque places of worship, burned some, and profaned the rest by erecting images within them; in the most considerable they determined to place a great statue in a chariot drawn by four horses. Not having a chariot ready, they seized an old one which had formerly belonged to Cleopatra, an ancestress of the celebrated Egyptian queen of that name. A few days after their oratories had thus been violated,[1] Flaccus issued an edict, in which the Jews were called strangers, thus depriving them at once of their boasted rights of citizenship. Philo would persuade us that the Jews had not given the slightest provocation, and bore all these repeated outrages with the utmost meekness.[2] This is not probable; and the next measure of the governor seems as if it had been intended to separate the two conflicting parties, and so secure the peace of the distracted city. Alexandria was divided into five quarters, named from the first five letters of the alphabet. Two of these were entirely peopled by Jews, and many of them dwelt scattered about in the other three. They were ordered to retire into one of these districts, which was so much too small

[1] Philo uses a singular argument against this violation of the Proseuchæ: that the Jews being deprived of their houses of prayer, would be unable to propitiate heaven, as he assumes that they do most effectively, by supplications for the Augustan family (p. 524).

[2] De Legatione, p. 565.

to contain them, that they spread about upon the sea-shore and in the cemeteries. The vacant houses in the quarter from which they had retired were pillaged by the mob; the magazines and shops, which were shut on account of a general mourning for Drusilla, the Emperor's sister, were broken open: the goods publicly shared in the market-place. Philo complains that great distress was caused by the pledges being taken away from the brokers, whence it appears that the Jews had already taken up the profession of money-lenders.[1] But this was not the worst. Cooped up in one narrow quarter of the city, they began to suffer dreadfully from the heat and unwholesomeness of the air. Pestilential disorders broke out, and though the year was plentiful, they suffered all the miseries of famine, for they were almost besieged in their quarter. Those who ventured out into the market were robbed, insulted, maltreated, pursued with sticks and stones. Bloodshed soon ensued; many were slain with the sword, others trampled to death; some, even while alive, were dragged by their heels through the streets. When dead, their bodies were still dragged along till they were torn to pieces, or so disfigured that they could not be distinguished if at length recovered by their friends. Those who strayed out of the city to breathe the purer air of the country, or the strangers who incautiously entered the walls to visit and relieve their friends, were treated in the same way, and beaten with clubs till they were dead. The quays were watched, and on the landing of a Jewish vessel, the merchandise was plundered, the owners and their vessel burned. Their houses were likewise set on fire, and whole families, men, women, and children, burned alive. Yet even this was a merciful death compared with the sufferings of others. Sometimes, from want of wood, their persecutors could collect only a few wet sticks, and over these, stifled with smoke, and half consumed, the miserable victims slowly expired. Sometimes they would mock their sufferings by affected sorrow; but if any of their own relatives or friends betrayed the least emotion, they were seized, scourged, tortured, and even crucified.[2]

During all these horrible scenes, Flaccus, who could at once have put an end to the tumult, looked on in calm indifference. He now, according to his accuser, openly took part against them. He sent for the principal Jews, as if to

[1] Page 525.
[2] Compare the De Legat., p. 564, with the Adversus Flaccum.

mediate an accommodation, in reality only to find new pretexts for cruelty. The Jews had their Alabarch or chief magistrate, and their council or senate. Flaccus ordered thirty-eight of the most distinguished members of this body to be seized, bound them as criminals, and, although it was the Emperor's birthday, a day of general rejoicing, they were brought into the theatre, and publicly scourged with such cruelty that many of them died instantly of the blows, others, shortly after, of the mischiefs they received. It was thought an aggravation of this cruelty, that as there were different kinds of flagellation, according to the rank of the criminal, these distinguished men were condemned to that usually inflicted on the basest. Those who escaped with life, were thrown into prison; others of this miserable race were seized and crucified. It was the morning spectacle of the theatre to see the Jews scourged, tortured both with the rack and with pulleys, and then led away to execution; and to this horrible tragedy immediately succeeded farces and dances and other theatrical amusements. Women were occasionally seized and exposed to the public view—sometimes female peasants were taken for Jewesses, when discovered they were let go; if any doubt remained, swine's flesh was brought and the women commanded to eat; those who complied were released; those who refused, treated with every kind of indignity.

As if to justify these cruelties by an apparent dread of insurrection, Flaccus sent a centurion, Castus, to search all the houses of the Jews for concealed arms. The search was conducted with the utmost rigour, even the women's apartments ransacked, but no weapon was found more dangerous than common knives used for domestic purposes.

At length the hour of retribution arrived; all the attempts of Flaccus to secure the favour of Caligula were unavailing. A centurion, Bassus, was sent to arrest him. Flaccus had kept back a loyal address from the Alexandrian Jews, which he had promised to transmit. It had reached Rome, however, through King Agrippa. Bassus proceeded, not with the boldness of a messenger armed with an Imperial edict, but as if he had to surprise an independent sovereign in the midst of loyal subjects.[1] This seems to warrant a suspicion,

[1] ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα ἐυδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ προαισθόμενον Φλάκκον καὶ βουλευσάμενόν τι νεώτερον ἄπρακτον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι (p. 333).

either that Flaccus entertained some design of revolting, or at least, that his popularity at Alexandria was so great as to render his capture difficult and dangerous. Bassus arrived at night, landed secretly, and found that Flaccus was abroad, at a banquet given by one Stephanio, a freedman of Tiberius. One of his followers mingled with the guests, and finding that the governor was only attended by eight or ten slaves, Bassus surrounded the chamber with his soldiers, and displayed the Imperial edict. Flaccus at once saw his fate, and was led away without resistance. It was the feast of Tabernacles: but the sad and persecuted Jews had little inclination for the usual joy and merriment of the season. When the rumour of the apprehension of Flaccus spread abroad, they supposed it to be a deception intended to tempt them to rejoicings which would be cruelly revenged. When the intelligence was confirmed, they began, not to rejoice over the ruin of their enemy, for that was forbidden in their humane law,[1] but to praise God; and during the whole night the people were occupied in hymns and songs of thanksgiving. The wrath of heaven, as they believed, now pursued the miserable Flaccus; he had a tempestuous voyage; on his arrival at Rome he was accused by Lampon and Isidore, two men of the basest character;[2] his property was confiscated, and he himself banished first to Gyara, an island in the Ægean Sea, proverbial for the hard fate of those who were exiled to its shores. By the interest of Lepidus he obtained a commutation of this punishment, and was sent to Andros, where he arrived after a disastrous voyage, and after having been an object of contempt or commiseration in the various towns through which he passed. Philo asserts that he was haunted by bitter remorse for his cruelties towards the Jews. He was soon after put to death in a horrible manner by order of Caligula.[3]

Thus Philo describes the persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria, and the conduct of Flaccus; but it may be

[1] The words of Philo: *Ουκ ἐφηδόμεθα . . ὦ δέσποτα, τιμωρίαις ἐχθροῦ, δεδιδάγμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν* (p. 334).

[2] The lives of these two consummate villains as painted, darkly enough no doubt, by Philo, are curious studies of Roman and provincial manners and morals at this period.

[3] I am afraid that the manifest satisfaction with which Philo relates the horrible execution of Flaccus shows that he was not very deeply imbued with the humanity which he boasts of as inculcated by his legislator. Read the frightful scene: he ends—*τοιαῦτα καὶ Φλάκκος ἔπαθε, γενόμενος ἀψευδοτάτη πίστις τοῦ μὴ ὑπερορᾶσθαι τῶν Ιουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ* (p. 544).

justly suspected that both the sufferings and the peaceful disposition of his countrymen are highly coloured; and in the character and motives of Flaccus there appears so much inconsistency as perpetually to remind us that we are reduced to follow the narrative of an advocate, not that of a dispassionate historian.

A deputation from each of the parties in Alexandria arrived in Rome, to lay the whole history of the late disturbances before the Emperor. At the head of the Grecian party was Apion, a man of eloquence, and a determined enemy to the Jews; on the other side appeared Philo, the author from whose writings the recent account has been extracted, a person of rank, for he was the brother of the Alabarch, and of unquestioned ability. The reception which the Jewish party met with at first was apparently flattering; Philo alone apprehended an unfavourable event. They presented a memorial, which the Emperor seemed to receive with gaiety and urbanity. They then followed the court to Puteoli: their great object was to obtain the security of their Proseuchæ from being desecrated by images. These oratories they possessed in every city where they resided. While they were discussing their hopes of succeeding in this great object of their mission, suddenly a man rushed in with a pale and disordered countenance, and communicated the dreadful intelligence, that an edict had been issued to place the statue of the Emperor within the Temple of Jerusalem.[1]

The mad vanity of Caligula had been irritated by the resistance of the Jews in Alexandria; other circumstances, combined with evil counsellors, made him determine to triumph over what he considered the disloyal obstinacy of this self-willed people. Capito, a receiver of revenue in Judæa, at first a very poor man, had grown rich in his employment, and apprehended that complaints of his exactions might reach the ear of the Emperor. He determined, therefore, that his accusers should appear in an unfavourable light, and, to this end, he persuaded certain Greeks, who lived mingled with the native population in Jamnia, to build a miserable altar of brick in honour of Caius. The Jews, as

[1] This divine worship demanded by Caligula was more unexpected and offensive from the extreme reluctance with which Augustus usually accepted, and the prudence, almost reverential, with which Tiberius usually declined, such honours. "Nihil deorum honoribus relictum cum se templis et effigie numinum, per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellent." Tac. Ann. i. 10: of Augustus. Compare De Legatione, p. 568.

he expected, rose and demolished the altar; they then carried their complaints before Capito himself, who seized the opportunity of representing the affair in Rome as an act of wanton and unprovoked sedition.

The evil counsellors of Caligula were Helicon, an Egyptian, a slave by birth, a buffoon by occupation, and Apelles,[1] a tragic actor, of Ascalon, in Syria. Both these men were born and brought up in hostility to the Jewish race. By their advice the fatal mandate was issued, that a gilded colossal statue of Caligula should be placed in the Holy of Holies, and that the Temple should be dedicated to Caius, the present and younger Jupiter. The execution of the edict was entrusted to P. Petronius, who was appointed to succeed Vitellius as Prefect of Syria. But before we describe the attempt to enforce this edict in Palestine, it may be well to anticipate the fate of the Alexandrian deputation, which is related by Philo, and is curiously characteristic both of the Emperor and of the estimation in which the Jews were generally held. After a long and wearisome attendance, the deputies were summoned to a final audience. To judge so grave a cause, as Philo complains with great solemnity, the Emperor did not appear in a public court, encircled by the wisest of his senators; the embassy was received in the apartments of two contiguous villas in the neighbourhood of Rome, called after Lamia and Mæcenas. The bailiffs of these villas were commanded at the same time to have all the rooms thrown open for the Emperor's inspection. The Jews entered, made a profound obeisance, and saluted Caligula, as Augustus and Emperor—but the sarcastic smile on the face of Caius gave them little hope of success.[2] "You are then," he said, showing his teeth as he spoke, "those enemies of the gods who alone refuse to acknowledge my divinity, but worship a deity whose name you dare not pronounce"—and here, to the horror of the Jews, he uttered the awful name.[3] The Greek deputies from Alexandria, who were present, thought themselves certain

[1] If Apelles was instrumental in this transaction, he met with just though horrible retribution. Suetonius relates, that as he was standing with Caligula near a statue of Jupiter, the Emperor suddenly asked him which of the two was the greater. Apelles hesitated, and Caligula ordered him to be scourged with the utmost violence, praising the sweetness of his voice all the time that he was shrieking in his agony.

[2] *σαρκάζων γὰρ ἅμα καὶ σεσηρώς* (p. 597).

[3] *τὸν ἀκατονόμαστον . . καὶ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐπεφθέγξε πρόσρησιν, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκουεῖν θεμιτὸν, οὐχ ὅτι διερμηνέυειν ἀντολεξεί.* Ibid.

of their triumph, and began to show their exultation by insulting gestures; and Isidore, one of the accusers of Flaccus, came forward to aggravate the disobedience of the Jews. He accused them of being the only nation who had refused to sacrifice for the Emperor. The Jews with one voice disclaimed calumny, and asserted that they had three times offered sacrifice for the welfare of the Emperor—and indeed had been the first to do so on his accession. "Be it so," rejoined the Emperor, "ye have sacrificed *for* me, but not *to* me." The Jews stood aghast, and trembling. On a sudden, Caius began to run all over the house, up stairs and down stairs; inspecting the men's and the women's apartments; finding fault, and giving orders, while the poor Jews followed him from room to room, amid the mockery of the attendants. After he had given his orders, the Emperor suddenly turned round to them: "Why is it that you do not eat pork?" The whole court burst into peals of laughter. The Jews temperately replied, that different nations have different usages: some persons would not eat lamb. "They are right," said the Emperor; "it is an insipid meat." After further trial of their patience, he demanded, with his usual abruptness, on what they grounded their right of citizenship. They began a long and grave legal argument; but they had not proceeded far when Caius began to run up and down the great hall, and to order that some blinds, of a kind of transparent stone, like glass, which admitted the light and excluded the heat and air, should be put up against the windows.[1] As he left that room, he asked the Jews, with a more courteous air, if they had anything to say to him; they began again their harangue, in the middle of which he started away into another chamber, to see some old paintings. The ambassadors of the Jews at length were glad to retreat, and felt happy to escape with their lives. Caius gave them their dismissal in these words: "Well, after all, they do not seem so bad; but rather a poor foolish people, who cannot believe that I am a god."[2]

The instructions to Petronius, appointed governor of Syria, were distinct and precise; he was to place the statue of Caligula

[1] τοῖς ὑάλῳ λευκῇ παραπλησίοις διαφανέσι λίθοις.

[2] Philo relates some curious acts of Caligula's self-deification (we must remember that it is a Jew who writes; but nothing seems to have been too wild for this mad youth): his assuming the attributes first of deities of the second order, then those of the first; dressing himself like Hercules, and Bacchus, and the Dioscuri; then calling himself Hermes, Apollo, and Mars. Philo well calls it τὴν ἀθεωτάτην ἐκθείωσιν (p. 557).

in the Temple of Jerusalem at all hazards.[1] He was to withdraw, if necessary, the two legions which were usually stationed on the Euphrates. Yet he was too prudent and humane not to hesitate; he called a council, where the bigoted attachment of the Jews to their Temple, and their formidable numbers, both in Judæa and other countries, were discussed. But it was unanimously agreed that the mandate of the Emperor was imperative; and Petronius issued out orders to the Sidonian workmen to make the statue. He then collected his troops, and went into winter quarters at Ptolemais. He had made known to the priests and rulers of the Jews the designs of the Emperor; but no sooner had the intelligence spread, than many thousands of the people assembled from all quarters, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. They covered the country for a great distance like a vast cloud; they were unarmed and defenceless; many of them were clad in sackcloth, and had ashes on their heads, and every mark of the deepest mourning. All with one voice declared their steadfast and deliberate resolution to sacrifice their lives, rather than consent to the profanation of their Temple. Petronius sternly rebuked them, and insisted on his own obligation to fulfil the positive commands of his sovereign. They answered, that they were as much bound to respect the ordinances of their God—that no fear of death would induce them to the violation of their Law—that they dreaded the wrath of their God more than that of the Emperor.

Petronius shrank from the horrible task of commencing a war of massacre and extermination for such an object; and in order to obtain more certain information on the state of the country, he left his troops at Ptolemais, and himself, with some of his more distinguished officers, moved to Tiberias. Here many of the rulers, and the people by thousands, crowded again into his presence. Once more Petronius urged the power of the Romans, the positive mandate of the Emperor, and the uniform obedience of all other nations. The Jews replied with entreaties and supplications, that he would not think of violating their sanctuary with the images of man. "Are ye resolved, then," said the Roman, "to wage war against your Emperor?" "We have no thought of war," they replied unanimously; "but we will submit to be massacred rather than infringe our Law"—and at once the whole body fell with

[1] Compare throughout Joseph. Ant. xviii. 8, with Philo de Legatione. In the Syrian transactions I am more inclined to follow Josephus.

their faces to the earth, and declared that they were ready to offer their throats to the swords of the soldiery.

For forty days this scene lasted: it was the time for sowing;[1] and the whole land remained uncultivated. Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa—Helcias, called the Great—and others of the most distinguished men of the nation—appeared before Petronius, and remonstrated with him on the impolicy of reducing a flourishing province to a desert, from which no tribute could be drawn. The people, they urged, were obstinately determined not to till the soil, and would betake themselves to robbery; so that it was impossible to calculate the dreadful results of his persisting in the odious measure. They entreated that he would forward their representations to Caligula, in hopes that the Emperor might yet be persuaded to relent.

The humane Petronius, after holding a council with his friends, resolved to risk the wrath of the Emperor, rather than deluge the whole country with blood.[2] According to one account, he determined not to forward the petition of the Jews, but to delay, under the pretence of allowing time for the statue to be finished; and to represent the inconvenience of permitting the province to remain uncultivated, more particularly as the Emperor and the court were about to visit Alexandria. But whatever turn he gave to the affair in his despatches to Rome, he assembled the people at Tiberias; declared his determination to suspend the execution of the decree till he should receive further instructions; and promised that he would use all his interest to obtain the total repeal of the edict. He well knew the danger to which he exposed himself by his disobedience to the Imperial decree; but he was willing to stand the hazard in order to preserve the Jewish people from the horrors of war. He exhorted them in the meantime to disperse peaceably, and betake themselves to their usual occupations and to the tillage of their lands. The season had been uncommonly sultry; the customary rains had not fallen. But scarcely had Petronius ended his speech, than the

[1] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 8. 4. According to Philo, of gathering in the harvest.

[2] According to Philo, Petronius had some glimmerings of what Philo calls Jewish philosophy: ἀλλ ἔιχέ τινα καὶ ἀυτὸς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐναύσματα τῆς Ιουδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας ἅμα καὶ ἐυσεβείας· ἔιτε καὶ πάλαι προμαθὼν ἕνεκα τῆς περὶ παιδείαν σπουδῆς, ἔιτε καὶ αφ' ὃν τῶν χωρῶν ἐπιτρόπευσεν, ἐν δις Ἰουδαῖοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπληθεῖς Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας· ἔιτε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δυτω διατεθεὶς, ἀυτηκόῳ καὶ ἀυτοκελεύστῳ καὶ αυτομάθεῖ τινι πρὸς τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια φύσει. This is a curious passage, as if a knowledge of the Jewish religion was a part of good education.

day, which had been till then serene, became overcast, and the showers began to fall. The people saw the mark of the Divine approbation with unmingled satisfaction; Petronius himself is said to have been greatly struck by this singular coincidence.

The Jews, however, owed their security rather to the interest of their king with the Emperor, than to the humanity of the Prefect. Throughout the history of the whole preceding transaction, our two authorities, Philo and Josephus, have differed in many most important particulars. It is scarcely possible to reconcile their narrative of the conduct of Agrippa. According to the former, the despatches of Petronius threw Caligula into one of his most violent paroxysms of fury. Before he had recovered, Agrippa entered, and from the Emperor's fiery eye and disordered countenance, apprehended that something was wrong. Caligula suddenly turned upon him, and broke out into the bitterest reproaches against his countrymen for their obstinate resistance to his will. The Jewish prince was so appalled, that he trembled in every limb; he fainted away; and would have fallen to the ground, but that his attendants caught him, and removed him from the Imperial presence. Till the next evening he remained without giving signs of life and consciousness. At length he opened his eyes, and then fainted again. The third day he came to himself, and inquired with a shudder whether he was still in the dreaded presence of the Emperor. His attendants urged him to rise, to bathe and take refreshment; he refused all sustenance, except some flour and pure water. He then sat down, and wrote a long letter to Caius; but that which is extant in Philo's work displays too much of the Alexandrian orator to induce us to suppose it genuine.[1] Such is the narrative of Philo—that of Josephus is more creditable to the character of the king. Agrippa having entertained Caligula at a banquet so sumptuous as to excite astonishment even in that age of prodigal luxury and magnificence, the Emperor offered to grant any request that he might make. Agrippa, with a feeling worthy of one who had the blood of the Asmoneans in his veins, instead of demanding an accession of wealth or territory, immediately petitioned for the repeal of the fatal edict. The wounded pride

[1] This letter, even if the declamatory work of Philo, is curious as illustrating the position which the Jews supposed themselves to hold in the empire; as not merely the people of the Holy Land, but as settled in all parts of the Eastern world, in Asia Minor, Greece, Libya.

of Caligula struggled hard with his attachment to Agrippa, and with the shame of forfeiting the Imperial word, which he had given with so much publicity. At last, however, he relented, and the fatal decree was suspended. At the same time the disobedience of Petronius was not to be pardoned. A letter was written, in which he was accused of having preferred the bribes of the Jews to his allegiance to his sovereign; and he was commanded to prepare himself, as about to undergo the most exemplary punishment. But this letter was accidentally delayed, and the news of Caligula's death reached Petronius first. If Philo is to be credited, this event was equally fortunate for the Jewish nation; for Caligula, with his customary irresolution, repented of his lenity, and ordered a colossal statue of bronze to be cast, which he intended, when he should arrive at Alexandria, where he was to be solemnly inaugurated as a god, to have placed by stealth in the Temple of Jerusalem.[1]

It might seem as if the skirts of that tremendous tempest, which was slowly gathering over the native country and the metropolis of the Jewish nation, broke, and discharged their heavy clouds of ruin and desolation successively over each of the more considerable, though remote, settlements of the devoted people. The Jews of Babylonia had now their turn. There is something very remarkable in the history of this race, for the most part descendants of those families which had refused to listen to the summons of Zorobabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and to return to the possession of their native country. It was, perhaps, natural that men born in a foreign region, and knowing the lovely land of their ancestors only by tradition, or by the half-forgotten descriptions of their departed parents, should hesitate to abandon their houses, their fields, and their possessions, in the hospitable country to which their fathers had been transported by force, but where they themselves had become naturalised. But the singular part of their history is this, that though willing aliens from their native Palestine, they remained Jews in character and religion; they continued to be a separate people, and refused to mingle themselves with the population of the country in which they were domiciliated. While those

[1] Jost observes that of all this affair there is hardly an obscure trace in the Rabbinical writings—"Was noch seltsamer erscheint, die rabbinische Ueberlieferung hat kaum eine dunkele Erinnerung von den ganzen Vorfalle." Jud. i. p. 360.

who returned to the Holy Land were in danger of forming a mixed race, by intermarriages with the neighbouring tribes, which it required all the sternest exercise of authority in their rulers to prevent, the Babylonian Jews were still as distinct a people as the whole race of Israel has been since the final dispersion. They adhered together, though wanting as well the bond of persecution, as the deep religious hope of restoration to the promised land in more than their ancient glory; for this hope was obviously not strong enough to induce them to avail themselves of the present opportunity of return, at the price of their possessions in the Median dominions. Nor did they, like the Jews of Alexandria, become in any degree independent of the great place of national worship; they were as rigid Jews as if they had grown up within sight of the Temple. They still looked to the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem as the centre of their faith: they regularly sent their contributions to its support. The passionate attachment to their native country gave place to a more remote, though still profound, attachment to the religious capital of their people. The Temple became what the Caaba of Mecca is to the Mohammedans, the object of the profoundest reverence, and sometimes of a pious pilgrimage; but the land of their fathers had lost its hold on their affections; they had no desire to exchange the level plains of Babylonia for the rich pastures, the golden cornfields, or the rocky vineyards of Galilee and Judæa. This Babylonian settlement was so numerous and flourishing, that Philo more than once intimates the possibility of their marching in such force to the assistance of their brethren in Palestine, in case the Roman oppression was carried to excess, as to make the fate of the war very doubtful.[1] Their chief city, Nearda,

[1] Ἐφόβουν δὲ αὐτὸν (Petronium) καὶ ἂι πέραν Εὐφράτου δυνάμεις· ἤδει γὰρ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν Σατραπειῶν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεχομένας . . . He dreaded a general insurrection of the Jews from all lands, which, gathering on every side, might hem him in, and crush him before aid could arrive (p. 578).

Agrippa in his letter says:—Καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς περὰν Εὐφράτου. Πᾶσαι γὰρ ἔξω μέρους βραχέος (Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σατραπειῶν ἂι ἀρετῶσαν ἔχουσι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ γὴν) Ἰουδαίους ἔχουσιν δικήτορας (p. 387). The whole of this affair, related by Josephus, gives a notion of the formidable numbers of the Jews in these regions. Josephus expressly says that the Jews hoped that all their countrymen beyond the Euphrates would join in the insurrection. ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαιῶν μὲν ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ὁμόφυλον συνεπαρθήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἤλπισαν. B. J., i. 2.

This Babylonian settlement is of great importance in Jewish history, not less perhaps in Christian. I have long held and more than once expressed a

was strongly situated in a bend of the river Euphrates, which almost surrounded the town. Here, in a place impregnable to the Parthian robbers, the Jews of Mesopotamia had made a sort of treasury, in which they laid up the tribute of two drachms a head, which was received for the service of the Temple, and at stated intervals transferred to Jerusalem. In this city were two orphans, named Asinai and Anilai, who had been bred up as weavers, probably of those rich stuffs for which Babylonia was so long celebrated. On some ill-usage from the master-manufacturer, they fled to a low district between two branches of the river, where there were rich meadows, and a place where the shepherds used to lay up their stores for the winter. There a number of indigent and discontented youths gathered around them, and they became the captains of a formidable band of robbers. They built a strong fortress, secured by the marshes around, and levied tribute on the shepherds, whom, however, they defended from all other assailants. The Satrap of Babylon determined to suppress them, and seized the favourable opportunity of the Sabbath for his attack. Asinai happened to be reposing among a number of his followers, whose arms lay scattered around: he suddenly exclaimed, "I hear the trampling of horses; it must be more than a troop of wild ones in their pastures, for I hear likewise the jingling of the bridles." Spies were sent out, and the whole band determined to sacrifice their respect for the Sabbath to their self-preservation. They attacked and defeated their assailants with great slaughter. Artabanus, the King of Parthia, heard with admiration of their extraordinary valour, and sent to offer terms of accommodation. Anilai was sent to the court, where the king pledging his personal honour for their security, Asinai was persuaded to follow him. The king received them with great courtesy, admired their singular

strong opinion that the Babylon from which St. Peter's Epistle was dated is this Babylonian settlement. What more likely than that the Apostle of the Circumcision should place himself in the midst of his brethren in that quarter, and address as it were a pastoral letter to the conterminous settlements in Asia?

It must have been for these Jews, dwelling among the ἄνω βαρβάρους, that Josephus wrote the first version of his "Jewish War" in their native tongue (Aramaic). It shows their importance at the period immediately after the Jewish war, even to a man so entirely Romanised as Josephus. ἃ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ φώνῃ συντάξας ἀνεπεμψα πρότερον. It must have been addressed to his countrymen, who spoke their own language in those regions.

corporal strength and activity, and refused all the secret solicitations of his officers to rid himself by treachery of such dangerous men. He even appointed Asinai to the supreme command in Babylonia, with strict injunctions to suppress all robbers. Asinai conducted himself with equal vigour and prudence, and rose to the highest degree of wealth and power. But wealth and power led to their usual consequences, insolence and injustice. Anilai became enamoured of the wife of a Parthian chieftain, whom he excited to hostilities, and slew. This woman, to the great offence of the Jews, adhered to the Parthian religion. The Jews strongly urged on the brother, Asinai, the imperative necessity of preventing this breach of the law in his own family. Asinai at length strongly remonstrated with his brother, and insisted on the dismissal of the woman. His remonstrances were fatal to himself; for the Parthian woman, apprehending some further exercise of authority, poisoned Asinai; and thus the supreme authority passed into the hands of Anilai. Anilai, with equal bravery, but far less prudence and virtue than his brother, attacked the territory of Mithridates, a Parthian chieftain of the highest rank and connected by marriage with the king, surprised him by an unexpected attack on the Sabbath, and took him prisoner. Contrary to the advice of his more desperate associates, he refused to put the captive to death, and released him. The royal wife of Mithridates, furious at the disgrace, instigated her husband to revenge; and they assembled considerable forces. Anilai, disdaining to rely on the strength of his marshes, advanced a great way into the plains, where his troops suffered grievously from want of water. In this state they were attacked by Mithridates, and totally defeated. But desperate adventurers flocked from all quarters to the standard of Anilai; his losses were speedily restored, and he waged a marauding war and carried fire and sword into the Babylonian villages. The Babylonians sent to Nearda, the chief settlement of the Jews, to demand the surrender of Anilai. Those in Nearda were unable or unwilling to comply with this order. At length the Babylonians surprised the camp of the robber, when his soldiers were sunk in debauchery and sleep, slew the whole band, and Anilai himself.

The Babylonians were not content with vengeance against the offenders, but began to commit dreadful reprisals on the whole Jewish population. The Jews, unable to resist, fled

in great numbers to Seleucia: six years after, many more took refuge from a pestilence in the same city. Seleucia happened to be divided into two factions; one of the Greeks, the other of the Syrians. The Jews threw themselves into the scale of the Syrians, who thus obtained a superiority, till the Greeks came to terms with the Syrians; and both parties agreed to fall upon the unhappy Jews. As many as 50,000 men were slain. The few who escaped fled to Ctesiphon. Even there the enmity of the Seleucians pursued them; and at length the survivors took refuge in their old quarters, Nearda and Nisibis.

The assassination of Caligula delivered the Jews within the Roman dominion from their immediate danger, and delayed the fatal hour which his madness seemed rapidly hastening. Agrippa was in Rome at that critical period, and, during the confusion which ensued, he sustained an important part. His conduct was honourable to his feelings, as well as to his address and influence. He alone paid the last honours to his murdered friend and Emperor. He then became mainly instrumental in the peaceful re-establishment of that order of things, which, however different from what an ardent lover of the old Roman liberty might have desired, was perhaps the best which the circumstances of the times would admit. He persuaded the Senate to abandon their unavailing resistance to the infuriated soldiery; reassured the weak and unambitious spirit of Claudius; and at the same time dissuaded him from taking those violent measures against the Senate, to which the army were urging him, and which would have deluged Rome with blood.[1]

His services were amply repaid by the grateful Emperor. Agrippa received the investiture of all the dominions which belonged to the Great Herod. Judæa and Samaria were re-united with Galilee, Peræa, and the provinces beyond Jordan, in one kingdom: Abilene, the district at the foot of Antilibanus, was added. Herod, his brother, received the kingdom of Chalcis. This donation of the Jewish kingdom was made with the utmost publicity: the edict which announced it con-

[1] This important part assumed by Agrippa in the restoration of the empire rests on the authority of Josephus, Ant. xix. 4, and B. J., ii. 11. 1, 4. The Roman historians are silent, except Dion, who says incidentally that Claudius made grants to Agrippa: *συμπράξαντί οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονείαν*, l. x. p. 670. The fact, however, that decrees so favourable to Agrippa and to the Jews were issued by Claudius, seems to confirm the supposition that Agrippa rendered valuable services to the Emperor on his accession.

tained a high eulogium on Agrippa; and the act was registered on a brass tablet, in the Capitol. A treaty was formally concluded between the Emperor and Agrippa, in the Forum.

The death of Caligula was the signal for new commotions in Alexandria. The Jews attempted to recover their former rights. Claudius issued a temperate edict, favourable to the Jewish inhabitants of that city, and confirming their privileges.[1] This was followed by a second general decree, which secured the freedom of religious worship to the Jews throughout the empire: at the same time they were admonished to behave with decency to the religions of other people. Under this decree the inhabitants of Dora were condemned by Petronius, for wantonly insulting a Jewish synagogue by placing a statue of Claudius within its walls.

Agrippa returned to his kingdom in great splendour. He displayed the utmost respect for the national religion; he hung up in the Temple the golden chain which Caligula had bestowed upon him, of equal weight with the iron one with which he had been bound as a prisoner, as a memorial of the rapid change of human fortune and of the protection of Almighty Providence. He observed the Mosaic law with great exactness; offered sacrifice every day; and abstained from every legal impurity. In all other respects Agrippa aimed at popularity; he remitted the house tax of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.[2] Yet the sterner zealots looked on with jealousy; and while he was absent at Cæsarea, one Simon assembled a number of the people; accused him of violating the Law, probably on account of his fondness for theatric exhibitions, and demanded his exclusion from the Temple. Agrippa sent for Simon to Cæsarea; placed him by his side in the public theatre, and mildly inquired whether he saw anything contrary

[1] The two edicts in Joseph. Ant. xix. 5.

[2] The Rabbinical writings are tender to the memory of Agrippa: they dwell on the gentleness of his disposition. On the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, when the Torah was read, "Thou shalt set him king over thee whom the Lord shall choose . . . Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother" (Deut. xvii. 15), Agrippa burst into tears, for he was of foreign descent. But a cry arose, "Be not troubled, King Agrippa; thou art our brother." They thought no doubt of his kindred with the Asmonean family. He had great respect for the common usages. It was a custom that bridal processions should give way before the king. Agrippa saw a bridal procession coming towards him, and turned into a side street to let it pass. Jost, i. 420.

A more doubtful instance of his respect for the Law is recorded. Instead of executing criminals condemned to death, he let them fight as gladiators in his splendid amphitheatre at Berytus, and kill each other. See next page.

to the Law. Simon was silent; upon which Agrippa dismissed him without molestation.[1]

The conduct of Agrippa to Silas, one of his faithful followers, though more severe, can scarcely be considered as an exception to the general mildness of his disposition. Silas had steadfastly adhered to his fortunes, and received as a reward the command of his forces. But presuming on his services, he was perpetually reminding the king of his former low condition. His insolence, at last, provoked Agrippa to dismiss Silas from his employment, and imprison him. Once he relented; but the intractable Silas treated his overtures with the utmost arrogance; and Agrippa left him in confinement. Agrippa exercised his supreme authority in Jerusalem by continually displacing the High Priest. He first deposed Theophilus, son of Annas, and substituted Simon, named Cantherus, son of Boethus. Afterwards he offered the dignity to Jonathan, son of Annas, who declined it, and his brother Mathias was appointed. Before the close of his reign he degraded Mathias, and substituted Elionæus, son of Simon Cantherus.

Agrippa inherited the magnificent taste for building which distinguished the elder Herod. At Berytus, a city which he highly favoured, he built a splendid theatre, where the most costly musical exhibitions were displayed; and in an amphitheatre in the same city, two troops of gladiators, malefactors, of 700 each, were let loose upon each other; and thus horribly fulfilled the sentence of the Law.

In Jerusalem he commenced a more useful work. To the north of the city, a new suburb, called Bezetha, had grown up: this he encircled with a wall; and was proceeding to strengthen the whole line of fortifications round the city.[2] But Vibius Marsus, who had succeeded Longinus as Prefect of Syria, beheld this proceeding with great suspicion; and, on account of his representations at Rome, Agrippa thought it prudent to desist from the work.

Marsus watched all the motions of the Jewish monarch with the same jealousy. Agrippa, probably with an innocent view of displaying his magnificence, assembled five kings at a great entertainment in Tiberias: Herod, king of Chalcis,

[1] Joseph. Ant. xix. 7. 4.

[2] This wall, according to Josephus, would have rendered Jerusalem impregnable to the Romans. τηλικοῦτον γὰρ περιβάλλειν ἤρξατο τοῖς Ἱερυσολύμοις τεῖχος, ἥλικον ἂν τελεσθὲν ἀνήνυτον τὴν ἐν Ρωμαίοις ἐποίησε πολιορκίαν. B. J., ii. 11. 6.

his brother; Antiochus, king of Commagene; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Sampsigeranus, king of Emesa; and Polemon, king of Pontus. Marsus arrived at the same time; and Agrippa, out of respect, went forth to receive him: the imperious Roman sent orders to the several kings to withdraw themselves into their own territories. Agrippa was greatly offended; and sent a letter to Claudius, earnestly entreating the recall of Marsus.

Unhappily, besides his splendour, munificence, and conformity to the law, Agrippa sought other means of ingratiating himself with his Jewish subjects—the persecution of the unoffending Christians. He put to death James, the brother of St. John, and threw St. Peter into prison.[1]

Having completed a reign of three years over the whole of Palestine, Agrippa ordered a splendid festival at Cæsarea, in honour of the Emperor. Multitudes of the highest rank flocked together from all quarters. On the second day of the spectacle, at the early dawn, the king entered the theatre in a robe of silver, which glittered with the morning rays of the sun, so as to dazzle the eyes of the whole assembly, and excite general admiration. Some of his flatterers set up a shout—"A present god." Agrippa did not repress the impious adulation which spread through the theatre. At that moment he looked up, and saw an owl perched over his head, on a rope. The owl had once been to him a bird of good omen. While he was in chains at Rome, a fellow prisoner, a German, had augured, from the appearance of one of these birds, his future splendid fortune; but he had added this solemn warning, that when he saw that bird again, at the height of his fortune, he would die within five days. The fatal omen, proceeds Josephus, pierced the heart of the king; and with deep melancholy, he said, "Your god will soon suffer the common lot of mortality." He was immediately struck, in the language of the sacred volume, by an angel. He was seized with violent internal pains, and carried to his palace. There he lingered five days in extreme agony; being "eaten of worms," the cause of his intestine disorder.[2] He

[1] Acts xii. 2.

[2] Joseph. Ant. xix. 8. The account of the death of Herod in Acts xii. 21-23 shows the same event as seen from a Christian point of view. What ground has Jost for his suspicion of poison?—"vielleicht durch Vergiftung" (p. 422).

To Agrippa's reign are attributed humane regulations concerning idolaters. The poor of them were to share in the gleanings; the poor idolater was to be aided with alms, the sick to be tended, the dead buried like the Israelites. Gittin, 61 *a*.

died in the forty-fourth year of his age, having reigned seven years over part of his dominions, and three over the whole of Palestine. He left one son, Agrippa; an elder, Drusus, had died in his infancy; and three daughters—Drusilla, married first to Aziz, king of Emesa, then to Claudius Felix; Berenice, married to his brother Herod, king of Chalcis; and Mariamne.

The inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea, probably the Greek party, and particularly his own soldiers, expressed the most brutal exultation at the death of Agrippa. They heaped his memory with reproaches, took the statues of his young daughters, carried them to brothels, and there, placing them on the roof, treated them with every kind of indignity. They then made a great feast, to celebrate the *departure* of the king. Claudius heard with much indignation of this ungrateful conduct, and ordered the cohorts in Sebaste and Cæsarea to be removed into Pontus, and their place to be filled by drafts from the legions in Syria. Unhappily, this purpose was not executed. The troops remained with this sentence of disgrace rankling in their hearts, and exasperating them to still greater animosity towards the whole Jewish nation; a chief cause, Josephus adds, of the subsequent disasters.[1]

[1] δι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι χρόνοις τῶν αεγίστων Ιουδαίοις ἐγένετο συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ, τοῦ κατὰ Φλῶρον πολέμου σπέρματα βαλόντες. Ant. xix. 9. 2.

BOOK XIII

THE ROMAN GOVERNORS

Cuspius Fadus—Tiberius Alexander—Ventidius Cumanus—Felix—Porcius Festus—Albinus—Gessius Florus—Commencement of the Revolt—The Zealots—Manahem—Massacre of the Jews in the Provinces—Advance and Defeat of Cestius Gallus.

At the decease of Herod Agrippa, his son, who bore the same name, was seventeen years old. He was considered too young to bear the burthen of royalty; and Judæa relapsed into a Roman province. Cassius Longinus was appointed to the presidency of Syria; Cuspius Fadus was sent as governor of Judæa. Fadus administered his office with firmness. He found a civil war disturbing the district beyond the Jordan. The inhabitants of Peræa, on some boundary dispute, had attacked the Philadelphians. Fadus seized three of the ring-leaders; executed one, named Hannibal, and banished the rest. The easy yoke of Agrippa had permitted the robbers, who perpetually rose up to waste this fertile country, to gain head. Fadus made them feel the vigour of the Roman arm: he cleared the whole country of their bands, and put to death Ptolemy, a noted captain, who had committed great excesses against the Idumæans and Arabians. Apprehending, it may seem, that the High Priest possessed too much independent authority, Fadus proceeded to revoke the edict of Vitellius, by which the custody of the pontifical robes had been surrendered. He commanded that they should be replaced in the garrison of Antonia; and Longinus himself appeared in Jerusalem with a considerable force to overawe all resistance. The Jews appealed to the Emperor, who, at the earnest entreaty of young Agrippa, issued an Imperial mandate in favour of the Jews. At the same time Herod, king of Chalcis, petitioned, and obtained the sovereignty over the Temple, and the power of nominating the High Priest. He displaced Cantherus, who had regained the office, and appointed Joseph, son of Camith.

This was the second year of a grievous famine, which for

several years prevailed in Judæa. The metropolis derived great advantage from the bounty of a royal proselyte, Helena, the queen of Adiabene, a district beyond the Tigris. She imported vast quantities of corn from Alexandria and dried figs from Cyprus, which she distributed among the lower orders. Her son, Izates, who had likewise adopted the Jewish faith, sent great sums to Jerusalem, for the same charitable purposes. Helena was both the wife and sister, according to the ancient Persian usage, of Monobazus, king of Adiabene. Izates was the favourite son of that monarch, who, apprehensive of the jealousy with which he was looked on by his brothers, sent him to Abenerig, king of Characene (a district on the Persian Gulf), whose daughter he married. In that commercial district there was a Jew merchant, named Ananias, who was accustomed to have free ingress into the women's apartments, probably for purposes of traffic, and there seized every opportunity of teaching the religious tenets of the Jews. Izates became a convert; and, by a singular coincidence, his mother, Helena, at the same time adopted the same opinions. On the return of Izates to Adiabene, his father made him governor of a district named Carrhæ, in which, according to tradition, the remains of Noah's ark were still to be seen. On the death of his father, Helena had the address to secure the succession to the throne for Izates. His brother, Monobazus, assumed the crown till Izates should arrive; and the rest of the monarch's sons, by different mothers, were thrown into prison, and were even in danger of their lives. Immediately that Izates appeared, Monobazus abdicated the sovereignty; Izates expressed great indignation at the imprisonment of his brethren. Izates was so ardent a convert that he insisted on undergoing circumcision. His prudent preceptor, Ananias, from fear lest the unpopularity of the measure should make the king odious to his subjects, and himself thus be exposed to personal danger, dissuaded him from his design. But a more zealous Galilæan insisted that the honour of God was concerned; and the monarch immediately, to the great alarm of Ananias, submitted to the rite. Izates was a king of great prudence and resolution. By his moderation and address he reinstated Artabanus, king of Parthia, on his throne, from which he had been driven by his own satraps; and, afterwards, dissuaded his son, Bardanes, from entering into a war with the Romans. Bardanes immediately declared war on Izates; but he was set

aside by his own subjects. The king's brother, Monobazus, and the chief satraps of the kingdom, endured for some time, but with great reluctance, the yoke of a sovereign who had apostatised from the national religion. Monobazus conspired with Abiah, an Arabian king, to invade Adiabene; but Abiah was defeated with great loss. Afterwards they had recourse to Vologeses, king of Parthia; but his invasion was arrested by a rebellion among his own dependants. On the death of Izates, who wore the crown for twenty-four years, his remains, and those of his mother, Helena, were transported to Jerusalem, and buried in a splendid cemetery, which remained till the time of Jerome.

Before the recall of Fadus, the peace of the country was disturbed by an impostor, named Theudas, who gave himself out as a prophet, and gained a great number of proselytes. Multitudes thronged forth, with all their possessions, to the banks of the Jordan, which Theudas asserted that, like Joshua of old, he would divide in the midst, and carry them through in triumph. Fadus, with his usual vigilance, seized the impostor, cut off his head, and sent it to Jerusalem.

To Fadus succeeded Tiberius Alexander.[1] Alexander was an apostate Egyptian Jew. For, if in the remote East the worshippers of Jehovah gained royal proselytes, in the West they lost some of their own sons of high rank. Tiberius was the son of Alexander, the Alabarch of Alexandria, and the nephew of the celebrated Philo. The only act recorded of his short government was the crucifixion of James and Simon, two sons of Judas the Galilean, who had attempted to disseminate the dangerous doctrines of their father. Notwithstanding, however, the famine, by which the land was still afflicted—the seditious tenets of the Galilean rebels—and the government of an apostate, which must have been singularly odious to the zealous Jews, the province continued in peace until the arrival of Ventidius Cumanus, to supersede Alexander.

[1] Josephus says of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, *δι μηδὲν παρακινοῦντες τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξον.* B. J. ii. 11. 6; see also Ant. xx. 5. 2.

Alexander in later times threw off this milder character as he had thrown off his religion. He was appointed procurator of Egypt by Nero, and slew 50,000 of his countrymen in an insurrection at Alexandria. He was the first procurator who dared to declare his allegiance to Vespasian; and was present during the siege and at the fall of Jerusalem. Compare B. J. ii. 1. 8. 7; iv. 10. 6; v. 1. 6; Suet. Vespas. vi.; Tacit. Hist. ii. 74. 79.

At this time Herod, king of Chalcis, died, having once more changed the High Priest, and substituted Ananias, son of Nebid, for Joseph, the son of Camith. He left sons; particularly Aristobulus, afterwards appointed, by Nero, to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia; but the kingdom of Chalcis, and the sovereignty of the Temple, were assigned to young Agrippa, who assumed the title of king.

During the government of Cumanus, the low and sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption of the dark volcano, now gathering its strength in Palestine, became more distinct. The people and the Roman soldiery began to display mutual animosity. To preserve the peace during the crowded festivals in Jerusalem, the Romans mounted a guard in the Antonia, and in the adjacent cloister. One of these soldiers, to show his contempt for the religious rites and usages of the Jews, indecently exposed his person.[1] The furious populace not only vented their rage on the offender, but uttered the most violent reproaches against Cumanus himself. The governor immediately ordered his whole forces into the Antonia. The affrighted people fled; the narrow streets were choked; and 20,000 perished. The sacrifice was suspended, and the whole city given up to wailing and lamentation.

This disturbance was scarcely appeased, when another succeeded. Near Bethhoron, in the pass about twelve miles from Jerusalem, a party, half insurgents and half robbers, attacked, in the public road, Stephanas, a slave of the Emperor, and plundered his baggage. Cumanus sent a troop of soldiers to plunder the neighbouring villages, and seize the chief persons in them. During this scene of pillage, a soldier found a copy of the Law of Moses, and tore it to pieces, uttering the most offensive blasphemies. The Jews sent a formal deputation before Cumanus to complain of the insult; Cumanus, by the advice of his friends, ordered the soldier to execution.

The animosities of the populace and the Roman soldiery were not the only conflicting elements in this distracted country; the jealousies of the natives began again to break out. The road by which the Jews of Galilee went up to the Temple, led through the territory of Samaria. The Samaritans waylaid and slew many of them. Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, re-

[1] This is rather differently related in Ant. xx. 5. 3, and B. J. ii. 12. 1. The best comment is Horat. Sat. i. 9. 70.

fused to take cognisance of any complaints. The Jews, headed by two valiant robber chieftains, took up arms, and set fire to some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus marched against them; and, with the aid of the Samaritans, defeated them. Jerusalem was in an uproar, and, but for the authority and influence of the chiefs, the whole people would have risen in insurrection. Clad in sackcloth, and with ashes on their heads, the priests and rulers passed through the streets, entreating the insurgents to lay aside their arms, lest they should bring fire and sword on the city, and ruin on the Temple. With difficulty the tumult was allayed in Jerusalem. But the whole country was in a state of confusion. The Samaritans carried their complaints before Ummidius Quadratus, Prefect of Syria. The Jews pleaded the wanton aggression of the Samaritans, and their bribery of Cumanus. Quadratus deferred his judgment, till a short time after, having investigated the affair on the spot, he condemned the Samaritans; but put to death, as seditious persons, all the Jews taken by Cumanus. He then removed his tribunal to Lydda, where he received information that a certain Dortus and others had openly exhorted insurrection against the Romans. He ordered the four ringleaders to be crucified; and sent Ananias, the High Priest, with Annas, the captain of the Temple, in chains, for trial at Rome. At the same time Cumanus, and Celer, his military tribune, were also sent to Rome to answer for their conduct before the Emperor. From Lydda, Quadratus moved to Jerusalem, and finding peace entirely re-established, he returned to Antioch.

Great interest was made at Rome by Cumanus, Celer, and the Samaritan party; but the influence of Agrippa, then at Rome, predominated. Cumanus was banished; Celer sent to Jerusalem, to be dragged publicly through the streets and beheaded; the ringleaders of the Samaritans were put to death.

In evil hour for himself and for his country, Jonathan, who had succeeded to the High-priesthood, exerted his influence to obtain the appointment of governor of Judæa for Felix, brother of Pallas, afterwards the freed slave and all-powerful favourite of the Emperor Nero. According to Tacitus, who is quite at variance with the Jewish historian, Felix was already in Palestine, as independent governor of Samaria, where he had inflamed the civil commotions, and ought to have appeared with Cumanus as a criminal before the tribunal of

Quadratus; but Quadratus, dreading his interest at Rome, placed him by his own side on the seat of justice. Cumanus was condemned, and suffered the penalty of the crimes of Felix as well as of his own. Born a slave, Felix was magnificent in his profligacy. He had three wives, all of royal blood. One of these was the beautiful Drusilla, the daughter of King Agrippa the First, whom, by the aid of Simon, a magician (by some, though improbably, supposed the Simon Magus of the Acts), he had seduced from her husband, Aziz, king of Emesa.[1] Aziz had carried his complacency so far as to submit to circumcision in order to obtain the hand of Drusilla, who now gave up her religion to marry Felix. Felix administered the province with the authority of a king, and the disposition of a slave. Supported by the interest of Pallas, says Tacitus, he thought he might commit all crimes with impunity. The land was full of armed robbers, who wasted the country. Felix at first proceeded with vigour and severity against them; but afterwards, for his private ends, entered into a confederacy with some of the most daring.[2] The High Priest, Jonathan, assuming the privilege of a friend, like the Christian Apostle, would reason with him *on temperance and righteousness*. His remonstrances, if at the time they produced the same effect, and *made Felix tremble*, were fatal to himself. Felix, weary with his importunity, entered into a secret conspiracy with some of the Sicarii, or Assassins, the most extravagant of the school of Judas the Galilean.[3] These were men, some fanatics, some unprincipled desperadoes, who abused the precepts of

[1] These three daughters of Agrippa the First did little honour to their race or their religion; they vied with each other in profligacy. Drusilla was the eldest. The second, Berenice, was married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis. On his death she remained a widow, but in bad repute, as living in incest with her brother. By her wealth she tempted Polemo, king of Cilicia, to take her to wife. Polemo, another royal proselyte, submitted to circumcision, and embraced Judaism with fervour and constancy. She left Polemo to live a life of free indulgence. Mariamne, the third, having repudiated her husband Archelaus, married Demetrius, the Alabarch of Alexandria.

[2] "At non frater ejus, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione agebat, jampridem Judææ impositus, et cuncta malefacta sibi impunè ratus, tantâ potentiâ subnixus." Tac. Ann. xii. 54. Compare the whole passage.

"Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam et libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusillâ, Cleopatræ et Antonii nepte, in matrimonium acceptâ." Tac. Hist. v. 9. Compare Suet. Claudius, xxviii.

[3] Joseph. Ant. xx. 7. 3. Tac. Ann. xii. 54. See above.

The Mischna (Tract Sota, ix. 9) asserts that at the time when these Assassins, or Sicarii, multiplied, the sacrifice of a calf, which, according to the law, was made by the neighbouring city whenever the body of a murdered man was discovered, came to an end.

the Mosaic law, as authorising the murder of all on whom they might affix the brand of hostility to their country and their God. Having bribed Doras, the intimate friend of Jonathan, through his means Felix sent a party of these wretches into the Temple. With their daggers under their cloaks, they mingled with the attendants of the High Priest. They pretended to join in the public worship, and suddenly struck dead the unsuspecting pontiff, who lay bleeding on the sacred pavement. From this period, says the indignant Josephus, God hated his guilty city, and disdaining any longer to dwell in his contaminated Temple, brought the Romans to purify with fire the sins of the nation.[1]

The crime remained unrevenged and unnoticed. The Assassins, emboldened by their impunity, carried on their dreadful work. No man was secure. Some from private enmity, others on account of their wealth, as they pursued their peaceful occupations, were struck dead by men who passed by, apparently unarmed and as peacefully disposed as themselves. Even the Temple was not a place of safety; the worshipper did not know but that the man who knelt by his side was preparing to plunge a dagger to his heart.

Such was the state of the city; the country was not much more secure. The robbers multiplied and grew more bold. Nor were these the worst. In every quarter arose impostors and pretenders to magic, who, asserting their miraculous powers, led the people into desert places, and harangued them on the impiety of obedience to the Roman government. Felix in vain scoured the country with his horse; as fast as some were seized and crucified, others arose, and the fanatical spirit of the people constantly received new excitement. The most formidable of these men was a Jew of Egyptian birth. He assembled in the desert, probably that of Quarantania, between Jerusalem and Jericho, as many as 30,000 followers. He led them to the Mount of Olives, and pointing to the city below, assured them that its walls would fall down and admit his triumphal entrance. Felix marched out to attack him: the Egyptian escaped; but many of his followers were killed, many taken, the rest dispersed.[2]

[1] *καὶ τὸν Θεον . . . Ρωμαίους ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει καθάρσιον πῦρ, καὶ δουλείαν ἐπιβαλειν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις, σωφρονῆσαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς βουλόμενον ἡμᾶς.* Ant. xx. 8. 5.

[2] Compare Acts xxi. 38. The immediate followers of the Egyptian were probably 4000, as in the Acts. The rabble who joined him may have reached the larger and vaguer number. B. J. ii. 13.

In the meantime Claudius died, having promoted Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to the more extensive dominion—the Tetrarchate of Philip, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Paneas, to which was afterwards added part of Galilee and Peræa. On the whole, the government of Claudius was favourable to the race of Israel; but rather as subjects of his friend Agrippa than as Jews. At one time he closed their synagogues, and expelled them from Rome—probably on account of some tumult caused by their persecutions of the Christians. Agrippa appointed Ismael, son of Fabi, to the Pontificate, vacant since the death of Jonathan—though in this interval, probably, a kind of illegitimate authority had been resumed by that Ananias, son of Nebid, who had been sent in chains to Rome by Quadratus, and had been released through the influence of Agrippa. It was that Ananias who commanded St. Paul to be smitten when he was addressing the people. St. Paul either did not know or did not recognise his doubtful title.[1]

Up to this period, according to the representation of the Jewish annalist, the Pontificate had remained almost entirely uncontaminated by the general licence and turbulence which distracted the nation. The priests were in general moderate and upright men, who had endeavoured to maintain the peace of the city. Now the evil penetrated into the sanctuary, and feuds rent the sacred family of Levi. A furious schism broke out between the chief priests and the inferior priesthood. Each party collected a band of ruffians, and assailed the other with violent reproaches, and even with stones. No one interfered to repress the tumult; and the High Priests are said to have sent their slaves to levy by force the tithes which belonged to the inferior class, many of whom in consequence perished with hunger. Even the worst excesses of the dagger-men seem to have been authorised by the priesthood for their own purposes. The forty men who, with the connivance of the priests, bound themselves by a vow to assassinate St. Paul, if not of the fraternity, recognised the principles of that sanguinary crew.

It was in Cæsarea that the events took place which led to the final rupture with Rome. This magnificent city had rapidly risen to a high degree of wealth and populousness. It was inhabited by two races—the Syrian Greeks, who were heathens, and the Jews. The two parties violently contended for the

[1] Acts xxiii. 3.

pre-eminence. The Jews insisted on the foundation of the city by Herod their king, and on its occupying the site of the old Jewish town called the Tower of Straton; the Greeks appealed to the statues and temples erected by Herod himself, which clearly proved that Cæsarea was intended for a Pagan city. The feud became gradually more fierce; tumults and bloodshed disturbed the streets. The more aged and prudent of the Jews could not restrain their followers. The Jews were the more wealthy; but the Roman soldiery, chiefly levied in Syria, took part with their countrymen. The officers attempted, but in vain, to keep the peace; and when Felix himself came forth to disperse a party of Jews, who had got the better in an affray, they treated his authority with contempt. Felix commanded his troops to charge them. The soldiery were too glad to avail themselves of the signal for licence; many of the Jews fell, many were seized, and some of the more opulent houses plundered. After the recall of Felix, a deputation of each party was sent to Rome, to lay the whole case before the Emperor. The Jews brought heavy charges against Felix; but the powerful protection of his brother Pallas, now in the highest favour with Nero, secured his impunity. The Greeks, by a large bribe to Burrhus, who had been the preceptor of Nero, obtained a decree which deprived the Jews of the rights of equal citizenship. This decree still further inflamed the contest. The Greeks became more and more insulting; the Jews more and more turbulent.

In the rest of the province the administration of the rigid but upright Porcius Festus caused a short interval of comparative peace. Festus kept down all the bands, whether we are to call them robbers or insurgents, and repressed the daggermen.[1] His soldiers put to death an impostor who had led multitudes into the desert.

At this period King Agrippa resided in Jerusalem, in the palace of the Asmonean princes, which stood on the cliff of Mount Sion, towards the Temple. In front of this was the Xystus, an open colonnade, which was connected by a bridge with the Temple. Agrippa reared a lofty building in this palace, which commanded a beautiful prospect of the whole city, particularly of the Temple courts. Reposing on his couch he might see the whole course of the religious cere-

[1] The Sicarii, so called from a kind of sword or dagger which they carried, about the size of the Persian acinace, but curved like the Roman sica. Joseph. Ant. xx. 8. 10.

monies. The priesthood were indignant at the intrusion, and hastily ran up a wall, on the western side of their own court, by which they intercepted not merely the view of the king, but that of the Roman guard which was mounted in the outer western portico. Agrippa and Festus ordered the demolition of this wall. The Jews demanded permission to appeal to Nero; Festus consented, and a deputation of ten, headed by Ismael, the High Priest, and Hilkiah, the keeper of the treasury, set off to Rome. There they obtained the interest of Poppæa, the profligate empress of Nero, whom Josephus describes as *devout*, as if she had been inclined to the Jewish religion: if so, she was no very creditable proselyte. Through her interest the wall was permitted to stand, but the High Priest and treasurer were detained at Rome. Agrippa seized the opportunity of appointing another High Priest—Joseph, named Cabi, son of Simon Cantherus. Soon after, he degraded Joseph, and appointed Annas, the fifth son of Annas, in Jewish estimation the happiest of men, for he himself had been High Priest, and had seen his five sons and his son-in-law, Caiaphas, successively promoted to that dignity.[1] Annas united himself to the sect of the Sadducees, if he did not inherit those doctrines from his father. The Sadducees were noted for their rigid administration of the law; and while the place of the Roman governor was vacant, Annas seized the opportunity of putting to death James the Just, and others of the Christians, at the feast of the Passover.[2] But the act was unpopular, and Agrippa deprived him of the priesthood, and appointed Jesus, son of Damnai.

Unhappily for this devoted country, the upright Festus died in Judæa, and Albinus arrived as his successor. With the rapacious Albinus, everything became venal. At first he proceeded with severity against the robbers, but in a short time began to extort enormous ransoms for their freedom. This was little better than to set a price on robbery and assassination. In the meantime the taxes were increased, and the wasted country groaned under the heaviest burthens. Two men alone grew rich amid the general distress, the Roman governor and Ananias, formerly High Priest, who, keeping both Albinus and the High Priest in pay, committed all kinds of outrages, seizing the tithes of the inferior priesthood, who were again so reduced that many of them died of famine.

[1] Joseph. Ant. xx. 9. 1.
[2] Ibid. This passage seems to be genuine.

Ananias was too wealthy a prize to escape the robbers who infested the country. In the open day, and at the time of a festival, they seized the scribe of Eleazar, captain of the guard, who was probably the son of Ananias, carried him off, and demanded as a ransom the release of ten of their companions who were in prison. Ananias persuaded Albinus, no doubt by a great bribe, to comply. Encouraged by this success, whenever any one of the Assassins was taken, they seized one of the dependants on Ananias, and demanded an exchange.

Agrippa, as if he foresaw the approaching danger, began to prepare a place of retreat. He enlarged the city of Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas), and called it Neronias. But his chief expenditure was made at Berytus, where he built a theatre, and at great cost provided for the most splendid exhibitions. He likewise distributed corn and oil; collected a noble gallery of statues and copies from the antique; in short, he transferred to that city the chief splendour of his kingdom. This liberality to a foreign city was highly unpopular at Jerusalem. The degradation of Jesus, son of Damnai, and the appointment of Jesus, son of Gamaliel, increased the general discontent. Each of these rival High Priests had his party, who attacked each other in the streets; in short, every one who had wealth or power assembled his armed adherents. Ananias, as the richest, got together the strongest band; and two relatives of Agrippa, Saul and Costobar, appeared at the head of their own followers, plundering on all sides without scruple. Albinus aggravated the mischief. Having heard of his intended recall, he brought forth all the malefactors, who crowded the prisons, executed the most notorious, but allowed the rest to pay their ransoms. Thus the prisons were empty, but the whole province filled with these desperate ruffians. The completion of the works in the Temple added to the multitude of the idle and unemployed—eighteen thousand workmen were discharged. The more prudent of the people dreaded the letting loose this vast number of persons, without employment, on society; and with no less forethought they apprehended the accumulation of vast treasures in the Temple, which had hitherto been for the most part profitably employed on the public buildings, and would now serve no purpose but to excite the rapacity of the Romans. They petitioned that the eastern portico might be raised to a greater degree of magnificence. Agrippa, who was entrusted by the Emperor with the command over the Temple, refused

their request, but permitted them to pave the city with stone. He afterwards deposed Jesus, son of Gamaliel, and appointed Matthias, the last legitimate High Priest of Jerusalem.

Nothing was wanting to fill the measure of calamity which this fruitful and once happy land was to exhaust, but the nomination of a governor, like Gessius Florus, who made the people look back with regret to the administration of the rapacious Albinus. Albinus at least dissembled his cruelties and exactions. Relying on the protection of the Empress, who was attached to his wife Cleopatra by long friendship and kindred disposition, Florus made an ostentatious display of his oppressions. Without compunction and without shame, as crafty as he was cruel, he laid deliberate schemes of iniquity, by which, at some distant period, he was to reap his harvest of plunder. He pillaged not only individuals, but even communities, and seemed to grant a general indemnity for spoliation, if he was only allowed his fair portion of the plunder. Many villages and towns were entirely deserted; the inhabitants left their native country to fly beyond the reach of his administration. Cestius Gallus, a man of a congenial spirit, commanded in Syria. The fear of Florus, as long as Cestius remained in Syria, prevented the Jews from appealing to his tribunal; they would not have been suffered to arrive there in safety. But when Cestius, during the days preceding the Passover, visited Jerusalem, three millions of suppliants, that is, the whole population assembled for the great annual feast, surrounded him, and entreated his interference. Florus stood by the side of Cestius, turning their complaints into ridicule. Cestius, however, promised that he would use his interest with Florus to treat them with greater moderation, and Florus, without further reproof, was permitted to escort his colleague in iniquity, on his way to Antioch, as far as Cæsarea.

In the meantime wild and awful prodigies, thus the Jewish annalist relates, had filled the timid with apprehensions of the approaching desolation. But the blind and desperate multitude neglected all these signs of Almighty wrath. A comet, which had the appearance of a sword, hung above the city for a whole year. While the people were assembled at the feast of unleavened bread, at the sixth hour of the night, a sudden light, as bright as day, shone about the altar and the Temple, and continued for nearly half-an-hour. A cow led forth to sacrifice, brought forth a calf. The inner gate on the side

of the Temple looking eastward was of brass, and of such immense weight as to require twenty men to close it in the evening. It was fastened by strong iron bolts, let into the stone door-posts. Suddenly this gate flew open, and it was with much difficulty that all the assembled guard could reclose it. This the vulgar considered a good omen, as indicating that God had opened the gate of blessing: but the wise more sadly interpreted it as a manifest sign of the insecurity of the Temple, and that it prefigured the opening of the gate of the Holy Place to the enemy. A few days after this festival, a still more incredible circumstance occurred; such, says Josephus, as would appear a fable, had it not been attested by eye-witnesses, and justified by the subsequent events. Before sunset, chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the heavens; they mingled and formed in array, so as to seem to encircle the city in their rapid and terrific career. And on the Pentecost, when the priests on duty entered by night into the Temple, they said that they heard a movement and a noise, and presently the voice as it were of a great host, which said, "Let us depart hence." More alarming still! while the city was yet at peace and in prosperity, a countryman named Jesus, son of Ananus, began suddenly to cry aloud in the Temple—"*A voice from the east! a voice from the west! a voice from the four winds! a voice against Jerusalem and against the Temple! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! a voice against the whole people!*" Day and night in the narrow streets of the city he went along repeating these words with a loud voice. Some of the leaders seized him, and had him severely beaten. He uttered no remonstrance, no entreaty for mercy, he seemed entirely regardless about his own person, but still went on reiterating his fearful burthen. The magistrates then apprehended him, and led him before Albinus, the Roman governor; there he was scourged till his bones could be seen, he uttered neither shriek of pain, nor prayer for mercy, but raising his sad and broken voice as loud as he could, at every blow cried out, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem!* Albinus demanded who he was, and whence he came? he answered not a word. The Roman at length supposing that he was mad, let him go. All the four years that intervened before the war, the son of Ananus paid no attention to any one, and never spoke, excepting the same words, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem!* He neither cursed any one who struck him, nor thanked any one who gave him food. His only answer was the same melan-

choly presage. He was particularly active during the festivals, and then with greater frequency, and still deeper voice, he cried, *Woe, woe to the city and to the Temple!* At length, during the siege, he suddenly cried out, *Woe, woe to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone from a balista.

It is not improbable that the prophecies of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem disseminated by the Christians might add to the general apprehension. Mingled as they were with the mass of the people, their distinct assurances that their Divine Teacher had foretold the speedy dissolution of the state, could scarcely remain unknown, especially when, in obedience to the command of Christ, they abandoned Jerusalem in a body, and retreated to Pella, a town beyond the Jordan.

There was another sign, which might have given warning to the political sagacity or to the humanity of the Romans, upon the nature of the approaching contest, as showing how immense a population they were thus driving to desperation, and what horrible carnage would be necessary, before they could finally subdue the rebellious province. When Cestius Gallus was at Jerusalem, at the time of the Passover, he inquired the number of Jews present from all quarters. The priests counted the lambs sacrificed, and found 255,600. None but Jews, and those free from legal impurities, might sacrifice. Reckoning at a low average of ten to each lamb, the numbers were 2,556,000. Josephus supposes that three millions would not have been an immoderate calculation.[1]

The fatal flame finally broke out from the old feud at Cæsarea.[2] The decree of Nero had assigned the magistracy of that city to the Greeks. It happened that the Jews had a synagogue, the ground around which belonged to a Greek. For this spot the Jews offered a much higher price than it was worth. It was refused; and to annoy them as much as possible, the owner set up some mean shops and buildings upon it, and rendered the approach to the synagogue as narrow and difficult as he could. The more hot-headed of the Jewish youth interrupted the workmen. The men of greater wealth and influence, and among them John, a publican, collected the large sum of eight talents, and sent it as a bribe to Florus, that he might interfere and stop the building. Florus received the money, made great promises, and immediately set out from Cæsarea for Sebaste, in order to leave full scope for the riot.

[1] See on these numbers below.

[2] B. J. ii. 14. 4.

On the following day, a Sabbath, while the Jews were crowding to the synagogue, a man overset an earthen vessel in the way, and began to sacrifice birds upon it. It has been conjectured that this was a particularly offensive jest. The heathens generally represented the ancestors of the Jews to have been expelled from Egypt, as a race of lepers; and since birds were the first sacrifice appointed in cases of leprosy, it was most likely meant to gall the old wound.[1] However that may be, the more violent Jews, furious at the affront, attacked the Greeks. The Greeks were already in arms, waiting this signal for the affray. Jucundus, the governor, attempted in vain to appease the tumult, till at length the Jews, being worsted, took up the books of their Law, and went away to Narbata, about seven and a half miles distant. John the Publican, with twelve of the highest rank, went to Samaria to Florus, implored his assistance, and modestly reminded him of the eight talents he had received. Florus threw them into prison with every mark of indignity.

The news of this outrage and injustice spread to Jerusalem. The city was in a state of violent excitement. It was the deliberate purpose of Florus to drive the people to insurrection, both that all inquiry into his former oppressions might be drowned by the din of war, and that he might have better opportunities for plunder. He seized this critical moment to demand seventeen talents from the sacred treasury under pretence of Cæsar's necessities. The people assembled around the Temple with the loudest outcries. The name of Florus was passed from one to another with every epithet of hatred and contempt. Some carried about a basket, entreating alms for the poor beggar, Florus. Neglecting entirely the tumult in Cæsarea, Florus advanced with all the force he could collect against Jerusalem. To his disappointment, the people, instead of maintaining their seditious demeanour, endeavoured to excite his clemency by the most submissive and humiliating conduct. They crowded forth, received his army with acclamations, and hailed the Procurator himself as a public benefactor. But Florus was too keen-sighted to be imposed upon by these unmerited marks of popularity. He chose to remember nothing but the insults and contumely with which his name had been treated. He sent forward Capito with fifty

1 "Hac re lepra Judæis exprobratur per mactationem avis supra vas factile: quod in leprosorum mundatione ex lege Dei (Levit. xiv.) fieri debuit." Reland, quoted by Hudson in a note on the passage in the B. J.

horse, commanding the people to disperse; they obeyed, and retreating to their houses, passed the night in trembling expectation of his vengeance.

Florus took up his quarters in the Palace.[1] In the morning his tribunal was erected before the gates. The High Priest and the leaders of the people (probably the Sanhedrin) were summoned to attend. Florus demanded the surrender of all those who had insulted his name, and added, if the heads of the people refused or delayed, he should proceed against them as responsible for the offence. The priests represented the general peaceable disposition of the city, and entreated his forbearance, throwing the blame on a few hot-headed youths, whom it was impossible to detect, as all had repented, and none would confess their guilt. At these words Florus broke out into the most violent fury; he gave the signal to his troops to plunder the upper market, and put to death all they met. The soldiery were but too ready instruments of his cruelty. They cleared the market, then broke into the houses, pillaged them, and put to death the inhabitants. The narrow streets were crowded with fugitives; many who escaped the sword were trampled to death. Unoffending citizens were seized, carried before Florus, scourged and crucified. Of men, women, and children, for neither age nor sex was spared, there fell that day 3600. Florus paid no regard to the sacred rights of Roman citizenship; some freemen of the first distinction, for many of the Jews had attained even the equestrian rank, were scourged and executed with their meaner countrymen.

Agrippa was absent in Egypt, but his sister Berenice was in Jerusalem, in pursuance of a religious vow. She sent repeated messages to Florus, imploring him to stay the fury of his soldiers; and even herself, in her penitential attire, with her hair shorn and with naked feet, stood before his tribunal. The Roman was deaf to her entreaties; he had no ear but for the accounts of wealth, which was brought in, every hour, in great masses. Even in the presence of Berenice, her miserable countrymen were scourged and hewn down. She herself was obliged to take refuge in one of the royal residences, and dared not go to rest, lest the soldiers should force their way through her feeble guard.

The next day multitudes assembled in the scene of the massacre, the upper market-place; and among the wailings

[1] B. J. ii. 15.

for the dead were heard but half-suppressed execrations and menaces against the cruel Florus. The chief heads of the city with the priests were in the greatest alarm; they tore their robes, rushed among the people, addressed them individually with the most earnest supplications not again to provoke the anger of the governor. The populace, partly out of respect, partly out of fear, quietly dispersed.

Florus and his satellites alone were grieved at this pacification; he determined, if possible, to renew these profitable tumults. He sent for the priests and leaders, and commanded them, as the last proof of their submission, to go forth and receive, with the utmost cordiality, two cohorts of troops who were advancing from Cæsarea. The priests assembled the people in the Temple, made known the orders of Florus, and exhorted them to obedience. The more turbulent did not disguise their seditious intentions. Then all the priesthood, the Levites, the musicians and singers in their sacred vestments, fell upon their knees and supplicated the people, that they would not bring down certain ruin on the whole city, or give excuse to the rapacious plunderer to profane the Holy Place, and pillage the sacred treasures of God. The priests of the highest rank, with robes rent and ashes on their heads, went about, calling on the most influential by name, and urging with the most solemn vehemence, that however degrading the submission to the commands of Florus, it was a trifling sacrifice, if it might avert the desolation of the city, and all the horrors of war: that it would be the height of madness to allow themselves to be borne away by a few of the factious or misguided populace, whom they, the rather, ought to overawe with their authority.

They succeeded in allaying, for the time, the enraged multitude; the more turbulent were silenced, as menaces were mingled with entreaties; and the chief priests led forth the whole populace in peaceful array. The procession, in obedience to their admonitions, welcomed the cohorts with apparent gladness. The cohorts, who had received their secret instructions from Florus, advanced in sullen silence, not condescending to return the greetings. The more violent Jews took fire, and broke out into audible imprecations against Florus. The troops turned upon them; struck them with their staves; the horsemen rode over them, and trampled them down; many were bruised, many wounded. At the gates there was a violent rush to obtain entrance. Those

behind pressed on those before; the horsemen came trampling on, and forcing their way through the dense mass; numbers fell, pushed down by their own people, or under the hoofs of the horses; their bodies were so crushed and mangled, that when they were taken up for burial, they could not be distinguished by their friends.

The soldiery still kept on, advancing, and driving the multitude before them, or riding over them, all through the suburb of Bezetha. Their object was to press forward, and gain possession at the same time of the Antonia and the Temple. At this moment Florus sallied from the Palace, and attempted to force his way to that part of the castle which joined the Temple, but without success: for the people blocked up the narrow streets, so that his men could not cut their way through the living masses, and were themselves beaten down by stones and missiles from the roofs of the houses. They retreated to their quarters. The insurgents, apprehending that the enemy might force their way from the Antonia to the Temple, cut off the porticoes and galleries which connected them. This bold measure made Florus despair of succeeding in his main object, the plunder of the sacred treasury during the confusion. He suspended the attack, sent for the chief priests and rulers, and proposed to evacuate the city; but offered to leave a guard of sufficient force to preserve the peace. They entreated him to leave only one cohort, and that, not the one which had been engaged against the people. On these terms, Florus retired unmolested to Cæsarea.

But Florus did not yet despair of inflaming the province and commencing an open war on more advantageous terms. He sent to his superior officer, Cestius Gallus, an artful representation of the tumults, in which all the blame was laid on the intractable and rebellious spirit of the Jews, whose unprovoked and wanton insults on the Roman authority had called for instant and exemplary justice. The Jews on their part were not remiss. The Rulers and Berenice sent the most touching accounts of the terrible rapacity and cruelty of Florus and his troops. Cestius summoned a council; in which it was resolved that he should repair in person to Jerusalem, to examine into the causes of the revolt, to punish the guilty, and confirm the Roman party in their allegiance.

In the meantime he sent forward Neopolitanus, a centurion, to prepare for his approach. At Jamnia, Neopolitanus met with Agrippa, then on his return from Egypt, and communi-

cated to him the object of his mission. Before they left Jamnia, a deputation of the priesthood and heads of the people appeared, to congratulate Agrippa on his return. Agrippa artfully dissembled his compassion, and even affected to reprove the turbulent conduct of his countrymen. About seven or eight miles from Jerusalem, Neopolitanus and Agrippa were met by a more mournful procession. The people were preceded by the wives of those who had been slain. The women, with wild shrieks and outcries, called on Agrippa for protection; and recounted to Neopolitanus all the miseries they had undergone from the cruelty of Florus. On the entrance of the king and the Roman into the city, they were led to the ruined market-place, and shown the shops that had been plundered, and the desolate houses where the inhabitants had been massacred. Neopolitanus having passed through the whole city, and found it in profound peace, went up to the Temple, paid his adorations there in the court of the Gentiles, exhorted the people to maintain their loyal demeanour, and returned to Cestius.

Agrippa, on his part, declined to countenance an embassy which they proposed to send to Nero. He assembled the whole multitude before the Xystus, and taking his seat in a lofty part of the Palace, with Berenice by his side, commenced a long harangue. He enlarged on the prospect of a milder government than that which had recently afflicted them, when the real state of the province should reach the ears of the Emperor. He urged that their hopes of independence were vain: if they could not resist part of the Roman forces under Pompey, how could they expect to make any effectual struggle when the Romans wielded the power of the whole universe? He adduced the example of all other nations, Greeks, Germans, Gauls, Africans, Asiatics, who were held in submission by a few Roman troops: finally, he dwelt on the horrors of war, and the danger of destruction which they would bring on the city and the Holy Place. He ended in tears, and his sister wept aloud. The people, with one voice, cried out, that they had taken arms, not against the Romans, but against Florus. Agrippa replied, that the refusal of tribute, and the demolition of the galleries which united the Antonia with the Temple, were overt acts of war against Rome. He exhorted them forthwith to discharge their tribute, and repair the buildings. The people obeyed. The king and Berenice joined eagerly in urging forward the reconstruction of the porticoes. Chief

persons were sent out to collect the arrears of tribute, and forty talents were speedily brought in. The war seemed at an end; and Agrippa might entertain the lofty satisfaction of having by his influence averted inevitable ruin from his country, profanation and sacrilege from the Temple of his God. The cornfields and vineyards of Judæa might yet escape the trampling havoc of armed squadrons; the city at its festivals receive its gay and cheerful inhabitants; the Temple resound with the uninterrupted music and psalmody of the whole united nation. Vain hope! the fire was only smothered, not extinct. In an evil moment, Agrippa attempted to persuade the people to render the usual allegiance to Florus, until the Emperor should send another governor in his place. At the sound of that name, all influence and authority fell, as it were by magic, from the person of Agrippa. The populace rose, began to assail him, first with insulting language, afterwards with stones; they even ordered him to leave the city. Despairing, at the same time, of being of any farther use, and indignant at this treatment, Agrippa, having sent certain of the leaders to Florus, in order that he might nominate some of them to collect the tribute, retreated to his own kingdom, and left the ungrateful city to its fate.

Still the more prudent of the higher orders entertained hopes of quelling the tumult, and averting the storm. But every day the breach became more inevitable. The important fortress named Masada stood on the brow of a hill, at no great distance from the Dead Sea, near the fertile spot called the gardens of Engeddi. It was a place of great strength, originally built by Jonathan the Maccabean, and fortified at great expense by Herod. Some of the bolder and more zealous of the war party contrived to obtain entrance into this post, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and openly unfolded the banner of revolt. In the city a still more decisive measure was taken. It had been the custom to receive the gifts and sacrifices of foreign potentates in the Temple; and since the time of Julius Cæsar, according to the policy of Rome, offerings had been regularly made, in the name of the Emperor, to the national God of the Hebrews. Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the chief priest, who then commanded the guard in the Temple, had the ambition of becoming the head of the war faction. He persuaded the lower orders of the officiating priests to reject the Imperial offerings, and to make a regulation that from that time no foreigner should be

allowed to sacrifice in the Temple. This was a direct renunciation of allegiance. The Roman party, or rather that party which was anxious to preserve peace, made a strong but unavailing effort. The chief priests, joined by the heads of the Pharisees, who as yet had maintained great influence over the populace, met in frequent council. They agreed to assemble the people in the quadrangle of the Temple, which was before the great brazen gate which looked to the east: this was called also the Gate of Nicanor.[1] They addressed them in strong language, representing the honour and wealth that the Temple had long obtained by the splendid donations of foreigners. They urged that this act amounted to an open declaration of war; that it was not merely inhospitable, but impious, to preclude strangers from offering victims, and kneeling in worship before God; that they would consider such a decree an act of inhumanity against an individual; how much greater then must it be against the Emperor and the whole Roman people! Above all, the Jews must take heed lest, by prohibiting others to sacrifice, they bring upon themselves the same prohibition; and thus, having as it were outlawed the rest of the world, be themselves condemned to a more fatal outlawry. They then brought forward those who were thought best acquainted with the precedents and customs of the Temple worship. The learned in the law unanimously declared that it was the ancient and immemorial usage to receive the offerings of strangers. The violent faction paid not the least attention to argument or remonstrance; the lower order of priests openly refused to officiate. The pacific party made one effort more. They sent one deputation, headed by Simon, son of Ananias, to Florus; another to Agrippa, headed by his relatives, Saul, Antipas, and Costobar, entreating them to march instantly on Jerusalem, or all would be lost. These were glad tidings to Florus, who saw, in quiet and ferocious delight, the progress of the mutiny. He did not condescend to reply. Agrippa, still anxious to preserve

[1] πρὸ τῆς χαλκῆς πύλης . . . . ἥτις ἦν τοῦ ἔνδον ἱεροῦ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἀνατόλην ἡλίου. B. J. ii. 17. 3.

Some of the later Jewish writers make much of this assembly. Their great object is to show that during all this period, including the crucifixion of Christ and the persecution of his followers, there was no legitimate Sanhedrin, no representative body, whose acts could fairly be held as national. I am not convinced by their arguments. They add that throughout there was a struggle between the two great schools of Jewish teaching, the milder and more yielding school of Hillel, the sterner and bolder school of Schammai.

the city and Temple, sent immediately 3000 horse from Auranitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, commanded by Darius and Philip the son of Jacimus.

On the arrival of these troops, the chiefs of the people made themselves masters of the upper city. The insurgents, under Eleazar, who now appeared openly at the head of the war faction, occupied Acra and the Temple. The two parties began to assail each other with missiles and slings. Bands occasionally met and fought hand to hand. The royal troops had the advantage in discipline, the insurgents in courage. The Temple was the great object of the struggle. For seven days affairs remained in this state, neither party obtaining any positive advantage. The following day was the festival of wood-carrying, in which it was the custom for every individual among the Jews to contribute a certain supply of wood for the fire of the altar, which was never allowed to go out. The insurgents refused to admit the more distinguished of the opposite party; while they themselves received a great accession of strength. With the meaner people who were permitted to enter the Temple, stole in a great number of the Zealots, called the Assassins. These desperadoes infused new daring as well as strength. They made a vigorous attack on the upper city, the royal troops gave way; the victorious insurgents set fire to the house of Ananias, the chief priest, to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice, and to the public archives, in which the bonds of the debtors were registered. In this proceeding all the debtors eagerly took their side, and assisted in cancelling their debts by destroying the records. This measure was as politic as it was daring; it annihilated at one blow the influence of the wealthy, who being generally their creditors, had before this the poorer people entirely in their power. Some of the priests and heads of the people concealed themselves in the sewers; others, for the time more fortunate, secured the upper towers of the Palace, and closed the gates. Among the latter were Ananias and his brother, Hezekiah, and those who were obnoxious, as having been deputed to Agrippa. Flushed with their victory, the insurgents retired to rest.

The next day they attempted a much more daring enterprise. A feeble garrison still held the important fortress, the Antonia, which, if better manned, might long have resisted the attacks of undisciplined soldiers. In two days the insurgents carried this citadel, put the garrison to the sword, and burnt the keep. They then turned against the Palace, where the miserable

remains of the royal party had taken refuge. They divided themselves into four troops, and made a simultaneous attempt to scale the walls. The few defenders, distracted by these separate attacks, dared not venture on a sally, but contented themselves with striking down the assailants as they climbed singly up the battlements. Many of the insurgents fell. Night and day the conflict lasted; the besiegers expecting that the royal troops would speedily be reduced by famine—the besieged, that their tumultuary assailants would grow weary of the attack.

In the meantime a new leader arose, who had hereditary claims on the ardent attachment of the Zealots. Judas the Galilean had been the first who had openly declared the impiety of owning any king but God, and had denounced the payment of tribute to Cæsar, and all acknowledgment of foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution. These doctrines, after having long fermented in secret, and only betrayed themselves in local tumults or temporary insurrections, were now espoused, as it were, by the whole nation. Judas himself, not long after his outset on his career, and his two elder sons, during the government of Tiberius Alexander, had fallen martyrs to their opinions. All eyes were now turned on Manahem,[1] a younger son, who they hoped would maintain the lofty principles of his father with better success. Manahem suddenly appeared in the conquered fortress of Masada, plundered the armoury of Herod, and, girt with a resolute and confident band, approached Jerusalem. The gates flew open, and he entered the city in royal pomp; he was admitted at once as the captain of their forces, and gave orders to press the siege of the Palace. The Palace still bravely held out; the assailants had no battering engines, and, when they attempted to mine the walls, they were beaten down by stones and javelins from above. They began, therefore, a mine at a considerable distance, and when they got under one of the towers, they carried in a great quantity of wood, and set it on fire. The flames caught the timbers of the foundations, and the tower fell with a tremendous crash. The insurgents were already rushing to the assault, when they found themselves checked by a second wall, which the besieged had built within. During this consternation of the assailants, the garrison sent

[1] Josephus calls him ὁ σοφίστης.

to demand terms. The insurgents readily granted safe passage to the troops of Agrippa and to the Jews, who marched out, leaving the few Roman soldiers in the most desperate condition, without a hope of cutting their way through the countless multitudes of their assailants, and, even if they should submit to the disgrace of surrendering on conditions, almost certain that those conditions would not be kept. They retreated to the three strong towers which Herod had built, and called Hippicos, Phasaelis, and Mariamne. Manahem and his followers broke into the Palace, slew the few who had not made good their retreat, plundered the baggage, and set fire to their encampment.

The following morning Ananias was discovered, with his brother, Hezekiah, in an aqueduct leading to the Palace: they were put to death without remorse. The towers were surrounded, so as to prevent any chance of escape. Manahem grew intoxicated with success; he already assumed all the state of a king, and maintained his authority with the most unsparing bloodshed. The death of Ananias was an unpopular measure; yet probably this, as well as other sanguinary acts, might have been pardoned. But Eleazar did not patiently endure that the supreme authority, for which he had so subtly plotted and so resolutely dared, should thus be wrested at once from his hands. His partisans began to murmur, that they had only changed a Roman tyrant for one home-born: that Manahem, though he had no claim or title to this superiority, had insolently gone up to worship in the Temple, in royal attire, and surrounded by his guards. The populace rose on the side of Eleazar, and began to stone the adherents of Manahem. His followers fled. Many were slain outright, many in places of concealment. A few with Eleazar, the son of Jair, a relation of Manahem, made good their retreat to Masada. Manahem himself was taken, having fled to a part of the city called Ophlas; he was dragged forth, and put to death with great cruelty. Many of his partisans, one Absalon in particular, shared his fate. Thus fell Manahem, who, if he had united discretion with his courage, might have given the insurgents what they felt the want of during the whole war—an acknowledged leader, who might have concentrated the resources and consolidated the strength of the revolt.

Many of the populace had taken part against Manahem, in hopes that by his death the tumult might be suppressed; but this was not the intention of Eleazar and his party. They

pressed vigorously the siege of the towers. At length Metilius, the Roman commander, found himself constrained to demand terms. The garrison offered to surrender on condition that their lives were spared; their arms and everything else were to be at the mercy of the conquerors. The treaty was accepted, and solemnly ratified. Gorion, son of Nicomedes—Ananias, son of Sadoc—and Judas, son of Jonathan, on the part of the insurgents—swore to the execution of the conditions. Metilius led out his soldiers. While they retained their arms, no movement was made; directly they had piled their swords and bucklers, the followers of Eleazar fell upon them and slew them, unresisting, and wildly appealing to the faith of the treaty. All fell, except Metilius, who had the un-Roman baseness (the word may be excused) to supplicate for mercy, and even agreed to submit to circumcision. After this treacherous and horrid deed, the last faint hope of accommodation was quenched, as it were, in blood. The more moderate foresaw the inevitable ruin; they did not conceal their profound sorrow; the whole city, instead of resounding with triumph, was silent, dejected, and melancholy. It was an aggravation of the general terror and depression, that this atrocious massacre was perpetrated on a Sabbath!

On that very day and hour, by a coincidence which Josephus considered providential,[1] a dreadful retribution for the crimes of their countrymen was, as it were, pre-exacted from the Jews of Cæsarea. The Greeks, now tolerably certain that to satiate their own animosity would be to please rather than offend the Romans, or, perhaps, under secret instructions from Florus, suddenly rose, and massacred the Jews almost to a man—in one hour, 20,000, an incredible number! were said to be killed. Not a Jew appeared in Cæsarea. The few who fled were seized by Florus, and sent to the galleys.

By this act the whole nation was driven to madness. Committed by the enormities of their brethren in Jerusalem—thus apparently proscribed everywhere else for slaughter—they determined, if mankind thus declared war upon them, to wage unrelenting war upon mankind. They rose, surprised, and laid waste all around the cities of Syria, around Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella (where probably as yet the Christians had not taken refuge), and Scythopolis. They

[1] ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας. B. J. ii. 18. 1.

made a sudden descent upon Gadara, Hippo, and Gaulonitis; burnt and destroyed many places, and advanced boldly against Cedasa, a Tyrian town, and the important places of Ptolemais and Gaba, and even against Cæsarea itself. Sebaste and Ascalon offered no resistance—at least to the inroad on their territory; Anthedon and Gaza they razed to the ground. The hamlets around these cities were pillaged, with immense slaughter.

The Syrians took the alarm; and either for security, or out of old animosity, committed dreadful havoc on the Jewish inhabitants of their towns. Every city was, as it were, divided into two hostile camps. The great object was to anticipate the work of carnage. The days were passed in mutual slaughter, the nights in mutual dread. All agreed that the Jews were to be put to the sword without mercy—but how to treat the numerous proselytes to Judaism? Should they respect their Syrian blood, or punish their conformity to the Jewish faith? The fatal wealth of the Jews even then, as in after ages, was at once their pride and their ruin. Many were put to death from the basest motives of plunder; and he who could display the greatest heap of Jewish spoil was considered a hero. The streets were strewn with unburied bodies—aged men and infants—women with the last covering of modesty torn off; the whole province was bewailing the present calamities, and trembling with foreboding apprehensions of still worse.

So far the Jews had confined their attacks to foreign troops or settlers; but making an inroad into the domain of Scythopolis, they met with unexpected resistance from the Jewish inhabitants, who had taken arms with those of Syrian race, and united with them in defence of their common territory. But the Scythopolitans mistrusted their fidelity, and, dreading lest they should make common cause with the assailants during the attack, desired them to retire with their families into an adjacent grove. Suspecting no danger, the Jews at once complied, and for two days they remained in quiet, encamped under the trees. The third night the perfidious Scythopolitans attacked them unawares, put them all to the sword, and seized all their property. Thirteen thousand perished. This barbarous act clearly proved to all the Jews, that no course remained but to unite hand and heart with their revolted countrymen. A particular incident which occurred during this massacre was well suited to spread from mouth to mouth, as a tale which might excite the revengeful

spirit of the most lukewarm, and drive the most cautious to insurrection, as his last hope. There was a certain Simon, the son of Saul, a Jew of distinction in Scythopolis, who, during the Jewish attack upon the city, had fought against his countrymen with the most consummate bravery. He had slain many, and broken squadrons by his single strength. On that fatal night when the Scythopolitans surrounded their Jewish brethren, he saw that all resistance to such numbers was vain. He cried aloud—"Men of Scythopolis, I acknowledge the justice of the penalty I am about to pay for having wielded arms against my countrymen, and put my trust in you. The blood of my own brethren calls for vengeance. It shall be satisfied; but no enemy, like you, shall boast of my death, or insult my fall." He then with wild and glaring eyes looked round on his family. He had a wife, children, and aged parents. He first seized his father by the hoary hair, and pierced him with his sword; his mother next willingly bared her bosom to the blow. Then fell his wife and children, who crowded round him, eager to die by his hand rather than by that of the enemy. Last of all, he mounted upon their bodies, so as to make himself as conspicuous as possible, and drove his sword into his own entrails.

The rest of the Grecian cities followed the example of Scythopolis. In Ascalon 2500 were put to the sword, in Ptolemais 2000, and as many thrown into prison. In Tyre many were killed; in Hippo and Gadara they put to death the most dangerous, and threw the rest whom they suspected into prison. Of the Syrian cities, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea alone showed real humanity, and forbade the death, or even the imprisonment, of their Jewish fellow-citizens. In these towns, indeed, the Jews were less numerous, and therefore less formidable; yet the exception is not the less honourable to the inhabitants. The citizens of Gerasa not merely abstained from injuring those who remained in their city, but escorted those who chose to leave it into the mountains. The dominions of Agrippa were not without disturbance. Agrippa himself had gone to Antioch to Cestius Gallus, and left the administration of his kingdom to Varus, a relation of Sohemus, the Tetrarch of the district about Lebanon. It happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, the commander of Agrippa's troops in Jerusalem, had escaped the massacre committed by the partisans of Manahem. He was concealed for four days by some relatives, Babylonian Jews, then at Jerusalem. On

the fifth, by putting on false hair, he escaped, and arrived at length at a village of his own near the fortress of Gamala. There, while he was thinking of summoning his friends, he was seized with a fever, and as he lay ill, he sent letters to the children of Agrippa and to Berenice, announcing his escape. Varus was jealous of the influence of Philip with Agrippa. He accused the bearer of forgery, and declared that Philip had certainly perished at Jerusalem. A second messenger arrived, and him also Varus made away with; for a report had reached him from Cæsarea that Agrippa had been put to death by the Romans, on account of the revolt of his countrymen, and Varus began to entertain hopes, being of royal blood, that he might secure to himself the vacant kingdom. He intercepted, therefore, all communication from Philip, and, to ingratiate himself with the Cæsareans, he put to death many Jews.[1] He then determined to make an attack on Ecbatana, or Bathura—a town probably in Batanea. With this view he sent twelve Jews of Cæsarea to accuse them of meditating an insurrection against Agrippa, and to demand seventy of the chief citizens to answer the charge. The Cæsarean Jews found the town perfectly quiet, and the seventy citizens were sent with the utmost readiness. Varus, without trial, ordered them all to be put to death, and advanced upon the town. One, however, had escaped, and gave the alarm. The inhabitants immediately seized their arms, leaving their great possessions in flocks and herds, and fled to the fortress of Gamala. Thence they sent to Philip, entreating him to come to their assistance. On his arrival, there was a general outcry that he should put himself at their head, and instantly lead them to battle against Varus and the Greeks of Cæsarea. The more prudent Philip restrained their impetuosity, and by his influence preserved the peace of Gamala, and kept the whole district faithful to the Romans till the commencement of the war. Agrippa sent to supersede Varus; his great connections rendered it dangerous to inflict a more severe punishment.

The Alexandrian Jews were not exempt from the general calamities of the nation: but they are less worthy of com-

[1] Josephi Vita, ii. This is passed over in the B. J. Instead of it appears a peaceful embassy of seventy of the chief inhabitants of Batanea, to demand forces to keep the peace in the district. These Varus surprised and put to death. Also the seizure of the fort Cypros above Jericho, and of Machærus, which the Romans surrendered. B. J. ii. 18. 6.

passion, as they seem in a great degree, by their turbulence and rashness, to have brought the persecution upon their own heads. At a public assembly of the Alexandrians, to despatch an embassy to Nero, many of the Jews, whether to maintain a contested right or not, thronged into the amphitheatre with the Greeks. An outcry immediately arose against the intruders, as enemies and spies. They were attacked; some were killed in their flight; others were taken, and dragged along as if to be burnt alive. The whole Jewish population rose, and at first assailed the Greeks with stones. They then surrounded the amphitheatre with lighted torches, and threatened to burn the spectators to a man. They would have executed their purpose, but for the immediate intervention of Tiberius Alexander, the governor—the same who had before governed in Judæa, and who was by birth a Jew—the nephew of Philo. Alexander acted with humane consideration; he sent for the more influential of the Jews, ordered them to put an end to the affray, and warned them against bringing the Roman soldiery upon their heads. The more seditious mocked at his admonitions, and heaped personal abuse upon his name.

Alexander instantly ordered out his troops; besides his two legions, he had 5000 soldiers, recently come from Libya. He gave them leave not merely to kill, but also to pillage and to burn houses. The troops immediately forced the Delta, the quarter in which the Jews lived. The Jews made resistance; but once routed, the slaughter was horrible. The houses were stripped, or set on fire full of inhabitants, who had taken refuge in them; neither age nor sex was spared: the whole place was like a pool of blood: 50,000 bodies were heaped up for burial. The few who remained sued for mercy. Alexander gave the signal for the cessation of the carnage; and such was the influence of the commander and the discipline of the troops, that he was instantly obeyed by the soldiery. The more vindictive animosity of the Alexandrian populace was not so easily arrested; they could only be dragged by force from the dead bodies.[1]

In Palestine one thing only was wanting to plunge the whole nation headlong into the revolt. They had already to stimulate them, on one hand, the remembrance of the galling oppression of their successive governors—the desperate con-

[1] B. J. ii. 18. 7.

viction that they were already committed by the events in Jerusalem—the horrible proofs that in every city every man's hand was armed against them, and every heart steeled against their sufferings: on the other, the bold and lofty tenets of Judas the Galilean, in whose sense their older sacred scriptures might be made to speak without much violence of interpretation—the universal belief in the immediate coming of the triumphant Messiah, which was so widely diffused as to be mentioned by Suetonius and by Tacitus[1] as a great cause of the war,—all these motives could not but operate in a most powerful manner. That which was wanting, was a bright gleam of success, to break the gloom that lowered all round the horizon, and animate the timid and desponding with the hope of possible victory. This was given by the imbecility of Cestius Gallus, the Prefect of Syria. Cestius had under his command the 12th legion, complete in its numbers, about 4200 strong: besides these he had 2000 picked men; six cohorts of foot, about 2500; and four troops of horse, about 1200. Of allies he had from Antiochus, king of Commagene,[2] 2000 horse and 3000 foot, all archers: from Agrippa as many horse, but less than 2000 foot; Sohemus followed with 4000 more, a third of which were horse, the rest archers. With this army of nearly 10,000 Roman troops, and 13,000 allies, Cestius advanced to Ptolemais. Many volunteers crowded forth from the Syrian cities, and Agrippa and Sohemus attended on his march. His first exploit was against the town of Zebulon, called Andron, which divided the territory of Ptolemais from the Jewish province of Upper Galilee. The inhabitants fled to the mountains. The city, in which was abundance of wealth and provision, was pillaged by the soldiers; and its noble buildings, said to be as handsome as those of Tyre, Sidon, or Berytus, were burned to the ground. After having wasted the adjacent district, Cestius returned to Ptolemais. The Syrians, particularly those of Berytus, lingering behind to plunder, the Jews rose upon them, and cut off about 2000.

Cestius advanced to Cæsarea: from thence he sent forward part of his army to Joppa, with orders, if they could take the city, to garrison it; if the inhabitants were prepared for resistance, to await the arrival of the rest of the army. Part

[1] Tac. Hist. v. 13; Suet. Vespas.

[2] Antiochus is mentioned with Agrippa as among the vassals and allies of Rome. Tac. Ann. xiii. 7. See also Hist. ii. 81. Suet. Caligula, 16. Dio. lix. 8.

marched inland, part by the sea-coast. They found the city open; the inhabitants neither attempted to fly nor to resist. They put them all to the sword, and pillaged the town. The number slain was 8500. With the same savage cruelty the cavalry wasted Narbatene, a district near Cæsarea; killing, and plundering, and burning on all sides.

Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, with sufficient force to subjugate that province. Sepphoris opened its gates: the other cities followed the example of the capital. The insurgents fled to a mountain opposite to Sepphoris, called Asamon. There, favoured by the ground, they at first made a gallant resistance, and killed 200 of Gallus's men: at length the Romans gaining the upper ground, and surrounding them, they were broken and dispersed: 2000 were slain. Gallus, having subdued the province, returned to Cæsarea.

Cestius advanced to Antipatris, dispersed a small band at the tower of Aphek, and burned their camp. From Antipatris he marched to Lydda, which was deserted, the inhabitants having gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. Fifty men, who came forth to meet him, were put to death; the city was burned. He then ascended the hills near Beth-horon, and encamped at Gabao, fifty stadia, rather more than six miles, from Jerusalem. No sooner did the Jews hear that the war was approaching their gates, than they flew to arms; they broke off the festival; they paid no more respect to the Sabbath.[1] It is possible that they called to mind that it was near this very place, in the passes about Bethhoron, in the days of old, the *Lord cast down great stones* on the Canaanites, when, as their histories declared, the sun stayed his course at the command of Joshua. In the same mountain country Judas the Maccabee had discomfited the immense army of Nicanor. Now they poured forth by thousands; they fell upon the Roman van; broke it; and rushing in, began so great a slaughter, that if the horse and some light troops had not made a circuit, and charged them in the rear, the whole army of Cestius might have been destroyed. Notwithstanding this advantage, they drew back; having killed 515, of which 400 were horsemen. Their own loss was but twenty-two. Their most distinguished men in this battle were strangers: Monobazus and Cenedæus, rela-

[1] B. J. ii. 19.

tions of the King of Adiabene; Niger, of Peræa; and Silas, a Babylonian, who had quitted the service of Agrippa. The Jews made good their retreat; and as the Romans ascended the hill of Bethhoron, Simon, son of Gioras, a man who will afterwards make an eminent figure in the history, hung on their rear, and cut off their stragglers and beasts of burthen, many of which he carried safe to the city. Cestius remained quiet for three days, the Jews keeping watch on the hills, waiting for his troops to move.

At this juncture, Agrippa determined to make a last effort to avert the war. He sent a deputation to persuade his countrymen to surrender, offering, in the name of Cestius, an amnesty for all that had passed. The leading insurgents dreaded the effect of these proposals on the people. They suddenly attacked the deputation; slew one, named Phœbus, wounded the other, Borcæus, with sticks and stones; and drove back those who appeared to take any interest in their fate. Cestius seized the opportunity of this dissension to advance on Jerusalem: he encamped at Scopos, within seven stadia, not quite a mile, to the north of the walls. Three days he suspended his attack, in hopes of receiving an offer of surrender: in the meantime his horse scoured the villages around for provision and forage: on the fourth the Romans advanced to the attack. The insurgents had not only to repel the enemy, they had also to watch a formidable party within the walls, whom they suspected of being but lukewarm in the cause. They were struck with consternation at the order and discipline of the Roman army as it came slowly on to the attack. They abandoned the outer walls, and fled into the Temple and the other fortified places within the city. Cestius passed through the new suburb of Bezetha, and burnt it as he proceeded: he then advanced against the upper city, and encamped opposite to the Palace. Had he then rushed at once to the assault, the city would have fallen. But, as Josephus asserts, with no great probability, the general, Tyrannius Priscus, and several of the commanders of cavalry, bribed by Florus to prolong the war, dissuaded him from the attack.[1]

It is more probable that Cestius entertained hopes of the surrender of the city by means of a powerful party within the walls; for many of the chief persons, at the persuasion of Ananus, the son of Jonathan, invited the Roman to continue

[1] B. J. ii. 19. 4.

the attack, and promised to open the gates. But the irresolute Cestius, either from anger or mistrust, delayed and lost time. The conspiracy was detected by the insurgents; Ananus and his followers were thrown headlong from the walls: the rest were assailed with stones, and driven to their houses. The war faction manned all the towers, and beat down with missiles all who approached the walls. For five days the Romans made only uncombined and desultory attacks: on the following, Cestius, with the flower of his army and his archers, made a vigorous assault on the north side of the Temple. The Jews defended themselves from the cloisters with the most resolute valour; continually repulsed the enemy, till at length, galled by the showers of missiles, the Romans recoiled. But they retreated to make a more dangerous attack. They formed what was called a testudo: those in the van fixed their shields firmly against the wall; the next rank joined theirs in succession, till the shields, fitting over each other like the shell of a tortoise, formed an iron penthouse over their heads, under which the soldiers began to mine the walls, and attempted to set fire to the gates.

The besieged were in the most dreadful consternation; many endeavoured secretly to make their escape from the devoted city. The peaceful party took courage, and began to muster in considerable force, in order to open the gates, and admit Cestius as their deliverer. A short time, an hour or less, might have made the Romans masters of the city: "but God, I conceive," says the Jewish historian, "on account of our sins, abhorring his own sanctuary, would not permit the war to end thus."[1]

Cestius, ignorant of the state of affairs within the town, both of the despondency of the insurgents and the strength of the Roman party, suddenly called off his troops, and, to the universal surprise, retreated entirely from the city. The insurgents passed at once from the lowest depression to the wildest courage: they sallied from all quarters, and cut off many stragglers, both horse and foot. Cestius passed the night in his former encampment, at Scopos (the watch-tower). On the following day he continued to retire. The further he retreated, the more bold became the enemy: they harassed his rear: coming along cross roads, they took his files in flank. The Romans dared not turn to make head; for they

[1] ἀλλ' οἶμαι διὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεστραμμένος ὁ Θεὸς ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἅγια, τέλος λαβεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκώλυσε τὸν πόλεμον. B. J. ii. 19. 6.

thought that countless multitudes were pouring behind them; and while the heavily-accoutred legionaries continued their slow and sullen march, the light-armed Jews flew about with the utmost rapidity; assaulting, retreating; now on one side, now on the other; dashing down where they saw an opening, and starting off when they met resistance. The road was strewn with the dead; every one who, for an instant, quitted the ranks, was cut off. Nor did the loss fall only on the common soldiers. Priscus, the captain of the sixth legion; Longinus, a tribune, and Æmilius, a prefect of horse, were slain; till at length, with great loss of men, and still more of baggage and munitions, the army reached its former quarters at Gabao. There, with his usual irresolution, Cestius lost two days in inactivity: the third, when he saw the whole country in arms, and the Jews swarming on all the heights, he determined on retreat.

That he might retire with greater expedition, he commanded the soldiers to throw away everything that might impede their march. All the mules and beasts of burthen were killed, except those which bore arrows and the military engines; the latter he would have saved for future use, and dreaded lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. The Romans then entered the fatal pass down to Bethhoron. The Jews, who had preserved some respect for their close and serried ranks while they were in the open plain, no sooner saw them entangled in the defile, than they attacked them on all sides: some hastened to block up the outlet of the pass; some from behind drove them headlong down the ravine: and at the end of the defile, incalculable multitudes showered darts upon them, till the whole squadron seemed clouded over with missiles. The legionaries stood wavering, uncertain how to act. The cavalry were in a still more perilous condition: they could not form in ranks; the steep sheer sides of the mountains were impracticable for their horses. At one moment they found themselves on the verge of frightful precipices, hanging over rugged, and, it seemed, bottomless ravines. Flight and resistance were alike hopeless: they began to utter wild cries of despair, and to groan aloud in the agony of their hearts: the shrill battle-cry of the Jews answered; their savage shouts of exultation and fury rang from rock to rock. The whole Roman army must have fallen, had not night come on, which enabled the greater part to make its way to Bethhoron. The Jews crowned every hill, and blocked up every pass around.

Cestius, despairing of being able openly to force his way, began to think of securing his personal safety by flight. He selected four hundred of his bravest men, distributed them about the defences of the camp, with orders to mount guard; and in the morning to display all their ensigns, that the Jews might suppose the whole army was still stationary. He then retreated in silence thirty stadia, not quite four miles. At the break of day, the Jews discovered that the camp was deserted: enraged at the manœuvre, they rushed to the assault, and slew the four hundred to a man. They then pursued Cestius with the utmost rapidity. The Romans, who had got the start of several hours during the night, hastened their retreat, which bore every appearance of a rout. All the military engines, the catapults, battering-rams used in besieging cities, were abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Jews, who afterwards employed them with dreadful effect against their former masters. The conquerors continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris; and at length, finding that they could not overtake the fugitives, they turned back to secure the engines, strip the dead, and collect their immense booty. With hymns of victory they re-entered the capital; having suffered hardly any loss on their own part, and having slain of the Romans and their allies 5300 foot, and 380 horse.[1] The Roman arms had not received so disgraceful an affront, nor suffered so great loss, since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany; and this not by a fierce and unconquered people among woods and morasses never before penetrated by civilised man, but in a province which had long patiently endured the Roman yoke, and had received for its sovereigns either native kings or foreign prefects, with the humblest submission to the Imperial will.

[1] Suetonius adds that an eagle was taken. "Judæi, legatum insuper Syriæ consularem suppetias ferentem, captâ aquilâ, fugaverunt." In Vesp. iv.

BOOK XIV

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR[1]

Vespasian—Josephus—Affairs of Galilee—John of Gischala—Affairs of Jerusalem—Ananus the Chief Priest—Simon, son of Gioras—Battles near Ascalon.

JUDÆA was now in open rebellion against Rome. It was a mad and desperate revolt, for to declare war against Rome was to defy the whole force of the civilised world. The insurgents neither had, nor could hope for allies; the rest of the Roman provinces were in profound peace, and little likely to answer the call or follow the example of a people they despised, in assertion of their independence.[2] In Europe the

[1] On the whole of this period Josephus is almost the only trustworthy authority. The traditions in the Talmud may be described as chiefly anecdotes, of the desultory and uncertain nature which belongs to such stories usually related for the description or embellishment of character. The few condensed and pregnant chapters of Tacitus rarely add to or contradict Josephus.

Josephus, comparing himself, of course to his own advantage, with his enemy the rival historian, Justus of Tiberias, adduces testimonies in favour of his own fidelity and accuracy, which to the historian of our times may rather call his impartiality in question. "Why," demands Josephus, "was not the History of Justus published during the lifetime of those who were the eye-witnesses and chief actors in these events—Vespasian, Titus, and King Agrippa?" Josephus on the other hand had presented his History both to Vespasian and to Titus, and had freely communicated on the subject with King Agrippa and some of his relatives. The Emperor Titus, it appears, refused to certify to the accuracy of Josephus, and would only give the sanction of his authority to what may be called the published official despatches. *ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος δυτως εκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πραξέων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιεύσεσθαι προσέταξεν.* Josephus had, however, sixty-two letters of Agrippa, all bearing witness to his veracity. He subjoins two: in one of these Agrippa writes in modern phrase:—"I have read your work with pleasure. You seem to me to have drawn up your History with greater diligence and accuracy than any other writers. Send me the rest." In the second Agrippa is equally laudatory:—"In general you have no need of further information on events with which you are so fully acquainted; but when we meet I shall be able to instruct you on some points of which perhaps you are ignorant." Agrippa, Josephus says further, when his History was finished, not out of flattery or dissimulation, bore witness to his truth. Vit. c. 65.

[2] Tacitus no doubt expresses the Roman sentiment of wonder and indignation, that this single nation, insignificant in extent of territory and numbers,

only unsubdued enemies of the Romans were the wild tribes in the north of Britain, or in the marshes of Germany. In Asia, the only independent kingdom, the Parthian, was not in a state to make a war of aggression. Philo, in his oratorical invective against Caligula, throws out hints of the formidable numbers of his countrymen in Babylonia, and of the multitudes who were scattered throughout almost all the cities in the Eastern dominions of Rome.[1] But the foreign Jews in the Roman dominions, though, as Josephus hints in one place, solicited by ambassadors, either took no interest in the fate of their countrymen, or were too sadly occupied in averting the storm of public detestation from their own heads, or in bewailing its consequences in the unprovoked carnage of their own friends and families.[2] They were trembling in the agony of personal apprehension, or gathering up for burial the bodies of their murdered countrymen.

The state of the country offered scarcely better grounds for any reasonable hope of permanent resistance. The fortified places were not all in the power of the insurgents; they had no organised or disciplined force; no warlike engines, except those captured from the enemy; no provisions of any kind for a long war. Worse than all, they were divided among themselves. In every city there was an interested, or a timid, or a prudent party, anxious to purchase peace at any cost. They had no acknowledged leader. The representative of the Herodian house, Agrippa, openly espoused the Roman party. The rest were either undistinguished as soldiers, or strangers, and robber chieftains. Their only trust was in their own stubborn patience and daring valour, in the stern fanaticism with which they looked upon themselves as the soldiers of their God, and in the wild hope that Heaven would work some miraculous revolution in their favour.

should alone dare to resist the Roman supremacy. "Augebat iras, quod soli Judæi non cessissent." Hist. v. i.

[1] Josephus asserts that they expected a general insurrection throughout the empire, and powerful aid from their Trans-Euphratic brethren. He dwells too in his first chapter on the state of the world, the commotions in Gaul, and the confusion which followed on the death of Nero. But this flourishing preface is belied by his tone throughout the History. See Proemium to the B. J. c. 2.

[2] Immediately on the defeat of Cestius, the inhabitants of Damascus hastened to wreak their vengeance on the Jewish residents. They were obliged to proceed with caution, for fear of their wives, who *were almost all attached to the Jewish religion!* At last they contrived to take them at advantage, in some confined space, and, attacking them unarmed, massacred 10,000. B. J. ii. 20. 2.

Yet, however frantic and desperate the insurrection, why should the Jews alone be excluded from that generous sympathy which is always awakened by the history of a people throwing off the galling yoke of oppression, and manfully resisting to the utmost, in assertion of their freedom? Surely if ever people were justified in risking the peace of their country for liberty, the grinding tyranny of the successive Roman Procurators, and the deliberate and systematic cruelties of Florus, were enough to have maddened a less high-spirited and intractable race into revolt. It is true that the war was carried on with unexampled atrocity; but on the other hand insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humaner virtues; and horrible oppression is apt to awaken the fiercer and more savage, not the loftier and nobler passions of our nature. And it must be borne in mind, that we have the history of the war, only on the authority of some brief passages in the Roman authors, and the narrative of one to whom, notwithstanding our respect for his abilities and virtues, it is impossible not to assign the appellation of renegade. Josephus, writing to conciliate the Romans, both to his own person and to the miserable remnant of his people, must be received with some mistrust. He uniformly calls the more obstinate insurgents, who continued desperately faithful to that cause which he deserted, by the odious name of robbers; but it may be remembered that the Spanish guerillas, who were called patriots in London, were brigands in Paris. It is true that the resistance of many was the result of the wildest fanaticism. But we must not forget in what religious and historical recollections the Jews had been nurtured. To say nothing of the earlier and miraculous period of their history, what precedents of hope were offered by the more recent legends of the daring and triumphant Maccabees! It is, moreover, true that the Son of Man had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the New Testament appears to intimate that the measure of wickedness in the Jewish people having been filled up in the rejection of Christ, they were doomed from that time to inevitable ruin. But we must avoid the perilous notion of confounding the Divine foreknowledge with the necessary causation of events. According to the first principles of the Mosaic constitution, national guilt led to national ruin. But still the motives which actuated many in the fatal struggle that led to the accomplishment of the Divine predictions,

may have been noble and generous. It was the national rejection of Christ, not the resistance to Rome, which was culpable. The Jew, though guilty of refusing to be a Christian, might still be a high-minded and self-devoted patriot. Although we lament that the gentle and pacific virtues of Christianity did not spread more generally through the lovely and fertile region of Palestine, yet this is no reason why we should refuse our admiration to the bravery, or our deepest pity to the sufferings, of the Jewish people. Let us not read the fate of the Holy City in that unchristian temper which prevailed during the dark ages, when every Jew was considered a personal enemy of Christ, and therefore a legitimate object of hatred and persecution, but rather in the spirit of him who, when he looked forward with prophetic foreknowledge to its desolation, nevertheless was seen "to weep over Jerusalem."

The astonishment of the Romans at the revolt of this comparatively small province, and at the news of the total defeat of a Roman prefect at the head of his legionaries, was not unmingled with consternation. The Emperor Nero was then in Achaia. The first intelligence of the affair was brought by Costobar and Saul, two brothers related to the Herodian family, who, with Philip, the son of Jacimus, the general of Agrippa, had made their escape from Jerusalem.[1] The two former were despatched, at their own request, to the Emperor by Cestius, who instructed them to lay the whole blame of the war on Florus. Nero, according to Josephus, affected to treat the affair lightly. He expressed great contempt for the revolt, but great anger at the misconduct of Cestius; yet he could not help betraying visible marks of disturbance and terror. The importance really attached to the affair may be judged by the selection of the most able and distinguished military commander in the empire. Vespasian had been bred to arms from his youth; he had served with great fame in the German wars; had reduced the unknown island of Britain into a Roman province, and obtained the honours of a triumph for

1 Is it impossible that this intelligence conveyed to Rome may have had some connection with the renewed persecution of the Christians, in which St. Paul certainly, and St. Peter, according to those who believe him to have died at Rome, suffered martyrdom? The cruel and base-born Helius, who ruled during that year in Nero's name in Rome, may have thought to show his zeal by putting to death men suspected of some strangely dangerous views, and guilty at least of Jewish descent. The martyrdom of St. Paul certainly took place this year, A.D. 66.

the Emperor Claudius, without his own personal exertion or danger. Nero repressed his resentment against Vespasian, who was in disgrace for not having sufficiently admired the fine voice and style of singing of the theatrical Emperor. He committed the province of Syria to his charge. With his characteristic despatch, Vespasian immediately sent his son, Titus, to Alexandria, to conduct the fifth and tenth legions to Palestine: he himself travelled, with all speed, by land to Syria, and collected all the Roman troops, and forces from the neighbouring tributary kings.[1]

In the meantime the insurgents were not inactive. Some of the more prudent hastened, as Josephus says, to desert the sinking ship. Those who still *Romanised* were brought over, some by persuasion, some by force. They called a general assembly in the Temple, and proceeded to elect their governors and commanders. Their choice fell on Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus, the chief priest, who were invested with unlimited authority in the city. Eleazar, the son of Simon, who had taken so active a part in originating and conducting the first insurrection, and in the death of Manahem, was passed over. He was suspected, not without grounds, of aiming at kingly power, for he went about attended by a bodyguard of Zealots. But Eleazar, probably as commanding within the Temple, had made himself master of the spoil taken from the Romans, the military chest of Cestius, and a great part of the public treasures. In a short time, the want of money, and his extreme subtlety, won over the multitude, and all the real authority fell into the hands of Eleazar. To the other districts they sent the men whom they could best trust for courage, and fidelity to their cause. To Idumæa, Jesus, son of Saphus, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, also a chief priest. Niger of Peræa, who had hitherto commanded in that district, was directed to receive his orders from them. To Jericho was sent Joseph, son of Simon; to Peræa, Manasseh; to Thamna, John the Essene: for even among these peaceful hermits were found men who would fight for their freedom. The toparchies of Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus were added to his command. John, the son of Ananias, had the toparchies of Gophni and Acrabatene. Joseph, the son of Mathias, was entrusted with the command of Upper and Lower Galilee, with particular charge of the strong city of

[1] B. J. iii. 1. 1. 2.

Gamala. Almost all, if not all these leaders, were of the more moderate, at least not of the Zealot party.[1]

Galilee was the province on which the storm would first break, and the confidence of the insurgents in the ability and zeal of Joseph, the son of Mathias, may be fairly estimated from their committing this important frontier to his charge. As long as the passes and hill fortresses of Galilee were defended, the southern region, and Jerusalem itself, might have time to organise their forces, and fortify their strongholds. Joseph, the son of Mathias, is better known as the celebrated Josephus, the historian. He was a man of illustrious race, lineally descended from a priestly family, from the first of the twenty-four courses—an eminent distinction! By his mother's side he traced his genealogy up to the Asmonean princes. His father, Mathias, was of upright character, as well as of noble birth; he resided in Jerusalem, where the young Joseph grew up with a brother, named Mathias, with great reputation for early intelligence and memory. At fourteen years old (he is his own biographer) he was so fond of letters that the chief priests used to meet at his father's house to put to him difficult questions of the law.[2] At sixteen he determined to acquaint himself with the three prevailing sects, those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. For though he had led for some time a hardy, diligent, and studious life, he did not consider himself yet sufficiently acquainted with the character of each sect to decide which he should follow. Having heard that a certain Essene, named Banus, was living in the desert the life of a hermit, making his raiment from the trees, and his food from the wild fruits of the earth, practising cold ablutions at all seasons, and, in short, using every means of mortification to increase his sanctity; Josephus, ambitious of emulating the fame of such an example of holy seclusion, joined Banus in his cell. But three years of this ascetic life

[1] The question which divided the war party among the Jews, the more furious and more moderate, is well stated by Salvador:—"Il s'agissait de savoir d'après quel esprit de conduite on se règlerait á l'avenir. Fallait-il seulement faire à l'étranger une guerre de transaction ou de redressement de tort, comme les hommes prudens et politiques le voulaient, une guerre qui fût dirigée plutôt contre la tyrannie personnelle des procurateurs Romains que contre le nom de César, contre l'Empereur lui-même? Ou bien, fallait-il se jeter dans une lutte à outrance comme l'entendait la partie la plus ardente des zélateurs, dans une lutte qui imposât pour première loi d'exciter les colères religieuses et politiques de la nation, de creuser un abîme infranchissable entre les Juifs et les Romains?" (ii. p. 8).

[2] The curious analogy of this incident with what is related of Jesus (at the age of twelve) "among the doctors" cannot but strike every reader.

tamed his zealous ambition. He grew weary of the desert, abandoned his great example of painful devotion, and returned to the city at the age of nineteen. There he joined the sect of the Pharisees. In his twenty-sixth year he undertook a voyage to Rome, in order to make interest in favour of certain priests who had been sent there, to answer some unimportant charge, by Felix. They were friends of Josephus, and his zeal in their favour was heightened by hearing that, with religious attachment to the law, they refused, when in prison, to eat any unclean food, but lived on figs and nuts. On his voyage he was shipwrecked, like St. Paul, and in great danger. His ship foundered in the Adriatic, six hundred of the crew and passengers were cast into the sea, eighty contrived to swim, and were taken up by a ship from Cyrene. They arrived at Dicæarchia (Puteoli), the usual landing-place; and Joseph, making acquaintance with one Aliturus, an actor, a Jew by birth, and, from his profession, in high credit with the Empress Poppæa, he obtained the release of the prisoners, as well as valuable presents from Poppæa, and returned home. During all this time he had studied diligently, and made himself master of the Greek language, which few of his countrymen could write, still fewer speak with a correct pronunciation.

On his return to Jerusalem, he found affairs in the utmost confusion; great preparations were making for the war, and the insurgents were in high spirits. He united himself to the party who were for peace, and strongly urged the rashness and peril of the war. Apprehensive that these unpopular doctrines had made him an object of suspicion to the more violent, and dreading lest he might be seized and put to death, he retired, after the capture of the Antonia, into the Inner Temple. After the murder of Manahem, he stole forth from thence, and joined himself to a considerable body of the chief priests and leading Pharisees, who pretended to enter into the insurrectionary measures that they might save the lives of those who capitulated in the Palace, yet looked with anxious eagerness for the advance of Cestius, who, it was expected, would easily suppress the revolt.[1]

[1] Josephus attributes the war chiefly to these risings and the massacres of their countrymen, which compelled the more peaceful to join in the common cause, as now become simply and therefore unavoidably defensive. *νυν δ' ἀυτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην, βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ὅτι ὀυ προάιρεσις ἐγένετο τῶυ πολέμου πρὸς Ρωμάιουυ Ἰουδάιοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνάγκη.* Vit. c. 6.

On the disastrous retreat of Cestius, and the barbarous massacre of the Jews in Sepphoris and the Syrian cities, many of the more peaceful party joined heart and hand with the insurgents, others pursued a more temporising policy, and, outwardly uniting in defensive measures, still cherished a secret inclination to submission. To which of these parties Joseph the son of Mathias belonged, it is not quite so easy to decide: without his having acquired some confidence with the war faction, he would scarcely have been entrusted with the command in Galilee; yet he undertook that post with the approbation and at the request of the more moderate.[1] Josephus, with his two coadjutors, Joazar and Judas, hastened to their government.

The province of Galilee was divided into two districts, called Upper and Lower Galilee; it contained all the territory which had belonged to the northern tribes of Napthali, Zebulun, Issachar, and half Manasseh, reaching to the district of Ptolemais on the north, and Samaria on the south. The Jordan was the eastern limit. The people were a bold, hardy, and warlike race; considered somewhat barbarous by the inhabitants of the metropolis, and speaking a harsh and guttural dialect of the Syro-Chaldaic language, now the vernacular tongue of Palestine. The country was remarkably rich, abounding in pasture, corn land, and fruit trees of every description. The population was very great. They lived in cities, which were numerous and large, and in great open villages, the least of which, says Josephus, contained 15,000 inhabitants. In many of these cities there was a mingled population of Syrians and Jews, rarely on an amicable footing, often forming fierce and hostile factions. Sepphoris was the capital, but that rank was disputed by Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee.

The measures of Josephus were prudent and conciliatory, yet by no means wanting in vigour and decision. He remained in sole command. His priestly colleagues, having collected a great quantity of tithes, determined to return home; they

[1] In the Life creeps out another view of the object for which he was appointed by the prudent party to the command in Galilee—to disarm the Zealots, to transfer their arms and power to the *better* orders, and to remain quiet till they saw the course which the Romans would pursue. *πείσοντας τοὺς πονηροὺς καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ διδάξοντας, ὡς ἐστιν ἄμεινον τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν ἐθνους αὐτα τηρεῖσθαι. Ἔγνωστο δὲ τούτοις ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἕτοιμα, περιμένειν δὲ, τί πράξουσιν Ρωμαῖοι μαθεῖν* (c. 7.)

delayed for a short time, at the earnest request of Josephus.[1] The object of Josephus was to promote union, and to organise the whole country on one regular system. He endeavoured to acquire the confidence and attachment of the people. In order to interest and pledge all ranks to the common cause, as well as to secure the public peace, he appointed a sort of Sanhedrin of seventy, and seven judges in each city; all less important causes were to come before the latter tribunal; cases of murder before himself and the Sanhedrin.[2] Yet he acknowledges that he kept the seventy about his person as a kind of hostages.[3] In all respects he endeavoured to maintain the strictest character for probity and justice, particularly laboured in those lawless times to protect the chastity of the females from insult or outrage, refused all presents for the administration of justice, and declined all opportunities of enriching himself, though he confesses that he secured a considerable share in the confiscated property of the Syrian inhabitants in the cities, when they were expelled or massacred by the Jews, which he sent to his friends at Jerusalem.[4] As he could not suppress the robbers, he obliged them, as far as he could, to give up their profession, and enrol themselves as regular troops. Having thus provided that the war, if commenced, should be that of an orderly and united people, not the desultory conflict of insurgents and robbers, he proceeded to fortify, with the greatest strength and expedition, the most defensible towns, among many others, Jotapata, Tarichea, Tiberias, Itabyrium on Mount Tabor, and certain caves near the lake of Gennesaret.[5] To the wealthy inhabitants of Sepphoris, who seemed to enter zealously into the cause, he granted the privilege of building their own fortifications, and gave permission to John, the son of Levi, afterwards the celebrated John of Gischala, to strengthen that city. The others he superintended in person. He then raised an army of 100,000 men, armed them with weapons obtained from Sepphoris, quarters, and proceeded to introduce the Roman discipline. He appointed centurions and decurions, regularly exercised the whole force in military manœuvres, and thus organised an effective army of 60,000 foot, and, according to the text of Josephus, from which probably a number has fallen, 250 horse. Besides these he had 4500 mercenaries, on whom he placed his chief reliance, and a bodyguard of 600.

[1] Vit. c. 12. [2] B. J. ii. 20. 5. [3] Vit. c. 14.
[4] Vit. 15. [5] B. J. ii. 20. 6. 7.

Such were the general results of the administration of Josephus; but all these vigorous and prudent measures were perpetually interrupted and rendered abortive, partly by the internal dissensions of the province, but chiefly by the machinations of his subtle enemy, John of Gischala. While Josephus invariably represents himself as the most upright, incorruptible, and patriotic of men, no colours are too dark for the character of his antagonist. John of Gischala surpassed all men of high rank in craft and deceit, all of every class in wickedness. He was at first a poor adventurer, his poverty stood in the way of his advancement, but by his readiness in falsehood, and by the singular skill with which he glozed over his falsehoods, so as to make all men believe them, he deceived his nearest friends; affecting humanity, yet most sanguinary for the slightest advantage; lofty in his ambition, but stooping to the basest means to obtain his end. He began as a single robber, but gradually collected a powerful and select banditti, for he would only admit men distinguished either for strength, bravery, or warlike skill. His force at length amounted to 4000, and with these he long wasted Galilee. Such was the man who counterworked all the measures of Josephus, and inflamed the dissensions of the province, already too little disposed to lasting union.[1]

For though the cities of Galilee seem generally to have submitted to the administration of Joseph and his coadjutors, so as to permit their walls to be put in a state of defence, yet each had its separate interests and inclinations, and was distracted by violent factions. Sepphoris, though entrusted with building its own walls, and, as Josephus says in one place, hearty in the cause, yet inclined to the Roman party: the inhabitants had sworn fealty, and given hostages from the chief families of the city to Cestius; these were still at Cæsarea. On the arrival of Josephus in his province, he found the territory of Sepphoris threatened with an attack by the rest of the Galileans on account of their dealings with the Romans. This danger was averted by Josephus, and the Sepphorites united, as was before said, in the common cause. Tiberias was distracted by three factions. This city belonged to Agrippa, and one faction, consisting of the more opulent and respectable burghers, headed by Julius Capellus, was desirous of preserving their allegiance to the king. A second of the lowest class,

[1] Josephus acknowledges that John had a singular power of attaching men to his person. B. J. iv. 7. 1.

headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, was clamorous for war. A third was headed by Justus, who afterwards wrote a History of the war. Justus, according to his rival Josephus, only regarded his own interests. He had endeavoured to excite a feud between Tiberias and Sepphoris, asserting that on account of the manifest defection of the latter to the Roman party, Tiberias might justly be considered the capital of Galilee.[1] He had meditated an attack on the Sepphorite district, but as yet had only carried his plundering bands into the lands of Gadara and Hippos. Josephus, after settling affairs at Sepphoris, went to Bethmaus, within half a mile of Tiberias. He sent for the senate, who came readily to parley with him; he opened his commission from the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and demanded the demolition of a palace built by Herod the Tetrarch, and adorned with "graven images" of living creatures. The party of Agrippa opposed this measure; but the war faction, headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, were ready for any work of destruction. Besides, they were not a little tempted by the hope of plunder, for the roof of the palace was gilded. They proceeded to plunder the furniture, and then to burn the palace to the ground. Flushed with their success, they rose on the Syrians, massacred all they could find, and at the same time seized the opportunity of revenging themselves on all their fellow-citizens who had been their enemies before the war.

Josephus seems to have been anxious to remain in amity with Agrippa. He assumed great indignation at the plunder of the palace, of which he had authorised the demolition, gathered up the wrecks of the furniture, consisting of candlesticks of Corinthian brass, royal tables, and uncoined silver, and committed them to the custody of Capellus, the head of Agrippa's party. Josephus then proceeded to Gischala. At the commencement of the insurrection, John had rather inclined to the Roman faction. Upon this the inhabitants of Gadara, Gebara, Sogana, and other towns, had assaulted and burnt Gischala. John, however, had rallied his forces, recovered the town, and fortified it more strongly than before. As yet, John and Josephus were on good terms. Josephus admired the activity of John, and John was anxious to obtain every possible advantage from the governor of the province. He first proposed to Josephus that he might be permitted to

[1] Vit. c. 63.

carry off large quantities of corn stored up by the Romans in Upper Galilee; the sale of this, he stated, would enable him to complete his fortifications. Josephus answered, that he should keep that corn either for the Romans, the owners (a suspicious answer!), or for the use of the province entrusted to him by the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem.[1] John then demanded and obtained a monopoly of oil sold in Syria. For the Jews in the Syrian towns would not use the unclean oil prepared by the heathen, and were obliged to obtain it from their own country. John drove a thriving trade; for four Attic drachms he bought four measures of oil, which he sold again at the same sum for half a measure. This money he employed in undermining the power of Josephus, and industriously propagated reports, which accused him of intending to betray the province to the Romans. Whether or not the suspicions of John had any substantial grounds, strong circumstances combined to throw a shade on the popularity of Josephus. Certain youths of a village called Dabarittæ, in the great plain, waylaid and plundered Ptolemy, the agent of King Agrippa. With their spoils, consisting of embroidered robes, silver vessels, and six hundred pieces of gold, they went to Josephus, then at Tarichea.[2] Josephus rebuked them for the robbery, and committed the property to the custody of one of the chief citizens of Tarichea, to be restored to the owners. The robbers, deprived of their booty, raised loud outcries against the governor, whom they accused of being in a treasonable league with the king. One hundred thousand armed men assembled (Josephus is prone to large numbers) and thronged the circus of Tarichea; some cried out to depose, some to burn him. With this intent, they surrounded his house; all his friends, except four, fled: Josephus suddenly awoke from sleep; he was neither confounded by the noise of his assailants, nor by the desertion of his friends. He rent his robes, poured ashes on his head; with his hands behind him, and his sword suspended around his neck, he went out to face the tumult. The Taricheans were moved with compassion: the ruder countrymen continued their clamour, ordered him to bring forth the plunder, and confess his treasons. Josephus

[1] Vit. 13. At Gischala he allowed his colleagues, who had been bribed by John, as he says, to take that side, to retire to Jerusalem. Vit. 14.

[2] B. J. ff. 21. 3. Compare Vit. c. 26. In the Life it is the wife of Ptolemy, four mule loads of rich stuffs and silver vessels, 500 pieces of gold. Ptolemy was of the same tribe with himself (Vit. 26). He told the robbers that he reserved the plunder to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

answered with an effrontery and readiness of falsehood which might have done credit to his mendacious rival, John of Gischala. "Men of Tarichea, ye are quite in error if ye suppose that I retain these treasures with any design of restoring them to King Agrippa. The fact is, that seeing the walls of your town in a ruinous and dismantled state, I have kept them to be spent in fortifying your loyal city." This bold address threw the Taricheans, to the number of 40,000, on his side. The strangers, particularly those of Tiberias, continued the tumult for some time, but at length sullenly withdrew, with the exception of 2000 (600) of the most desperate. These men, when Josephus retired again to rest, surrounded his house, and threatened to break down the doors. Josephus had recourse to a stratagem still more daring. He mounted the roof of the house, and making a sign that he wished to address them, he began with saying that from the height he could not distinguish their demands, but if they would depute some of their leaders, he was ready to treat with them. No sooner were those few admitted, than he ordered them to be dragged into the inner part of the house, and scourged till their bowels were laid open. The mob began to grow impatient, when the doors were opened, and their leaders were turned out among them in this bloody and mangled state. The mob, supposing that he would not have ventured on such a step without a great force concealed, dispersed in consternation.[1] The secret enemy of Josephus, John of Gischala, had prompted this outrage; but as there was no open breach between them, John, pretending to be ill, sent to demand permission to visit Tiberias, for the benefit of the warm baths in that city.[2] There, partly by persuasion, partly by bribes, he induced the inhabitants to renounce their alle-

[1] This transaction, as indeed the whole narrative of his administration in Galilee, is related with such extraordinary variations in the Life of Josephus and in the History of the Jewish War, as to leave a very unfavourable impression, if not of the writer's veracity, at least (Vit. 30; B. J. ii. 21. 5) of his accuracy. It is impossible to keep the same order of events, and in this affair the War gives the number of armed men at 2000, the Life at 600. In the former, those admitted into the house are called the more distinguished and the rulers, and are sent in to treat on terms of agreement; in the other, some of the men are sent in to receive the money, which he was accused of appropriating. In the one, all those admitted are scourged; in the other, one ringleader, who has his hand cut off and hung about his neck.

[2] *e.g.* in the Vit. The feigned sickness of John, and the affair at Tiberias, precede the robbery committed by the Dabarittæ and the scene at Tarichea; in the B. J. the plot of John and the peril of Tiberias is the δευτέρα ἐπιβουλή (ii. 21. 6).

giance to the governor. Silas, who commanded in the city under Josephus, sent immediate intelligence of the state of affairs. Josephus travelled night and day, and suddenly appeared in Tiberias. John, pretending that he was confined to his bed, excused himself from paying his respects to the governor. Josephus assembled the people of Tiberias in the circus. He had begun to address them, when he was suddenly interrupted by a loud outcry from the spectators; turning round, he saw a band of armed men, with their swords drawn, who were placed by John to assassinate him; he leaped from his rostrum, which was about six feet high, rushed to the beach, seized a boat, and, with two of his followers, pushed out into the lake and escaped.

His soldiers, in the meantime, attacked the band of John; but Josephus, apprehensive of a civil war, sent orders to his troops to abstain from bloodshed, and resisted all the urgent entreaties of his other Galilean friends, who were eager to make an example of the treacherous city. John fled to Gischala, where Josephus did not think it prudent to attack him, but contented himself with expelling those who espoused John's party from every city in Galilee.

During these events Sepphoris began again to waver. The inhabitants sent to Jesus, who commanded a noted troop of banditti, 800 strong, on the borders of Ptolemais, offering him a large sum to make war on Josephus. Jesus thought it more prudent to earn his wages by stratagem than by open force. He sent to request an interview with Josephus, that he might salute him, and then instantly began his march with his whole troop. One of his followers, however, deserted, and put Josephus on his guard. Thus forewarned, Josephus proceeded to the interview, having occupied all the roads with his own forces, and gave orders that Jesus alone, and his followers, should be admitted within the gates, which were to be closed immediately on their entrance. Jesus entered boldly, but Josephus instantly ordered him to throw down his arms, or he was a dead man. Trembling, Jesus obeyed. Josephus took him apart, informed him that he was aware of his treacherous designs, but offered him pardon if he would repent and swear to be faithful to him in future. Jesus complied, and Josephus having severely threatened the Sepphorites, departed to quell new disturbances. On his way he encountered two officers of the king, from Trachonitis, who wished to join him with some horse; these men the Jews would have forced to submit to

circumcision. Josephus interfered, and asserted the right of every man to worship God according to his conscience.

Gamala now demanded the presence of the indefatigable governor. After the departure of Philip, Agrippa's general, a certain Joseph, son of a female physician, had persuaded the people to revolt. They forced some to enter into their views, others they put to death. They fortified the city, with the approbation of Josephus; and all Gaulonitis, a district which skirted Upper Galilee, followed their example. Gamala was now threatened by Æquicolus Modius; at the same time, Neapolitanus, with some Roman troops, pushed towards Tiberias, and Æbutius, a decurion, advanced against Josephus, who lay at Simonias. Æbutius endeavoured to draw him down to the plain, where his cavalry would have given him an advantage. Josephus continued on the hills, and Æbutius withdrew with some loss. Josephus then, in his turn, made an attack on some magazines of corn, which he carried off, quietly loading his camels and asses, in the sight of Æbutius, who was fairly out-generalled. Æquicolus Modius failed in his attempt on Gamala.

John of Gischala, all this time, remained quiet in his citadel, but it was only because he was laying a train from a greater distance, which was to explode under the feet of his enemy.[1] He sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, to Simon, son of Gamaliel, at Jerusalem, to persuade the people that Josephus was forming a dangerous power in Galilee, and to demand his recall. Simon was a man of great character and weight, but ill-disposed to Josephus, and closely allied with John. By bribes they brought Ananus, the chief priest, who, at first, espoused the cause of Josephus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, into their party.[2] They determined to act with caution, lest Josephus should advance with his numerous and devoted army against Jerusalem. Jonathan and Ananias, two learned and influential Pharisees, and Joazar and Simon, priests, were sent, gradually to alienate the Galileans from their attachment to Josephus, and then, either to put him to death,

[1] Vit. 38.

[2] This is utterly inconsistent with the high character, given by Josephus himself, of Ananus. Jost uses strong language:—"Wenn aber der Geschichtschreiber Josephus ihm beschuldigt, ohne Mitwissen des Kriegesausschusses Boten nach Galiläa gesendet zu haben, um ihn (Josephus) nach Jerusalem zu locken, oder allenfalls zu tödten.—So ist das eine der dreisten Unwahrheiten, ersonnen aus persönlicher Feindschaft, die er selbst offen bekennt" (p. 443).

or bring him alive to Jerusalem. They had troops with them; John of Gischala received orders to render them every support; and Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias were to hold their troops in readiness at the command of John. Josephus got intelligence of the plot through his father, and also, as he relates, through a remarkable dream, which warned him that he should remain in Galilee, and fight against the Romans. In compliance with the earnest supplications of all the Galileans, who entreated him not to abandon them, he gave up his intention of submitting to the mandate and withdrawing to Jerusalem. With 8000 foot and 80 horse, he posted himself at Chabolo, on the frontier of Ptolemais, under the pretext of making head against Placidus, who had begun to waste Galilee. Four cities, Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias, acknowledged the authority of the deputation from Jerusalem. The deputies, who had travelled secretly and with expedition, in order to come on Josephus unawares, finding him on his guard, still attempted to proceed by craft rather than by force. They sent a friendly letter informing him that they were come to punish the subtle proceedings of his enemy John, and to force him to obedience. Josephus kept the letter unopened to the evening, when he had a great banquet of his friends, to which he invited the messenger. He then secretly made himself master of its contents, and sealed it up again. He ordered the messenger 20 drachms, as a reward for having brought welcome intelligence. The messenger was delighted. He then plied him with wine, and offered him a drachm with every cup, till the man betrayed the whole plot. Josephus wrote back a friendly answer, excusing himself from attendance, on account of the necessity of watching Placidus. The deputies, who passed from place to place and found almost every town in favour of Josephus and enraged against John,[1] sent a more peremptory message, requiring his attendance at Gabara, to make good his charge against John of Gischala. Josephus expressed his readiness to wait upon them, but not at Gabara or Gischala, where he apprehended treachery.[2] They determined to send messengers throughout Galilee to excite the malcontents. Josephus waylaid the roads from Gabara, seized the messengers, and made himself master of all the letters. Upon this he surrounded Gabara with his own Galileans, and

[1] He names Japha, the largest village (κώμη) in Galilee; Sepphoris, which Romanised, and was indifferent as to Josephus; Asochis, and others (c. 45).

[2] ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατρὶς ἐστιν Ἰωάννου, ἡ δὲ συμμαχος καὶ φίλη (c. 45).

boldly entered the town. He first went to repose at an inn; his enemies seized the opportunity to raise the people against him, but failed. Josephus soon after made his appearance in the assembly.[1] The Galileans surrounded the hall with loud acclamations. John and his friends endeavoured in vain to make their escape. Josephus publicly read the letters which he had intercepted, the deputies were confounded, the people unanimous in their applause. The mob would willingly have fallen on the whole assembly, who were saved only by the merciful intervention of Josephus. The governor then took horse and rode away to Sogana. From thence he despatched an embassy of 100 men of distinction, escorted by an armed guard of 500, to Jerusalem.

The discomfited deputies retired to Tiberias, John to Gischala. At Tiberias they expected the city to declare in their favour, but Josephus suddenly made his appearance there. They received him with hypocritical courtesy, but requested him to withdraw, on account of the approaching Sabbath, lest there should be a disturbance. He retired to Tarichea; new scenes of trickery followed; the deputies, with Jesus and Justus, the turbulent leaders of Tiberias, endeavoured to raise the town. Josephus again appeared with his soldiers; they got rid of him by a false alarm of Roman troops seen in the neighbourhood. Josephus counteracted this by another plot. They appointed a general fast, during which no one was to appear armed at the Proseuchæ. Josephus and his friends concealed their daggers and breastplates under their robes, and when the enemy expected to find them defenceless, they brandished their weapons. The deputation of Josephus, in the meantime, returned from Jerusalem with a favourable answer, confirming him in the government. He summoned an assembly of the Galileans, who, in the same spirit, declared their ready and cheerful submission to his command. Emboldened by this, he began to act with greater vigour; he chastised the unruly inhabitants of Tiberias, got the deputies into his power, and sent them back to Jerusalem.

Tiberias attempted again to revolt, and to surrender the city to the troops of Agrippa. Not having his forces in readiness, Josephus had recourse, as usual, to one of his stratagems. He

[1] They called him to account about twenty pieces of gold taken from the public treasury. This Josephus had expended on his counter deputation to Jerusalem. They became ashamed of this pitiful charge, and accused Josephus of setting up a tyranny (c. 60).

seized 240 vessels, put not above four sailors in each, and commanded them to take their station in sight of the town; and he then advanced boldly to the gates. The citizens supposing the ships full of soldiers, surrendered at discretion. Josephus got the senators to the number of 600, and 2000 of the people, within his power, and sent them to Tarichea. They denounced one Clitus as the ringleader; he was carried to the shore to have his hands cut off; on his earnest supplication, one was spared; the left, which he was induced himself to cut off to save the other; the rest of the malcontents were pardoned.[1] After this, Josephus surprised Gischala, and gave it up to pillage. Sepphoris admitted the troops of Gallus into their city. Josephus, with his forces, scaled the walls, but was beaten back, and afterwards defeated in the open plain. The troops of Agrippa soon after made their appearance under the command of Sylla; they were posted near Julias. Josephus endeavoured, by a feigned flight, to betray them into an ambush, and might have succeeded, but his horse unfortunately plunged into a morass, and he was severely hurt in the wrist, and carried to Cepharnome. From thence, feverish symptoms appearing, he was removed to Tarichea.[2]

Thus we have endeavoured to wind our weary way through the intricate politics of Galilee. It is difficult to conceive how all these intrigues, as well as all the masterly and effective warlike preparations of Josephus, could be carried on simultaneously, more particularly if all these transactions must be crowded into the winter of one year, 66–7.[3] Besides the details

[1] B. J. ii. 21. 10; Vit. 67. 68.

[2] Vit. 72.

[3] In the "Jewish War" it is not difficult to trace a certain order of these events, if not strictly chronological, yet of historical arrangement. Josephus first relates his reception in Galilee and the measures which he took for the organisation of the province, the levying and disciplining of his army, the defensive fortification of the chief cities. He then passes to his strife with John of Gischala, and the long and obstinate struggle in Galilee and in Jerusalem with this noted rival. This may account for some transposition of events, and some discrepancy with the Life.

Vit. c. 15.

The "Life" was written much later, after the death of Vespasian and Titus, long after the publication of the "Jewish War," and after the publication of the "History" of Justus of Tiberias, against whom Josephus writes in a spirit of bitter controversy. The whole "Life" is almost occupied with the events between his arrival in Galilee and the siege of Jotapata: out of 76 chapters only six relate to his early life, three to the period after his capture in Jotapata. It has, it must be acknowledged, a strongly romantic cast; it is an undisguised panegyric on his own valour, enterprise, activity, craft, promptitude, wisdom; it is full of strange hairbreadth escapes, and stirring adventures. Yet vanity can hardly have been the sole motive for its composition. It was avowedly written to vindicate himself from the

of armies raised, armed, and exercised; cities fortified and strengthened; the civil administration set on a regular footing; by his own statement, Josephus twice took Sepphoris, four times Tiberias, once Gadara, perhaps Gischala; counteracted the plots, defeated the troops, took and pardoned his subtle antagonist John. Yet we must either, adhering to the usual chronology, admit this improbability, or throw back the whole events of the year which ended in the defeat of Cestius Gallus, into the year 65; and adopt almost as incredible a supposition, that, with most unusual inactivity, the Romans left the defeat of Cestius unrevenged, and allowed the Jews a whole year to organise their revolt, and strengthen their territory against invasion.

During this time the insurgents in Jerusalem continued to press their preparations for war, with as great activity and less interruption than those in Galilee. For though the timid and moderate groaned in heart to hear the din of war, the clattering of arms, the gymnasia echoing with the trampling march of all the youth in military exercise; and sadly foreboded the miseries and ruin to which the joyous city, the place of national festival, the rich, the beautiful, the holy city of Sion was thus self-devoted; though they could not utter their prayers in the Temple, nor make their offerings on the altar of Jehovah without awful misgivings that before long the worship might be proscribed, and fire and sword lay waste the courts of the Lord's house: yet they were constrained to suppress or conceal the unpopular weakness, and trembled lest the fierce eye of the Zealot or the Assassin should detect the dangerous or unpatriotic emotion.[1]

In the city, Ananus the chief priest took the lead; arms were fabricated with the greatest activity; the walls strengthened, military engines made, and stores of every kind laid in with

calumnies of Justus of Tiberias, his old enemy in that city, who had written a History of the Jewish War, long unhappily lost. The work of Justus compelled Josephus to utter things which he had so long kept in silence. *ἀπολογήσεσθαι γὰρ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔχω, καταψευδομαρτυρούμενος, ἐρῶ τὰ μέχρι νῦν σεσιωπωμένα* (c. 65). The heaviest part of the misrepresentations of Justus, which he seeks to confute, is that he (Josephus) was the first great rebel against Rome, the author of the revolt of Galilee. He retorts on Justus as a turbulent fellow who before this had raised Tiberias in insurrection; in short, that Justus was an earlier and more daring rebel than himself, and only escaped by singular good fortune the just punishment for his offences. Throughout the work is that of a man advanced in years relating the deeds of his youth from memory—a constant struggle between his vanity and his fear of offending his Imperial patrons at Rome.

[1] B. J. ii. 22.

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men began to forebode both his daring ambition, which would not be content with less than the highest station, and his cruelty, which would scruple at no means of obtaining or securing advancement. Ananus sent some troops against him: Simon took refuge with men of a kindred spirit, who held Masada; and from thence he pursued his ravages in Idumæa, till the magistrates of that district were constrained to raise an army, and set a guard in every village.

It was probably not long after the defeat of Cestius, that an unsuccessful expedition was attempted against Ascalon. That strong city, situated about sixty-five miles from Jerusalem, was weakly garrisoned by one cohort of foot and one troop of horse, under a commander named Antonius. The Jews marched out in great force under Niger of Peræa, Silas the Babylonian, and John the Essene. Antonius, undismayed by the number and the daring of the enemy, led out his horse. The Jewish soldiers were all infantry, undisciplined and unused to war. The first furious charge of the cavalry broke their van, which fell back on their main body, threw it into confusion, and the whole army was scattered in small squadrons over the field. The active Roman horse attacked first one band, then another, charging and riding round them,—their mounted archers making dreadful havoc. Numbers were of no avail, or rather stood in the way of effective defence. The vast and confused multitude could not fight, and would not fly. Night put an end to the battle, or rather to the carnage: 10,000 men, with Judas and Silas, fell; Niger escaped with the rest to a small tower named Sallæ.[2] The Jews were not cast down by this signal defeat. In the shortest time, not enough for the wounded to get healed, they assembled all their forces, and in still greater pride and indig-

[1] There were two Acrabatenes, which cause great confusion: one, according to Jerome, between Neapolis, Sichem, and Jericho; the other in the south of Judæa, bordering on Idumæa.

[2] B. J. iii. 2. 1. 2.

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